9:5 Betrayal & Survival Miscellaneous Sections

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same feeling.

She then said with a smile: "You know why the boys are renouncing." I asked about the Resegregationists. She said that she thought that the Hokoku and the Hoshi-dan had been very influential in causing people to renounce.

One January 24, Mrs. Aida, my older Nisei friend told me:

> They feel if they don't renounce their citizenship they can't go back to Japan. You might have to get out of camp. Frankly, that's how everybody feels. . . If the American people were all like you, I'd go out tomorrow.

* * * * *

Meanwhile, the resegregationists, with exultant fanaticism, spread rumors that the families of the men sent to Santa Fe would soon be sent to join them. Members of the *Hokoku* who received notices from Washington approving their applications for denationalization waved them in front of nonrenunciants and urged them to make their own applications without delay. Renunciation became a mass movement. During January, 3,400 young persons (40 percent of the citizen population) applied for denationalization. The Department of Justice became alarmed. Burling tried to stem the flood by asking the national officials of the WRA to declare Tule Lake a "refuge center" from which no one would be forced to relocate for the duration of the war, and by trying to stamp out the resegregationist organizations. ~~At this time, he also held a consultation with Dr. Thomas in Berkeley.~~ But the WRA refused to yield in the matter of forced resettlement, and the only concession made was that "those who do not wish to leave the Tule Lake center *at this time* are not required to do so and may continue to live here or at some similar center until January 1, 1946" (Thomas and Nishimoto 1946: 356, italics theirs). The Department of Justice continued its internments of resegregationists. On 26 January, 171 men were interned, on 11 February, 650, on 4 March, 125. [1]

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1. "Doing Fieldwork," pp. 167-8.

Renunciation Continues During February and March - 1944

The following statement reflect the changing attitudes of my respondents during ~~thexe Febxxxx~~ February, and March.

On ~~Febxxxxxxxxx~~ February 13, two days after 650 young men had been interned, I received the following letter from Mr. Kunitani:

February 12, 1945

Dear Miss Hankey:

Sorry I have delayed in answering your letter of Jan. 25. The condition in the center has been most unsettled because of recent mass pick-ups.

The current rumor which in my opinion is the most vicious has it that unless people (young-men of course) sign up with the organization, they will be subject to draft by March of this year. There seems to be a great increase in the membership of said body. The people are under the impression that if you are a member, then your chance of renunciation is guaranteed; whereas, if you are not, you just don't know when you will be able to renounce your citizenship. Of course there is a connection with the recent announcement about the exchange-ship.

In fairness to everyone concerned, I am of the opinion that some kind of statement should be forthcoming from the Justice Department in this instance. The result if left unabated, will not only be tragic but dreadful. I don't know what you are able to do, but for justice's sake please take some action.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

George.

On my way to see Mr. Kunitani I dropped in on Mr. Kurihara and asked him about the current rumors. He told me:

> Those rumors are being heard throughout the camp. It has a tremendous effect. People are joining the <u>Ho:koku</u>. It's going over like a wild fire. Those who were strongly opposed to the <u>Ho:koku</u> are trying everything to get in it. The membership is growing by leaps and bounds.
>
> The membership was decreasing very rapidly but this rumor in the form of propaganda has spread throughout the camp. It began about Saturday morning.
>
> Several people have come around to see me and ask for advice. Instead of giving them advice I gave them hell for not being able to judge the situation for themselves. Because it's nothing but outright lies which ordinary common sense would tell.
>
> The people are in a quandary and don't know what to do. They just follow the mob. I told them, 'You're group are like a bunch of sheep.'
>
> The hold of the <u>Hōkoku</u> is very strong now. They have taken root. The Administration must see that fact right now, because this thing is contageous. [illegible] If any Japanese steps away from the <u>Hōkoku</u> he will be called a <u>hikekumin</u> (unpatriotic) -a traitor to Japan.

I wouldn't blame any of the parents here for not wanting to have their sons serve in the United States Army. To prevent that they will go to any extent. These parents are advising their sons to join the Hokoku-dan to avoid being drafted. They are taking the safer side.

I gave those parents hell for being so jittering and not having a mind of their own. Renunciation is the only idea. Parents want their sons and daughters to renounce so that they can go to Japan with them. ~~It's fantastic in a way. I believe it's in the blood of those boys that they will stick with their own kind.~~

Another rumor which has brought on this change of mind is that whoever joins the Hokoku-dan will be the first to go to Japan.

If the exchange ship were to come and would take back only those who have stayed here quietly and obeyed the laws - boy - it will be a blow to the Hokoku.

Another reason I think many of the young boys are joining is that when they leave here hundreds and hundreds of people come out to see them out. It gives them such a chivalrous feeling, seeing the boys being sent away with such a big farewell and such public acclaim. 'I must be the next one and be that way,' they say. That's a crazy idea which I don't see. Young boys' blood boils like that.

I proceeded to visit Mr. Kunitani and found him very distressed over the situation:

In the minds of the people of the center it has been the general impression that by going to Santa Fe they'll be recognized as aliens and they feel that their renunciation of citizenship is granted. Whereas, if you are a gentleman enough to be peaceful and quiet, renunciation will not materialize. . . . Suppose you did renounce your citizenship and the Japanese government was not informed, how would you become a Japanese nationl? Suppose one doesn't have Japanese citizenship? Where would be be?. . The Japanese government might not accept him.

A lot of simple minded people think that being sent to Santa Fe is a glory for them. There should be some way you could disqualify this statement.

I wish Justice would keep in mind that there will be a lot of people who haven't renounced it as yet because of uncertainty and

doubts. As soon as a clear-cut policy is presented before the people I would consider seriously about my own renunciation. Don't think for a minute that I won't go back to Japan. But even there I will run into a lot of difficulties. I am radical in my thoughts. I was a most ardent New Dealer until 1933. . .

Sociologically speaking, I wonder if the people have not been tortured in their minds for so long - all they can think of is what's happening right in front of their eyes, and they aren't looking forward to the future at all. None of them think that the war might end and then what position would they be in?

On February 16, my secretary, who expatriated and whose father was a member of the Hōshi-dan, told me the the prevailing rumor was not that you had to join the Hōkoku to get your renunciation of citizenship, but that if you joined, your renunciation was guaranteed.

You are safe if you join.

I've heard and know of several people who wanted to join and begged the organization to include their sons as members. In the cases where the parents were in the Resegregation Group, their sons were accepted into the Hōshidan.

On February 16 I noted that the Hōkoku drilled before dawn with a "great noise of bugles". "A group of about 65 young men also drilled arrogantly in the firebreak this afternoon."

On February 28, a young Nisei girl visited me in my room and talked anxiously to me the entire afternoon.

I know boys who are having their heads shaved just to go to their hearings. To make a good impression, they shave off their heads. I don't understand them.

I heard about another fellow who applied to work in Mess Operations. Mr. Hayward held up his hat and when he saw he had long hair he said, 'OK, you're a good boy.'

Why doesn't the Administration make some definite statement? Who is in charge here anyway, WRA, the Department of Justice or the Army, or what? Somebody ought to take more interest.

I know some poor kids, their parents made them shave their heads. But they still roll up their jeans to show their argyle socks. A lot of kids say that when they're 18 they'll have to join (the Hokoku) due to their parents' pressure and the draft.

The women in the Joshi are sure carrying on. They drill now and wear trousers like the women wear in the fields in Japan. . . .

In our block a young kid was taken in the first bunch. In the second bunch, his older brother went. The old folks in our block went to sympathize. But the mother said, 'I'm proud of this. At last they've become Japanese - Nippon Seishin (Japanese Spirit).' We didn't know what to say. . , , .

A young boy, the baby of the family was sent away. He sent his mother a note concealed in a rice cake, saying, 'I'm terribly lonely, mother.' Naturally, he wouldn't admit anything like that to his family before he was sent away. But he sent it to his mother.

On February 28, Mr. Kurihara told me:

Many Issei and families are forcing their sons to join the Hokoku-dan merely to escape the draft. I told them, when they get back to Japan they will use some means to keep their sons out of the Japanese Army. They were very surprised to hear me say that.

On March 3, Mr. Itabashi told me:

Why the Ho:koku-dan got power was because when they started requesting for resegregation. They said that the WRA hinted that they would co-operate with the Ho:koku. That's what the Ho:koku people said. They claimed they had an understanding with WRA and even Secretary of the Interior Ickes. That's why even intelligent people were fooled.

~~On March 9, I had a long conversation with two Nisei girls which moved me deeply. I wrote in my notes~~

On March 4, the Department of Justice interned 125 young men.

On March 9, I had a long conversation with two Nisei girls which moved me deeply. ~~I began my notes with~~ That evening, when I typed my notes, I opened them with the following statement:

Spent the entire afternoon gossiping with two Nisei girls, ~~Melba Kaminaka~~ Mary Fuji and her friend. While the talk has little to do with current politics at Tule Lake, it taught me a lot and caused me to be pretty ashamed of myself. These poor kids, both of them Old Tuleans, are tied down here through segregation, don't want to go to Japan, want to go out to school most grievously, and are tied hand and foot by the fact that if they do go, they can't even come back to visit their parents and may never see them again. We discussed prejudice in this country and they asked my advice on how to meet prejudice, saying many times that it was the little things that one cannot protest legally that hurt the most. Knowing that they may be stuck in Tule Lake if the authorities decide to swing one way I advised them to relocate together and go to a nursing school if they really wanted to live in this country. They ~~said~~ told me that they had been trying to do that for three years.

> We'd be RN's by now, if we'd gone at the beginning, said ~~Melba~~ Mary. But they wouldn't let us come back and work here at the hospital even at 19 dollars a month. Think of all the money they'd save!"

(I sympathized about the difficulty of leaving ones parents, saying that I had had the same problem.)

> 'But did your mother cry and plead with you to stay?' asked ~~Melba's~~ Mary's friend.

> 'It isn't only that,' said ~~Melba~~ Mary, 'We'll be all right if we go out, but think how our families will suffer.'

> 'Will they [other segregants] really hold it against your family if you go out?' I asked.

> 'You bet they will,' she assured me. If only this hadn't been made a segregation center.

We discussed prejudice all over the world and they decided that there were no good bets except Soviet Russia and perhaps Brazil. Neither country appealed, so they decided to stay here and face out the matter. On camp matters Melba related the following rumor prevelent about the fate of the Ho:shi-dan:

> They were saying (in the hospital) that eventually they're going to get together all the Ho:shi-dan and intern them in a camp near San Diego. Aren't they building something there? But then they said that's too close to the coast. Then somebody else said that it would be a good thing to put them there because if Japanese planes bombed the coast the Ho:shi-dan would surely get it.

Both girls, like many persons in camp, were impressed with the recent terrorization of Nisei at San Jose. Melba told the story of another Japanese group near Stockton who were living on the Fair Ground and the men had to go to work with a military guard to protect them.

> But I still think it would be a good idea to segregate all the super-patriots.

> If this were a relocation center and open, lots of people would go out and come back if they could. We were all set for going out ourselves, but after Military Registration and Segregation our parents wouldn't hear of it. They wouldn't listen to us about going out.

At the end of my writeup I commented: "This talk hit men harder than this writeup shows. You might extend my personal apologies to any Nisei who happend to be about." I added that I was becoming very depressed and that it was "about time I finished up the job."

On 16 March the WRA belatedly announced that all resegregationist activities were unlawful and punishable by imprisonment. But none of these repressive measures stopped the flood of renunciations. In all, 70 percent of those eligible renounced their citizenship.

During the summer of 1945 many approved renunciants wrote to the Department of Justice and asked for permission to withdraw their renunciations; some also asked to leave Tule Lake. (The department sent form letters to all such persons explaining that it was not within the power of the Attorney General to restore citizenship once lost through the procedure followed). The number of applications for cancellation of renunciation increased sharply in the fall.

Although many were seeking to cancel their renunciations, the Department of Justice was moving to send them all to Japan. On July 14, 1945, under the authority of the Alien Enemy Act of 1798, President Truman issued Proclamation 2655 which provided that all interned alien enemies deemed by the Attorney General to be dangerous to peace and safety "because they have adhered to aforesaid enemy governments or to the principles of their government shall be subject . . . to removal from the United States."[355] Regulations governing their deportation were published by the Department of Justice on September 26, 1945.[356] On October 8 the department began the registration of the renunciants, who were fingerprinted and photographed. They were informed that they were now classed as "native American aliens."[357] On October 10 the department announced that on and after November 15 "all persons whose applications to renounce citizenship have been approved by the Attorney General of the United States, will be repatriated to Japan, together with members of their families, whether citizens or aliens, who desire to accompany them."[358]

The renunciants were startled by the announcement of their imminent removal to Japan, and many who did not wish to be sent there took action to prevent it. A group who had been in contact with Wayne Collins, a San Francisco attorney and a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, formed a small committee which began to raise funds to finance court action. On November 5, Collins entered two suits in federal courts asking that certain named renunciant plaintiffs be set at liberty, that the deportation orders be cancelled, that the applications for renunciations be declared void, and the plaintiffs declared to be nationals of the United States. At the time of filing these suits there were 987 plaintiffs. Many more were added during the following weeks and the number rose to 4,322.[359] The litigation thus initiated lasted many years.

