

IX

A.

This could be a new Chapter

Development of Resegregation Group Policy after Petition

Having circulated their petition and obtained the verification of the signatures of persons who had signed in March and April and the signatures of an unknown number of persons who had not signed before, the Resegregation Group leaders were now ready to proceed with the elaborate plans which they had been developing for many months. These plans were: (1) The formal organization of the adult supporters of the Resegregation Group, i.e., those people who had signed the recently circulated September petition or verified their signatures on the March petition. This group was now formed into a dues-paying body which adopted the name of Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi-dan.¹ Since the reader may be confused by the changing names of this organization, it will continue to be called the Resegregation Group. This group now elected officers, held formal meetings (which had not been done before) and subscribed to a monthly mimeographed magazine brought out by the organization and called the Hokoku.² The members paid 25 cents a month for this magazine;

(2) The pretense of non-connection between the Young Men's Organization (Sokoku Kenkyu) which had been founded on August 8, and this now formally organized Adult group of Resegregationists, was now abandoned. The adult Resegregation Group now took over the block 54 office which the Young Men's organization had obtained by administrative permission and both ~~the~~ bodies used it simultaneously. An office staff was maintained and the magazine was mimeographed there; (3) With the now open

1. "Organization to return to the homeland immediately to serve."
 2. "Patriotism."

INSERTION ON PAGE 75

A month after the circulation of the petition, Mr. Kir a proposed a communal return of the Resegregation Group to Japan as a method by which the members would be able to compete successfully with the difficult economic prospects in that country.

Meetings of a proselyting nature were also held in ~~mess~~
~~halls~~ various messhalls. ^{at which} Leaders like Yamashita and Kira
 spoke, impressing the issei with their ^{purported} influence in Japan
 and the splendid things the Resegregation Group intended to
 do for persons fortunate enough to become members;. The
 members of the group ~~engaged~~ began to engage in
 group ceremonies of an exceedingly nationalistic character,
~~the most significant of which was~~ ^{For instance,} a monthly ceremony
~~held~~ held on the eighth of each month in emulation of
 the monthly ceremonies held in Japan on the anniversary
 of Pearl Harbor. For these occasions all the ardent members
 rose ~~at~~ before six and knelt in prayer for victory for Japan;
 An increasing regimentation was apparent in all of the groups
 activities, a regimentation which was to have significant
 results in the early months of 1945 when the ^{authorities attempted to abolish the} group ~~began to~~
~~be actively persecuted by the authorities;~~ ^{insertion here} 2) The pretense
 of non-connection between the Young Men's Organization,
 (Sokoku Kenkyu) which had been founded on August 8 and this now
 formally organized adult group ^(Sokoku Kenkyu Hoshi-dan) of Resegregationists was aban-
 doned. The adult Resegregation Group took over the block 54
 office which the Young Men's Organization had obtained by
 administrative permission and both bodies used it simultaneously.
 An office staff of secretaries and typists was maintained and
 the Group's magazine, the Hokoku (Patriotism) was mimeographed
 there; ~~With~~ 3) With the now open assistance and advice of
 the adult Resegregation Group, the Young Men's Organization
 enlarged its program of activities enormously. The admin-
 istration was given to understand that these activities
 were to be social, cultural and athletic. In actuality,
 the aim ~~expressed by the group~~ ^{which was soon} now openly expressed to the

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residents was that the young men were "preparing themselves mentally and physically to serve Japan".

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assistance and advice of the adult Resegregation Group, the Young Men's Organization enlarged its program of activities enormously. The administration was given to understand that these activities would be social, cultural and athletic. In actuality, ~~the group~~

The Young Men's Organization
began to sponsor meetings where lectures of extreme Japanese nationalistic character were delivered. The athletic activities were elaborately organized and consisted of militaristic morning exercises, drills and goose-step marching. A bugle corps was organized to assist in these activities and in other ceremonies.

A Judo department was also organized. Of course, the organization of these activities took time and they did not all burst forth after the September petition. They developed gradually and did not reach their height until November, 1944.

(4) The Resegregation Group also proceeded to expell members "who acted Un-Japanese," a policy which was announced in the September petition; (5) The use of pressure, threats and violence to stop the mouths of those who criticized the petition and the organization became far more pronounced.

discussio
Yamashita expressed some of the aims of the Young Men's Organization in an oral statement:

"The younger generation can study and keep their minds on what our countrymen in Japan are doing. They can prepare themselves physically and mentally so that they can be utilized (by Japan) if they go on the exchange boat."

later
In his oral statements, Mr. Yamashita was quite frank about the psychological effect the leaders hoped to gain by encouraging the young men in their ascetic activities, rising early and participating in strenuous exercises:

"If we were training in open daylight, it will not impress

78. A.

These activities became more and more ^{exhibitionistic} ~~ascetic~~ in nature. The cold showers and the exercising in the increasingly cold winter mornings were indulged in with ^{ascetic} ~~exhibitionistic~~ fortitude. Late in November the young men began to shave their heads and adopt the Japanese bozu haircut. Of course, the organization of these activities took time and they did not all burst forth after the September petition. They developed gradually and did not reach their height until *late* November.

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Concurrently with these increasingly nationalistic activities came an ever growing obsession with the renunciation of citizenship. When the first forms from the Department of Justice were received ~~some time~~^{early} in November, members of the Young Men's Organization set about busily ~~making them~~ making carbon copies so that the members could renounce in a body. (4)

The Resegregation Group also proceeded to expell members "who acted Un-Japanese," a policy which was announced in the September petition. This was destined to get them into a great deal of trouble, the details of which will be described later;

(5) As the pressure put upon the residents by the group increased, resistance on the part of courageous individuals likewise increased. The use of threats and violence to stop the mouths of those who criticized the petition and the organization became far more pronounced.

Critics of the group were set upon and beaten.

FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE RESEGREGATION GROUP - SOKUJI
KIKOKU HOSHI-DAN

~~Ver~~ No data are available on how the residents reacted to the specific fact ~~of~~ that the Resegregationists had ~~not~~ ^{formed the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi-Dan} ~~formed~~ ^{made} themselves into a formal organization. ~~It~~ ^{that dues were being paid,} Nor did the Resegregationist leaders mention the fact. It is very possible that they did not wish to publicise the fact that members were contributing money. Most informants were also reluctant to speak of the speeches that the leaders ~~were~~ of the Resegregationists were making at meetings held in the messhalls. Later, however, well posted informants stated that Kira and Yamashita had

stressed their intimate connection with high Japanese officials and the special privileges they would be able to gain for members of the Resegregation Group after repatriation. Both men apparently were fair orators and impressed the issei to a high degree. Two informants described the effect of these speeches:

"Kira and Yamashita spoke in the mess halls and the auditorium and they appeared to be great speakers and well educated. They had the cleverness of fooling the issei with their manner of thinking. The issei fell in love with their manner of expressing themselves - so like a great man, that they thought they were great men. Many believed in them very sincerely." 1/

* * * * *

"Kira and Yamashita gained a great following by making strong clearcut statements. They said, 'If you're not a follower of this group you can't go back to Japan. Kira also said that the Hoshi-dan (The name by which the adult organization came to be commonly known) was going to have subdivisions in the various prefectures in Japan to handle the Japanese who were coming back from abroad for their future colonization." 2/

The informant refers here to a proposal for a communal return to Japan which Kira put forward at an induction ceremony of the Young Men's Organization held on October 21. According to his own account, Kira stated that if the people went to Japan as individuals, the nisei, unused to Japanese life, would have an extremely difficult time.

"The boys and girls who have led an easy life in this country cannot compete with the Japanese. I told them the only way they could do this is to go back in a group, to work mutually for their existence. Otherwise it will be a failure. Otherwise, if they go back individually, they might as well stay in the United States." 3/

How this proposal was received by the Resegregationists is not known although Kira himself admitted that there was considerable opposition and that a split within the organization might result. Kira's critics, among them Mr. Oishi, stated that

- 1. R. Hankey, Notes, Feb. 20, 1945, p. 2.
 2. ibid., Feb. 21, 1945, p. 2.
 3. ibid., Oct. 23, 1944, pp. 3-4.

dropped from the camp vocabulary and Resegregation Group was ~~substit~~ substituted. By ~~that~~ time nobody was referring to "anti-status quo" people any more. The issue had come to be between the Resegregation Group and its strong supporters, who numbered less than 3000 people and the remaining inhabitants of the camp who had no organization whatever.

Results of Petition

~~After~~
~~Two months after the circulation of the petition~~
 The ~~petition~~ disturbing effect of the petition on the general camp resident wore off in about three or four ~~months~~ weeks. It was rarely referred to in conversation. Since the administration had denied its authenticity ~~these persons who did not sign and many of those who signed under~~ ~~expressure~~ and nothing more was done about it, those who did not sign and those who signed under pressure appeared to think it was a closed issue. However, many informants realized that resegregation, as such, was not a closed issue and occasionally remarked ~~the~~ in the months that followed that more trouble was going to come out of it.

The Resegregation Group, however, took a very different view. ~~As a result~~ They sent the names of the signees to the Spanish Consul, ~~and informed~~ ^{telling} /him that these persons desired immediate repatriation and expatriation and requested that he inform the Japanese government of this. They also adopted a name for their movement: Saikakuri Seigan (^{Resegregation Group} Appeal for Segregation). They, and their ~~signers~~ ^{gradually came to be} supporters/~~signers~~ commonly called by this name. There was no attempt at formal organization, however. Merely signing the petition made one a member of the group.

~~It is interesting~~

It is interesting that for many months after the circulation of the petition the pressure group and its supporters were commonly called pro-status quo people. It was not until four months later, in early August, that the expression ^{"pro-} "status quo" was ~~dropped from~~ virtually

The literal translation is: "appeal for Segregation".

the idea was good, but since Kira proposed it, he knew Kira was doing it for his personal gain and not for the good of the people.

The greater part of the members of the Resegregation Group appear to have been quite taken in by the lectures. The aim of preparing for life in Japan and the rosy promises of special privileges on returning to Japan continued to lure in members, especially from that segment of the population predisposed to attitudes I and II. 1/ Several informants became almost offended when it was suggested that there might be more behind the organization than met the eye. ~~Mr. Okamoto~~ One of these, Mr. Okamoto, defended the Young Men's Organization as follows:

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

1/ See p. . . .

"It is an entirely unpolitical organization and the lectures are very good." 1/

A young *misei* girl stated:

"The speeches are quite impressive and they are very educational for the young people; and they impress the older men too." 2/

The Regimented Ceremonies

Coincident with this period were the elaborate ceremonies sponsored by the Resegregation Group. These were initiated in spectacular public fashion in connection with the Meiji Setsu, the celebration of the Emperor Meiji's birthday on November 3 and the celebration of the anniversary of Pearl Harbor on the ~~eight~~ eighth of ~~the~~ each month. Later, when the Department of Justice forbid these ceremonies the group began to ~~insist~~ ^{noisy} hold public rites every day, as an act of defiance.

The Meiji Setsu, an established Japanese national holiday of long standing was participated in by most of the camp residents. Each of the three language schools held a ceremony and most blocks had a separate celebration in their mess halls. The Resegregation Group, however, pursuant to its policy of special dedication to Japan, held a separate ceremony from which all non-members were barred. After considerable machination, they were able to obtain the outdoor stage in the main firebreak for their solemnities.

1/ R. Hankey, Notes, Oct. 6, 1944, p. 1; ~~ibid., Oct. 6, 1944, p. 1.~~
2/ ibid., Oct. 9, 1944, p. 1.

The psychological effect which these ceremonies created is difficult to describe. Their greatest solemnity and reverence prevailed. ~~At the Meiji Setsu~~ Speeches of an extremely nationalistic character were made. The young men marched and ranged themselves in ~~rows~~ ^{rows}, standing without their overcoats in the ~~for~~ bitter weather for over an hour. ~~Then~~ Most of the adults also ranged themselves in ~~rows~~ ^{rows}. At the Meiji Setsu all the participants bowed ~~in the~~ in the direction of the rising sun while a corps of buglers inexpertly played several patriotic selections. The ~~odd~~ ^{odds} position held by thousands of ^{young} people while the young men faltered through their off key bugling presented a picture which was ludicrous in the extreme. Yet the tremendous emotional tension and solemnity of the occasion made laughter out of the question. The exaggerated stoicism of the young men, attempting to ~~conform to~~ ^{conform to} ~~the~~ the acme of what ~~was~~ ^{they} considered proper Japanese behavior was exhibited ~~when~~ not only by their ~~self~~ self-inflicted endurance of the cold but by the fact that when one of the boys became ill from over-excitement and had to be ~~lift~~ helped from the field, only one of the ^{two} thousand ^{odd} spectators turned his head to ^{glance at him} ~~watch him~~. On the ~~solemn~~ monthly celebration of the anniversary of Pearl Harbor, all the participants knelt on the icy ground and prayed for victory for Japan. 1/

1/-ibid., Nov. 3, 1944, pp. 1-5; Nov. 8, 1944, pp. 1-2.

manifested by the exaggerated flaunting of ~~Japanese~~
~~activities~~ intended to impress the ~~members~~
~~members~~ and any onlooker ~~with~~
~~as~~ the acme of patriotic Japanese behavior ~~were~~
~~certainly~~ extraordinarily marked. The ~~st~~
stoicism on the part of the young men, who stood motionless
~~and~~ without their overcoats for over an hour in the bitter
cold, ~~and~~ must have made a deep
impression on many of the participants and laid the foundation
for much of the bizarre behavior which was to follow in
later months.

Nevertheless some
However, ~~some~~ lack of unanimity was exhibited even
in these ceremonies. At the Meiji ~~Setu~~ Setsu, several
hundred members could not bring themselves to participate
in the marching and lining up and stood somewhat fearfully
on the sidelines to participate. This fact was later
remarked upon with regret by Mr. Yamashita. Moreover,
the attendance at this extremely important ceremony was
a good criterion of the numerical strength *of the serious*
~~since~~ *supporters of the group* no one with serious pretensions to membership would
absent himself from a ceremony of this importance. There
were about 600 young men in the marching group and ~~about~~
2000 adult participants.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

The office of the Resegregation ~~Group~~ used ~~the~~
by both the adult group and the Young Mens Association
~~the~~ also presented evidence of this exhibitionism of
Japanese nationalism. Patriotic mottos and the Japanese
~~flag~~ flag hung on the walls. A sign announced that any person
who spoke English in the office would be fined at the rate of
one cent a word. Free services were given to members in

obtaining birth and marriage records which ~~xxxx~~ were needed to ~~xxxx~~ assist in clarifying applications for repatriation or expatriation.

PRESENCE OF SEPARATION BETWEEN ADULT RESEGREGATION GROUP AND YOUNG MEN'S ORGANIZATION DROPPED

Should the outlandish patriotic oratorical content be commented upon briefly?

want to discuss this.

0-30-1

So on ~~immediately~~ after the circulation of the September petition the pretense of the independence of the Young Men's Organization was dropped and the interrelation between the ~~two~~ adult Resegregationists and the Young men was frankly admitted by the leaders. Mr. Yamashita admitted that the aim of the Young Men's Organization was identical to that of the adult group and that they differed only in that ~~they~~ ~~were~~ the younger people were utilizing the "ample time" in camp to prepare themselves to serve Japan after exchange. 1/ The two organizations, however, had a separate set of officers, but the Young Men's Organization continued to be advised by a group of issei members of the Resegregation Group. The ~~administration~~ WRA administration appears never to have gotten the setup ^{between the groups} clarified. Though Dr. Opler did his best, his informants apparently misinformed him. ~~the administration~~ ~~and~~ There is no evidence that the administration contacted the leaders of ~~the~~ either of the groups and asked them just what they were up to. It was not until early ~~December~~ December that accurate data on the organization, activities and aims of the group were procured by an investigation instituted by the Department of Justice.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE YOUNG MEN'S ORGANIZATION

The ~~development~~ developments of the Young Men's Organization through October and November were manifold. Most significant ~~was~~ 1. ibid., Oct. 30, 1944, p. 1.

was their extreme preoccupation with renunciation of citizenship. Most spectacular was the development of their militaristic drills, their early morning exercises, and their increasing exhibitionism which manifested itself in the ~~increasing~~ ~~more~~ ever noisier drilling and bugling, in the wearing of their "uniform", a sweat shirt ^{and headband} stamped with the emblem of the rising sun and in the adoption of the ~~shaved~~ clipped or bozu haircut.

Development of obsession with Renunciation of Citizenship

During July, August and September renunciation of ~~citizenship~~

Coincident with this period were the elaborate ceremonies sponsored by the Resegregation Group in connection with Meiji Setsu, the celebration of the Emperor Meiji's birthday, and the standing and the celebration of the anniversary of

Pearl Harbor on December 8. The Meiji Setsu, an established Japanese national holiday of long standing, was participated in by most of the camp residents.