On December 10, 1945, Department of Justice officials at Tule Lake announced that deportation, or so-called "mitigation," hearings (similar to those held in all cases of deportation of aliens to discover whether undue hardship would be occasioned by the move), would be held for all renunciants who did not wish to go to Japan, as well as for aliens who had been interned and who were now at Tule Lake under special-segregation or parole orders.[360] Aliens or renunciants who did not ask for a hearing, those who expressed a desire to be sent to Japan, and those aliens and citizens removed from Tule Lake during the winter of 1944–45, would not be given hearings and would be sent to Japan.

In the fall of 1945 a movement from Tule Lake began. With the cessation of hostilities with Japan, the WDC released all those it had been holding. After the Department of Justice took over on October 10 only renunciants and "segregated parolees" were detained, and resettlement of the eligible was speeded. The population of the center dropped from 17,341 on August 1, 1945, to 7,269 on January 1, 1946.

On January 31, 1946, the center held 5,045 persons, consisting of only detainees and their families.[361]

In January, 1946, there were approximately 3,200 renunciants at Tule Lake and a small number in the Department of Justice internment camps. After the announcements of the mitigation hearings, 3,161 at Tule Lake and 25 in the internment centers applied for a hearing; 107 at Tule Lake did not do so.

The mitigation hearings were held at Tule Lake and at the internment camps at Ft. Lincoln, North Dakota, and Santa Fe, New Mexico, between January 7 and April 1, 1946.[362] Fifteen hearing officers, secretaries, and translators arrived at Tule Lake on New Year's Day with Rothstein in charge. At the hearing the applicant could present evidence and witnesses in his behalf but was denied the right to counsel. On February 12, 1946, when 1,800 hearings had been completed at Tule Lake, the Department announced the names of 406 renunciants who had received unfavorable recommendations and against whom deportation orders were to be issued. The remainder of the applicants were unconditionally free. The 406 and their 43 family members were removed to camps at Crystal City, Texas, and Seabrook Farms, Bridgeton, New Jersey.[363] Removal orders were issued "only where a renunciant was a dual national prior to his renunciation. . . . A number of removal orders had to be revoked upon the discovery that renunciants were not Japanese citizens under the law of Japan."[364]

The second group of individuals held at Tule Lake, the segregated parolees from Department of Justice centers, were also given hearings. In January, 1946, a special alien board, composed of the Dean of the Law School of the University of California, Edwin DeWitt Dickinson, and two attorneys, was set up by the Department of Justice to hold hearings for the 47 segregated parolees at Tule Lake. After hearings and review of the board's recommendations by the Attorney General, all of the groups were released unconditionally on March 18, 1946, and informed that they could remain in the United States; two preferred Japan.[365] On March 20, 1946, the last inmate of Tule Lake departed.

During the fall of 1945 and the early months of 1946 over a thousand renunciants and many Japanese aliens sailed for Japan. Through February 23, 1946, a total of 4,406 residents of Tule Lake had also left. Of these, 1,116 were renunciants who did not apply for a mitigation hearing, 1,523 were aliens, and 1,767 were American citizens; of the citizens, all but 49 were the minor children of aliens or renunciants.[366] By July, 4,724 persons had left for Japan from Tule Lake and other

centers. By September 27, 1948, there were 1,444 renunciants who had not applied for hearings and had left for Japan, and 1,480 were residing there on April 26, 1949.[367] Those leaving from Tule Lake or other WRA centers and the internment camps of the Department of Justice, were joined by over three thousand who had relocated or had been outside of the evacuation areas. All in all, some eight thousand persons of Japanese descent left for Japan between V-J Day and mid-1946.[368]

Legal attempts to recover citizenship.—The renunciants sought the restoration of their American citizenship and freedom from the threat of deportation in the courts.[369] Two suits were entered in the federal district court for northern California on November 5, 1945—a petition for a writ of habeas corpus, *Abo* v. *Williams*,[370] to free the petitioners from the deportation orders of the Department of Justice and to set them at liberty, and a plea in equity, *Abo* v. *Clark*,[371] that the renunciation applications be declared void and the plaintiffs be declared nationals of the United States. The briefs for the plaintiffs in the two suits made the same claim: that the signing of the renunciation applications was the result of duress and coercion and was not a free and voluntary act.

The renunciants won the first round in both suits in the district court. In the habeas corpus action Judge A. S. St. Sure issued a temporary injunction against the deportation in late 1945 and the case was heard during 1946.[372] On June 20, 1947, Judge Louis E. Goodman (the two cases having been transferred to him when Judge St. Sure became ill) granted the application for a writ of habeas corpus, holding that the plaintiffs were not alien enemies and hence could not be detained for deportation from the country.[373] On August 11, 1947, he issued the writ commanding the district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to release the plaintiffs from custody. Advised that the Department of Justice was intending to appeal the decision, on September 8, 1947 Judge Goodman placed all the renunciants held by the Department of Justice, including the 138 who were plaintiffs in the habeas corpus proceedings as well as the 164 who were not, in the custody of Wayne Collins, their attorney. The government agreed to bear the cost of transporting the group from the internment camps in New Jersey and Texas to their former homes in California.[374] The appeal from the district-court decision was finally filed by the government on February 28, 1949; the time for the filing was extended several times by the court at the request of the department.[375]

Hearings on the suit in equity, *Abo* v. *Clark*, began in 1946. More than four thousand plaintiffs petitioned to be declared nationals of the

United States and their renunciations set aside.[376] In support of its contention that the renunciations were the free expressions of the renunciants, the government submitted among other items a lengthy affidavit by Burling describing his visit to Tule Lake in 1945–1946 and the conduct of the renunciation hearings. Four shorter affidavits by the other hearing officers were also introduced.[377] On April 29, 1948, Judge Goodman issued an opinion cancelling the renunciations and declaring the plaintiffs to be United States citizens.[378] However, admitting that it might be possible for the government to present evidence that some of the plaintiffs did act freely and voluntarily despite the weight of evidence that they did not, Judge Goodman gave the government ninety days in which to "file a designation of any of the plaintiffs concerning whom they desire to present further evidence."

After many extensions of time granted by the court, the Department of Justice, on February 25, 1949, filed a "Designation of Plaintiffs" which stated that the evidence which would be introduced "against each such designated plaintiff proves or tends to prove that each . . . renounced United States nationality and citizenship of his or her own free will, choice, desire and agency, and shows that such renunciation was not caused by duress, menace, coercion, and intimidation, fraud and undue influence." This evidence consisted in showing that of every one of the 4,322 plaintiffs one or more of the following statements was true: that he or she was a Kibei; had been a leader of a pro-Japanese organization at Tule Lake; had applied for repatriation or expatriation either before or after renunciation; had been segregated at Tule Lake because of a negative answer to question 28 or because of a denial by the WRA of leave clearance; had gone to Tule Lake Center voluntarily to be with his or her family; was now in Japan; was under alien-enemy removal orders.[379] The court rejected the "Designation" on March 23, 1949. Judge Goodman found that it did not present evidence overcoming the presumption that the renunciations were the result of coercion and pressure. On April 12, 1949, he issued his opinion stating that the renunciations were void as they were the product of such influences.[380] The government appealed.[381]

On July 6, 1949, while the habeas corpus and equity actions were before the courts, a suit was entered by Andrew L. Wirin, a Los Angeles attorney, in behalf of three renunciants, Murakami, Sumi, and Shimizu, who had been refused passports by the State Department on the grounds that by virtue of their renunciations at Tule Lake they were no longer American citizens.[382] On August 27, 1949, Judge William C. Mathes rendered a decision for the plaintiffs.[383] The government ap-

pealed but lost. Judge William Denman of the court of appeals held that the findings of the lower court that the renunciations were the product of oppressive conditions at Tule Lake was fully supported by the evidence and that further findings by his court gave additional support to the judgment.[384] Many of these points were documented by references to Thomas and Nishimoto's *Spoilage*, which had also been introduced as documentary evidence in *Abo* v. *Clark*. The government decided not to contest the decision and not to oppose suits by renunciants to affirm their citizenship unless its files "disclose evidence of loyalty to Japan or disloyalty to the United States."[385]

However, the plaintiff Japanese lost both their habeas corpus and equity suits in the court of appeals. The judgments of the district courts were reversed and the cases sent back for further proceedings. In the habeas corpus suit, *Barber* v. *Abo*, the decision that the renunciations were void was denied except for minors who were held to be legally incapable of renouncing.[386] However, the threat of removal to Japan was dissipated when the Department of Justice cancelled the removal orders. On April 20, 1952, Acting Attorney General Philip B. Perlman cancelled the outstanding orders against the 302 renunciants in the Department of Justice camps. On May 6, 1952, Wayne Collins petitioned for a dismissal of the suit in the district court on the ground that the cancellation rendered the issues moot, and the motion was granted that day by Judge Goodman.

The renouncing Japanese no longer needed to fear deportation to Japan. However, their American citizenship was not affirmed, for the decision in the appeals court in the equity case also went against them. Judge Denman ruled that the renunciations were valid for all adult plaintiffs other than the fifty-eight who went to Tule Lake to be with family members and that in future proceedings they would have to demonstrate individually that they had been coerced into renouncing.[387] The Supreme Court denied a writ of certiorari on October 8, 1951.[388] Since the return of the case to the district court no action has yet (1954) been taken by the plaintiffs and their cases have yet to be heard.[389] They remain "native American aliens."

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Such was the history of the Japanese American evacuation, in the course of which an entire ethnic minority of over a hundred thousand persons was uprooted and imprisoned, submitted to grievous personal discomfort and severe economic loss, and deprived of both legal and human rights. The episode had been foreshadowed early in 1942 when

1. "Prejudice, War and the Constitution," Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Banhart, and Floyd W. Matson, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970. pp. 178-183.

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May 20, 1959. Fourteen years after the inception of the mass suits, much fanfare and publicity attended an unusual public ceremony in the office of Attorney General William P. Rogers. Assembled newsmen and invited dignitaries were informed that the administrative review of the renunciation cases had been completed. Attorney General Rogers then made public the restoration of "precious rights of citizenship" to 4,978 Nisei, declaring: "Our country did make a mistake. We have publicly recognized it and as a free nation publicly make restoration."

Edward J. Ennis, one of the guests of honor and then general counsel to the national office of the American Civil Liberties Union (Chairman of the ACLU in 1969), stated in an address: "I think the Department of Justice has responded magnificently to the problems presented by taking practically all the 'divorced' citizens back into the family of our American country."[1]

"I would like to believe that our liberal policy of citizenship restitution has conformed to the hope and promise of sound American ideals," responded Assistant Attorney General George C. Doub,[30] who further expressed the hope that the Nisei would "have the charity to forgive their Government." Doub added:

> It is a remarkable tribute to the fortitude of the Nisei that comparatively few surrendered their American citizenship under the prevailing hysteria conditions in the WRA camps. They were indeed so loyal that from them came the soldiers of the 442nd battalion whose casualty notices were delivered to parents behind the barbed wires of the camps.

Media reaction throughout the nation was eulogistic. The *Christian Science Monitor* of May 22, 1959, announced editorially that "the federal Justice Department deserve gratitude from Americans for painstakingly righting a grave injustice . . ." The *Washington Post and Times Herald* of May 28, 1959, followed with lavish praise:

> Today all the Nisei who suffered in this wave of hysteria have been

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1. Pacific Citizen, May 22, 1959.

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generously compensated for their property losses and all of the renunciants against whom no other evidence of willful disloyalty could be found have now been restored to full civil status. The great credit for the completion of this program of restitution belongs to Assistant Attorney General George Cochran Doub, who heads the Civil Division of the Department of Justice.

Mr. Doub's energy in pursuing the settlement of the Nisei claims proves . . . that although we have shown ourselves "as a Nation capable of wrongs," we have also shown ourselves capable "of confessing and of seeking to expiate them." Or as a celebrated historian, describing a somewhat similar change of heart and reversal of judgment by the citizens of another democracy, put it: "The morrow brought repentance with it and reflection on the horrid cruelty of a decree which had condemned all to the fate merited only by a few."[1]

Probably the only person outraged by the whole proceeding was the fiery San Francisco attorney, for with all the self-congratulatory platitudes and rhetoric of expiation, this was no blanket amnesty, as had been demanded by him for over a decade as rightly due a group of citizens who had been abandoned so utterly. Seventeen years after they had been driven into peonage—some into insanity—and defrauded of their rights, mercy was still begrudgingly withheld from 350 renunciants. "We will vigorously defend our adverse determination of these comparatively few cases in the courts . . ."[2] the Assistant Attorney General had thrown out the challenge, as though to Collins personally.

By this time, 2,031 renunciants had gone to Japan. Of the 3,735 who remained in the United States, all but eighty-four had regained their citizenship.

The discredited ex-Americans again turned to Collins in their lonely Armageddon, although a number of them abandoned their fight; some decided to remain in Japan; a few passed away. Collins: "The maintenance of the stigma of wrongdoing was consistent with Justice's obsession with face-saving. Having inflicted the gravest type of injury upon these blameless people, then criminally soliciting and taking renunciations from tormented persons, the Justice Department sought to whitewash its own reputation by persisting in blackening those of young Americans who had courage enough to stand up and fight for their rights—Americans who would not brook insults forever. Practically all the young men denied their citizenship rights were Kibei. Their mistreatment is unprecedented in American history."

Contrary to the pronouncement of the Justice Department to all assembled that "this ceremony today concludes a colorful chapter of American history," the issue of citizenship restoration dragged on into the late sixties. And as aptly underscored by authors Girdner and Loftis in *The Great Betrayal:* "Wayne Collins was the agent for

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1. Washington Post and Times Herald, May 28, 1959.

2. Pacific Citizen, May 22, 1959.

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democracy in correcting this most disastrous of all evacuation mistakes." Not the Justice Department.

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

> A majority of those who had been forcibly removed to Japan were restored to their home in this country. The fundamental rights, liberties, privileges and immunities of these citizens are now honored. The discrimination practiced against them by the government has ceased. The episode which constituted an infamous chapter in our history has come to a close.[1]

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1. Wayne Collins, "Withdrawal and Dismissal of Last of Parties-Plaintiff Without Prejudice and Court Irder Thereon and Statement of Council for Plaintiffs Concluding Cases." August 6, 1968.

The section above has been taken from Michi Weglyn, "Years of Infamy," pp. 263-65, William Morrow and Co., Inc. New York, 1976.

Early in 1942 a group of social scientists at the University of California at Berkeley received a grant to study the patterns of social adjustment and interaction of the incarcerated Japanese Americans. In mid-June of 1943 I was employed by this study as a research assistant. My task was to live in the the camps, talk with or interview these people, and record what they said. I remained in the centers (or camps) until May of 1945, talking to people and taking voluminous notes.[2] In 1980, several colleagues urged me to interview some of the Japanese I had known in the centers. I was able to obtain extensive interviews from 27 persons, most of whom had been in their early teens or early twenties at the time of the evacuation. Four had been children. These interviews greatly increased my knowledge of the impact of the evacuation and confinement, for in 1943-45 I was rarely able to young men and only occasionally with young women.

One of the most significant things I learned in 1980 was that probably the most painful of the traumata suffered by these young people was the long and agonizing period of almost complete social rejection, first, by their Caucasian friends and schoolmates, and, after the internment, by most of the Caucasian administrative employees with whom they came into contact. When, forty years later, I asked them what they remembered about their life after the attack on Pearl Harbor, most of them told me how they had been snubbed and avoided by their classmates, "left out of most activities," and "held at arms length" by their teachers. A woman told me that her high school principal had told them "not to come to school because they were Japanese Americans." A man told me that his most vivid memory was leaving home with his family. "None of our neighbors came to say 'good-bye'. We felt like traitors or criminals." Another man said, "It's like you had a close friend and all of a sudden the friend says,'I don't want to see you any more.' You get that inferiority feeling because you feel rejected."

After the Japanese Americans were confined in the so-called "evacuation centers," the feeling of rejection and unfair stigmatization may have been

greatly intensified. As Professor Edward Spicer reports:

> As the uprooted people came into the centers they suddenly found themselves in communities organized on the basis of two distinct classes of persons -- on the one hand "evacuees" and on the other "appointed personnel". Despite individual efforts of the WRA staff to act as if the distinction did not exist, the basic fact was inescapable. . . The feeling of being prisoners permeated the centers from the first. . . Being an evacuee involved being in a subordinate position. At some centers the commanders of the military police announced that there was to be "no fraternization with evacuees." Some project directors also let it be known among the staff that they did not encourage personal relations with the evacuees.[1]

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1. IMPOUNDED PEOPLE: JAPANESE-AMERICANS IN THE RELOCATION CENTERS, The University of Arizona Press, 1969, pp. 83-4.

people came into the centers they suddenly found themselves in communities organized on the basis of two distinct classes of persons -- on the one hand 'evacuees" and on the other 'appointed personnel'. Despite individual efforts of the ~~xxxxx~~ WRA staff to act as if the distinction did not exist, the basic fact was inescapable. . .The feeling of being prisoners permeated the centers from the first. . . Being an evacuee involved being a subordinate position. At some ceters the ~~xx~~ commanders of the military police announced that there was to be 'no fraternization with evacuees.' Some project directors also let it be known among the staff that they did not enoucourage personal relations with the evacuees."[3]

3. IMPOUNDED PEOPLE: JAPANESE-AMERICANS IN THE RELOCATION CENTERS, The University of Arizona Press, 1969, pp. 83-84.

During the first five or six months in the Relocation Centers there were many difficulties. But in time, as some respondents told me, they began to adjust to the lack of privacy and the knowledge that they were going to be donfied for a long time. Indeed, in ~~many~~ some of the centers the Japanese Americans and the administrative staff began to make progress in the development of a sense of community.

~~XX~~ It is ~~interesting and~~ significant, however, that when, in 1982, I asked my respondents about their life in the ~~very~~ Relocation Centers ~~xxxx~~ the few who made positive statements spoke of incidents which lessened their feeling of rejection.

One boy, who was 13 at that time, said:

"I think the Christmas of 1942 stands out in my memory. There was a Christmas party for the kids and I received a present denoted by the people on the outside. Just when I thought everybody out there hated us , I get this present and it restored my faith in mankind."

~~Anotherxxx~~ Another boy , age 9 at the time, ~~s/xxxxx~~ said: "I thought the school was real good. They had no facilities to speak of, but they

really dedicated. Quite a few were Quakers or Christians. This was really good, I think, because, d at that time, when the popular thing to do was to hate the Japanese. these people committed themselves and helped us. "

But while the evacuees were engaged in developing a sense of community and relative security, the War Relocation Authority was engaged in developing a plan by which they might be resettled in the non-restricted areas of the United States. Simultaneously, the War Department decided that all male citizens of Japanese ancestry would be obliged to answer a loyalty questionnaire as a preliminary to the formation of a combat team of Japanese American volunteers. Accordingly, in February of 1943, all of the evacuees, seventeen years old or older, were required to answer a questionnaire administered by the Military. The questionnaires were long and compligated, but the crucial qestions were numbers 27 and 28.

On the form for male citizens these read:

Question 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?

Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization?

On the form for female citizens and Issei of <u>both</u> sexes they read:

Question 27: If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the Army Nurse Corps or the Women's Army Corps?

Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

Eighty-four percent of the total population and seventy-two percent of the male citizens answered these questions in the affirmative. In view of the unjust and disorienting experiences to which these people had been subjected, this is surprising. In those centers where the presentation of the questionnaire was carefully and intelligently handled, there were few non-affirmative responses. In those centers where the presentation was inept or confusing, the results were disastrous. At the Tule Lake Relocation Center, for example, 49 percent of the male citizens gave non-affirmative replies or refused to answer. Persons who answered in the negative came to be called "No-No." Those who answered in the affirmative were called, "Yes-Yes."

When, in 1981-2, I asked my respondents, "Was there anything in the relocation camps that made you feel especially angry?" all of the male citizens said, "The military registration," and proceeded to give me detailed accounts of their anger, their sense of being threatened, and their indignation over the fact that their loyalty to the United States was being questioned. One man began his response

by saying, "Our loyalty was questioned and that is what I resented...Because I refused to answer, I was labelled a disloyal citizen of America, and I've had to live with that for all these years." Then his voice broke. After a pause, he said passionately, "The fact is we were very loyal...we were very loyal...we were extremely loyal...we were brought up to be Americans, and then, suddenly, to be betrayed like this!"

Women gave me shorter and less emotional responses. One told me that she thought the military questionnaire was stupid. Another told me that she figured she was safe because she was a citizen, and then laughed bitterly. Some of the most moving statements about the military questionnaire were made by teenagers who came to be stigmatized as "disloyal" because their parents or their elder brother had said "No-No." Their parents, they explained, could see no way that they could support a family in the hostile world outside the center. One young man, then aged 15, told me, "I remember many a night when we discussed the possibility of relocating. But they would say,"'Where? With such a large family?' We had absolutely no resources." When these young people suggested that they relocate alone, their parents "would not even entertain the idea. They didn't want to split up the family."

In May of 1943, Senator Albert B. Chandler, chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, publicly announced that 20 percent of the evacuees were disloyal to the United States and that these disloyal individuals should be separated from the loyal. Thereupon, the House Committee on Un-American Activities began an investigation of the extent of disloyalty. On July 6, 1943, the Senate passed a resolution urging the separation of the people in the centers on the basis of loyalty. Two weeks later, the War Relocation Authority announced plans for the "segregation." The Tule Lake Center, where 42 percent of the residents had given non-affirmative responses, had refused to answer, or had answered "Yes-No", was designated as the place of segregation.

I began my fieldwork at the Gila Center in July of 1943, a few months before the so-called "disloyals" were to be put on trains and sent to Tule Lake. On my arrival, I was told by several WRA staff members that I would

not be permitted to interview evacuees in my room in the women's barrack. On one occassion, when harvesters could not be found for the cotton crop, the administration at Gila planned a cotton picking "picnic," in which both staff members and evacuees were to participate. I rode to the cotton field in an army truck with some Japanese American friends. I was impressed with how delighted they were. Subsequently, I was told that the project director did not approve of what I had done. During July and August I was able to

talk to and make friends with a number of the so-called "disloyal" Japanese Americans who were to be "segregated" at the Tule Lake Center in September. Some talked with me for hours, telling me again and again that they were not disloyal but that they had lost faith in America and felt that they had no future in this country. Some denounced the American government for its treatment of the Nisei and its abrogation of democratic principles. Some urged me to come and see them again before the "entrainment".[5] On July 30, I talked to an Issei who had

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~~1. Rosalie H. Wax, DOING FIELDWORK, p. 71.~~

/ refused to answer the military questionnaire

and was now struggling to make up his mind whether to become a segregant or not. We conversed for over an hour in the cautious and oblique fashion characteristic of the older Japanese. Then suddenly he looked up at me, sat up straight and cried out bitterly:

> If I go back to Japan, regardless of whether Japan wins or America wins, I can live free from such worry as being considered a dangerous alien. And once in my life I may have the right to cast a ballot as any human being should. But here, socially, politically, and economically, I'm shut out! No matter how hard it is to live in Japan, maybe it will be a better place for the freedom of the individual.56

R. Wax, Fieldnotes, July 30, 1943.

After the entrainment ~~I recall that~~ three or four of the Caucasian school teachers organized a small social get-together to which they invited some of the evacuee parents. They invited me to this modest party at which coffee and cookies were served. I shall never forget how happy one of the Japanese American women looked when she offered me coffee and I accepted.

After the segregants had left Gila for the Tule Lake center, I corresponded occasionally with a few of the people who had been most open with me. At Christmas time I sent some of my friends modest boxes of candy, and I was surprised to receive moving expressions of gratitude. One young man said that he would not forget this kindness as long as he lived.

From the moment of their arrival at the Tule Lake Segregation Center, ~~my friends and~~ the other segregants were subjected to a series of traumata.

Many told me later that they had been dismayed by the sight of the double XXXXXXXXf"manproof" fence, eight feet high - crowned with Xxxx barbed wire and guarded by watchtowers and armed soldiers -- with which the authorities had thought it necessary to surround the new segregation center, and by the impressive xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx (but obsolete) tanks which had been placed so that the incoming segregants could see them.