STANDING.

Each of the three language schools held a ceremony and most blocks had a separate celebration in their mess halls. The Resegregation Group, however, pursuant to its policy of special dedication to Japan, held a separate ceremony from which all non-members were barred. After considerable outdoor machination, they were able to obtain the stage in the main firebreak for their solemnities.

At this ceremony, the Young Mens Organization marched into position before the stage in military fashion and the adult participants ranged themselves in lines, facing the stage. Speeches were made by a buddhist reverend, Mr. Yamashita, of the Resegregation Group and Mr. Uchida, the dancho or chief of the Young Mens Organization. All the participants bowed to the rising sun while a corps of buglers inexpertly played several patriotic selections. The sun, incidentally, did not show its face. Instead intermittent icy rain showered down. Despite the bitter cold all the young men laid their overcoats on the ground and must have suffered cruelly from the cold. One became ill and had to be assisted from the field. The ceremonies

[Handwritten signature]

citizenship did not appear to be occupying a major place in the attitudes of the residents. Undoubtedly, many individuals were thinking about it and discussing the pros and cons, but there was no general anxiety ^{and certainly no excitement}. Later, when questioned on this period, informants stated that "the people were waiting to see whether it would really be a law or not." ¶ The matter, however, was of great importance and interest to the Resegregation Group. On almost every visit to one of the leaders, the subject was brought up. Mr. Kira, an older nisei, though a prominent leader of the Resegregation Group, was by no means enthusiastic about renunciation as it applied to him personally. He realized the helplessness which loss of citizenship might bring upon him, but, as a leader of the group which was loudly demanding renunciation as soon as possible, found himself in a difficult position. The following statement betrays his vacillation:

"The only thing the people are interested in now is the denunciation of citizenship. Some people (the Resegregation Group) have sent a petition to Washington to request forms. But the Attorney General's Office is not prepared yet.

"I think that it (renunciation) is unconstitutional. I think it's a wartime law. You can't discriminate against a certain portion of the people just because of their color and race. They evacuated them and then they try to pin them down to citizenship. They say it is voluntary, but once a person is thrown into camp and pushed around he looks at the thing emotionally. They (Japanese) are not responsible.¹

"But after the war the entire picture will be changed. Although I may be deported to Japan, I don't think the United States will do that."

Mr. Yamashita also stated that he believed the renunciation of citizenship was another form of discrimination against the Japanese: p. 33.

"Why, if this is not so are they taking away the Japanese citizenship? Of course, there might be many many reasons

1. Ibid., September 12, 1944, p. 1.

Through August, September, October and November, the Resegregation Group and the Young Men's Organization ~~xxx~~ wrote to Mr. Ennis of the Department of Justice repeatedly, asking how soon the forms would be ready and stating that they were anxiously awaiting the opportunity to renounce. The potentialities of ~~the~~ renunciation as an additional means of drawing a demarcation between those "loyal" to Japan and the fence-sitters appears to have been realized very early by the Resegregationists. On August 18 ~~Mrs. Matsuda stated~~ when the resegregation rumor was widespread, Mrs. Matsuda ~~spoke very~~ after reiterating that "her group would not object to moving again" if they could be separated from the fence-sitters, spoke very hopefully of the coming renunciation of citizenship law and stated that it ought to ~~be~~ serve as a good measure of whether persons were really sincere in their

A-18-2.

desire to go back to Japan. 1/ When the rumor began to spread in came that there was to be no resegregation, she stated that her group hoped that the renunciation of citizenship bill, which they anticipated would pass in September, would

A-28-1

"force the WRA to take some action." 2/ Mr. Yamashita also connected the renunciation of citizenship with the desire for immediate repatriation:

"Certainly those who wish for immediate repatriation to Japan and at the same time don't wish to be inducted into the service or relocate, wish to renounce their citizenship." 3/

He also stated that he believed that renunciation of citizenship was another form of discrimination against the Japanese:

S-7-1
perhaps should be stressed very imp. later.

1/ ibid., Aug. 18, 1944, p. 2.
2/ ibid., Aug. 28, 1944, p. 1.
3/ ibid., Sept. 7, 1944, p. 1.

END OF CHAPTER VI -

HITOMI MURDER -- SHOCK -- FEAR

END OF TREND WHICH ASSISTED RESEGREGATIONISTS
BEGINNING OF TREND FOR PEACE AND ORDER WHICH ~~INHIBITED~~ THEM
RESISTED

First indications

- X Police Selected though with difficulty.
 - X People's reaction to great Resegregation rumor - don't want to leave camp
 - ~~xxx~~ some say - Let them get out if they want to so much!
 - X Accept New Co-op Board
 - X Beginning of talk that all this trouble is making people want to get out of camp.
- Some blame resegregationists for driving people to America.
"They're making Americans of them."
(This came later though)

This tied up with changing expressions on war which ran concurrently.

(Later - Second behavioristic development
Popular resistance to September Petition
Only Resegregationists stay in Camp.
Overt speeches made - followed by violence.

Attitude expressions:

Miss Doi - strong status quo

"We think the best ~~thing~~ way would be for the people in the hospital and the stockade to shake hands and have Mr. Best leave and Mr. Robertson take his place.

Aug. 7 - Sp Con. "But we need some kind of committee here. We need someone who can go to the administration.

July 24 - Abe states that people of extremely pro-J and pro A. views got along - lived at peace as long as didn't spy on each other - "WE wish to live at peace until the end of the war - But can't cooperate with the narrow-minded fanatics in camp.

Now we are trying to get police in this camp - our own police (who won't be inu).

Aug. 8 - Abe - They think that Yamato Damashi is just resisting everything.

Aug. 19 - Fujimoto - People who came in here in good faith to wait until they could go back to Japan - Now they don't like this place, the way it's run or the people in it. Tells of fellow who wants to get out - used to be agitator at time of registration - What with the hunger strike, the Hitomi murder and the pressure groups, he would like to go out - But afraid of what people would say

Fujimoto and Mizuno on war --

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"Why if this (discrimination) is not so are they taking away Japanese citizenship. . . From the Japanese view, we see it this way: the American government took this opportunity to solve the Japanese problem once and for all to get rid of all the Japanese race from the Western Hemisphere." 1/

On September 30, Mrs. Matsuda ~~xxxx~~ stated that the Resegregation Group had received ~~xx~~ ^{another} letter from Mr. Ennis of the Department of Justice answering an inquiry from them and advising them "to hold on, that everything was going smoothly and that they would be notified when the renunciation of citizenship forms were ready. 2/

However, all of the Resegregationists did not view the prospect of renunciation with a similar enthusiasm. Mr. Kira, the alleged gang leader, though a prominent Resegregationist was by no means delighted about renunciation as it applied to him personally. Though he stated that "the only thing the people are interested in now in the denunciation of citizenship", he added:

"I think it (renunciation) is unconstitutional. I think it's a wartime law. You can't discriminate against a certain portion of the people just because of their color and race. They evacuated them and then they try to pin them down to citizenship. They say it is voluntary, but once a person is thrown into camp and pushed around he looks at the thing emotionally. They (the Japanese) are not responsible."

Kira said that he also had his doubts if renunces would really be deported after the war. "I don't think the United States will do that." 3/

Administration Releases Information ~~on Denationalization~~ Denationalization Act.

After the preliminary announcement of July 7, that the president had signed the Denationalization Bill, no more

1/ ibid., Oct. 3, 1944, p. 5.

2/ ibid., Sept. 30, 1944, p. 2.

3/ ibid., Sept. 12, 1944, p. 1.

publicity was given the matter of renunciation until mid-October. On October 12, the Newell Star carried an article quoting the State Department's answers to queries made by the Spanish Consul. It was announced that the statute was not limited to persons of Japanese ancestry. It was also stated that "each case will receive separate consideration and an assertion of loyalty to the Emperor of Japan and of the desire to renounce U. S. citizenship will not be approved as a renunciation of citizenship without reference to the reasons for the assertion and to all the facts in the particular case. No renunciation of citizenship will be effective until it is made in writing and approved by the Attorney General as prescribed by the statute. . . . The statute contemplates discrimination in its application to avoid loss of citizenship by citizens who are not genuinely disaffected or by citizens whose motivation is the avoidance of Selective Service or other legal obligations."

On October 26 the administration announced through the Newell Star that ~~renunciation~~ of the Citizenship Renunciation Law had become operative. Applicants were instructed to write for forms which were then to be forwarded to the Attorney General. It was announced that hearings would be held at a later date, after which the applicant might file formal renunciation of citizenship on a prescribed form and request its approval.

~~The Young Men's Organization~~

On November 16 the Newell Star carried an article giving specific information on how to proceed with renunciation of citizenship. Applicants were told to write to Mr. Ennis of the Department of Justice for forms which were to be filled out and then sent to the Attorney General. ~~Before all else~~

the leaders of the Resegregation Group now devoted themselves to making a spectacular issue out of the renunciation of citizenship. Forms were sent for and when they arrived, ^{in early November} copies were typed so that the members of the organization could renounce in a body. When the Department of Justice refused to accept these types forms, disappointment was great. This extreme haste to renounce citizenship was probably based on the desire to make it clear to the Department of Justice (which the Resegregationists believed was going to take over Tule Lake any day) that the Resegregationists were indeed a group apart from the other residents -- the group whose "loyalty" to Japan was above doubt. By this unmistakable eagerness to renounce citizenship they hoped to mitigate the possibility that their renunciations would not be accepted, an eventuality which was causing them much anxiety. If the Department of Justice intended to refuse applications for renunciation as excuses for draft dodging, this spectacular overt step might give the Young Men's Organization an advantage over the other residents whose applications would come in later. At this period, the

Young Men's ~~Organization~~ Organization also changed its name from Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan to Hokoku Seinen-dan. 1/ The new name meant "Young Men's Organization to Serve the Mother

1/ This title also has a personal grammatical connotation and means ~~the speaker's~~ "the speaker's mother country".

Kuratomi's Remark

or later

It was at this time that George Kuratomi, one of the Resegregation Group's strongest opponents remarked that "Mr. Best didn't know what to do with this new bunch who were forming ~~the~~ ^{Young Men's Organization} ~~(Sokoku Kenkyu)~~. He didn't know whether to let them go ahead or whether to pick up the leaders." 1/

At this time some of the odium with which the Tsuda-Mori-Kimura group had been regarded by the residents in general was beginning to die down. They had kept very quiet and accusations of inu were heard less often. Mr. K. remarked:

"The rumors concerning them no longer exist. When they first undertook to get those boys in the stockade out, to some extent people said Tsuda and Mori were dogs. We were to some extent inclined to believe that." 2/

LATE OCTOBER ATTITUDES TOWARD RENUNCIATION OF CITIZENSHIP

Reactions in

~~In~~ ^{late October} enthusiasm over the coming opportunity to renounce citizenship was still in large part limited to the leaders of the Resegregation Group. Mr. Ige, who had become an ardent supporter, expressed the sentiment which, in essence, was to become the unvarying response of the members of the ^{Young Men's Organization} ~~Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-den~~ when the question was put to them at their hearings:

"My personal opinion is that I would very much welcome this action. Those persons who will request denaturalization will be truly loyal to Japan. ~~This will be very important for America and for Japan.~~

~~"Mr. Robertson asked me why I wanted to renounce my citizenship. We who are ready to face any eventuality to serve the Emperor feel that if we wait even one day, we are not serving the Emperor. Therefore, if we waited, we would be unpatriotic. If I could renounce my citizenship this minute, not because of Japan going to win the war - this matter does not concern victory or defeat. It's a matter of instinct and duty."~~ 3/

1/ R. Hankey, Notes, Oct. 19, 1944, p. 4.

2/ ibid., Oct. 23, 1944, p. 5.

3/ ibid., Oct. 24, 1944, pp. 2-3.

Mr. Wakayama stated:

"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." ^{1/}

Mr. Yamaguchi, ^{an anti-Resignationist,} ~~however~~, expressed a different attitude:

"That renunciation of citizenship will be pretty hard. You got to request for it. You got to write a whole mess of things. Then if you do it, it doesn't mean anything. They are going to check it in Washington. (may not be accepted).

"I think when it starts, I'll open an office and make some money (helping people fill out forms). ^{2/} (This statement was made facetiously.)

Most ^{non-Resignationist} informants were still non-committal when the subject of renunciation was brought up. They stated that they might renounce and they might not.

TAMBARA, "THE JEW"; THREATENED

In late October the camp was enlivened by the prompt action taken against a certain man named Tambara, who was accused of profiteering. Mr. Tambara, who was said to come from Sacramento, managed to have some merchandize which he had acquired before evacuation brought to Tule Lake. This he proceeded to sell at very high prices.

"The people sure got sore at him. He sold a pound of tea for five dollars. Rice bowls worth ten cents he sold for fifty cents. They say his family is just coining money." ^{3/}

~~MSXX~~
Mr. Tambara's lucrative career was interrupted, however, when notices suddenly appeared in the canteens (and perhaps in the latrines) which stated: "Mr. Tambara, would you like to see another Hitomi?" Tambara quickly gave up his business and attempted to get out of Tule Lake. The threats, according to popular report, were made by the Manzanar Gang. Informants

1/ ibid., Oct. 23, 1944, p. 3.

2/ ibid., Oct. 12, 1944, p. 6.

3/ ibid., Oct. 27, 1944, p. 7.

in the Joshi-dan the women's militant Resegregationist organization which was formally organized on January 8, 1945. Young Men's Organization Questions Administration on Renunciation of Citizenship.

On November ~~xxxxx~~ 28 a committee of eight young men from the Young Men's Organization waited on Mr. Noyes/^{the Project Attorney} to ask him questions about the renunciation of citizenship. They were particularly disturbed because their carbon paper forms had had declared invalid. They tried to see Mr. Best but ~~xxx~~ were referred to Mr. Noyes. Noyes refused to see eight men so ~~Kato~~, Uchida, who ~~was known to xxx~~ had replaced ~~Tsuiha~~ reverend Tsuiha as leader of the young men's group ^{Kato} and one other came. ~~The questions were xxxxxx~~ ^{Kato acted as spokesman.} When they arrived Mr. Noyes was busy and asked that ~~instead of xxx~~ they put their questions in writing and that he would answer them in writing. The questions were:

1. Can sixteen year old people renounce citizenship?
2. Were the typewritten copies of blanks sent in valid?
3. Would the boys be allowed to send applications in a group? Could they send them all in one envelope?
4. Could people apply as a family group? What about children?]

~~When xxxxxx had xxxxxxxx in writing~~

Three days later, when Noyes had not yet ~~replied~~ in writing the committee came to see him again. Noyes told them that the questions could only be answered by the Department of Justice but that he would do what he could. He told them that the carbon forms were not valid. When asked about

~~the~~ renunciation on the part of minors, Noyes was unable to answer ^{as to the specific age} because he did not have the information. ~~He~~ He told the

~~The~~ The specific age for renunciation had been erroneously omitted from the text of the Bill. Soon after, Attorney General Biddle determined the age as 18 years.

Reference infra

ss. 940

committee that ~~the~~ applications were not being accepted on behalf of minors. Kato stated that 3000 people stood ready to renounce their citizenship.

Mr. Kato was not pleased with the results of this interview and was, moreover, very much put out that the typed forms were not valid. He had played a large part in the preparation and distribution of the forms. He remarked:

"Mr. Best double-dressed me again. Mr. Best told me definitely that type-written copies would be sufficient and for me to send in the type-written copies. I was on the spot because I reported this to the people. If he didn't know it he should have told me about it. . . . A month later he tells me it's no good. I had to report it to my people and they got burned up. ✓

"About a week ago I wanted to see Mr. Best about the renunciation but he wouldn't see me. So I went to see Mr. Noyes. He said flatly that WRA had nothing to do with renunciation. Best had told me that the representatives of the Department of Justice would bring the forms. He told me not to worry but that the form will be available. Well, John Burling came but there is no application form." 1/

The significance of the change of the name in the young men's organization was explained by Mrs. Matsuda:

"The boys now figure that they have passed through the stage of kenkyu (learning) and are ready to take up Hokoku (service)."

Mr. Matsuda told the writer that the name Hokoku had first been used for the resegregation group's monthly paper of which he was the editor. He was quite pleased with the fact that it had been adopted as the title for the young men's group. He had had his head newly shaved. In spite of the solemn significance of this act, his wife had no hesitation in poking fun at him because of his odd appearance. The writer asked him if he wasn't cold. He admitted that it was cold at first but he soon got used to it and now found it a great convenience. He didn't have to comb his hair and could wash his head right along with his face. Mrs. Matsuda remarked that the writer should not

1/ ibid., Dec. 12, 1944, pp. 5, 6.

~~Check supra this should be brought out in beginning of the chapter.~~

At this period the Young Men's Organization also changed its name from Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan to Hokoku Seinen-dan. 1/ The new name meant "Young Men's Organization to Serve the Mother

1. This title also has a personal grammatical connotation and means "the speaker's mother country".

INSERTION ON PAGE 81.