The line between the segregants and the WRA staff was much more sharply drawn, not only by the manproof fence around the center, but also by the manproof fence arxxxxxxxxxxxx between the "colony" and the administration area through which an evacuee could go only with a gate pass and after being individually checked.[7]

On October 14, 1943 (while segregants were still arriving) a farm truck carrying Japanese American workers overturned. Five men were seriously injured and one died. Some eight hundred of the farm workers thereupon went on stike, demanding safe transportation and compensation for the injured persons. Complex negotiations ensued and, on November the Project Director turned the

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1. Spicer, et al, p. 229-230.

jukixsdixtionxofxthexxxx the night of November 4, the PPPPP Project Director turned the jurisdiction of the camp over to the Army.[8] The Japanese Americans did not know that this had occurred xndpaaccordingly and on the next morning the coal xxxxxxxxxxxxx and mess crews, typists, bookkeepers, nurses, and doctors began to walk to their work places in the administrative section. Here they werem met by a cordon of armed soldiers who assumed that they were xxxx hostile demonstrators and showered them with tear gas.[9] On November 13, the Army declared martial law to be in effect, and began to arrest the ~~strike leaders, the negotiatiors,~~ members of the Dai and anyone else suspected of subversive activity. Bxxxxxxxxxxxxx In all, some 350 men were arrested and xxxxx imprisoned in a xxxxxxxxxxxx hastily coutructed sxxxxxxxxxxx "stockade". Life in the stockade was abominable. No prisoner was allowed to xx talk with a spouse or relative and none were xx ever xxxxx brought to trial.

Exxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
After the arrest of the leaders a general strike exxxxxx ensued. No segregants went to work except those engaged in general services, xxxxxxxx the doctors and the distributors of coal and food.

Early in January of 1944, the Army and the WRA made advances to a few of the segregants who were iinclined to xxxxxx collaborate with the administratin, who were called the Coordinating Committee. With the cooperation of these men they arraged a referendum (on January 11) in which the residents xxxx voted whether they would maintain the strike or return to work. By the barest majority-- a plurality of 473 out of 8,713-- the residents voted to abandon the strike.[10]

~~I, of course, was still working~~ at the Gila Center when these events ~~took place.~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I corresponded with the people who had

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~~3~~ ~~1.~~ For the most detailed description of these events, see Thomas and Nishomoto, pp. 11?

Many people now returned to work after first having been "cleared" and given a pass which they were obliged to present daily to the sentries guarding the gates to the administrative quarters. On the other hand, almost half of the residents had voted to continue the strike, and these persisted in asserting that their still-confined representatives had been betrayed and that those who had negotiated the truce and referendum were inu informers, literally "dogs". 1

I was still working at the Gila Center when these events took place. But after the "entrainment" I corresponded with the segregants who had been most helpful to me and before Christmas, I sent some of them boxes of candy. I was surprised when they responded with extremely moving expressions of gratitude. One young man not forget this

kindness as long as he lived. I did not, of course, at this time have any knowledge of the traumata to which these people were being subjected or what a friendly gesture from a Caucasian American might mean to them.

In February of 1944 I was permitted to visit Tule Lake for two days. On my arrival I was told that staff members or visitors like myself were not permitted to enter "the colony" unless they were accompanied by an armed solider. With the assistance of Paul Robertson, an assistant project director, I was able to by-pass this regulation; I was escorted by a co-operative member of the Internal Security (the police), who remained outside in his car while I made my visits. I was surprised at how delighted my Japanese American friends were to see me. Poor as they were, they had managed to get some refreshments. One family served me cocoa and puffed rice; another, by some miracle, had managed to procure a cake. Many gave me detailed accounts of what had happened to them during the strike. At this time I did not realize that they were assisting me not because I was a skillful fieldworker but because they interpreted my visits as evidence that I, a Caucasian American, regarded them as decent, law-abiding and trustworthy individuals. Several months later some of my friends told me that they had taken the precaution of telling their neighbors that a Caucasian friend from the relocation centers was going to pay them a purely social call. By doing this they hoped to avoid being stigmatized as inu.

During this first visit I also met Joseph Yoshisuke Kurihara who was to become one of my best respondents and my friend. Mr. Kurihara was at this time in his late forties. He had been born in Hawaii, had enlisted in the U. S. Army in 1917, and had served abroad. He was a devout Catholic and, after his incarceration in 1942, he had written

several articles denouncing the evacuation, the living conidtions of the centers, and the treatment of the Nisei by the United States government. When no journal would publish his articles he gave them to Mr. Robertson who sent them to the head of the study by which I was employed. I complimented him on the honesty with which he had written and he subsequently gave me an essay (dated February 22) in which he urged the administrative staff to mitigate the social separation prevailing in the camps. "The fence that separated the administrative section from the area where the evacuees lived," he wrote, "was bad enough". There is "little or no chance for the residents and the officials to meet and cultivate friendship. Even a casual friendship would go a long way to maintain peace and order. . The more the Project Director and his forces get in friendly contact with the Japanese, the better will be their understanding."

In mid-March I was again permitted to visit Tule Lake and, once again, I was obliged to take an armed guard with me. when I entered the colony. Most of my Japanese American friends were less anxious and much more open in their responses than they had been in February. Some said the people wanted "peace, quiet, and order". As one put it: "Let us roam around here and feed us three times a day. . . Nobody likes trouble. If they'll treat us like human beings and not like dogs, nobody starts kicking." Others, however, expressed anger over the continued confinement of the men in the stockade and some denounced the members of the Coordinating Committee as <u>inu</u>. One knowledgeable friend told me that he thought that the committee was trying hard, but that he felt that "another big trouble was brewing" beccause the people were still so strongly divided into "status-quo" (those who had supported the strike) and "anti-status-quo" (those who had voted to abandon the strike).

(*) During this visit I was able to talk to a number of the Caucasian staff members and particularly with school teachers. Some of them told me that ~~they...~~ they sympathized with the segregants and would like to develop ~~a~~ friendly relationships with them. But they did not dare to initiate such ~~friendly~~ relationships because they feared the bigotry and

prejudice of their co-workers. "If they find out how you feel they'll start a war of nerves and torture you until you quit."

On March 14, Mr. Robertson, the Assistant Project Director who had helped me carry on my work, asked me to try to find out what could be done to mitigate the hatred and suspicion that many of the residents felt toward the administration. I told him that I would talk to people and tell him what I decently could. On March 17, Dillon S. Myer, the National Director of the WRA arrived at the Tule Lake Center and delivered an optimistic and encouraging speech to the WRA staff. Two days later Mr. Robertson, the only staff member who made frequent visits to the evacuees, came to my quarters and asked me if I would mind talking to Mr. Myer about the state of the center. I agreed, and we went to the administration building. I told Mr. Myer that I did not think the situation was improving very much. Many people were apathetic, many, who were not "agiators" believed that the members of the Coordinating Committee were stool pigeons and grafters, and that many, moderate or radical, still felt that their true representatives were "sitting in the stockade". Mr. Myer was not impressed and said that "he felt the worst hump had been passed when the people went back to work." Then, with a glance at Mr. Robertson, he said:

> I feel that it is futile to attempt to get relations with the colony when the appointed staff are not able to agree among themselves. I rely chiefly on Mr. Robertson to accomplish this. I believe this is a more important and pressing task than the establishment of personal contacts in the colony."[1]

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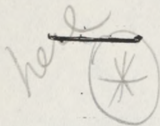
1. Fieldnotes, March 19, 1944.



On April 7 and 8 an underground group (whose members came to be called the "Resegregationists") circulated a petition asking for the signatures of all persons who "wish to return to Japan at the first opportunity" and who also wished to be resegregated, that is, live together in a separate section of the center. The petition, was written in English and in Japanese, and in its Japanese form it implied that the results would be made the basis for administrative action. Some people were deeply disturbed by the petition. Many (though they did not say so) did not wish to commit themselves. Some feared that if they did not sign they would not be allowed to repatriate or expatriate. Several friends told me that the people behind the petition were "would-be big shots," or a "radical goon-squad business." ~~My outspoken friend Bob Tsuruda told me:~~ An outspoken man said: "What do I care about Dai Nippon (Great Japanese Empire)! I came here to lead a peaceful life until the war's over."

On April 10, the administration issued a memorandum stating that there was no intention of carrying out a resegregation and that the petition had not been authorized.

Mr. Best, the project director, ~~The administration~~ now embarked on a marked change in policy. ~~XXXXXXX~~ He proposed a half holiday so that the people might celebrate the birthday of the Emperor of Japan, he ordered a big meal to be served on that day, and he threw the first baseball at the game held in celebration. Children were now permitted to visit the project farm outside of the main barbed wire fence, and the formidable fence that had divided the ~~camp into two~~ sections was torn down. Entertainments and athletic events were initiated and encouraged -- movies, block entertainments, baseball and basketball. The quality and quantity of food served in the messhalls was significantly improved.

These changes in policy were greatly appreciated by ~~xxx~~ almost all of my respondents. and the ~~xxxxxxx~~ anxiety and confusion of the past six months began to dissipate.

The administration also radically changed its policy on self-government. On April 22, ~~Mr. Black, an Assistant Project Director~~ the project newspaper carried a statement by Mr. Black, an Assistant Project Director, inviting the residents to form an Arrangements Committee which would "work out the final plans and supervise the election of a permanent Representative Committee." The administration waited in vain for the slightest sign of initiative on the part of the residents. On May 4, Mr. Best made a similar announcement. Again there was no response. On May 8 Mr. Best made a more elaborate statement and announded that block nomination meetings would be held on May 18.

began to initiate Japanese militaristic exercises for the benefit of the young men in their blocks, and almost everyone felt that the men held in the stockade should be released.

On May 7, the secretary of the dissolved Coordinating Committee wrote me a letter in which she said that despite many trifling discords, "the place is so quiet". The Center's

> "social activities continue to function as if there's no trouble whatsoever. Baseball, basketball, dances, shows engei kais (Japanese entertainment), bazaars, and various track games continue to enliven our almost 'dead' spirit."

On May 13, a Nisei man told me "Inu hate has died down," and added, "The food improvement is remarkable. All we used to get was corned beef, salt pork, cabbage, weiners and boloney, but now we get lettuce, spinach, asparagus, beef, veal and lamb." When I asked him about the forthcoming election of a Representative Committee he said, "Nobody cares a thing about having a representative government.. . They just don't care. Things are going along pretty good, so leave well enough alone."

On May 14, Mr. Kurihara, an older Nisei, told me: "Things have changed a great deal. . I heard Mr. Best has been trying to regain the confidence of the people. One good thing has been done. They've taken down the fence. That has made the people feel better. If they would continue to tear the fences down, Mr. Best could regain a part of the confidence of the people." When I asked him about the Representative Committee, he replied, "People are not very enthusiastic about it," but I think a body ought to be formed to try to cooperate with the

administration and get things rolling harmoniously." On the other hand, he explained, representatives who "stood up and spoke for the rights of the Japanese" were likely to be "thrown into the stockade." If they are quiet "and fall in line they are all going to be called inu. . . "No respectable, well-educated Japanese is willing to attempt that position."

On the same day I visited a Nisei man and wife whom I had known at the Gila Center. When I asked about the forthcoming meetings the husband said: "I personally would rather see the men in the stockade released... People are saying, 'What's the use? "We elected representatives once and they (the administration) wouldn't recognize them.'" On the next day, another respondent said, "It doesn't seem as if this representative body is going to go through. I hear so many say that they will refuse to vote until their representatives are released from the stockade."

On May 13, I visited Mr. and Mrs. Wakida, a Kibei couple. Mr. Wakida, a very intelligent young man, told me that he had been asked to be a representative in his block, but had refused. "Tonight every block is going to have a meeting (to nominate delegates), but I'm going to play baseball and have a lot of fun. . If you do good for the people you get out in the stockade. If you do good for WRA you get called inu. SO I'm going to play baseball.

Mrs. Wakida and her mother had moved to the back of the barrack room while Mr. Wakida and I talked. When I rose to leave they came forward and said their farewells. I remarked on the removal of the fence and Mrs. Wakida's face lit up with joy as she explained how much more free they all felt.

I made two more social calls that afternoon, and at each barrack my respondents told me how happy the removal of the fence had made them.

tainment. The camp-wide block nomination meetings were scheduled for that evening. Most blocks called meetings but so few people came that valid nominations could not be made. Fifteen blocks refused to hold meetings. On the next day, a Sunday, I made four calls and found no one at home. They were all attending athletic events, dances, or other entertainment.

During this period the members of the underground group who, in early April, had tried to initiate a resegregation, kept a very low profile. In a few blocks, however, they were able to organize Seinen dan, young men's groups dedicated to the study of Japanese culture. In one block, I was told, the young men were being trained in Japanese military exercises. Two of the block residents, one of whom was a Japanese member of the police force, objected to these exercises, and, I was told, warned the young men's parents that "the Army might come in and arrest them." Subsequently, I was told, the young men had attacked the objectors and had locked them in the block laundry room. Only two of my respondents spoke of this incident and one of them, an ardent resegregationist, said the objectors were inu.

On May 20, a Nisei friend from Gila took me to visit a middle aged Issei who had been interned in the Leupp Isolation Center. xxxxxxxx xx The Issei told me that

people were refusing to xxxxxxxx nominate delegates "because of the men in the stockade. If they were all let out, the election would be ~~pr~~ proceding in an entirely different manner." In the present situation, he added, "No ~~intelligent~~ intelligent man will accept the nomination." He then remarked that Mr. Robertson (who had been xxx director at Leupp before coming to Tule Lake) "had a truly Christian heart". Whenever he left the center he always walked through the xxx camp, "asking if he could get the boys something." He also told me that he had been a Christian before the evacuation but had ~~xxx~~ become a Buddhist because he was

here → determined to return to Japan. My Nisei friend remarked that there was little difference between "true practices in both religions. The Christian says, 'Love thy neighbor.' The xxxx Buddhist says, 'Respect xxxx thy neighbor." When I nodded in agreement, he told me that he was organizing a Seinen-dan (Young Men's Association) xx and that his chief aim was to give the many idle young people in camp. Being occupied would keep them out of trouble. He then asked me very graciously if I would take a message from him to Mr. Huycke, the WRA head of the Community Actuvuties Section, xxxxxxxx offering him the cooperation of the Seinen-dan in any activity which the CAS might wish to sponsor. I promised to do so.

During the next three days seven respondents told me that most people felt that as long as the men whom they had elected in November were ixxxix imorisoned in the stockade xhereuwasxnexxxexxenxthecmwouldmontmuctec there was no point in electing another committee. Several told me, "The people in the stockade are our representatives." Or, "The people didn't vote because that would make the men in the xtxxxadex stockade guilty."

The high-ranking members of the WRA administration were well aware of these xx sentiments and on May 23 they prevailed upon the Army to withdraw from the stockade. On May ~~24~~ 25, the Newelixstar project newspaper announced that the WRA had taken over the stockade from the Army.

It ixx is possible that these complex difficulties might, in time, have been reseolved, But on May 24, axnnaunoune a Japanese American, returning to the project from outside the area, had an argument with an armed sentry and the sentry shot him in the abdomen. ~~He died the next day.~~ XXXXXXX Xithebxexbxaidxbxexbmbihgbbbebabghbent People who witnessed the altercation reported that thenaen xhxfxnxnbxbhotxXxxxxx the sentry had said, "You Japs and your WRA friends are trying to run the whole camp."[14]

On May 25, I called on my friend Mr. Kurihara, a devout Christian, xxxxxxx hoping that he would advise me whether or not it was proper or decent for me to wisit pwople at this time. He appeared to be in a state of shock and spoke haltingly, "We had an announcement here at noon. . as I say, the Japanese could take it. They'll take it more than any race." I asked how the injured man was doing and Kurihara told me that he was dead. Then he bagan to cry, beat his desk with his fists, and say over and over, "I wonder if there is a God." I did not wxaxx want to sit and watch my friend cry, and so I expressed my sympathy and left.

I might have xxp stopped visiting people at this people at this period, had I not made an appointment with my secretary, a Nisei girl who lived in thxex the same block as Mr. Kurihara. She was so relieved to see me and so eager to tell me what everyone was saying that I concluded that she found my visit reassuring. I thereupon called on three other friends and was so well

received. I found that they were not only very shocked and very angry, but afraid --afraid that the soldiers might shoot them and also afraid that there might be another uprising. Bob Tsuruda, a friend from Gila, told me that "the lid might blow off the camp in two hours" and that if this should happen "I should come to his barrack, which would be the safest place for me."

The edge was taken from many a person's resentment by the seemly and sensible behavior of the high-ranking members of the administration. Mr. Best and the three assistant project directors called on the dead man's family and made arrangements for a public funersl. Mr. Best attended the funeral and gave a memorial address. As Bob Tsuruda put it:

> I will give the man (Mr. Best) credit. He really has done his best. He attended the funeral and called a half-holiday, and (in his speech) he said just enough -- no more. . . Regardless of why he did it, the fact stands that he did do it. It couldn't all have been prompted by selfishness."

Mr. Best also called a general WRA staff meeting at which he asked all the staff members to do their best to reassure the evacuees that they would be adquately protected. On two occasions he called me to his office to discuss the situation and advise him on policy. When, for example, an inquest was held by the Coroner of Modoc County and a verdict was released to the effect that Mr. Okamoto came to his death "by a soldier of the United States Army in the performance of his duty", Mr. Best told me that he was going to invite "the whole Okamoto family" to his office and "go over the entire transcript to the Coroner's Inquest with them."

He told me that he would try to explain that the Coroner's Verdict was justificable and would emphasize that the Court Marital would be held in an entirely different atmosphere. Soldiers connected with the local post would not preside. Mr. Best also complimented me on my practice of visiting and talking with "many different people in their homes."[15]

While the edge was taken from many a person's anger and resentment by the sensible and sympathetic behavior of the high-ranking members of the administration, many of my respondents continued to express their anxiety about the forthcoming verdict of the Court Martial. A young man said: "Things are still tense about the shooting. If the soldier has been acquitted, it would be better to come out with it rather than let people remain in this jumpy state of mind." A young woman said, "People haven't forgotten and they aren't going to forget the shooting." Simultaneously, almost everyone began to talk about the <u>inu</u>. Some people retold the story of the Issei policeman who had tried to stop the young men in his block from doing militaristic exercises. This man, I was told, was an <u>inu</u>. The Co-op board of direstors were called <u>inu</u> because, according to rumor, they were enriching themselves at the expense of the residents.[16] Most of the complaints about the <u>inu</u> were made by people who had been associating with or assisting members of the administration. Indeed, the first people who complained to me were the wife and sister of my friend Mr. Tsuruda, who was on very good terms with his Caucasian supervisor and accompanied him on visits to the messhalls. On June 4, the sister told me, "When we came to Tule Lake we thought we would be trhough with <u>inus</u> ... but there are more of them than ever." The wife added, "Ebery place you look you can see one." Mr. Kurihara told me that some people were calling him <u>inu</u> because I visited him occasionally. He added, "Having <u>inu</u> around keeps everybody on edge. Everybody suspects

everybody else. . It keeps the people in a constant state of tension.

Since no one on the camp except a few members ~~xxfx~~ of the underground Resegregation Group

was doing anything that could get them into trouble with the authorities, I believe that ~~xxx~~ these complaints ~~xxxxxxxx~~ about the inu were, ~~xxx~~ in fact, expressions of the great anxiety and anger engendered by the shooting and by the ~~fxxrxxfxwhatxxxightchappenincthecConrtcMartialcfcundc~~ ~~fact that no one knew what~~ deep concern over what the Court Martical verdict would be. Indeed, several of my respondents told me, angrily and anxiously, "It all depends on the v~~xxxxxxx~~ verdict."

On the night of June 12. the brother of Mr. Noma (~~who Wxxxxxxx head~~ of the Co-op)

~~On~~ the night of June 12, the brother of a man who had openly cooperated with ~~the administration~~ was assaulted and beaten so severly that he had concussion of the brain. The next night, the accommodating police warden was beaten. On the night of June 17, a gang of young men invaded the project high school, tore down all the moveable fixtures and flushed them down the toilet. On June 21, a mentally deranged Issei attacked his roommate with a hammer, almost killing him. Several people told me that "The old man had found out that his friend was an <u>inu</u>." On June 24 I called on/ my friends, the Tsurudas. Mrs. Tsuruda ~~two of my best friends, a couple I had met at the Gile Center. Since then, they had been among my most helpful respondents. The wife~~ was looking so anxious and upset that I asked her if anything was wrong. Looking from right to left she whispered, "I think everybody is nervous in here. This place gives me the willies." Her husband astonished me by denouncing the "radicals" and the "pressure gang" and telling me that he was considering relocation. "The trouble is they expect you to act like a damn radical and go out and kill every <u>hakujin</u> (Caucasian) on the other side of the fence. And when you don't act like that you are an <u>inu</u>." (Forty years later his sister told me that he was being threatened and called a dog because I visited him frequently and because he was working closely with his Caucasian supervisor in an attempt to improve the quality of the food served in the mess halls.) Other respondents were also nervous and ill at ease. One man said desperately: "If the agitators and spies would get out of here we'll be united. But it wouldn't matter if we didn't have unity, <u>so long as we have peace</u>!"

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

By this time I had had all I could take. Although the head of our research group had told me that I was never, under any circumstances, to talk to any members of the administration, I disobeyed her and, on July 2, I called an administrator of high-rank, who, I knew, had often gone out of his way to help the evacuees. I told him that the situation in the camp was pathological and that I had a premonition of disaster. He indicated that he was aware of this but there was nothing he could do. Then he lowered his voice and told me that on the night before some of the leaders of the underground group that had sponsored the petition asking for a resegregation had told him that the removal of the Issei to the Santa Fe detention center was "the last straw." They no longer could or would restrain their "strong arm boys." Future attacks might not be restricted to beatings. They might result in murder. That same evening the General Manager of the Co-op. Mr. Noma, who had been stigmatized as a "Number one Inu," was found lying on his brother's doorstep with a knife pushed through his larynx to the base of his brain.[17]

The immediate reaction to the murder was a general state of panic. All members of the evacuee police force resigned. People rushed to the Co-op to stock up on food supplies. Some collaborators, who feared they might be "next on the list" were taken from the center and housed in the administrative area.

On July 6, the verdict of court-martial was announced. The soldier had been acquitted. None of the persons responsible forrthe assaults or the murder were ever apprehended. The Japanese American police force was never properly reconstituted. And though some of the tension deminished, everyone remained aware that resistance to or criticism of the "strong-arm boys" would result in assault and that any attempt to obtain the protection of the authorities would only increase the danger.

There was now virtually no possibility of establishing any cooperative or social relationship between the evacuees and the administrave staff. I myself received a letter from Mr. Kurihara advising me "to stay out of the center for a while." Later, he explained that it was not his but my life he was concerned about. Immediatly after Mr. Noma was killed, some fanatics had spread the rumor that "a Caucasian would be next". I wrote to my respondents asking them to let me know when it might be safe to visit them. By mid-July three replied and invited me to visit. Others suggested that I wait "until things settle down." Others asked me not to visit them because there were "too many hot-headed people in their block". A few who worked in the administrative section visited me during their lunch hour and one friend from Gila continued to write me very informative letters on general camp attitudes. Some of the Christan staff members, however, managed to hold church services and occasional social meetings. In 1980 a woman told me how she had been encouaged to read the Bible by a Japanese Christian and how she been visited by Christian staff members. She regularly attended church services on Sunday, even though her neighbors, who were all Buddhists, called her an *inu*. When I asked her, "Is there any experience that you still carry with you -- that she can never forget?" she responded, "The peoples' kindness in the camp, I never forget." "Some of the Christian staff members," invited "not only me, but all the Christian people" to social affairs where we could sit and talk together.

By the end of July, rumors aobut the <u>inu</u> began to subside. First covertly, and then overtly many people began to express dissatisfaction with the unending tension. With increasing frequency they wished that there might be some "peace

and order". No one, however, dared to suggest that anyone ought to co-operate with or assist the administration. The one spirit lifting event of August 1944 was the release of all of the men still confined in the stockade. After eight months of imprisonment without trial, they had obtained their release with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union.

But there was to be no peace and quiet. On July 13, the project newspaper reported that "a new law dealing with the relinquishment of their citizenship by American citizens had been passed by the Congress of the United States and signed by the President." Leaders of the pressure group who, in April, had circulated a petition asking for a resegregation, now began to deliver lectures at small block meetings. They assured their listeners that Japan was winning the war and announced that they were in the process of forming an organization which would give the young people in camp the discipline and education that they needed to become useful citizens of a victorious Japan. In August, this group obtained permission from the administration to use the high school auditorium for a series of education lectures. At the first lecture, they announced that the meeting had been called to initiate the organization of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinan-dan (Young Men's Association for the Study of the Mother Country). This organization they proclaimed, would stand for "the renunciation of citizenship on moral principles." It's members would dedicate themselves "to increase the appreciation of our racial heritage by a study of the incomparable culture of our mother country, to abide by the project regulations, to refrain from involvement in center politics..to participate in physical exercises in order to keep ourselves in good health."

To those evacuees who believed the organization's contention that it had no political aims, the proposed activities had a strong attraction. Many of the young Nisei who were contemplating expatriation had never been in Japan and many could not speak or read the language. It would obviously be of great

value to them in their future if they learned something of the way of life which they expected to pursue. Their Issei parents wholeheartedly supported such an endeavor, hoping thus to improve the young people's chance of economic success and social acceptance in Japan. On the other hand, many evacuees were suspicious of or disapproved of the new organization but "they are afraid to say anything."

Within a few weeks, several hundred young men had joined the Sokoku and every morning before daybreak one could hear them striding down the firebreaks, shouting "Wash-sho! Wash-sho! (Hip! Hip!). By mid-September many people were complaining about being awakened before dawn by the shouting of the exercising young men.