The informant refers here to a proposal for a communal return to Japan which Mr. Kira ~~first~~ put forward at a ~~meeting of the Young Men's Organization~~ an induction ceremony of the Young Men's Organization held on October 21. According to his own account, Kira stated that if the people went back to Japan as individuals ~~they~~ especially the ~~misery~~ nisei, unused to Japanese life, would have an extremely difficult time.

"The boys and girls who have led an easy life in this country cannot compete with the Japanese. I told them the only way they could do this is to go back in a group, to work mutually for their existence. Otherwise it will be a failure. Otherwise, if they go back individually, they might as well stay in the United States." 1/

How this proposal was received by the Resegregationists is not known although Kira himself admitted that there was considerable opposition ~~to it~~ and that a break within the organization might result. Kira's critics, among them Mr. Oishi, stated that ~~the~~ idea was good, but since Kira proposed it, they knew he was doing it for his personal gain and not for the good of the people.

1/ ibid., Oct. 23, 1944, pp. 3-4.

Country." The ~~increasing~~ stress laid on nationalism is obvious. The organization had changed its aim from the study of the culture of Japan (Sokoku Kenkyu) to the service of Japan (Hokoku). The explanation of the change of name given by the Resegregationists was that after their initial period of study, the boys were now ready for service.

[After the circulation of the petition and the adoption of the new name the nationalistic, exhibitionistic and ascetic activities of ~~the Young Men's League, the YMCA and the YWCA~~ both the adult and the youth group were enormously intensified. This process was somewhat more apparent with the young men because they made far more noise and ~~the~~ drilled vigorously every ~~day~~ morning, rising long before daybreak. ~~In an oral statement,~~ Mr. Yamashita was quite frank about the psychological effect he and the other ^{Resegregationist} leaders were aiming at by encouraging this early rising and strenuous exercising. After explaining that they young men were "preparing themselves physically and mentally" so that they could be utilized by the Japanese government "if they go on the exchange boat", he added that ~~he was well aware that if the young men drilled in open daylight "it will not impress the people much".~~

double space
 "That would be just ordinary exercises. But by getting up early in the morning, by exercise and training after worshipping and praying for victory and eternal life for our ~~Japanese~~ soldiers, these young people can be deeply impressed."

no P
 ← He ^{states further} added that since the soldiers and civilians of Japan were making great sacrifices, it behooved the "true Japanese" in Tule Lake to give up luxury and ~~sacrifice~~ show themselves willing for sacrifice also. ~~xxxxxx~~ "We must do parallel to what our brothers in Japan are doing." 1/]

CHAPTER VI - END

HITOMI MURDER -- SHOCK -- FEAR

Beginning of trend for peace and order ~~which~~ on part of ~~the large blue segment of population~~

Ran concurrently in August with changing war situation.
exemplification - conversation with Takeuchi

Did not reach first peak until overt resistance to
late September ~~xxxxx~~ Petition. Hostility to reds.
Second peak in early December when it looked as if
pressure group squelched - KK and Burling.

Got policemen.

Also indicated by popular reactions to great Resegregation rumor of late July and August.

END OF TREND WHICH ASSISTED RESEGREGATIONIST
BEGINNING OF TREND RUNNING COUNTER TO THEIR DESIRES

Beginning of talk - trouble in camp is making people
want to relocate - ~~xxxxxxx~~
also - lot's of people would go out if they weren't
afraid of what people would think.
tie in with war.

Country." The increasing stress laid on nationalism is obvious. The organization had changed its aim from the study of the culture of Japan (Sokoku Kenkyu) to the service of Japan (Hokoku). The explanation of the change of name given by the Resegregationists was that after their initial period of study, the boys were now ready for service.

It was also during this period that ~~shaving~~ the bozu ~~hairstyle~~ or as hostile residents came to call it "the shaved-head" style of haircut~~s~~ became obligatory for the members of both the Young Men's Organization and for the adult Resegregationists. This phenomenon first manifested itself in mid-October when the members of the Young Men's Organization began to adopt it. Dr. Opler relates the following incident which occurred ~~in the period~~ when the new style was initiated:

"In Ward VII they (the Young Men's Organization) changed haircut. At an evening meeting in the Ward, the Ward leader . . . announced that 'It was desirable for all Japanese youth to have (trans.) "Half-inch cut."' . . . He asked how many were willing. Of almost 200 boys lined up after marching exercises, only about twenty boys stepped forward to signify willingness. It was then explained that 'all should look like the youth of Japan today.' . . . On Monday, the Sokoku boys of Ward VII had 'Half-inch cut,' a few of the more Americanized laughing at their own transformation." 1/

It is probable that the males of both organizations shaved their heads for the important December 8 ceremony (anniversary of Pearl Harbor). By ^{December} ~~this time~~, fear of the group had become so strong among the general residents that non-members ~~of~~ began to adopt it to avoid being called "Un-Japanese". The Japanese Language Schools also encouraged this hair style and by mid-December the difference in appearance of the male residents of Tule Lake was striking. Many of the nisei gave way to the

pressure unwillingly and felt silly and embarrassed. Caucasian school teachers reported that some of the boys attempted to keep their hats on in school.

[This was, in fact, the beginning of a trend of looking and acting as Japanese as possible. The behavior was contagious, and when, in the months to follow, the camp underwent a period of great crisis, the phenomenon manifested itself in many and varied forms. Parents induced their children to leave the American schools and concentrate on Japanese studies.] Persons who had no connection with the Resegregation Group shaved their heads, many to impress the authorities with their intent to be Japanese and some to escape the criticism of their neighbors. The Resegregation Group, however, led in fervor and ingenuity. The following reaction to the increasing pressure to "look and behave like a Japanese" was received from a nisei girl with a very American point of view:

"On Sunday morning they (the Young Men's Organization) certainly make me mad. It isn't the marching or the Washo, it's that horrible off-key bugling.

"Even the mild Kokumin Gakko (the least radical of the Japanese Language Schools) - the boys have to clip their hair and the girls wear pigtails and skirts two inches below their knees. My goodness, this is war time. Where are they going to get the material? Many of the kids are thinking of quitting (school). They haven't got the skirts. They can't wear makeup or anything. They look like old hags." 1/

(I realize that this and the statements above are contradictory. The point which I'll clarify is that many complied, but they squawked like everything when it was safe.)

~~This was the first~~

The statement by this informant was one of the first indications that the girls were also being drawn into the ~~xxx~~ seemingly irresistible trend of "looking Japanese". Later, this movement was to reach its most exaggerated development

R. Hankey, Notes, Dec. 13, 1944, pp. 1-4.

Reference infra

perhaps
advised out
come here.

in the ~~Joshi-dan~~ Joshi-dan the women's militant Resegregationist organization which was formally organized on January 8, 1945. 1/

1. reference infra.

"Many now regret signing the petition. They may have been afraid. . . I think they should have explained it so thoroughly that even a child could understand it. Their attitude was, 'Take it or leave it.' It was too much of a high pressure group."

KYXX

Mr. ~~MAX~~ Oishi, however, stressed that further segregation was imperative. ~~if~~ If this were not done, the trouble "will come to a head. The only other way is to have the Army continually patrol the camp." He was also against segregating No-Nos from the repatriates:

"Whoever said No must be considered as Japanese. . . the only thing we ask is that those who openly said Yes be removed from the camp. It may split the families. ~~xxxxxxx~~ A son may have said No and a father Yes. . . Regardless of whether it splits the family or not, we want ~~(the Yes-Yes)~~ *them* out! 1/

3,18-19,37.

~~Max~~

Mrs. Matsuda, one of the active members of the pressure group denounced the ~~Max~~ "loyal" to America and accused them of coming to Tule Lake to escape the draft. She repeated the martyr like aims of the group ~~which the leaders were xxx~~ to which the general population of the camp was so unreceptive:

"Since we came here we call ourselves the real expatriates and repatriates seeking to go back to Japan and we wither in everything, win or lose, as her subjects. . . We don't care which wins or loses. We're going to Japan." ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ "We can't" act like true Japanese subjects because there are so many elements here."

← insert on here
"We might be given a bad place to live. We say (to the people) would you go? They say, 'Yes, we'll die there as Japan se!'"

"The guys who won't say Yes to this are the guys who are going to stay here!"

It's not our business to worry about the other people. . . They didn't stick up for us in the crisis ~~(xxxxxxx)~~ (the November difficulties and the Status quo vote). 2/

- 1. *ibid.*, pp. ~~3~~, 18-19, ~~4~~
2. *ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

no pp. 98-99

Resignation of Reverend ~~Tsuhia~~ Tsuha.

An interesting but minor ~~is~~ event which followed soon after the circulation of the September petition was the resignation of Reverend Tsuha from the position of ~~the~~ ~~Yam~~ leader of the Young Men's Organization. Its interest lies chiefly in ~~the~~ its exemplification of petty politics within the inner circle of the Resegregationist leaders.

As has been mentioned, ~~Tsuhia Tsuha~~, said well posted informants ~~stated that Tsuha~~ took the position as leader of the Young Men's Organization because both Yamashita and Kira ~~feared the consequences.~~ ^{1/ well afraid of administrative reprisals.} However, Tsuha was not arrested and the Young Men's Organization proceeded with notable success. Tsuha's prestige and prominence then became a threat to Kira and Yamashita. According to informants, a rumor was then started that Reverend Tsuha was having immoral relations with Mrs. Matsuda. Obviously, said the Resegregationists, a man of such character should not be leader of the Young Men's Organization. ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{2/}

Soon thereafter, Tsuha resigned and Uchida, an expert judoist, strong-arm boy, and one of the members of the ~~November~~ Negotiating Committee who had been detained until August 1944, took over the position of dancho (chief) of the Young Men's Organization.

M6-3

BEGINNING OF OVERT¹ INDIVIDUAL OPPOSITION TO THE RESEGREGATIONISTS

PRESSURE AND VIOLENCE INCREASED - - Beatings

During early October, when it became apparent that the Resegregation Group's petition was not meeting with an enthusiastic reception from the residents as a whole, an increasing number of rumors of pressure and threats began to

1/ See supra, p. .
 2/ R. Hankey, Notes, Mar. 6, 1945, p. 3.

be heard. Yamaguchi, who was already becoming known as an opposor of the Resegregationists complained:

"Now everybody is getting wise. I don't like the way the Sokoku Kenkyu ~~threatens men people~~ (Young Men's Organization) threatens people." 1/

0-12-6

A nisei girl remarked that she knew that the people were afraid of the Resegregation Group and that she had heard of several minor beatings. When asked why the Colonial Police did nothing about it, she said with immense scorn, "They can't do anything." 2/

0-24-3

Dr. Opler also recorded instances of pressure during this period:

"I am told feeling ran so high in Ward VII that the vocal anti-Resegregationists or residents of 'tough blocks' who refused to sign were definitely on the spot. In block 73, the block manager was forced by public opinion to move quietly out of ~~the block~~ his block and later resign; his secretary did 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 (Oct. 7) and when he 'came to' remembered that the wash-room had looked darker than usual when he went in. Ward VI also had its witch hunts." 3/

The Aritaka-Abe Beating

On the night of October 15, three elderly issei returning from a religious meeting were set upon by a gang of half a dozen men. The assailants used clubs and a hammer and the beaten men were injured so severely that they were hospitalized for several days.

*W. J. ...
3/ ...
He ...
to ...*

1/ ibid., Oct. 12, 1944, p. 6.

2/ ibid., Oct. 24, 1944, p. 3.

3/ WRA, Community Analysis, "Report on Center Trends," Oct. 16, 1944, p. 2.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ brought suffering upon the women and children in camp. He ~~xxxxxxxx~~ exhorted the nisei to follow the ~~higher~~ higher ideals of Japan which, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ he stated, were not compatible with agitation or the making of unreasonable demands. "Young men, behave yourselves," he said.] (Check March, 1945 notes, for Abe's information.)

According to Mr. ^{Oishi} ~~xxxx~~, this speech and ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ Aritaka and Abe's other ~~o~~ unter-petition activities were reported to the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ headquarters of the Resegregation Group and led directly to ^{the} ~~the beating~~ ~~the~~ attempt to silence them. Abe gave the following verbatim account of the beating.

Abe's friends, among whom ~~were~~ ^{was} the ~~courageous~~ anti-resegregationist Mr. Oishi, immediately proceeded to investigate the beating, ~~affair~~, with great caution and secrecy. They discovered that the attack had been engineered by Kira and was led by one of his henchmen, a notorious radical named Sawada. When Oishi discovered that his old enemy Kira was behind the beating he became, in Abe's words, "as mad as a bull-dog".

"He (Oishi) came to me immediately the next day and said he's going to kill him (Kira) or have him arrested because he knew everything what he had done in the past. ~~IX~~ I told him to be quiet and see what will happen in a month or two." ^{1E/}

Oishi himself explained later that he was helpless in the matter. Though he had the evidence to denounce Kira for the agitation which led up to the violence of the riot in ~~the~~ the Manzanar Center, his hands were tied because the beaten men and their families feared that if Kira were denounced to the authorities, neither they nor their families would be safe from the vengeance of his gang of henchmen.

Mr. Abe handled the matter himself and boldly contacted the Resegregation Group leaders to make his position clear to them. A week after he had been beaten he

^{1/} ibid., Dec. 14, 1944, p. 2.

attempted to get an introduction to Mr. Yamashita by the use of a go-between. ~~He~~ Instead, however, Yamashita and Kira sent three representatives to see Abe. Abe ~~informed them~~ frankly expressed his views to these men telling them that it was the duty of the issei in camp to bring up the nisei as upright Japanese and not as agitators.

"I talked with them about an hour and a half. None of them could answer with one word of protest to my sayings. They just said, 'Yes, Yes.'"

A few days later ~~he~~ Abe called on Yamashita himself.

He told him:

"I'm going to Japan as you are but your opinion and mine don't meet on how we should behave in this camp. I can't see nothing that we gain by making trouble here." ~~Yamashita said~~

Abe told Yamashita that the issei in camp were old and could do little for Japan. However, if they were truly loyal Japanese it was their duty to bring up the young nisei according to the highest Japanese ideals instead of leading them along the path of violence.

"He (Yamashita) said not a word. He simply cavilled at details. I told him I'm not interested in details."

Abe then informed Yamashita ~~that there was~~ "that there was a rumor to the effect" that he had been attacked by members of the Young Mens Organization. Yamashita appeared greatly shocked and said, "We don't do anything like that." Yamashita then asked Abe not to tell anyone that he had called on him, or misunderstood, lest Yamashita himself be suspected by members of his own group. 1 >

1 > ibid., Mar. 17, 1945, pp. 2-3.

Attitude of the Administration

[Since the victims refused to name their assailants or give any description of them, the Caucasian Internal Security was able to accomplish nothing in this case. ~~However,~~ ^{Although} Kira was suspected, ~~but~~ there was no evidence. The Japanese Colonial Police refused to have anything at all to do with the case.] The Japanese police must have suspected Kira since he was reported to have made an unmistakable threat against anyone who opposed the Resegregation Group at a meeting held on October 8. ~~xix~~

(I have to check this with notes. Then, if I find it, reference to this meeting must be made supra. Otherwise cut out reference to threat. Most Japanese who knew the score knew about Kira anyway by this time.)

However, nothing was done and Kira and his group became more arrogant than ever.

~~(Ask Dick if story of Kira's fight with administration over the porch should be included as exemplification of his pressure tactics and his vast sense of self-importance.)
pp. 61-62 - Draft II Cht. VIII.~~

Attitude of the People

Surprisingly few camp residents heard of the beating, which was largely due to the fact that the victims tried to keep it as quiet as possible. A young nisei girl remarked:

"We have heard very little about it. Very few people seem to know about it. All we hear is just that they were against the petition. They didn't sign for it." ~~They were not interested in it.~~

However, Mrs. Yamashita, the wife of the Resegregationist leader, brought up the subject and remarked that another inu

1/ ibid., Oct. 23, 1944, p. 6.

had been hit on the head. "They beat up three of them but they wouldn't have beaten the other two if they hadn't been along." 1/ Mrs. Yamashita was the only informant who approved of the beating and called the assaulted men inu.

[The public reaction to this beating was in strong contrast to the ~~attitudes~~ ~~of~~ the attitudes expressed in May and June, when the ~~inu~~ craze of inu hate raged. To begin with, the story did not spread through the camp. When people did hear of it they spoke of it with resentment and fear. The ~~power~~ former power of the Resegregationists to inhibit their opposers by calling them dogs was gone. They kept to their old technique, however, ~~but~~ ^{They were gradually coming} but ~~now~~ came to be regarded as oppressors rather than saviors.]

"After all, we came here (to Tule Lake) and I don't think it (resegregation) is necessary. We were segregated once. All who are here ought to go back to Japan. Even if we signed the petition, that doesn't help us go back to Japan." ~~XXX~~

He added, however,

22. "I think it's better if the loyal group go out so that we could stay here peacefully. Otherwise, we don't get settled down." 1/

A moderate, ~~xxx~~ intelligent nisei girl expressed almost identical sentiments:

16. "We came here for the same reason. ...I don't think there is any point in separating No-Nos and repatriates. . . I think the Yes-Yes should be taken out of camp . . . That's what everybody is saying." 2/

Fujimoto voiced the suspicion that the petition was a "radical goon-squad business". "They are just a minority who feel that they have to make a name for themselves so they'll be honored when they get back to the old country." He stated that he had ~~xxx~~ ignored the petition because it had no official approval. He added, However:

29. "The only segregation the colonists are in favor of if the segregation of the Yes-Yes from the No-Nos. The majority don't care if there's any distinction ~~xxx~~ made at all between the No-Nos and the repatriates." 3/

M. a nisei, who had taken an active part as member of the Daihyo Sha Kai, disapproved strongly of the group which put forward the petition. He felt they were showing off and causing trouble just when ~~things~~ conditions in camp were beginning to improve:

"They put ~~xxx~~ a thing like that out and they are putting people against each other. They just mix the people up. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ X. . . Why not get organized," 4/

1/ ibid., p. 22.

2/ ibid., p. 16.

3/ ibid., p. 29.

4/ ibid., p. 24.

STATEMENT BY KURIHARA - FEB. 28, 1945, p. 5.

"In messhall 8, Mr. Ishigami stated (in late October) that the organization (Hokoku) wasn't for Mr. Wakayama and that he didn't have anything to do with it. And also at the meeting in block 84 (Oct. 21?) Mr. Tachibana stated that the organization didn't belong to Wakayama."

Most informants did ~~nothing but think~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ little more than hint ~~that~~ ~~xxxx~~ in whispers that something dreadful had been said. ~~Then~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ Mr. ~~xxxx~~ ^{Oishi} however, stated that ~~he~~ ^{Kira} had incited the young men of the organization to violence and promised that if they should get into ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ any trouble thereby, he would take care of them. ~~This~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ^{His} most objectionable statement appears to ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ have been a proverb: Dai no mushi wo tasukeru niwa, sho no mushi wo korosanakereba naranu.¹ ¹ Japanese proverbs are very flexible in their interpretation. This statement was translated by ~~xxxx~~ ^{Oishi} as: "To help the big shots we have to kill the small guys."² To ~~xxxx~~ most of the residents the connotation ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ^{was} quite clear: the insignificant opponents of the Resegregation Group ^{was going to} ~~must~~ ^{aroused} be put out of the way. This statement ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ^{yet} much disapproval, even among persons who were not ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ particularly opposed to the pressure group. At this meeting Kira also proposed his plan of communal colinization for those of the Tule Lake residents who returned to Japan under the auspices of the Resegregation Group. 3/

For several weeks following Kira's spectacular threats there were indications that ~~even~~ the other Resegregationist leaders had been ~~so~~ alarmed by Kira's boldness that ~~they~~ ~~xxxx~~ there was danger of a split in the inner circle of the organization. ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ When Kira had finished his speech at the October 21 meeting, the more cautious Yamashita arose and denied that

 1. The literal translation is: "In order to help the big insects it is necessary to kill the small insects."
 2. R[Hankey, Notes, Oct. 30, 1944, p. 4.
 3. See supra, p. .

123
~~123~~ (110)

that many people, especially from Ward II, objected to the pro osal. I have heard also that they are saying that Kira is doing this for his own personal seflishness." 1 >

Kira thereupon predicted that there might soon be a split within the Resegregation Group. A ~~xxxxxxx~~ group which did not with "to go back to Japan immediately" might break away and form ~~axxx~~ another faction." 2 >

This remark may have been stimulated by the fact that ^{at the meeting} after Kira exhorted the young men to violence and promised them protection, the more cautious Yamashita arose and denied that Kira's "group", (his gang) was ~~is~~ a part of the Resegregation Group. An informant who attended the meeting stated:

"Then Yamashita stood up next and said, 'Our group is not for violence. Our idea is not to do harm to the non-segregants. Kira's group is not a member of our group.'" 3 >

Mr. Ishigami, another Resegregation Group leader is also reputed to have made speeches in which he stated that Kira's group was not connected with the Resegregationists." 4 >

^{Oishi much} Mr. ~~is~~ was gratified at this additional rumor that there was dissention among the Resegregation group.

1. It is interesting that Kira put forward this plan at the time when the Resegregation Group was doing all in its power to brand Kai and Kuratomi as Communists in the eyes of the residents.

2 > R[Hankey, Notes, Oct. 23, 1944, pp. 304 .

3 > ibid., Nov. 9, 1944, pp. 1-2.

4 > ibid., Feb. 28, 1945, p. 5.

He stated:

"Their organization is so well formed now, it may not be so easy to break. But if internal dissention takes place and the organization is severely criticised (by the people) I think it will disband. The residents will lose interest. "

While admitting that a factional split would not cause the fanatical leaders to give up, Oishi held that a break would make the residents lose the respect of the people. Oishi was by now so provoked by the Aritaka-Abe beating and Kira's increasing arrogance that he began to live in hope that the residents would rise up against the oppression of the Resegregationists. He stated:

"The people of this camp must choose if they want such terrorism to exist or else ~~like~~ (they must) cast the leader out. They (the Resegregationists) are just trying to beat the people into line. . . I'm afraid there's going to be serious trouble here if the people don't wake up and cast them out."

When asked if he believed that the camp residents had sufficient spirit left to rise against the Resegregationists, Oishi replied that the Japanese were a peace-loving people and ~~that~~ that they detested trouble. In time, he believed that they would make a stand against the increasing pressure. He ended by blaming the administration for its blindness in permitting the Resegregationists to ~~go~~ continue unchecked in their path of terrorism. He stated that the administration apparently feared the Resegregationists and was "trying to appease them too much." 1/

023-5,6.

Threats by Reverend Tsuha

On October 22, Reverend Tsuha, ~~though~~ delivered a speech which was also marked by violent statements. Though Tsuha had resigned from the ~~leadership~~ highest position in the Young Men's

1/ ibid., Oct. 23, 1944, pp. 5, 6.; *ibid.*, Oct 30, 1944, p 4.

Organization, he still took an active part in their activities. He is reported to have said, "There are quite a number of killers in this organization."

For this statement Tsuha was strongly criticised by the residents. Mr. Oishi expressed the peoples' general sentiment when he said, "I never expected that from a priest." 1/ According to Dr. Opler, Tsuha's speech also upheld the East as spiritualistic and denounced the West as materialistic. Tsuha also praised Hītār for having caught the "light of the East" and denounced the Jews as "the blight of the earth". 2/

1. ibid., p. 4.

2. WRA, Community Analysis, "Weekly Report on Center Trends", Oct. 27, 1944, p. 2.

a few days the camp buzzed with the news that Tsuha had said, ^{He is reported to have said,} "There are quite a number of killers in this organization." For this statement Tsuha was strongly criticized, ^{by the residents.} Mr. K. expressed the peoples' general sentiment when he said: "I never expected that from a priest." ^{1/} Except for the violent statement quoted above, Dr. Opler gave a better account of this speech than the writer was able to procure:

"Reverend Tsuha delivered a complicated, if not confused lecture on Oriental and Occidental Values. The audience was due to be mystified and dazzled and the speaker apologized all through the process of dazzlement that he was unprepared and hadn't organized the lecture -- really. Some liked it, and some couldn't comprehend. The Orient, he said, was spiritualistic; the Occident materialistic. The latter's interest in such theories as the 'struggle for existence' was part of its 'get as much as you can' philosophy. The West believed in individual struggle; the East in organized progress. Only Hitler (!) had been able to catch the light of the East and think in terms of group, nation, etc. Yes, the Jews were the blight of the earth -- for several paragraphs. The Orient believed in group conscience, based on a family conscience. Hitler, of course, borrowed the Aryan myth and the idea of national consciousness from the bushido of ~~the~~ the Japanese. Plato's warrior-king state also came from the East. Thus, orientals are philosophers and we must train for the state." ^{2/}

double space

On the same day Reverend Tsuha delivered another speech and made an accusation which aroused the anger of the residents of Ward VII. Mrs. Yamaguchi, one of the residents of Ward VII, told the story:

"Reverend Tsuha made a very unreasonable statement about the Ward VII teachers. Reverend Tsuha said in his sermon last Sunday that a certain teacher in here said that the attack Japan made on Pearl Harbor was ridiculous. He said that if that teacher said such a thing, they ought to knock him down or kill him.

"The people in Ward VII got very angry and asked the principal if any teacher said such a thing. No teacher did. The teachers are very angry. When they go back to Japan, if anybody thinks that one of them said such a thing it will be terrible for them.

 1/ ibid.
 2/ op. cit., p. 5.

~~THE NEWS~~

(the teacher)

"I know that they are planning to take some drastic steps. They will probably resign. They have held off for a few days because one of the teachers in Ward VII died and they are waiting for after his funeral."

"Reverend Tsuha said this at the Ward VII church.

"My husband went to him and said, 'Why did you say such a thing? If you have evidence, it's all right.' But Reverend Tsuha said that was only what he had heard. I heard that the head of the reverends (Buddhist) has become very worried about it. That's Mr. Nishikawa who is a good friend of George's." 1/

Tsuha, however, apologized for the statement and the matter was dropped. Nevertheless, he ~~was~~ ^{was} not forgiven by the Ward VII residents. ^{like Kira's threats,} Reverend Tsuha's statement about killers also caused some perturbation among the Resegregation Group's leaders. A few days after it was made, Mrs. Matsuda ^{reminded rather nervously} ~~told the writer~~ that Reverend Tsuha had been making some statements in fun and that foolish people were taking them seriously.

THE KNIFING IN MANZANAR SECTION

On October 30th, Sawada, ^{Kira} Wakayama's right hand man, credited ~~by honest informants~~ with being the leader of the group which beat Hitomi's brother, Morimoto, Aritaka and Abe, and several other men, knifed the son of a man who, though a Resegregationist, was ^{said to be} very hostile to ^{Kira} Wakayama. The arrest and trial which followed gave ^{Kira} Wakayama and Yamashita the opportunity to prove that ^{later}

(115)

Mr. Noyes, the Project Attorney stated that at the preliminary ~~the~~ ~~indicated~~ that ~~three~~ ^{beatings} ~~the~~ victim and two other young men ~~who~~ were on their way to Japanese school in the evening when they Sawada and another issei urinating. passed ~~the~~ ~~temple~~ According to the boys one of the older men called an insult to them. One of the boys turned and made for them. ~~Sawada~~ ^{Sawada} Words were exchanged whereupon ~~Sawada~~ suddenly drew a knife and slashed ^{one of} the young men across the ~~temple~~ temple, severing an artery. The victims' friends stated that ~~Sawada~~ Sawada drew the knife so fast that they did not see it. 1 >

Mr. Noyes added that the Internal Security did not seem eager to handle the case and that it was rumored that Sawada was a friend of Mr. Yamashita. Noyes, however, felt sure that there were no political implications to the case. ~~He also anticipated that there would be pressure from Sawada's block in the form of a petition extolling his character. Since, however, Sawada had been turned over to the County Authorities, the matter was out of the WRA's hands and the petition could do no good.~~ It should be mentioned that ^{at this time} the administration

~~Mr. Abe and Mr. Kira~~ had no knowledge of Sawada's possible connection with the pre-Hitomi or the Aritaka-Abe beatings.

^{Oishi} Mr. ~~Abe~~ and Mr. Abe stated that the beating was connected with the Resegregation Group and that the young man had been attacked because ~~of~~ ~~the~~ hostility between his father and Kira. ~~It~~ ~~was~~ ~~pointed~~ ^{Oishi} pointed out

1. Probably neither of the boys cared or ~~d~~ dared to admit that they saw the knife.
2. ibid., Nov. 1, 1944 , pp. 2-3.

that Kira's inciting speeches had led to violence ~~which~~ from ^{the consequences of} ~~evidently~~ which he was evidently not able to shield his follower. He added:

"The Japanese Internal Security is afraid it will be beaten up. If there were no organization (Resegregation Group) they might have spoken their mind. The man (Sawada) is a fanatical supporter of the Sokuji Kikoku (Resegregation Group). Now if he's released, Yamashita and Kira will feel so proud that doubtless they will do something really serious." 1/

~~Kira~~

However, the victim gave ~~less~~ less incriminating testimony every time he testified and at the final trial asked for clemency for Sawada. ^{Consequently,} Sawada ~~therefore~~ received only a sentence of 90 days. Mr. Noyes stated that the ~~decision~~ light sentence was the result of the nature of the evidence, the age of Sawada, who was in his late sixties, and the fact that Sawada's past record was clear. Yamashita came to see Mr. Noyes ~~in~~ several times in Mr. Sawada's behalf and ^{1/2} with several other Japanese friends accompanied him to the ~~trial~~ trial in Alturas. However, he attempted to give the impression that he was not a person friend of the defendant's but that he was merely an intermediary. According to Noyes:

"Yamashita and Sawada made a pledge in open court that what the defendant did was bad, that he would not do it anymore and that he would not do this act again." 2/

~~Noyes~~

After the trial, however, Mr. Noyes said he was disappointed because he had heard that "Yamashita and the others are going around beating their chests and saying, 'I did it all.'" 3/

Several evacuee informants corroborated this.

1/ ibid., Nov. 6, 1944, p. 3.
2/ ibid., Nov. 7, 1944, pp. 2-4.
3/ ibid.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
CLIMAX OF INDIVIDUAL OPPOSITION TO THE RESEGREGATION GROUP --
OISHI AND KIRA COME TO GRIPS

During late October and November, after the Aritaka-Abe beating and the knifing by Sawada, the anxiety and resentment of the individual opponents of the Resegregation Group increased markedly. Individuals like Oishi and Yamaguchi, having kept themselves ^{as} well informed as possible on the activities of the Resegregation Group's leaders, were convinced that the Aritaka-Abe beating and the knifing by Sawada were engineered by Kira to silence opposition. Mrs. Yamaguchi began to be very nervous over the plight of her husband who was well known for his disapproval of the Resegregation Group. 1/

In late October, Mr. Oishi's friends began to pick up hints that Kira had determined on an action aimed at putting the camp into an uproar. ~~Kira's plan was to beat up twelve inu (opposers of the Resegregation Group) in one night and simultaneously present a petition to Mr. Myer, signed by the thousands of nominal members of the Resegregation Group, asking for the removal of Mr. Best. 2/ If Kira did contemplate this plan, he was evidently relying on the strong probability that an incident of this magnitude would get newspaper publicity and would embarrass the WRA greatly. Consequently, Mr. Best might be forced to resign.~~

Mr. Oishi, however, was informed of this plan by friends.

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- 1.
 2. Look this up in notes in Berkeley.

Mr. Nakao, who signed the petition was in an extremely confused state and kept repeating in an almost incoherent fashion the chief arguments of the pressure group. As his chincing reason for signing, he stated, "We want to be separated from the ~~inmanx~~ inus."# At a later interview he was asked if he thought segregation should be carried to the point of separating families. He could not stomach this and suggested that in such cases, the Yes-Yes member of the family should be considered the same as a repatriate. 1/

Many informants who did not sign the petition were contacted. Mr. Okamoto, who had previously voted against the status quo state:

131 (128) to the south side. 1)

~~xxxx~~ of violence he would denounce him. ~~He~~ ~~also~~ ^{Oishi} protected himself by contacting one of Kira's lieutenants, a young man who owed ^{Oishi} an obligation incurred in pre-evacuation times.

This young man stated that he would sacrifice his life before he would ~~take part~~ participate in any action against

^{Oishi} A few days after this interview between Kira's go-betweens and ^{Oishi} ~~Mr.~~ Nakayama, about which, of course, not one but ~~Mr.~~ ^{Oishi}

intimates had any knowledge, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the rumor spread through camp that Mr. Kira had resigned his position of advisor to the Resegregation Group. When

questioned about this, the Matsudas, ~~still~~ ardent Resegregationists, looked embarrassed and said, "Well, he's been sick." 2)

It is, of course, impossible to determine whether Oishi was responsible for Kira's resignation. However, data indicates

that before this clash, ~~the~~ Kira's gang was planning an increasing number of beatings and after it took place, no one else was beaten. The residents, ~~xxxx~~ knew nothing of this

matter between Oishi and Kira and consequently, continued to fear the power of his ~~gangs~~ "boys".