On September 21 the leaders of the Resegregation Group began to circulate a second petition, asking for the signatures of all people who wished to return to Japan at the first opportunity. The petition was accompanied by an explanatory pamphlet which stated that the Resegregationists were preparing a final list of repatriates and expatriates and that this list was to be presented to both the American and the Japanese governments. This time, however, many people reacted with irritation and exasperation. Some told me that they wished the agitators and the superpatriots would leave them alone and that people who refused to sign the petition were being threatened. One young man who subsequently did expatriate to Japan told me, "I'm Japanese no matter what they say...We don't show that we're Japanese by signing the petition!" He added, "When they circulated the petition, they said, 'If you sign this paper, you won't be drafted into the Army, and you'll be the first to get on the exchange boat.' So everybody signed it." The Resegregationists claimed some 10,000 signatures, but the majority of these were minors or infants.

A few elderly Issei openly opposed the petition, pointing out that they had already applied for repatriation through the Spanish consul. They advised young men not to renounce their citizenship, "because the right of their

citizenship is already denied them," and they called on the young men to abstain from "radical activities". On the night of October 15, three of these anti-resegregationists were assaulted and brutally beaten. On October 30, the son of another anti-resegregationist was knifed. The victims refused to name or describe their assailants.

The Sokoku's early morning exercises now became more exhibitionally militaristic. Drills, marching in goose step, and judo practice, were added to the program. Bugles were purchased and the young men began to wear grey sweat shirts stamped with the emblem of the rising sun. The leaders changed the name of the organization from Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan (Young Men's Association for the Study of the Mother Country) to Hokoku Seinen-dan (Young Men's Association to Serve Our Mother Country).

On October 26, the project newspaper reported that "The Citizenship Renunciation Law...is now operative," and that "forms may be secured from the Attorney General as soon as they are printed." Hokoku officers immediately applied for forms. When they received them, typed dozens of carbon copies, so the members might renounce immediately en masse. The Department of Justice declared the typed forms invalid and during November only 107 applications were accepted.

In mid-November, the officers of the Daihyo Sha Kai, who had been released from the stockade in August, began to oppose the Resegregation Group's organizations and to advise the young men not to renounce the citizenship. They could afford to do this not only because they were widely respected, but because they too had a following of stalwart young men who could serve as bodyguards. As the feud continued, people began to resign from the Resegregation Group's organizations.

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

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

The announcements amazed, bewildered, and frightened the segregants. Before the evacuation most of the older people had been poor farmers or farm workers. In the process of evacuation, they had lost everything. If they now left Tule Lake, their sons would be drafted and they would be left alone and penniless in an alien and hostile country. Most of the younger people did not wish to abandon their parents and siblings, and even when they wished to leave Tule Lake, the were agonized by their parents' pleas that they not be left alone. And while some people genuinely wished to "get out of Tule Lake" they had second thoughts when they read or heard of statements like these:

> "The people of California are overwhelmingly opposed to the return of any Japanese during the war...to allow the Japanese to return during the war is inadvisable because it would cause riots, turmoil, bloodshed, and endanger the war effort...Return of the Japanese Americans to the west coast is apt to result in 'wholesale bloodshed and violence,' Representative Engle, Democrat, of California, said today."[12]

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[1] ~~San Francisco Chronicle, December 13, 1944~~

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

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

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

The intense anxiety and sense of helplessness were greatly increased when, on January 5, Dillon Myer, National Director of the WRA, reaffirmed his earlier

statement that the WRA's prime objective..." is to restore the people residing in the relocation centers to private life in normal communities." An official pamphlet stating that families who left the center would receive a maximum of assistance of coach fare and a total of $25.00 was distributed throughout the camp.[19]

The Resegregationists now literally went berserk, performing their militaristic Japanese exercises with ever increasing noise and exaltation. Even old women now participated in the exercises, wearing slacks and yelling "Wash sho!" The parents of the young men who had been interned proudly told their neighbors, "My child has now become a true Japanese!" There was a widespread rumor that those who had not renounced were going to be kicked out of the camp. Newspaper reports of how Japanese Americans or Nisei soldiers had been threatened, attacked, shot at, or had their homes burned, were quoted to me.[20] In Idaho, a mob attacked a group of Nisei soldiers and in California, shots were fired at the home of some relocating Japanese Americans.

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

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

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

In 1981-82 only 12 of my respondents chose to speak about the activities of the Resegregation Group, and most of these preferred to tell me how they avoided or resisted the proselytizing activities of the "superpatriots." In talking about that period a respondent, then age 14, emphasized how disturbed the people in the camp were.

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

I said, "Yes, people were forced to sign." He responded: "Right, and they beat you up." He then told me that he and his friends never walked about the camp alone but always went in groups. "Because, if you weren't on their side, they would pick a fight."

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

"And that was another stupid thing that we got caught doing. Partly it was our stupidity, but it was also forced on us by the Congress and the people in power...After so many years in camp, one becomes a different person...I know that psychologically we were not normal, and whenever we were up against some kind of problem, the environment affected the way we made decisions and we reacted.

During the summer of 1945, many renunciants wrote to the Department of Justice and asked for permission to withdraw their renunications.

After the surrender of Japan, many more asked for permission to withdraw.

. The Department of Justice, however, was preparing to send all of the renunicants to Japan. On September 26, regulations governing their deportation were published and on October 8, the department began the "registration of the renunciants" who were fingerprinted and photographed. They were told that they were now classed as "native American aliens." Thereupon, a group of renunciants obtained the support of Wayne Collins, a San Francisco attorney. On November 5, Collins entered two suits in federal courts asking "that certain named renunciants be set at liberty, that deportation orders be cancelled, that the applications for renunciations be declared void, and the plaintiffs be declared nationals of the United States."[21] During the following weeks the number of plaintiffs rose to 4,322. On December 10, 1945, Department of Justice officials at Tule Lake announced that "mitigation" hearings would be held for all renunciants and also for those aliens who did nto wish to return to Japan.

During the period--September 1945 to January 1946--thousands of people

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

> During the fall of 1945 and the early months of 1946 over a thousand renunciants and many Japanese aliens sailed for Japan. Through February 23, 1946, a total of 4,046 residents of Tule Lake had also left. Of these 1,116 were renunciants who did not apply for a mitigation hearing, 1,523 were aliens, and 1,767 were American citizens, all but 49 were the minor children of aliens or renunciants...All in all, some eight thousand persons of Japanese descent left for Japan between V-J day and mid-1946.[22]

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

> March 6, 1968. It was twenty-three years after he had brought the illegal, racially abetted deportation of the Nisei and Kibei to a screeching halt that Collins was finally able to write in the concluding renunciation proceedings (Abo v. [Ramsay A.] Clark) with an air of justifiable triumph:
>
> > "A Majority of those who had been forcibly removed to Japan were restored to their home in this country. The fundamental rights, liberties, privileges and immunities of these citizens are now honored. The discrimination practiced against them by the government has ceased. The episode which constituted an infamous chapter in our history has come to a close."[23]

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In 1981-82, most respondents were willing to talk about their postwar experiences and some gave me detailed accounts. One young man told me that at Tule Lake he developed a friendship with a missionary teacher who advised him not to go to Japan with his parents and seven siblings. But "after my family repatriated I was put on the deportation list. That was unthinkable because I expected to be released any day." But then "I joined the Tule Lake Defense Committee and Wayne Collins came to our rescue. His intervention prevented additional deportations." After the hearing, in which he was asked whether he would bear arms for the United States and whether he was loyal to the Emperor of Japan he was released. He was drafted and served in the Army for 15 months. Then he went to San Francisco, and although he was a qualified x-ray technician and jobs were available in his category, no one would give him a job. "And so I washed dishes and cleaned windows and put myself through college." Finally, with the assistance of a sympathetic Jewish doctor he was accepted as a student by the Stanford Medical School. At the end of our talk I asked him, "Looking back today, what part of your experience is still the hardest to bear?" He responded:

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

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

Most of the people I talked to in 1981 and 1982 were permitted to relocate without being subjected to deportation hearings. But all of them experienced difficulties in finding employment. Several were promised jobs on the East

Coast or the Midwest, but when they arrived they were told that the jobs were not available. A woman told me that she and her husband stayed at a Philadelphia hotel for six months, "visiting employment offices every day" until her husband finally was given a job as a farm manager. Several teenagers described how they worked their way through high school and college as domestic servants or dishwashers in restaurants. A young woman whose parents repatriated to Japan leaving her alone in America had a severe nervous breakdown. A young man who, at age 15, accompanied his repatriating parents to Japan returned alone to the United States at age 17 and worked his way through high school and college. Eventually he became a physician. He told me, "Having survived that, I think I can survive anything. But I learned that with patience and determination you can overcome anything and succeed."

Many of my respondents spoke with deep appreciatiion of the assis$tance and support given them by a few sympathetic Christian staff xxxxxx members during the last agonizing year of camp life/, eadmduringthemdiccccudtc They also spoke with deep xxxx appreciation of the assistance given them by Jewish and Christian groups who, after they had left the xxxxxx camp, took them in and helped them find employment.

One young man said, "I learned that not all people hated us." Another said: "I learned that God loves us in spite of what we are." In describing her recovery, the young woman who had a nervous breakdown told me: "No matter what happens, God loves me without any strings attached!" About half of my Nisei respondents have become Christians and active participants in church groups.

Although some of my respondents told me that they or their siblings "have hever geen able to xxxx cope" with the anxieties engendered by their experiences it is heartwarming to report that some

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

On June 6, I ~~asked~~ interviewd a woman whose husband ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ was inmprisoned in the stockade for nine months. When their first child was born, she ~~approached the fence to show the baby to its father~~ tried to show the baby to its father, but was brutally pushed away from the fence by an armed soldier. At the end of our talk I ased her,"Was there anything that happened to you that helped you to become a wiser or better person?" She thought for a long time and then said, "The experience definitely made you wiser. <u>There will not be a second time</u>. <u>Definitely!</u>"

FOOTNOTES

1. Persons born in Japan were called Issei, that is, first generation immegrants. Persons born in the United States were called Nisei, that is, second generation immegrants. Persons born in the United States but educated in Japan were called Kibei, The literal meaning of 'Kibei' is ''returned to America', For a detailed statement of its varied meanings, see Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto, THE SPOILAGE, 1946, p. 3.

2. The notes became a major souce of data for THE SPOILAGE (1946) by Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S, Nishimoto. In 1971 I publishd a detailed account of my experiences in the camps in DOING FIELDWORK.

3. IMPOUNDED PEOPLE: JAPANESE-AMERICANS IN THE RELOCATION CENTERS, The University of Arizona Press, 1969, pp. 83-4.

4. For a detailed and well documented description of these complex events and developments, see Thomas and Nishimoto, ibid., pp. 55-83.

5. Rosalie H. Wax, DOING FIELDWORK: WARNINGS AND ADVICE The University of Chicago Press. 1971. p. 73.

6. R. Wax, Fieldnotes, July 30, 1943.

7. Spicer, et al, pp. 229-230.

8. Newpapers printed lurid accounts of "Jap riots" at Tule Lake obtained from staff members who fled from center at this time. San Francisco Examiner, November 4, 1943.

See also press clippings reproduced on pp. 15-16, of Michi Weglyn's book, YEARS OF INFAMY, William Morrow and Company, Inc. New York, 1976.

9. For a detailed description of these events , see Thomas and Nishimoto, pp. 113-146.

10. Ibid., p. 180-3.

11. During periods of stress, any Japanese American who appeared to be assisting or collaborating with the administration was in danger of being called an inu. To be stigmatized as an inu brought social ostracism, which, in the crowded

and confined life of the camps, was painful in the extreme. A suspected "inu", leaving his barrack room, would be barked at by his neighbors. If he seated himself in the mess hall, he was met with an uncomfortable silence and meaningful glances. If he entered a latrine or boiler room, the common gathering places for gossip and discussion, friendly talk or argument ceased. If tension between the administration and the evacuees became severe, he might be assaulted and beaten.

12. Fieldnotes, March 19, 1944.

Footnotes 3

13. Subsequently he xxxxxxx and his wife returned to Japan where he became Chairman of the Board of Tokyo Railway Company.

14. Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 250.

15. Fieldnotes, June 4, 1944.

16. On June 25, a benevolent elderly man told me, "All over camp people are saying that there are a few managers of the XXX Co-Op who are cooperating with the administrators to get graft out of the Co-op. They told me, 'If you say anything against the Co-op, you'll be arrested.'"

17. In 1981, a respondent told me that a few days before he was murdered, Mr. Noma had made a speech in the messhall in which he called on the people to stop the violence and criticized the leaders of the underground ~~Resegregationists.~~ group.