1) Ibid, Dec. 14, 1944, p. 2
2) Ibid, Dec. 9, 1944, p. 7

RESIDENTS' REACTION TO INCREASINGLY AGGRESSIVE AND
NATIONALISTIC POLICY OF RESEGREGATION GROUP

While the radical statements of the leaders of the Resegregation Group caused much scandalized whispering among the camp residents, there was no indication that the large mass of non-members had any intention of doing anything about it. Though Kira's gang was becoming increasingly feared, out-and-out suspicion that he had engineered the beatings was held by only a handful of persons who were careful not to publicize the matter. Nevertheless, the ordinary residents became increasingly anxious and worried over the growing vociferousness of the Resegregation Group but they were very careful to whom they expressed their disapprobation.

The changing attitude of persons who had previously been neutral but were now beginning to express disapproval was well exemplified in a statement made by Miss Fujimoto. She remarked that she thought there were two groups of people in camp, the strong supporters of the Resegregation Group and the rest of the people "who don't care". She did not think that there was any group opposing the Resegregationists because nobody dared to "talk about it". She explained the manner in which the Resegregation Group gained converts:

"The way it seems to me, one or two people in a block start it and they pull the others in. In this block we don't even hear about it, but in some blocks they're very strong." 1/

1. ibid., Nov. 1, 1944, pp. 3-4.

~~100~~ Insert on 125

~~XX~~

According to Dr. Opler, Tsuha's speech ^{also} upheld the East as spiritualistic and denounced the West as materialistic. He also praised Hitler for having caught the "light of the East" and denounced the Jews as "the blight of the earth". 2 >

2 > op. cit., p. 5.

~~Public Reactions to Increasingly violent policy of Resegregation Group~~

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9 Outright opposition appeared to be given only by individuals like Mr. ^{Oishi} ~~Abe~~, small organizations like the sect to which Aritaka and Abe belonged and the much larger ^{informally organized} ~~faction~~ faction led by ~~Kai and Kuratomi~~ Kai and Kuratomi. The Kai -Kuratomi ~~group~~ group, however, was keeping very quiet through October and November of 1944.

~~Nevertheless~~ Nevertheless, there are some significant data that the persons who had been misled by the aims of the Resegregationists were beginning to regret their membership in the group. Only one case can be cited here, that of Mr. Okamoto, the conservative Block Manager. ~~After~~ After the celebration of the Meiji Setsu, the birthday of the Emperor Meiji which

falls on November 3, Mr. Okamoto stated that he had not attended the ceremony sponsored by the Resegregation Group but had instead gone to that given by the ~~JAPANESE~~ largest Japanese Language School. ~~Since~~ ^{He} had been an enthusiastic member a few weeks before, ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~was~~ change of attitude is significant. When asked why he had not attended the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Resegregationist ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ceremony, he stated:

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

1) See pp.
 2) Okamoto was a Host manager and as such had to avoid any political entanglements.

"I'm afraid if that organization goes on as it is, it will get involved in more politics. That's why I'm afraid."

At the Relocation Centers and during the October-November 1943 crisis at Tule Lake to become involved in politics meant "agitation" and brought internment in Santa Fe or Leupp or ~~Manzanar~~ at Tule Lake, ~~in the stockade~~ imprisonment in the stockade. Okamoto did not desire this fate. He went on to list his objection to the Resegregationists' organizations stating that "the organization ~~was~~ is breaking from the inside because of .differences..and friction..among the members," and spoke cautiously of the tough, hard and stiff boys of the Manzanar section.

~~They~~ "Frankly, I myself am being awful careful of those boys. They do something very extreme, so I just kind of take more careful step."

He then ^{voiced what was coming to be the} ~~expressed the~~ widespread defense of the non-Resegregationists, stating that since most of the people in Tule Lake had decided to go back to Japan anyway, there was no reason to make such an issue of the matter. 1/

N-7-2

Mr. Okamoto's attempt to extricate himself from the organization once he became conscious of ~~its political aims~~ the political aims of its leaders and had heard the rumors of the part the tough Manzanar boys (Kira's gang) were playing is significant. Okamoto, like many others, had been attracted by the expressed idealistic cultural aims of the Young Men's Organization. His statement, "Most of the people in the center have decided to go back to Japan anyway," indicates that he had swung to the view of those persons who ~~had never joined~~ avoided joining the group, holding that their act of segregation was sufficient proof of the sincerity of their intent to

The changed attitude of persons who had previously been neutral but were now beginning to express disapproval was well exemplified in ~~the~~ statement made by Miss Fujimoto:

~~There~~ are two groups (in camp). One of them is really for it (supports the Resegregation Group) and the other group ~~is~~ (the remainder of the people) doesn't care. I don't think there is any group really against it, because if they

~~She~~
She ~~remarked~~ remarked that she thought there were two groups of people in camp, the strong supporters of the Resegregation Group and the rest of the people, "who don't care". She did not think there was any group opposing the Resegregationists ~~because~~ because ~~they~~ nobody dared to "talk against it". She explained the ~~process~~ manner in which the Resegregation Group gained converts:

"The way it seems to me, one or two people in a block start it and they pull the others in. In this block we don't even hear about it, but in some blocks they're very strong." 1 >

1 > ibid., Nov. 1, 1944, pp. 3-4.

repatriate or expatriate. There was no indication, however, that any considerable number of members left the organization at this period. Many may have desired to leave, but did not dare to do so. Okamoto, a comparatively well educated man (though a kibeï he had finished Junior College work in the United States) was able to anticipate the fact that eventually the activities of the Resegregation Group would bring punitive action from the authorities. He feared this more than the pressure of the Resegregation Group. He left while he could, but due to his former membership was almost reentangled several months later. 1/

Attitude of the Administration

This particular period was regarded by the administration as one of the most peaceful in the history of Tule Lake. Dr. Opler began his report of November 16 as follows:

["It has become trite, in trend reports on Tule Lake, first to predict and then report the peace and quiet of the center. Nevertheless, ever since the liquidation of the stockade, the progress made has been steady and unmistakable. . . Three reactions have emerged: 1) the center has been improved since the period of last November. . . 2) Administration anticipates problems and functions efficiently. . . 3) Administration dispels problems quickly once they arise. . The process of restoring confidence in Administration is completed." 2/]

On November 10th Mr. Robertson stated that Mr. Best was convinced that the colony was in a state of exceptional peace. No trouble at all was anticipated. The factions were fighting among themselves, but all else was serene. At the last staff meeting Mr. Best had read a letter from Dillon Myer which stated that Tule Lake was in the most peaceful state that he had ever seen it. 3/

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1. Reference infra to Okamoto's attempts to avoid internment.
 2. WRA, Community Analysis, "Special Report on Center Trends," Nov. 16, 1944, pp. 1, 2.
 3. R. Hankey, Notes Nov. 10, 1944, p. 5.

Some of this administrative obtusism^m is explainable due to the fact that the center did present an outward appearance of extreme quiet. Nobody dared to report Kira and since the administration seems to be ignoring or ~~condoning~~ the activities of the Resegregationists no one considered making a complaint. Moreover, to do so, would be the act of an inu.

Another explanation for the general attitude may be found in the following account of a conflict between Kira and the administration in which Kira came out on top.

Many of the nisei complied to this pressure, although they felt silly and embarrassed. Caucasian school teachers reported that some of the boys attempted to keep their hats on in school.

Disagreement between Mr. Kira and the Administration

In early October, Mr. Kira became embroiled in a conflict with the administration, threatened to resign his block managership, and also threatened to make all the Block Managers in the Manzanar section and the fire inspectors resign with him.¹ The incident will be related briefly since it is an excellent example of Mr. Kira's pressure tactics.

According to ^{Kira's} ~~Wakayama's~~ account, a resident of his block built a porch on his apartment which complied with existing administrative fire regulations. Later, new regulations were issued and the administration charged the porch builder with violating the regulations. Kira appeared as a witness at the trial. Despite Kira's efforts, however, the violator was sentenced to 30 days in the Klamath Falls jail, the sentence to be suspended if he tore down the porch in a week. Kira, thereupon, threatened to resign his block managership. He also stated that the people of his block "got sore" and that "the boys demonstrated their offensive spirit at (Block Managers) headquarters." Most of these "boys" were probably members of Kira's gang.² Kira continued his agitation for several days, trying to get his fellow block managers ^{and fire wardens} of the Manzanar section to resign and eventually, according to his story, the administration compromised by giving the porch builder a new

1. Ibid., October 13, 1944, p. 1.

2. Again I note that the "gang" has to be described before this.

apartment with two rooms if he would remove the porch. 1/

How much of this egotistical account is true there is no way of determining. The significance lies in the fact that Kira's henchmen publicised this occurrence as a great victory for Kira, thereby increasing the fear with which he and his followers were regarded. If Kira could force Mr. Best to his will, thought they residents, what chance had a resident who wished to protest against his activities or against the Resegregation Group with which he was connected.

RESEGREGATION GROUP EXPELS "UN-JAPANESE" MEMBERS

Resulting conflict with Kai-Kuratomi faction - Investigation by Department of Justice

apartment with two rooms if he would remove the porch.¹

How much of this egotistical account is true there is no way of determining. The significance lies in the fact that Kira's henchmen publicized this occurrence *as a great victory for Kira* and thereby increased the fear with which he and his group of followers were regarded. If Kira ~~stood so well with Mr. Best,~~ *Mr. Best* thought the residents, ~~that he could force him to his will,~~ what chance had a resident who wished to protest against his activities.

The Dai Nippon Seinen-dan

In early October, rumors of an organization headed by Kai and Kuratomi, which was reputed to be opposing the resegregationists' Young Men's Association, began to be heard. Almost nothing is known of this organization since informants did little more than hint that they knew of its existence, and that Kai and Kuratomi were behind it. Kuratomi himself denied the existence of any organization. That he and Reverend Kai did have a loyal group of henchmen there is no doubt, for unmistakable evidence of this appeared later. Rumor had it that the Dai Nippon Seinen-dan was about 100 strong. This organization was probably never organized in any formal manner. However, the Resegregation Group denounced Kai and Kuratomi's group as a bunch of gamblers and drinkers, striving to blacken them with both the administration and the residents. Mr. *Oishi* ~~8.1~~ believed that the organization existed:

"Kai, Kuratomi, Mori and Tsuda are behind the Dai Nippon Seinen-dan. I've been hearing that they've been organizing it. Ten days ago they claimed they had about 100 members.

1. R. Hankey, Notes, October 23, 1944, pp. 1-3.

"As far as I'm concerned, I'm not interested in either party. I was asked why I will not join either party. They arranged a dinner party for me, but I refused to attend the dinner party."¹

Mr. ~~Q.~~ ^{Oishi} also predicted that if the rivalry between the Kai-Kuratomi group and the Young Men's Organization continued, it might well lead to gang warfare, a prediction which was accurately borne out two months later.

Yamaguchi stated that Kuratomi had told him that he was forming a young men's organization which was called the Dai Nippon Seinen-dan. "I don't know who's back of it, but they are forming, I'm sure."²

At this period, the odium with which the Tsuda-Mori-Kimura group had been regarded by the residents in general ^{became} ~~was much~~ less pronounced. Evidently, many persons were no longer influenced by that gossip spread by the Resegregation Group. Tsuda and his followers had been keeping out of the limelight for several months and accusations that they were inu were now heard less frequently. Mr. ~~Q.~~ ^{Oishi} stated:

"The rumors concerning them no longer exist. When they first undertook to get those boys in the stockade out, to some extent people said Tsuda and Mori were dogs. We were to some extent inclined to believe that."³

Administrative Attitude

The attitude of the higher administrative staff members toward this intra-camp conflict was one of satisfaction. In its crudest form it manifested itself in remarks such as, "Let them cut each other's throats so long as they don't bother us." The

1. Ibid., October 16, 1944, p. 5.
2. Ibid., October 12, 1944, p. 6.
3. Ibid., October 23, 1944, p. 5.

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administration suspected and, to a certain extent, feared both groups and was inclined to look with favor on the conflict. In this particular case, at least, the constant evacuee complaint that the administration wanted to make the Japanese fight each other, i.e., divide and rule, was justified. The bulk of the camp residents, as they became conscious of the rivalry, wished only to keep free of it.

KAI-KURATOMI FACTION STRIKES AT RESEGREGATIONISTS -- DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE BEGINS INVESTIGATION -- PUBLIC OPINION MARKEDLY TURNS AGAINST RESEGREGATIONISTS

749 143. (127)

FIRST ROUND IN OPEN CONFLICT BETWEEN THE RESEGREGATION GROUP
AND THE KAI-KURATOMI-TSUDA FACTION

Then, in late November and early December
The Resegregation Group suffered two severe blows almost simultaneously. The first blow was the challenge of open conflict *on November 20* delivered by the Kai-Kuratomi faction. The second was the investigation initiated by Mr. Burling *of the Department of Justice on December 7,* ~~the~~ *latter part of November and* ~~of~~ December, therefore, the leaders of the group were in a state of great alarm, partly because they feared the results of Burling's investigation and partly because they did not know when Kai and Kuratomi might strike again. Due to the fact that they knew they were in extremely bad rapport with the authorities, both WRA and the Department of Justice, they feared that any attempt at reprisal they might make or even an attempt to defend themselves, would be twisted and used against them.

The Kai-Kuratomi Faction initiates action

Two factors contributed to bringing the long existant *Resegregationists and the Kai-Kuratomi* but submerged hostility between the ~~two groups~~ *faction* into the open. One was the Resegregation Group's increasingly outspoken denunciation of gambling, sake-making and other forms of vice, a kind of propaganda intended to turn popular opinion against Tsuda, the reputed vice king of the camp and also against his close friend, Mr. Kuratomi. The other was the institution of jomei or the expulsion of members who, in the opinion of the leaders, were "Un-Japanese". Several persons expelled belonged to the *Kai-Kuratomi faction* ~~powerful gambling group~~ and their rage was great indeed. The policy of expulsion was begun at the end of October and continued on through November.

According to Kuratomi three separate groups of letters were sent out. The persons expelled, whether they were gamblers or

(149) (178)

not were deeply offended. One expelled family contemplated
~~the suit against the Hoshi-dan~~
 a suit against the Hoshi-dan Kuratomi himself received what
 he considered a very insulting letter on November 20th. The
 letter stated that since Miss Terada had signed the petition
~~for Kuratomi in March and Kuratomi had never signed it himself,~~
 the Resegregation Group wished to know if he had any intention
 of joining the organization. He was curtly asked to call at
 the office at 5408-D and express his intentions. ² Whether
 the delivery of this batch of letters on November 20th, some
 of which may have been even less polite than the one received
 by Kuratomi had anything to do with the notable event of that
 evening, the writer does not know. The coincidence is worth
 noting, however.

On the evening of November 20th, when the 56 relatives
 of those members of the Negotiating Committee who had been
 interned left Tule Lake for Crystal City, they were given
 an elaborate send-off by the Resegregation Group, the Kai-
 Kuratomi group and the Ward VI language school. When the
 farewells were over, Mitsuho Kimura, one of Kuratomi's friends
 and a noted judo champion, approached Mr. Uchida, dansho of
 the ~~Salon~~ ^{Young Men's Organization} and before the large crowd present, accused Uchida
 of having called him a dog. This was an outright challenge
 to battle. ~~Since both Kimura and Uchida possessed the highest~~
~~judo rank, it would have been a battle worth observing.~~ Uchida,
 however, backed down.

The news of the narrowly averted ~~fight~~ fight spread rapidly
 through the camp and interest in the state of open hostility
 which now existed between the two rival groups ran high.

² ibid., March 6, 1945, p. 5.

¹ His fiancee has signed for him in absentia.

The leaders of the Resegregation Group became extremely apprehensive. This spectacular challenge was followed by a series of minor attempts at intimidation in which groups of irate young men approached prominent Resegregationists and demanded to know the reason for their expulsions of some individuals. From this time on, a state of open hostility prevailed. Gang warfare was imminent. The homes of the Resegregationist leaders were guarded by groups of ~~young men~~ from the Young Men's Organization and the Resegregationists, in general, fell into a great state of perturbation.]

Mrs. Matsuda attempted to conceal her anxiety by remarking defiantly that she and others in camp were "still heart and soul for going to Japan whether Japan wins or loses". She blamed the near fight on Tsuda and stated that Tsuda and his group had been telling the WRA Internal Security that the Young Men's Organization was a bunch of roughnecks. The whole Kai-Kuratomi faction, she said, was now informing constantly to Mr. Best. She also told how a group of Kai-Kuratomi followers had attempted to pick a fight with a Resegregationist named Shimizu, but "Shimizu saw all the boys around" and ~~accepted~~ declined to fight. She repeated several times that "they were having such a difficult time holding the boys (Young Men's Organization) back, telling them to be patient and that patience is a Japanese virtue."^{1/}

D-9-4

Mrs. Yamashita, wife of the active Resegregationist leader, exhibited a similar state of fear and tension. She admitted that the trouble had grown out of the jomei, the expulsion of

^{1/} ibid., Dec. 9, 1944, p. 4.