~~18. San Francisco Chronicle, December 13, 1944~~

18. SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, December 13, 1944.

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

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

21 Prejudice, War, and the Constitution. Jacobus ten Broek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson, Unviersity of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970.

22 Ibid. pp. 180-1.

23 Weglyn, Years of Infamy, p. 265, William Morrow and Co., New york, 1976.

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

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

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

Mr. KURAKAWA said:

> And that was another stupid thing that we got caught doing. Partly it was our stupidity, but it was also forced on us by the Congress and the people in power. . .After so many years in camp, one becomes a different person. . .I know that psychologically we were not normal, and whenever we were up against some kind of problem, the environment affected the way we made decisions and we reacted.

Mr. Oda said:

> I went through the renunciation process too. And that was mainly a reaction again. I was very depressed during that period. In fact, I thought I was coming down with a mental breakdown at that point. . .I was getting all those dizzy spells and ringing in my head and all that sort of thing. I couldn't concentrate or remember anything. I was in pretty bad shape for a while. It was a very very difficult trying time.

POSTWAR TRAUMATA OF THE RENUNCIANTS

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

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

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

> During the fall of 1945 and the early months of 1946 over a thousand renunciants and many Japanese aliens sailed for Japan. Through February 23, 1946, a total of 4,406 residents of Tule Lake had also left. Of these 1,116 were renunciants who did not apply for a mitigation hearing, 1,523 were aliens, and 1,767 were American citizens, all but 49 were the minor children of aliens or renunciants. . . All in all, some eight thousand persons of Japanese descent left for Japan between V-J day and mid-1946.[2]

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

[2] Ibid. pp. 180-1.

He lived with and worked for a Jewish family for room and board.

And, from there I volunteered for the United States Army during the Korean War. It's really ironic. Up from 1941 to '45 or '46 we're what they call security risks. And then by 1949, we're all in Military Intelligence, with the highest security clearance. I got the highest clearance. So I look back on it today and I think, boy, that is really ironic. From a suspected disloyal person you get the highest security clearance.

The reason, I think, is that we were still trying to prove our loyalty. . .Most of us were too young for World War II. And when the Korean War came, quite a few of us volunteered . . . to continue to prove that we were loyal. My brothers also volunteered. They were all in Military Intelligence. One was in Air Force Intelligence and the other was in the CIC, which is Counter Intelligence. . .So today, when they say that we were put in camp because of disloyalty, it doesn't really hold water, because, as soon as the war's over we're considered the loyalest kids and given high military classification.

It doesn't really make sense.

Mr. Okamoto, who was 11 at the time of the evacuation, told me that when he was in Tule Lake he attended one of the Japanese language schools and learned to speak Japanese very well. "I got so I couldn't speak English so well with my English speaking friends. I felt I was developing a Japanese accent." Mr. Okamoto left Tule Lake in October of 1945, worked his way through high school and then enlisted in the Army. During the Korean War because of his competence in Japanese he served in the Army language school. Like John Kikuchi, he relished the irony of serving in Military Intelligence only a few years after he and his family had been stigmatized as "dangerous criminals."

MEMORIES OF POSTWAR TRAUMATA

Most respondents were willing to talk about their postwar experiences and many gave me detailed accounts.

ARTHUR KIKUCHI

Arthur Kikuchi was 15 years old at the time of the evacuation. He accompanied his parents and seven siblings to Tule Lake. At Tule Lake he worked as an x-ray technician in the project hostpital. Early in 1946, his parents and all of his siblings repatriated to Japan. But because of the influence of a missionary teacher he refused to accompany them.

When I remarked: "Looking back on your experiences in Tule Lake, some of them must have been rather painful, " he responded:

Yes. . . .One was after my family repatriated and I was put on deportation list. That was something unthinkable, because my close friend and I expected to be released any day. Instead I was put on a deportation list. And it surprised me because my father never involved himself in any of the rallies and war cries. He was a very quiet and reflective man who was apolitical.

I asked: "What happened?"

He responded: "What happened was I joined the Tule Lake Defense Committee and Wayne Collins came to our rescue. And there is an Irish terrier if you ever saw one. He could not stand to see the government pushing us around this way. And he got hopping mad and he really devoted the balance of his life to our cause. This man is a righteous man and he was not intimidated by the government. His intervention. . .prevented additional deportation.

At my deportation hearing I was asked why I didn't go with my family. And I said that it would be a foreign country and it would mean for me to start all over again. And I could just not see that.

And I then was asked whether I would bear arms for the United States. And I explained that I'm in a medical field and already an x-ray technician and that I could not bear arms. If you were to categorize me, I would be a pacifist. I would be willing to go and serve in the armed forces, but in a non-combat capacity.

And then the men questioned my loyalty to the Emperor and at that point I said to the interpreter: 'What ancestry are you?' He said, 'I'm part Irish and part German.' So I said, 'Are you loyal to the Kaiser?'

He said, 'Don't be ridiculous.' I said, 'You said it.'

Then I was drafted. . .I had to serve my country now or spend time in a real clinker. . .It was not much of a choice. . .I served in the Army for 15 months.

After I got out of the Army I couldn't get a job. Unfortunately, I ended up in San Francisco. I came to San Francisco little realizing that that city was possibly the steepest in prejudice. I didn't know that. And so, although I was a qualified x-ray technician and jobs were available in my category, they would not give me a job. And so I washed dishes and cleaned windows and I put myself as a house boy and started off to college.

I went through (college) as a houseboy and after the lifting of prejudice, finally in the late '40's, I was able to get a job as an x-ray technician. But it took a sympathetic Jewish doctor to get me in. . .I applied at the Stanford Medical School. . .

I went through Stanford Medical School first as a Darkroom technician; and then I was an x-ray technician there; and then the director of the department offered me a job in his office and at that point I knew that I didn't want to continue being in a field in which I couldn't be independent, because I knew it would be tough getting a job. I had to find a way of getting independent and so I enrolled in the professional school and got into Podiatry College."

I then asked: "Looking back today, what part of your experience is still the hardest to bear?"

He responded: "I think the incarceration without a hearing; I still wake up at unpredictable time and I'm still in camp, and I wake up in a pool of sweat. And I'm still in camp, and I'm still writing letter to the Justice Department, and getting no replies and that has been the toughest. . .

. . .To this day I'm still in camp. So that's a nightmare, a recurring nightmare. I think if we were paying for a crime, you'd say to yourself, 'Well, I deserve to be put there,' but if it isn't, then the anguish, the mental anguish. . .

I appeared at the National Hearing, the one that was held in Los Angeles.[1] And interestingly enough, from this valley, only three of them (Japanese Americans) went forward to testify; the others are still afraid to testify. The reason being that they feel that anything that they say might be counter-productive in that they may be put on the undesirable list of the FBI."

I asked: "People are still afraid?"

He said: "Still afraid. Because they still do not trust the fact that the United States citizenship confers no immunity and no legal justice. This is the fear that is put into them. And so, to this day, you will find, very few people reluctant to even grant an interview. And I am able to grant it because I've been through the worst and the worst still to come is that they could still deport me if they so wish. Well, I have had a creative life, and so it doesn't make any difference now. So that's the way I look at it. And I think if we are afraid of ourselves. . .that's not healthy. So I encourage the Nisei people to speak up. But they are not the speaking kind.

KOSHIRO FURAKAWA

Koshiro Furakawa was 19 or 20 years old at the time of the evacuation. He was, at first, reluctant to talk to me, explaining: "I don't want to be used by a professor who is out to advance himself or herself." I thereupon offered to tell him some of the general impressions I had gained from my previous interviews. He agreed with all of them, and, as we conversed, he began to tell me about some of his experiences. He told me that soon after his arrival at Tule Lake, he had tried to relocate. But the people in charge of student relocation had asked him, "Do you have a thousand dollars in your account?" He said, "No." They said, "Well, we can't even encourage you to go."

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[1]Mr. Kikuchi is referring to the hearings conducted by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians which were conducted in 1980 and 1981.

At the end of our talk, I asked him, "You know, I'm curious, how did you manage when you did get out?" He replied:

> Well, when I finally came out I came out without my citizenship. And so some things were closed to me unless I lied. And in some cases I lied. But I was able to go to UC in California because the president, Gordon Sproul, I think, was very pro-Japanese American. . .
>
> So I think I was able to go, pretending I was a regular student. Otherwise, if I said I had no citizenship I would have to pay non-resident fee, in which case I wouldn't have been able to go. But because of Sproul, that was open. There were other things I was interested in. . . like. . . Foreign Service. But that was closed to me without citizenship and of course they would check on my records. And there were all kinds of other things. Even though I graduated from UCLA, I felt that jobs in teaching or other jobs were closed. So I came up to Berkeley to bide my time, because at the time there was a law suit going where we were trying to recover our citizenship and so I spent several more years until I finally recovered my citizenship, and then I was free to pursue my career or whatever. But I felt that I wasted some time there.
>
> If you feel that I still feel bitter about it, I do. And yet, you know, I've been able to live with it and make adjustments. I'm a professional librarian, and I have been able to support a family and also pursue my interests as a writer, actor, and playwrite.
>
> So I don't feel too bad. I've gotten my education, you know. I went to UCLA and then I went to Cal. I went back to get my

library degree, so that I could get a job. And I don't feel that I want to go (to college) anymore. I didn't really care for the academic life, so, being more of an artist, I feel pretty good. I feel good about my family and so it is all right.

LIFE IN JAPAN

Children and young teen-agers who were taken to Japan by their repatriating parents probably suffered the most agonizing of the experiences created by the evacuation. Joseph Kikuchi, who was 12 years old when he and his family arrived in Japan told me that they were obliged to live in a cardboard shelter, that they could get no food and were forced to cook and eat weeds to stay alive, and that the Japanese called them "Americans" or "outsiders." His brother Thomas, age 15, wrote the following account for me.

> I would say the four or five years after leaving Tule Lake were the hardest time of my life. Having survived that, I knew I could survive anything.
>
> When we arrived in Japan in 1946, the country was in utter chaos. There were people coming back from China, Manchuria, the Phillipines, Taiwan, Korea, and wherever else they might have been. It seemed as though half of Japan was bombed out. People were sleeping in train stations, in makeshift cardboard houses; people looking for scraps of food, begging for food. I remember once passing out on the street, and when I woke up I was in a hospital. They told me I was suffering from malnutrition. I hadn't eaten in weeks. Eventually, I was hired as an interpreter for the U.S. military occupation forces. As an American citizen, I was allowed to live in a foreign national dormitory and to eat my meals there.
>
> Fortunately, one of my brothers was on occupation duty, and

he lent me the money to return to the United States.

I was 17 years old when I returned here. I had $20.00 in my pocket. I worked in a restaurant washing dishes from 6:00 a.m. until 8:00 p.m., 6½ days a week. My pay was $160.00 per month. After a year and a half, I decided there was no future in that, so I enrolled in high school. I worked in a private home for room and board while attending school. Now that I think of it, they had a bargain. For $25.00 a month, they had me do all the things they would have had to pay a full time servant ten times as much.

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

My camp experiences left me with a terrible sense of insecurity. I have this fear about being poor and hungry though I could retire now and probably live on my pension and the investments I have made. I attribute a lot of that on my camp and post-camp experiences.

Respondents who had renounced their American citizenship were reluctant to say anything about their life in Japan. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Kurusu, who had been my respondents in Tule Lake, would tell me nothing except that Mr. Kurusu had finally managed to get a job as interpreter for the U.S. Army. Mr. Iida, who, at Tule Lake had been an ardent member of the Resegregationist Group said only, "It was a bad time. Everything was bad and it was not pleasant to live in Japan at that time." His wife, who had

accompanied him to Japan but had not renounced her citizenship was willing to tell me more:

> To begin with, there was no food. . .Everything was negative to what I had been thinking. It was very depressing. . .
>
> When I first came back (to the United States) in 1953, what hit me the most was how abundant everything was. . . When we came back here, and all those supermarkets were stocked so much. It was a good feeling to know that now you could buy whatever you felt like. Not have to take what they gave out, and then pay for it. Things at the beginning, it was rationed, and sometimes the food. . .you just wouldn't like it or you didn't know what to do with it. If it's rationed, you just had to take your share.

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

It is probable that many of the young American citizens who accompanied their parents to Japan experienced the ultimate trauma, because they were not accepted by the native born Japanese.

A young woman told me: "We were hated by the Japanese for going to Japan soon after the war ended. They said, 'Why did you come here? You're not Japanese, you're American.'" Another said: "They told us, 'You're outsiders.' We never could feel at home in Japan."