"Un-Japanese" members, and related how a group of expelled persons had gone to the Matsudas' home and threatened them. Like Mrs. Matsuda, she added, "The boys aren't going to stand
 D11-1-2. for this much longer." 1/

Cautious Mr. Kuratomi who knew a great deal but would tell little at this time also blamed the outbreak of hostilities on the expulsion from membership. He stated:

"What they (the Resegregationists) are trying to do ~~is~~ is very ungentlemanly and very cowardly. There are some men being expelled for no concrete reason."

He added that one man had been expelled because the ~~man~~ he had worked for Mr. Tateishi, and that he was "really angry". 2/

1/ ibid., Dec. 11, 1944, pp. 1-2.
2/ ibid., p..5.

The leaders of the Resegregation Group became ~~extremely~~ extremely apprehensive. This spectacular challenge was followed by a series of minor attempts at intimidation, in which groups of ~~xxx~~ irate young men approached prominent Resegregationists and demanded to know the reason for the expulsion of some individual. From this time on a state of open hostility prevailed. Gang warfare was imminent. The homes of the Resegregationist leaders were guarded by groups of young men from the Young Men's Organization and the Resegregationists, in general, fell into a great state of perturbation.

Arrival of John Burling and Insitution of Renunciation of Citizenship Hearings

On December 7th John Burling of the Department of Justice arrived at Tule Lake ~~to~~ to open the hearings for Renunciation of Citizenship. He had come also with a view of determining what the best policy in regard to the ~~future~~ ^{future} of Tule Lake might be as far as the Department of Justice was concerned. On arriving, he was astonished by the activities of the Young Men's Organization, the militzistic marching, bugle playing and Japanese nationalistic ceremonies which were at this time in full flower. These activities caused Burling concern because of the possibility that they ~~might~~ might come to the attention of the Hearst Press or the Dies Committee and call down another orgy of unfavorable publicity upon Tule Lake and the WRA. He thereupon determined to ~~intern the leaders of~~ ^{investigate the organization} ~~these organizations and to this end~~ ^{and} ~~began the renunciation~~ ^{to interview.} hearings by interviewing the officers of the Young Men's Organization and the adult Resegregation Group.

This investigation added to the burden of anxiety borne by the Resegregationist leaders. Prosecution for sedition or internment loomed before them. #

some
~~the~~

In formants who belonged to the Young Mens Organization were ~~just~~ ^{showed great} concerned. ~~Uchida~~ Uchida the leader,

~~xxxxxx~~ had just had an interview with Mr. Burling and wondered why the first question Mr. Burling asked was "Are you a member of the Hokoku (Young Mens Organization)?" He believed he should have been questioned only on his renunciation of citizenship. He was also worried over the fact that ~~the~~ ^{he feared that} administration believed that the Young Mens Group had been influencing residents to renounce their citizenship. Obviously, ~~he~~ he feared prosecution for sedition. Both he and another member of the organization who was present stated several times with a force which ~~did not~~ did not ring true, "We're ready to go to Santa Fe if necessary. We're not afraid." ~~xxx~~

~~xxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxx~~

Neither of the young men cared to discuss the ~~insult~~ affront offered by Mr. Kimura on the night of November 20. 1)

Cautious Mr. Kuratomi, who knew a great deal but would tell little at this time, also blamed the outbreak of hostilities

Mrs. Yamashita was now worried over the fact that Wakayama had told some Internal Security officers that her husband led the boys of the Young Men's Organization.

Ask 4.

~~p 684 = 3/4 top part of all leaders~~
a camp?

~~700 papers - mess hall? - #9~~

from Hokoku Genin Don.
Meiji Setan

Dai N T. D.

Mrs. Yamashita was now worried over the fact that some Internal Security officers had questioned Mr. ~~ウチヤグサキ~~ Kira about a group of tough boys who were alleged to have threatened to break up a high school dance. ~~ウチヤグサキ~~ Kira told the officers that he had nothing to do with any boy's group and that Mr. Yamashita led the boys of the Young Men's Organization. Yamashita was called in and questioned. Soon, thereafter, he was called in and questioned by Mr. Burling. Mrs. Yamashita was very provoked with Mr. Kira but added "that she wasn't a bit scared", 1/

Mr. Kato, had also been called in by Burling. He said:

"He (Burling) kept asking me how I became spokesman for the Hokoku (Young Men's Organization). 2/

Kato, as has been mentioned, was spokesman for the group who questioned Mr. Noyes about renunciation of citizenship.

1. ibid., pp. 1-2.

2/ ibid., Dec. 12, 1944, pp. 4, 5, 6.

of them (the common people) are pleased excepting those who are members of course. They want them to be taken away. K. was most pleased of all." 1/

Mrs. Goto, a nisei, said:

"I also heard that their leaders were being pulled in. But we don't discuss those things openly. It isn't healthy. In other words, they say, 'You're not Japanese.'" 2/

EARLY DECEMBER ATTITUDES TOWARD THE RESEGREGATION GROUP

Although few conservative, moderate informants would comment ^{at any length} ~~in detail~~ upon the fact that the Resegregationist leaders were being interrogated by the Department of Justice, their attitude toward the organization ^{now} showed a marked change over that previously held. ~~They were no longer hesitant~~ ^{Criticism increased enormously.} about criticizing it. Of course, some of this overt expression of disapproval may have been aroused as a result of the increasingly aggressive activities of the organization and some by the fact that the group, which had been unpopular for many months, had been openly challenged by the Kai-Kuratomi-Tsuda faction. ~~the writer, however,~~ ^{It is probable, however,} ~~is of the opinion~~ that the very noticeable increase in criticism was chiefly due to the hope of relief inspired by the investigations.

Miss Dod, who had previously said only complimentary things of ^{Young Men's Organization} the ~~Hokoku~~ (her father was a member of the ^{Resegregation Group} ~~Union~~) changed her attitude completely:

"To my mind they are not acting for the good of the people. They are trying to do everything in a spectacular way, such as cutting their hair. They are overlooking the really important thing. I believe there are a lot of people in camp who wish more sincerely to return to Japan but aren't making such a noise over it. I think it's selfishness. Most of the educated men are being quiet in here." 3/

Miss Ikeda, an extremely conservative, timid girl now denounced the ~~Hokoku~~ ^{Young Men's Organization}:

1/ ibid., Dec. 14, 1944, p. 1.
2/ ibid., Dec. 15, 1944, p. 2.
3/ ibid., Dec. 11, 1944, pp. 2-3.

"I don't see how anybody can act as they do. They've planned a government of their own in here. They think they have more power than the Spanish Embassy. They say it's faster and more efficient to join their group and then they'll get the Japanese government to get them there (to Japan) first. They say they're sending all the people in their organization back to Japan and they'll go first.

"A lot of people tell us to join, but we don't. We think they're an insignificant organization. We feel we should go through the Spanish Embassy.

"We feel they're having trouble with their organization. Some people were removed from the organization and so I think they're trying to stir up trouble.

D15-1,2.

"Until now they ~~really~~ (the Resegregationists) really thought they were the only people living around Tule. . . . So far, I'm glad because we (her family) are not involved." 1/

Mrs. Goto, another conservative nisei, also came forth with ~~detained~~ criticism:
X

"The Sokoku (Young Men's Organization) should be open to everybody because after all we're the same race. . . . My husband refused to join." 2/x

Mrs. Goto was obviously pleased that her husband was not involved, and added:

2

"I also heard that ~~their~~ their leaders were being pulled in. But we don't discuss those things openly. It isn't healthy." 2/

Mr. Ono, a young man who had previously shied away from all discussion of the Resegregationists now stated:

"The Sokoku bunch (Young Men's Organization) is really the 1935-37 kibeis who left Japan to escape the draft. You can't deport them to Japan if Japan won't take them. And Japan doesn't want draft dodgers." 3/

1/ ibid., Dec. 15, 1944, pp. 1, 2.

2/ ibid., p. 2.

3/ ibid., Dec. 18, 1944, p. 6.

729 (156) 135

Persons who ~~xxx~~hitherto had not hesiated to express their disapporval of the Resegregation Group now openly expressedtheir satisfaction that the selfish leaders were about to be brought to justice. Mr. Abe, who hadbeen beaten by Kira's gang, stated:

"I've heard that the WRA has called in 18 of the resegregationists. The people first thought they were arrested by the FBI. All of them (the residents) are pleased excepting those who are members of course. They want them to be taken away. ~~It~~ was most pleased of all." ~~XXXXX~~ . 1. .

~~XXXXX~~
D-14-1

Mr. Oishi

"Many of them (the Resegregationists) were sorry after they signed and found out what was inside. But if they change their signatures, they're scared. So they can't cancel their signatures, not even if at the same time the don't want to be one of them." 1/

See p. 157

1. Jind, Dec. 17, 1944, p. 1.

Mr. Oishi was delighted with the investigation initiated by the Department of Justice. He stated:

"If the leaders are picked up now and thrown behind bars, the camp will quiet down."

He still held, however, ^{as did many other residents} that the type of organization which he expressed aims of the Young Mens Organization ~~was not~~ were worthy and would have benefited both them members and the camp had the organization not been led astray by selfish leadership. ~~This attitude is significant for it was held by many of the camp residents.~~

edit

"I hate to see the seinen-dan (Young Mens Organization) broken up. But I also hate to see the radical leaders taking hold of it.

~~xx~~ "A man like Ishigami who is sincere and unselfish and a few others, who would devote their time solely to the development of the young men, if they got men like that, it would succeed and flourish. With Yamashita, Kira and Akashi, they are going ~~to drown the whole thing.~~ to drown the whole thing." 1/

1. ibid., Dec. 9, 1944, p. 2.

Mr. Yamaguchi showed a very interesting and astute reaction to the investigation. He had been interned in Leupp for his activities in Gila at the time of military registration and, profiting by experience, decided that this was the time to get out of any activity which might be considered questionable by the authorities. Consequently, he resigned his position as teacher in the Japanese language school. He explained this on the grounds that the pupils who belonged to the Young Men's Organization were insolent, disrespectful and too difficult to handle. Later, however, he confessed that he had anticipated internments and feared that Japanese school teachers might also be taken. He, like Oishi and other informants who were anti-Resegregationist, stated that the aims of the Resegregationists, making the people in camp good Japanese, were praiseworthy, but that they went about it the wrong way. Instead of saying "The Yes-Yes must go out," they should try to make even the Yes-Yes into "good Japanese". Concerning the Resegregationist ceremonies, he said:

"They keep everyone out. I'm Japanese and I'd like to go and pray on December 8th too. But they keep everything for themselves." 1/

D9-6-7

THE BLOCK 54 FIGHT

On December 15, the hostility which had been brewing between the Kai-Kuratomi faction and the Resegregationists broke out into violence. / ^{Mr. Miyamoto,} An officer of the ~~organization~~ adult Resegregation Group and an important member of the inner clique, ~~Mrx~~ was attacked in Block 54, the headquarters of the Resegregationists by a Mr. Imachi, who had been expelled

 1. Dec. 9, 1944, pp. 6-7.

INSERTION ON PAGE

"I also heard that their leaders were being pulled in.
But we don't discuss those things openly. It isn't healthy." 1>
~~XX~~

1-> ibid., p. 2.

from the organization and was, incidentally, a very good friend of Mr. Kuratomiya. ~~On~~ The day before the attack occurred Imachi had sought out Miyamoto in the Block 54 latrine and asked for the reason for his expulsion, accusing Miyamoto of having denounced him before the Resegregationist committee. A group of boys from the Young Men's Organization came up while the argument was in progress and Imachi, ~~left the block hurriedly~~ observing their threatening attitude, left the block hurriedly.

The following day Imachi waited for Miyamoto outside the Block 54 mess hall. Again Miyamoto refused to talk to him. It was never determined who struck the first blow, but the men began to tussel. Miyamoto picked up a mop leaning

against the mess hall and Imachi picked up a stick from a nearby woodpile and the fight was on. The mop stick was broken in two. As soon as the fight started, a group of about a dozen of Imachi's friends, led by Kimura, the judo expert who had challenged Uchida on November 20, suddenly materialized, armed themselves with odd sticks and boards from the wood pile and formed a circle around the two fighting men. This was done to keep the members of the Young Men's Organization who were now arriving in large numbers from mobbing Imachi. 1/ Mr. Miyamoto's wife and son attempted to stop the fight; Mrs. Miyamoto was thrown to her knees when she attempted to grasp the stick Imachi was holding; the son is said to have received a blow on the side of the head from one of Imachi's friends, whereupon he ran away. The fight itself did not last more than a few minutes and neither of the men was injured seriously. Before it was over, however, a crowd numbering in the neighborhood of 400 people, composed of curious block residents and Resegregationists had assembled. At this point, several of the officers of the Young Men's Association who had come running to the fight, approached Imachi and demanded an explanation. Imachi thereupon made a 25 or 30 minute speech to the assembled crowd, in which he denounced the leaders of the Young Men's Organization as men who were making gangsters of the youth of Tule Lake, men who were degrading the true spirit of Japan. The only account of this speech came from Mr. Oishi:

"He (Imachi) said, 'This organization is making hoodlums out of the boys here, a bunch of gangsters. Are you people who

1/ Several informants stated that ~~xx~~ the Resegregationists sent out an alarm in response to which members of the Young Men's Organization rushed to the fray in force. This cannot be verified. It is not improbable, however, since an attack from the Kai-Kuratomi faction had been anticipated for three weeks.

are the fathers and mothers of these precious boys going to permit this organization to make hoodlums out of your boys!" 1/

Y. R. Hankey, Notes, Dec. 1944, p. 26.

requested repatriation.

The petition therefore placed the residents in ~~adiff~~ a difficult position. Some 6500 resolved this by signing, either because they desired to repatriate or because they thought that signing could do not harm and nothing might come of the matter anyway. ~~Thisxxxxxxxincluded~~ ~~dependantsxxxx~~ Others signed because it was ~~xxxx~~ easier to sign when approached than to refuse and incur the ire of the ~~militant~~ supporters in their block. It should be stressed that the 6500 signatures included the dependents of the ~~signing~~ signees. Others did not ~~sign~~ sign, complained that the pressure group was going too far, but continued to reiterate, "the loyal and Yes-Yes people must get out" by which they always meant the other fellow. Others did not sign, saying that ~~xxxx~~ they had already taken ~~for~~ all necessary steps in applying for repatriation or expatriation, coming to Tule Lake as segregees was sufficient proof of their intent and besides, "we are all Japanese" 1 > These individuals also stressed that "the loyal" had to be gotten out of camp.

ibid., April, 1944, p. 5. .

The crowd is said to have received Mr. Imachi's speech respectfully, even though he was speaking in a block which was almost entirely composed of ^{Resegregation Group,} ~~Hoshi-dan~~ members. ~~It said:~~

^{Oishi said:} "If they were opposed to it, I think the ^(Imachi) man who thrashed Miyamoto would have been mobbed on the spot. But I heard they stood and listened to what he had to say like a good audience. . . He spoke against that organization, how crazy they were, etc." 1/

This bold daylight attack created consternation in the ranks of the ^{Resegregationists} ~~Hokoku-dan~~ and the ~~Hoshi-dan~~. However, they pulled themselves together rapidly, took counsel, had a meeting, and decided to bring down the power of the United States law upon the gamblers rather than risk the consequences of a vengeance less acceptable to the administration. Accordingly, Mr. Uchida, the dansho, and several other high ranking officers were summoned and probably on the advice of Yamahita and ^{Kimura} ~~Wakayama~~, Uchida, Matsuda and Yamane swore out a complaint

against ^{Kimura 13} Imachi and ~~one~~ other men, whom they accused of standing about with clubs and threatening the crowd. ^{Later the number of accused was reduced to 11} Unfortunately for them, none of these ^{of the Young Men Association} ~~Hokoku~~ officers witnessed the actual fight,

a fact which was to cause them great embarrassment and anxiety ^{at the trial, when, as complainants, they were called as witnesses.} ~~later~~. The Japanese Internal Security refused to have anything to do with the case, telling the Caucasian police, "You take this; it's too hot for us." The Caucasian Police promptly arrested the 11 accused men and took them to the Klamath Falls jail.

Immediately after the fight and the arrests, the Resegregation Group held a special meeting, after which they deluged the camp with mimeographed statements which they posted in the latrines and laundries. These statements described the affair as "an unprovoked attack by gangsters on their peaceful organization". Non-

1/ ibid., Dec. 16, 1944, p. 2.

Several minor fights or near fights were reported soon after the beating. These were reputed to be instigated by the "~~long-hairs~~" "long-hairs" as the Kai-Kuratomi-Tsuda faction came to be called, emboldened by the successful attack. No serious encounters took place, but it is not improbable that solitary or outnumbered "shaveheads" were taunted, insulted, and intimidated. Yamaguchi stated that there had been two additional fights and that he had heard a "~~long-hair~~" man say in the fish market; ~~When he said that he~~

~~"He said that he was going over to 54 and I hope to get one of them."~~
~~the (shaveheads) and I hope to get one of them."~~
~~sides~~

"Well, I'm going over to 54 and I hope to get one of them."
 Since the speaker had long hair, Yamaguchi deduced that he was after a shave-head.^{1/}

 1. ibid., Dec. 19, 1944, p. 3.

on his leather gloves. Well, I'm going over to 54 and I hope to get ~~to~~ one of them. He had long hair so I knew which side he belonged to." ^{1/}

Check →

A very significant sequel to the fight was the rumored resignation of several hundred members from the Resegregation Group. These resignations were said to be most numerous in Block 54 where the fracas took place. Dr. Opler received information that 163 members had left in block 54, 200 in block 54, the block where the headquarters were located, and he believed that the body had been cut to half its strength - 500 left of an original 1000. ^{2/} There was no way of checking these figures and the writer is inclined to believe that they were exaggerated. Most information on these withdrawals came from the anti-Resegregationists who were too prone to be optimistic about the disintegration of the organization. Several hundred persons may have resigned; undoubtedly, the Hokoku-dan and Hoshi-dan lost a great deal of face; but the ^{membership} ~~body~~ was not cut in half nor ^{the organization} brought to the brink of collapse. Nevertheless, the strength of these rumors of resignations is indicative of public sentiment. ^{Over} Mr. ~~A.~~ said:

edit

"I heard many families have resigned. They used to be very strong in block 54. Formerly there were only six families who were not members. But now - today there are only five or six belonging (in block 54). In block 25 the members seem to have protested very strongly and some were asked to resign. All those who had been asked to resign are willingly resigning or breaking away. Many are breaking away whether they are asked to or not." ^{3/}

enlarge

The leaders of the Resegregation Group who now were forced by circumstances to throw all of their reliance

^{1/} ibid., Dec. 19, 1944, p. 3.

^{2/} WRA, Community Analysis, "Center Trend Report, Dec. 26, 1944, p. 12.

^{3/} R. Hankey, Notes, Dec. 21, 1944, p. 25.

Mr. Oishi said that he had heard that many families were resigning. In block 54, for instance, almost every family had belonged. Since the fight he had heard that all but five or six of the families in the block had resigned.

~~He added that a group of members in block 25 had protested very strongly at the prevailing Resegregationist policies and had then been asked to resign. They, and many others who had not been asked, were now getting out.~~ He added that a group of members in block 25 had protested very strongly at the prevailing Resegregationist policies and had then been asked to resign. They, and many others who had not been asked, were now getting out. 1/

The leaders of the Resegregation Group who did not wish to risk more violence were forced to throw all of their reliance on getting justice through legal channels. They assumed an attitude of injured innocence and virtue, plastered the ~~xxxxx~~ latrines and laundries with announcements of the wrong which had been done them and bombarded the administration with similar statements. Yamashita, in a statement he said he was sending to Mr. Noyes, accused the Kai-Kuratomi faction of being gangsters, and of planning the attack in Reverend Kai's home, where Kai regaled them with liquor and ~~xxxxxx~~ "even some money". He accused ~~xxxxxx~~ Kai Kuratomi and Tsuda ⁷ having "instigated the public to bad against" the Resegregation Group and the Young Men's Organization, ever since they were released from the stockade. He stated that

three of the men involved in the fight in Block 54 had been expelled from the Resegregation Group and had "been very nasty about it. . . and made bad remarks." He defended the Resegregationist's expulsion policy, stating, "It is natural for an organization like this to do that because ~~it is~~ it is

1/ R. Hankey, Notes, Dec. 21, 1944, p. 25.

Although Reverend Kai was nominally a member of the adult Resegregation Group, Yamashita explained:

"He doesn't like our organization which was existing.. when he came out of the stockade. He had intention of breaking up our organization ~~which was existing~~ because the existence of any organization makes it very inconvenient for him to become leader in this camp. "

~~Yamashita said that Kai~~

Kai, continued Yamashita was utilizing the expulsion of members as an opportunity to make a stand against the Resegregationists, "but in my opinion it couldn't be done with their simple minds." Still "they are very strong because they have connection with the gamblers and the liquor manufacturing joints. Yamashita stated that three of the men involved in the fight in Block 54 had been expelled from the Resegregation Group and had "been very nasty about it.. and made bad remarks." He defended the Resegregationists' expulsion policy, stating

that this was the "natural" and "honorable" ~~xxxxx~~ thing to do according to "the Japanese way of thinking". He

continued:

"Don't you think this case ought to be tried outside in Alturas? (the County Seat) We don't want it tried by Mr. Best's judgement. We want it maximized instead of minimized."

Mr. Yamashita's desire that the case be tried in Alturas and "maximized instead of minimized" was, at least in part, based on the shrewd deduction of how much this publicity would embarrass the WRA. He ended by stating that if the assailants received only 90 days, "the people will not be satisfied and there will be big trouble. "

"There will be bloodshed," said his wife, "I'm afraid bombs won't stop them (the Young Men's Organization) or tanks either." 1/

1. ibid., Dec. 18, 1944, pp. 3-6.

Alturas? We don't want it tried by Mr. Best's judgement. We want it maximized instead of minimized. Ninety days and so forth - the people here will not be satisfied and there will be big trouble."

His wife added: "There will be bloodshed." Mr. Yamashita concluded:

"Then it will be good for the others. They won't start anything again." 1/

ATTITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION - ATTEMPTS AT PRESSURE BY BOTH PARTIES

The attitude of the WRA staff in general was one of excitement and interest in the battle between the two factions. ^{Some of} The members of the ^{Concession} Internal Security, who had long feared the power of the Resegregationists were strongly pro-Kuratomi. Mr. Best and Mr. Noyes were anxious to avoid any publicity, which is perhaps why the trial was kept on the project level. To have it known to the American public that a powerful pro-Japanese organization ~~of the stature of the Hokeku dan~~ existed in Tule Lake could have caused the WRA much embarrassment. The presence of an organized group of gamblers was not a matter to be advertised either. Mr. Noyes, however, ~~set himself sincerely to absolute fairness in the matter and~~ ^{determined to} proceed entirely according to law. When the warrants were sworn out, the 11 men named were arrested immediately and taken to the Klamath Falls jail. Noyes told the writer that the persons who signed the warrants had first contended that the attack had been entirely without warning. Later, however, they admitted that Imachi had come into the office to ask why he had been expelled.

Both factions ^{attempted} ~~made attempts~~ to influence the administration.

1/ ibid., Dec. 18, 1944, pp. 3-6.

tion and both threatened that if their suggestions were not followed immediately "they would not be able to hold off their boys and there would be bloodshed". Mr. Kir a is reported to have made this statement to Mr. Best. The Resegregationists, among whom Yamashita now assumed the leading role, demanded instant justice and heavy sentences. Kuratomⁱ and Tsuda, who came forward as Imachi's spokesmen and defenders, demanded instant release. Mr. Noyes had an interview with them in which they told him that "the group behind them" said, "Unless those guys are let out and let out quickly, we won't be responsible for what happens." They also let Noyes know by indirect means "that if both principals, Imachi and Miyamoto, got 10 days suspended, everybody will be happy". Noyes was unmoved and told them "this will be a trial on the facts". 1/

ATTITUDES OF THE PEOPLE

Since this spectacular fight occurred just before the lifting of the exclusion order and the initiation of the Army hearings, it was difficult to get as many statements of attitudes as would have been possible, had not the residents been psychologically jarred by the occurrence of ~~several~~ ^{other disturbing events.} ~~important~~ several ~~important~~ events in rapid succession. By and large, the ~~anti-Rassag~~ residents did not take sides enthusiastically in the matter, although most of the people were glad that the Resegregationists had been attacked openly. The Kai-Kuratomi group was not very popular. Still, anti-Resegrega-

1. ibid., ~~xxxx~~ p. 7.

tionists were so pleased by the attack that even though they did not like the Kai-Kuratomi faction they were careful, when discussing the matter, not to hint that they thought they were involved. Many people regarded the incident as a very interesting scandal which it was amusing to discuss. Probably the most widespread attitude was, "Let the two bunches fight it out if they want to" coupled with ^athe desire that the Resegregationists would come out second best.

However, as far as public opinion was concerned, the incident did the Resegregationists a great deal of harm. ^{on} ~~the whole,~~ ^{As far as their unopinionated followers were concerned,} they had a reputation to lose, which the "gamblers" did not. Some people who had been lukewarm supporters now swung definitely away from them ~~to~~ "super-patriots". The most significant of the attitudes obtained came from Mr. Okamoto, who, it will be remembered, had at one time been an ardent supporter of the group:

"Everybody is criticizing the Sokuji (Resegregationists) now. This is a good time to jump off (get out of the organization). . . , Everybody is disgusted with them. I'm not going to any of their meetings. . . .

"What they say and speak is opposite from what they do. . . I believe most of the members are really disgusted about the way the organization is running. They [the leaders] ~~xxx~~ push the people. . . Their idea is wrong. . . They are forcing all these things (using pressure).

"They stated in the regulations that their organization is not political, but gradually they stepped into politics. I don't like it and the people don't like it either. After I see this incident (the Block 54 fight) I feel it's better to stay out."

Okamoto reiterated the attitude which the residents were using with increasing frequency against the pressure of the Resegregation Group, stating that "after all" everyone had come to Tule Lake with the same object, returning to Japan/ 1/

D19-1,2.

The Yamaguchis were not sympathetic to either faction, but being strong anti-Resegregationists were delighted with the attack on Miyamoto. They remarked that Miyamoto was very unpopular in his block and that "a lady" had told them, "Very few people have pity on ~~him~~ him." Mr. Yamaguchi took a humorous view of the situation, stating that ~~it was~~ at any rate it was easy to recognize the adherents of either faction - the "gamblers" wore long hair and the Young Men's Organization had their heads shaved. 2/

3

1/ ibid., Dec. 19, 1944, pp. 1, 2.
2. ibid., p. 3.

(The above statement is wishful thinking, since the Resegregationists immediately spread the news that they had been attacked by the Kai-Kuratomi "gangsters". Some anti-Resegregationists hesitated to admit even to the writer that they knew that the Kai Kuratomi faction was involved in the beating. Even Mr. K. who usually gets accurate information stated that he had heard that the men arrested, particularly Kimura, had nothing to do with the fight.)

Mrs. Yamaguchi continued:

"George (her husband) says it was Kai's gang because the Sokoku put out a notice some time ago that something will happen and Kai was the one who took the notice to the police. The colonial police said it was a political issue and they wouldn't handle it."

Mr. Yamaguchi took a humorous view of the situation, stating that it was very easy to recognize the adherents of either faction - the gamblers wore long hair and the Hokoku had their heads shaved off. 1/

Mr. ^{Imachi} ~~Kimura~~ having long been a stalwart opponent of the Resegregation Group was delighted at the difficult situation in which they now found themselves. He thoroughly enjoyed the loss of face and discomfiture of the ~~Hokoku~~ leaders. ~~He had been told that Mr. Kimura, a friend of Kuratomi's, had nothing to do with the beating. Here, he was misinformed.~~ He interpreted the fact that the attack was made by an expelled member ~~of the~~ as a sign of internal trouble among the members of the organization. This was not actually true, however, since Imachi had been a crony of Kuratomi's long before he joined the Hoshi-dan. ~~Mr. Kimura~~ ^{He also} anticipated

1/ ibid., Dec. 19, 1944, p. 3.

more trouble.

"This is nothing but an internal explosion. . . I think there will be more trouble. This is the beginning of the disintegration of the organization. If the ~~leaders~~ ~~are picked up now and thrown behind bars~~ (Resegregationist) leaders are picked up now and thrown behind bars, the camp will quiet down. If not - the fire has started. . .

"I think the people are now disgusted to some extent and are glad to see things of that nature (like the beating) happen. If they were opposed to it, I think the men who thrashed Miyamoto would have been mobbed on the very spot. But I heard they stood and listened to what he had to say like a good audience."

Since Mr. Oishi believed ~~at~~ this time that the men who had been arrested were quite innocent, he was of the opinion that they should be released immediately by the authorities.^{1/}

D16-1, 2.

THE TRIAL

The trial lasted three days and was marked by extreme formality on the part of the administration and by considerable perjury on the part of the witnesses. To begin with, Mr. Noyes determined that it would be conducted with full ceremony and that every court procedure would be observed. This he did to impress both factions with the solemnity of the occasion and leave no opening for criticism from either plaintiffs or defendants. Mr. Gunderson, Assistant Project Director, presided as judge and two interpreters were present. X On a table beside the judge's desk ~~was placed~~ lay four exhibits furnished by the Young Men's Organization. These were a section of a large mop with the rag attached ^{and} / three pieces of wood, one long and flat, one short two-by-~~6~~four/ and one very long two-by-two with a large nail protruding from the end.

To the right of the judge, seated in a body, were the 11 defendants, all of whom appeared to be in high spirits and ^{as}

1/ ibid., Dec. 16, 1944, pp. 1, 2.

looked

if they were enjoying the occasion. They were charged with Assault, Assault and Battery, Aggravated Assault and Battery, Disorderly Conduct and Disturbance of the Peace. They were to have been ~~charged~~ charged with Riot by Noyes decided against this since the word "riot" might leak to the newspapers and give rise to ~~another~~ stories of another "riot" at Tule Lake. Most of the defendants were between the ages of 20 and 30. Beside them sat their advisors, Mr. Kuratomi and Mr. Tsuda, who assumed the role of counsels for the defence. Most of the remaining seats in the room were occupied by the representatives of the Young Men's Association and the Resegregation Group and their witnesses. They presented a marked contrast to the defendants both in appearance and behavior. ~~The young men with their newly shaved heads~~
~~(several had apparently had their heads shaved for this occasion)~~
 The young men, many of whom had apparently had their heads ~~newly~~ newly shaved for this occasion, wearing their grey Hokoku uniform, sweat shirts bearing the emblem of the rising sun, sat in dignified and oppressive silence and glared balefully at the light-hearted defendants. Mr. Yamashita occupied a prominent place near the front of the room; Mr. Kato arrived to take notes of the proceedings. The dozen or so witnesses for the defense sat together in a group and kept themselves apart from the Resegregationists. Tension in the room was very great; the defendants reacted to it by putting on an exaggerated appearance of indifference and confidence and the Resegregationists by assuming an unemotional mask.

The first day of the trial went very badly for the Resegregationists. Their chief witness, the dancho Uchida,

~~was a member of the Young Men's Organization~~ who, with several other officers of the Young Men's Organization had sworn out the complaint, was questioned by Kuratomi and Tsuda who forced him to admit that although he had signed the complaint and named the accused, he had not been present at the fight and in actuality had witnessed nothing. Uchida became so frightened and upset that he broke down, trembled, and could scarcely speak.

The second day of the trial began more suspiciously for the Resegregationists. Mr. Miyamoto took the stand. ~~and~~ He testified that he had not struck Mr. Imachi at any time or even threatened to strike him. ^{He stated that he had never seen the mop,} He identified Kimura, the powerful judo man as one of those who had surrounded Imachi during the fight and carried a stick. After Miyamoto's wife and son had testified that they had been thrown down and struck respectively, ten additional witnesses were called by the defense. Most of them were members of the Young Men's Organization with clipped heads and wearing their sweat shirts. All in all, they did little to aid Mr. Miyamoto's case. They appeared afraid to commit themselves to anything, were very nervous and frequently had "looked away" when they could have seen something damaging to Miyamoto's case or had heard "loud words" uttered by Imachi which they could not remember. The following is a typical sample of the testimony:

Noyes: What happened to the mop?

Sasaki: It was laying on the ground.

Noyes: Was it broken?

Sasaki: I couldn't see.

Noyes: What did you do if anything?

Sasaki: I didn't do nothing. 1/

20-14
The next witness for the prosecution admitted that he had seen Mr. Miyamoto pick up the mop to defend himself, which was damaging to Miyamoto since ~~he had~~ Miyamoto had previously testified that he had not even seen the mop. When Mr. Hayashi, an officer of the Young Men's Organization was called, he ^{also} testified that he ~~also~~ had not heard what Imachi said "in a loud voice". The reason why no one heard this was by now becoming clear. The witnesses did not wish to repeat ~~the~~ Imachi's statements denouncing the Young Men's Organization.

Imachi, the chief defendant, then took the stand and the atmosphere of the trial changed completely. Instead of the timorous hesitance of the Resegregationist witnesses, he adopted a loquacious frankness. Describing the fight, he stated that Miyamoto had swung at him, whereupon he (Imachi) had given him a jab on the jaw. Miyamoto then picked up the mop and hit Imachi ~~by~~ breaking the mop. Imachi then took the mop away from Miyamoto and hit him on the head with it.

The stalwart Mr. Kimura now took the stand in his defense. He admitted going to Block 54 to look out for Imachi and admitted picking up a stick to make his defense more formidable. When asked ~~which~~ which stick, he picked up the long two-by-two with the protruding nail. When asked if he had held the stick by the end with the nail or by the other end, he replied: "At first I held it by the nail end, but afterward I held it by the other end because it was more protection." 2/

1. ibid., Dec. 20, 1944, p. 14

2. ibid., p. 28.

At this point the courtroom exploded into laughter which was suppressed with difficulty. The members of the Young Men's Organization, however, managed to keep impassive faces and glared their disapproval. Mr. Noyes stated later that had not Kimura enjoyed himself so thoroughly, recounting with gusto how he had practically stood off 100 to 150 of the "baldheads" as he called them, by the simple expedient of picking up a large stick with a nail in it, he might ~~have gotten off with a suspended sentence~~ not ~~even~~ have received the suspended sentence which he was eventually given.

When the other defendants were called all proved to have ingenuous reasons for their appearance in Block 54. It was obvious that they had been doing some constructive thinking during their confinement in the Klamath Falls jail. Four of the defendants who roomed together stated that they had gone as a group to congratulate another of the defendants, Mr. Shitanishi, on the birth of his baby (his fifth child). All denied having picked up clubs and all invariably mentioned that they had heard Mrs. Miyamoto ~~give the~~ call out to the young men to give the emergency bugle call. This was done to impress upon the administration the fact that the Young Men's Group had such a call and could rally their members ~~at any~~ for action at any time of the day or night. Some of the defendants admitted that they had felt obligated to see that a bigger fight did not start, but none admitted threatening or striking anyone.

Before calling any witnesses for the defense Kuratomi remarked that many witnesses had refused to come for fear of retaliation. The statement caused Mr. Gunderson, the judge,

to ask sharply:

"What do you mean by retaliation? Is a person afraid to get up in the witness stand for fear of what might happen?"

Kuratomi replied ambiguously, whereupon both Noyes and Gunderson asked if ~~if~~ the witnesses were afraid of individuals or groups or if they ~~were~~ were afraid of ~~a~~ "getting between two groups". Kuratomi refused to elaborate. He was, of course, referring to the residents' reluctance to testify against ~~and~~/the powerful and feared Resegregation Group.

The witnesses for the defense gave, on the whole, much better testimony than the witnesses for the plaintiffs. One woman who said she "did not belong to either side" gave a clear account of how Mr. Miyamoto and some seven or eight boys from the Young Men's Organization had threatened Imachi ~~before~~ the day before the fight. Another stated that he had seen Miyamoto hit Imachi with the mop after which "a lot of shaved-heads" bore down on Imachi:

"They (the shaved-heads) said, 'Let's get in the fight.' Then they saw Mr. Kimura. He looked so tough, they didn't. . . If they hadn't seen Mr. Kimura I'm sure there would have been a great big trouble. I saw one big man, a shaved-head, with a stick. He saw Mr. Kimura and he threw away his stick. . ." 1/

21-17, 18.

Mr. Miyamoto was then recalled. Since he had previously testified that he had not seen a mop and since several witnesses had testified that they saw him hit Imachi with the mop, he was in a difficult position. He attempted to extricate himself by stating that he had not been able to see anything because Imachi knocked his glasses off. This made matters worse because he had previously testified that he had gone over to the wood-pile to pick up his glasses. Mr. Gunderson

1. ibid., Dec. 21, 1944, pp. 17, 18.

immediately asked him:

"You are to have me understand that you could walk back and find your glasses and yet couldn't see a man the size of Mr. Imachi or an object the size of a mop?"

This brought loud laughter from the spectators and the defendants and produced great dismay among the Resegregationists. Uchida was then recalled by Gunderson and asked if this fight had been a matter of friction between two groups. To every question he replied that he did not know or that he did not understand the question.

At the close of the trial Mr. Gunderson stated that the verdict would be announced in ten days. Pending the verdict, the defendants were released in the colony. 1/ Gunderson then made a speech in which the most significant ~~statements were~~ statements were that he was convinced "that this seems to embody more than a disagreement between two people" and that "during the hearing there has been some perjury". He also warned that those who had testified might be arrested for perjury. 2/

From the expressions of the Resegregationists it was obvious that they were most displeased with this outcome.

 1. Imachi was eventually sentenced to 90 days with 60 days suspended. The remaining days carried the alternative of a 20 dollar fine. This was reduced because of the time he had already spent in jail and his friends paid 16 dollars. Kimura and another defendant were given short suspended sentences. By the time these sentences were announced the camp was so disturbed by the opening of the Pacific Coast, the internments of the leading Resegregationists and the renunciation of citizenship, that the verdict received little attention.

2. ibid., Dec. 21, 1944, p. 24.

Since the chief concern of the administration was to avert a serious clash between the two groups, a conference with the leaders of both factions was held immediately after the trial and it was emphasized that ~~the~~ both groups of leaders would be held responsible for any eventuality. At this conference Yamashita stated that he was not the head of the Resegregation Group but was merely a member and Kuratomi and Tsuda made eloquent speeches to the effect that they had been campaigning for peace in camp ever since they were released from the stockade. 1/

1. Dec. 21, 1944, p. 7.

id.

→ 1

Reactions of the Resegregation Group

The Resegregationists were convinced that a gross injustice had been done them. They took the attitude that they had pinned their hopes on the law of the United States and that they had been betrayed. Coupled with the anger, however, was the fear that they might be prosecuted for perjury. Especially the young men who had sworn out the complaint though they had not witnessed the fight, were concerned about this.

Reverend Kai's life was threatened a few days after the trial and he was spirited to some unknown place in the colony and guarded by friends. He refused the protection of the Internal Security.

Mrs. Matsuda poured out a torrent of wild accusations against the Kai-Kuratomi faction and against the administration. She ~~had shown~~ described how Mr. Sandborn, of the Internal Security had driven around Block 54 with the released "gamblers" in his car "and they were all laughing and giggling". She stated that the three clubs used as exhibits had come from Reverend Kai's house, that Reverend Kai's father and mother "had renounced him on the day of the trial" and that the Kai-Kuratomi faction was just playing into the hands of the administration, which was using them "purposefully. . . to disorganize the Center". She stated that it was ~~obvious that~~ obvious that the administration and the defendants were working hand in hand and that Mr. ~~Wakayama~~ Kira had said, 'This trial is a flop.'

She told how Sugimoto, an emissary from Kuratomi, had come to visit her husband and suggested that they patch up the difference. "I said, 'We're happy as we are and we don't want to have gangsters in our social life.'" Sugimoto then taunted

her~~self~~ with the possibility that her brother, Tokyo Yamane, one of the officers of the Young Men's Organization who had signed the complaint, might be arrested for perjury. She told how she had reproached Tokyo for signing and he had replied, "Mr. Yamashita knows I didn't want to sign." Her husband had also signed and was in danger of ^{arrest for} perjury. 1/

"I'm sure we're going to send a letter to all the different departments (of the government) telling them how unfair this all was."

She also remarked that the members of the Young Men's Association "are really mad" and that they were having a difficult time retraining them from violence. 2/

23-2,4-5

Other members of the Resegregation Group also insisted that ~~there was~~ the trial was an example of connivance between the Kas-Kuratomu faction and the administration. 3/

However, this humiliation and the talk of violence was silenced less than a week after the trial when all of the officers of both Resegregationist Organizations were interned by the Department of Justice and taken to Santa Fe. 4/ Because of this blow and the resultant activities it stimulated, the issue of the trial was virtually forgotten.

ATTITUDE OF THE RESIDENTS

The release of the defendants caused little comment~~s~~, although some people expressed satisfaction over the fact that they had been released. The verdict was given no publicity and

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1. Mr. Noyes stated that Yamashita had urged the reluctant boys to sign the complaint.
 2. R. Hankey, Notes, Dec. 23, 1944, pp. 2, 4-5.
 3. ibid., Dec. 28, 1944, p. 1.
 4. Described in detail infra.

few informants seemed very interested in it. As has been explained before, the people were occupied with other matters by this time. Mr. Kuratomi commented briefly on the incident stating that this kind of trouble would never have arisen in camp if Mr. Best had released him and his group in April 1944. "I don't think if he'd done that these men (Resegregationists) could have gotten control like this." 1/

1. ibid., Dec. 26, 1944, p. 2.

Chapter 8

page 2: Was there any connection between the hunger strike of the stockade internees and the organization of the Sokoku?

page 4: Why is it necessary to erect a defense against being considered "loyal" to America?

page 4, lines 6 -8: ". . . coming within the reach of the possibility of forced reentry into American life, which for most of the young men who joined the organization meant Selective Service." The eligibility for relocation is established by the WRA. It is difficult to believe, as the statement infers, that the joining in such a movement would further remove them from the possibility of forced relocation. Rather, a new set of value judgements had been set up at Tule Lake, which values things Japanese and degrades things American. The pattern to cherish the Japanese way of life became a part of the mores.

or compel them to see away from

page 4: Were Tachibana, Wakayama, and other older Resegregationists connected with the Sokoku? If so, their role should be mentioned here.

page 4, the bottom paragraph: "the subsequent wave of violence culminating with the Hitomi murder" The beatings subsequent to the murder --- by Miyoshi, Harry Hashimoto, Tiger Terao, and Makiyara --- have any political implications?

page 6, the top: Myer's letter and its discrepancies in its Japanese translation should be noted. Because of the context of the Japanese translation, the first two sentences in the second paragraph must be revised.

page 6: "behave like 'true Japanese'" What does it mean? What motivates it? What value do they derive from it?

page 9 "that the WRA both here and in Washington is considering the seriousness of the petition." This section will be strengthened by the inclusion of the Myer's statement in the earlier part.

page 9, lines 3 - 7: The fact that the imminent opening of the Coast and closing of the relocation centers were widely rumored should be mentioned earlier.

page 11, line 9: The Newell Star on September 28 announced that the petition had had no official sanction. It also ~~also~~ carried the order by Thomas that circulation of written matter must be approved by the administration in advance. On October 5, through the Newell Star, Black announced that the petition had not been approved by the Administration.

page 11, the last paragraph: It should read: "Since the first week of September, ^{part} about two weeks prior to the circulation of the unauthorized petition . . ."

page 12, line 5: "that only those loyal to Japan would come under Justice supervision and would be allowed to remain in Tule Lake."

page 13, the third paragraph: Were other young people other than members of the Sokoku Kenkyu obsessed with the renunciation desire?

page 13, lines 3 - 6: ^{from bottom} It seems to me that they wanted to rationalize their desire to escape forced relocation and induction by saying that they were "true Japanese".

page 13, the last line: Director Best declared a holiday on Nov. 3. This would give an impression to residents that the WRA approved Japanese activities.

page 19, the end of the first paragraph: Kira's group are not members of our group. This statement must be clarified, because Kira and his group have been described in the previous pages that they were active members. This is an indication of a split among the Resegregation Group.

page 20: Sawada knifing: This should be treated as an indication of increased arrogance. He seemed to have been overly influenced by the fear ~~the~~ Resegregation-

ists exerted over the residents. This is also indicative of the camp condition, where the strong arm method was most effective.

page 20, the third paragraph: A lead up describing the fear should be given to emphasize the effect of the plan to beat up twelve inu. (defined now as opponents of the Resegregationists. Therefore, they were innocent people.)

page 22. Mention should be made to the effect that the Kai-Kuratomi members were victims of vicious rumors defaming their characters. Culminating this, many members of the ~~Resegregationist/Group~~ Hokoku, who had been suspected of too closely associated with the Kai-Kuratomi faction, were expelled

page 23: There is a reason to believe that the Hokoku misjudged the strength of the opposition when they expelled some of the members. When they saw the unexpected strength and challenging attitude of the opposition, they became apprehensive.

page 24: It seems that the opposition gained confidence against the Hokoku, because they had been called before Burling and discredited before the community as extremists, who might be punished by the Department of Justice.

page 25:" The trial itself was marked by extreme hesitancy on the part of witnesses to make statements that might incriminate members the Hokoku" is not justified. Although some witnesses refused to appear, as Kuratomi explained, there were other witnesses incriminating the Hokoku.

page 29: How about people who, although had answered 'Yes - Yes', refused to be removed to other centers?

RH COMMENTS ON CHAPTER VIII "PRESSURE"

p. 2A - line 2 - note omitted - note is on p. 2. Some reference might be made to the fact that succeeding meetings were held on the eighth of the month - anniversary of Pearl Harbor.

line 4 - note is on page 2.

p. 3A - lines 5-6 "force" Some additional phrase should come here clarifying the fact that Yamashita and Kira would use to organized body of young men as the instrument of this "force."

p. 5 - line 2 - "they" would be clearer if you said "the Resegregation leaders" or "the Resegregation Committee" which body actually did address the letter to Myer.

lines 6-7 from bottom - This sentence is somewhat misleading here. More accurately would be "The administration did not formally announce this decision to the colonists as a whole, but the information seeped out and the rumor gradually died down."

p. 6A - line 3 "letter" would be clearer if you said, "Mr. Myer's reply to their letter of July 2"

p. 10 - lines 4-5 from bottom. There might be a "note 2" after "April" as follows: "Yamashita was probably referring to the activities of the group which sponsored the Akashi petition, the first Resegregation petition. A considerable number of the members of this group, however, had been working underground since December 1945 to effect the release of the ~~Daihyonsha~~ Negotiating Committee from the stockade, the attempt to keep the status quo issue alive and to discredit the Coordinating Committee." reference supra to chapter IV B.

p-11-A lines 1-5 - This is confusing.

In the first place the statement that the residents showed dislike or hostility "in the face of the stern official announcement" (p. 11) last line) is not quite accurate. I collected many attitudes before the announcement came out and all criticised the petition even men like Okamoto who were still sincere members of the Sokoku Kenkyu. However, after Black's statement came out criticism of the pamphlet became even stronger and contained the additional denunciation that it "was not authorized."

line 3 - "former" would be more clear if you named them "the Resegregationists".

lines 3-5 - I suggest you say "threatening those who voiced opposition, initiating a series of beatings of the more outspoken critics of the petition and adopting even more nationalistic activities."

lines 3-5 from bottom - it was ~~not~~ widely believed by the personnel as my notes show.

p. 13- line 15 - Use of Hoshi for Resegregation Group will not be clear here. It would perhaps be better if you stressed on p. 12-line 14

RH. COMMENTS ON CHAPTER VIII "PRESSURE"

p. 2A - line 2 - reference to this date should be made

that hereafter you will refer to the adult Resegregation Group as the Hoshi-dan, which is what it was almost always called by the residents and the administration from about Dec. 1 on.

13 - last line - use "whatsoever" instead of "however."

16-B line 2 from bottom - "Young man" This should more accurately be "man" since, according to Abe and Oishi, Sawada who was 50 years old participated in the beating.

p. 17 - note 1 - This is inaccurate. The first sentence should be: "Seicho-no-Iye is a ~~kind~~ type of universal religion emphasizing the power of healing by faith."

I was
line 3-4 ~~is~~ inaccurate here. ~~But~~ Abe told me later he made the speech several weeks before the beating.

19 - note 1 - Sorry but the proverb should be here.

~~19-A line 1 - Sorry but the proverb should be here.~~

~~19-A line 1 - Sorry but the proverb should be here.~~

19-A - line 12 - should be Japanese Language School teacher of Ward VII, otherwise we get the idea that all of the JIS teachers in the center got mad at Tsuha. In actuality - only the Ward VIII teachers became angry.

19-A line 2 from bottom - would be clearer if said, "by another assault by one of the leaders."

20 - line 4 - "because of fear of Kira and his gang".

22 - lines 10 -12 - But the odium with which they had (particularly Tsuda) had earlier been regarded by the residents and the rumors that they were inu, died down.

22 - 2-5 - Underlying cause was jealousy over control of the camp.

22 A - line 4 - Should be "By initiating this action/the leaders of the Resegregation Group had underestimated. . . . , however,

~~24 - lines 4-6 - "left no doubt" is a little too strong. His questions, rather, impressed them with the fact that they might be interned.~~

24 - lines 4-6 - "left no doubt" is a little too strong. His questions, rather, impressed them with the fact that they might be interned.

24 - 5 -7 from bottom - The friends did not actually participate in any violence but merely protected Imachi so that he would not be mobbed by members of the Hokoku.

25 - last paragraph. Not accurate - witnesses for the defense did make statements incriminating ~~Young Men's~~ Resegregationists. In truth, both witnesses for the plaintiffs and defendants perjured themselves right and left. On the whole, not much fear of the resegregationists was shown, in fact, the ~~plaintiffs~~ and a few of their witnesses defendants

were arrogantly insulting to the Resegregationists.

p. 26 - line 1 - really the attack and its boldness was most potent in weakening the prestige of the Resegregationists.