Other respondent did not wish to talk about this aspect of Japan. Subsequently I asked several Japanese born university students about this phenomenon. They told me that "a Japanese born in America is always considered an outsider in Japan and will never be accepted as a true Japanese." I also noted that Charles B. Munson had said, "The American educated Japanese is a boor in Japan and is treated like a foreigner."[1]

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

MITCHIKO TSUDA

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

> The atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in August, 1945. That was horrifying news for my parents and many of their friends in camp who had relatives in Hiroshima. Many people came to our barrack and listened to the radio and cried. My parents were frantic when they heard the broadcast. They had four children in Hiroshima. They had not had any communication with them since the Pacific war started. We had no way of knowing if they had survived the bombing and if so where they could be or who was taking care of them.
>
> My parents decided at this time that my mother and the three children (another sister was born in Tule Lake) should go to Japan and my father would stay in California. My father's assets were

still frozen, so he wanted to stay and try to recover his funds. My mother had to go to Japan to see if her children and in-laws were still alive. Since independent civilian travel was impossible, the only way my mother could quickly get to Japan was to renounce her American citizenship and get on the expatriation ship. It was an agonizing decision but my mother renounced her citizenship.

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

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

The ship we took to Japan was the General Gordon. We were in steerage where we were packed like sardines. There were rows upon rows of bunks, and jsut about everyone got seasick. There was no privacy. The ocean was very rough, and I was drenched every time I went on deck. It took us approximately ten days to get to Uraga, Japan.

We were once again herded into barracks in Uraga and kept there for approximately two weeks. The food in the American concentration camps was bad but the food in Uraga was worse. Urage in January was very cold but there was no heat in the building.

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

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

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

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

VIA

<u>MEMORIES OF THE RESEGREGATIONSTS - 1981-82</u>

In 1981-1982 only 12 of my 27 respondents chose to speak about the activities of the Resegregation Groups, and most of these preferred to tell me how they avoided or resisted the proselyting activities of the "super patriots".

Thomas Sawada, for example, said: "This so-called Hōshi-dan group started. . They talked them into joining this organization. . some innocent Niseis who didn't know what it was all about.. . So, anyway, they came over to our place to see if we would join them. I said, 'Don't bother us. We have our own ways of doing things. You do your way, I do my way.'" His brother John, who was employed as head of the kitchens, explained that his work kept him very busy. When I asked him whether he or his family had ever been pressured by the Resegregationists, he said:

> No. Of course, a lot of people said, "Oh, it's good for you." It was good, but the <u>motives</u> behind it was not the thing that I liked. And due to the fact that I took up <u>Judo</u>. . I had enough exercises and everything . . exercise in the morning is good, but I don't need that type of regimen.

Noriko Tsuruda told me how she, as a young woman, had avoided involvement.

> I used to work at the beauty shop. . and they used to come around and they used to talk, those pro-Japanese. And when they started talking about citizenship and renouncing, I used to go and sit in the corner and do my crocheting or knitting. I wouldn't mingle because I didn't want them to ask me if I had already denounced my citizenship, which I didn't. .. but you wouldn't dare express your thoughts.

~~Mrs. Kurusu, who was in her early thirties,~~

When I asked Mrs. Kurusu, who was in her early thirties: "Was there any person or people in Tule Lake whom you disliked or who you thought were behaving foolishly, she replied:

Well - the pro-Japan, what did they call them:

R. Wax: The Sokuji Kikoku Hōshi-dan?

Mrs. Kurusu: Oh.. the Hōshi-dan, that's it. I thought they were stupid.

When I asked her if she could tell me more about it, she would say only: "I couldn't understand them . .I wasn't that pro-Japan. .I didn't mingle with them."

George Kikuchi, a teenager, said:

I felt bitter toward those people who were pro-Japan and were

encouraging my father to side with them. They would shave their heads and act like they were members of the Imperial Army. My father, I think, just wanted to go back to Japan where he owned land and would be able to live out his remaining years in relative tranquillity.

His brother Joseph, age 14 at the time, spoke more freely about the Resegregationists. He told me that his father had not permitted him to go to the Japanese school for the children of Resegregationists:

That was radical. We didn'r join that one. My father kind of thought that it was militaristic. Because that group, they shaved off their head, they had the rising sun on their sweat shirts, all of them was completely to Japan.

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

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

R.Wax: Did you, as a boy, have any experiences with these people?

J. Kikuchi: Well, we were kind of fortunate, because in our block we had only two or three families (of Hoshi-dan).

But if you were in a block where the majority were that type, then they could really make your life miserable.

R. Wax: Yes. I have it in my notes. They forced people to sign.

JohKikuchi: Right. And they beat you up. I still remember that we boys went in groups wherever we went. Because, if you weren't on their side, you ~~know~~ know, they would try to pick a fight

Taro Tokunaga, a Hawaiian-born Japanese in his early forties, told me how he admonished ~~the young Resegregationist~~ members of the ~~XXX~~ Hokoku:

There is a lot of Washo sho people at that time .. I said, "Well, if you're loyal to Japan, that's fine. But if you're not loyal to ~~XXXX~~ Japan, in case you go back to Japan, the Japanese government won't accept you. And same time, the United States government won't accept you.

I would like to see you folks be quiet and be just like real Japanese. (Mr. Tokunaga ~~was called~~ also told me that "some people" had threatened to kill him.)

Robert Oda, who was in his early twenties, told me:

I remember ,.,. that supposed study group turned into more and more radical; or I think the leadership became more radical - more political. And they atarted exercising in the morning. That used to irritate me, because it was so early ~~inthemo~~ in the morning and woke me up. But some of my friends in that group never hurt me or anything like that. I wasn't about to be dragged into it. . . Maybe they felt that they were trapped into it themselves and ~~xxxxxx~~ couldn't get out now that they were in. The people I knew did not pressure me. . I think the leadership probably did.

When I asked Dr. Takeshita, who was also in his middle twenties, what he thought of the Hokoku, he ~~xx~~ said:

I did not participate in any of their organizations. I thought they were a bunch of crazy bastards. ~~(laughs)~~ ~~He laughed and~~

He laughed, and continued:

> I could understand their situation. In order to survive in San Quentin, both psychologically and physically, you must join a group. You belong to someone. And I think that one reason that those, as I said, those crazy young bastards, had a psychological survival, a psychological raison d'etre for being in Tule Lake. They would have to become pro-Japanese and this was the way of manifesting that they're pro-Japanese.
>
> I, for one, didn't need it and my brother didn't need it.

Later in the interview, I asked Dr. Takeshita whether he or his friends had been threatened or pressured by the Resegregationists. He did not speak for a what seemed a long time. Then he said:

> I don't. . I'm thinking out loud right now. . the reason may have been that I was one of the elite group that had been in the stockade. And once you were in the stockade you were the highest of the highest.. . and therefore, nobody dared touch you. They said, "You better join us, " and we could go back and say, "Where the hell were you? In the stockade, you weren't there!" . . That may have been the reason there was no pressure put on me.

Mr. Iida, who was in his late twenties, was the only respondent who had joined the Hōkoku who, today, was willing to talk about his experiences and feelings. When I asked him about the Hōkoku, he said, straightforwardly, "Well, I joined them. .. I don't deny that. I joined them." He then told me that he had renounced his citizenship and had been interned in Santa Fe.

R. Wax: You did renounce your citizenship?

R. Iida: Yes

R. Wax: How did you come to do that?

R. Iida: Well, it was almost like fad, I mean, everyone was doing it, so I did that too.

R. Wax: You were sent to Santa Fe?

R. Iida: That's right.

R. Wax: Is there something else you would like to tell me?
R. Iida. Well, during wartime, I mean, like I say was hectic and that everything went crazy, you know. If you recall back, we did or we didn't, you know?

After talking at length about other matters, Mr. Iida suddenly began to tell me more about his experiences with the Hōkoku.

> . . among them there was logical ones, and dumb ones, smart ones. Even though I belonged to the group, I didn't like the way they were doing and. .I wrote an article, that things going too much that I don't like. Both countries fighting, bloody fighting, and then they (the Resegregationists) cussing each other. "If you want to go back to Japan, if you don't want to go back to Japan.. you don't have to argue about it. If you want to go back, keep quiet," I said.. . and with that article I made a lot of enemies among the group.

A month later I talked to Mr. Iida again, and he told me that he thought that some of the Resegregationists had been behaving like Communists:

> I didn't like making noise. You don't have to make noise! . . When I was in Japan, those Communist people did the same thing. . . They did the same way in Japan when Communists did protest, demonstration.. .. And I just felt that among that group there was some Communist people[1].

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1. At the time I was working at Tule Lake, being called a Communist was a greater insult than being called an inu (informer).

~~Onlyxonexrespondentxonxthexyearxoldxgirln~~

When I was at Tule Lake I was assured by several ~~parplexexxxxxxxxxresponded~~ respondents that the "little children enjoyed the morning exercises." A statement made in 1981 by a woman who was ~~xixx~~ nine years old in 1945 supports this view:

> My sister and I were enrolled in a Japanese school in preparation for our eventual expatriation to Japan. Our teachers were generally pro-Japan and taught us not only how to read and write in Japanese but also to be proud as Japanese. Their goals were to teach us to be good Japanese so that we would not be embarrassed when we got to Japan.
>
> We were often asked to wear red or white headbands and do marching exercises. We were awakened early every morning to the sound of a bugle. We had to hurriedly get dressed and gather at one end of the block where a leader led us in traditional Japanese calisthenics. As the sun rose, we bowed our heads to the east. This was to shoe our respect to the Emperor. We were also led in the cleand-up of our block area before nreakfast.

VI B

RENUNCIATION OF CITIZENSHIP

During their confinement at Tule Lake, seventeen of my respondents were American citizens who were obliged to decide whether they would or would not renounce their citizenship. Of these, only five persons chose to tell me something about this experience.

Mr. Kurakawa, one of the most angry of my respondents, told me:

> We were there (at Tule Lake) all during the duration, and we even went through the renunciation. And that was another stupid thing that we got caught into doing. Partly it was our stupidity, but it was also forced on us by the Congress and the people in power. . . .

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

I asked: "How did you manage when you did go out? He said:

JF: Well, when I finally came out I came out without my citizenship and so some things were closed to me unless I lied. And in some cases I lied. But I was able to go to UC in California, because the President, Gordon Sproul, I think was very pro-Japanese American..

~~RW: Yes, he protested..he was one of the few people who came out and protested the evacuation, you know.~~

JF: So I think I was able to go, pretending I was a regular student, otherwise, if I said I had no citizenship I would have to pay non-resident fee, in which case I wouldn't have been able to go. But because of Sproul, that was open. But there were other things I was interested in--Foreign Service --that was closed to me without citizenship and of course they would check on my records. And there were all kinds of other things, and even though I graduated from school, UCLA, I felt that, you know, jobs in teaching or other jobs were closed. So I came up to Berkeley to, you know, bide my time, because at the time there was a law suit going where we were trying to recover our citizenship and so I spent several more years until I finally recovered my citizenship, and then I was free to pursue my career or whatever. But I felt that I wasted some time there.

Robert Oda, who had told me how he had been "thrown into the stockade by accident" told me:

> I went through the renunciation process too. And that was mainly a reaction again. I was very depressed during that period. In fact, I thought I was coming down with a mental breakdown at that point. . I was getting all those dizzy spells and ringing in my head and all that sort of thing.

I couldn't concentrate or remember anything. I was in pretty bad shape for a while. .It was a very, very difficult, trying time.

Mr. Ralph Iida, who renounced, ~~xxxx~~ add, ~~ex-patria~~ expatriated, and, seventeen years later returned to the United States, told me he ~~xx~~ had renounced his citizenship and had then been interned in Santa Fe. I asked, "How did you come to do that?" he replied:

> Well, it was just a fad. I mean, everyone was doing it, so I ~~xxxxxx~~ did that too. People, you know, everyone go to Japan, why that's all.

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Thomas Sawada, who did not renounce, gave a xxxx relatively impersonal account of the situation.

> Well, my feelings were, I'm not doing anything more for the government if I don't have to do it. And if there is any forced issue, I want to fight it. So I kept my citizehship and I wasn't going to do anything about it.

I asked: "How did you feel about this renunciation of citizenship business." He responded:

> That was a poor thing. That incident should never have been brought up. I feel sorry for some of them who were forced to back to Japan and pay a lot of money to get their citizenship back. That's the reason why my feelings were worse against some of the Japanese people, because that Hōshi-dan group brought it up pretty strongly and some innocent Nisei renounced it and. . . I'm glad this government was lenient though. They gave them a chance and said, "Are you sure you want to renounce?"
>
> They got a chance to change their mind about it. My angry thoughts abou that incident are -- there were a lot of Isseis who strongly advised their kids to renounce. They were pro-Japan and they would try to get all the Niseis to renounce and go xxx xxxx back to Japan. . .I xxx say, "If Ixxxxxx I'm going to fight it, I'm going to fight it as a citizen and not as a renounced alien."

When I asked Noriko Tsuruda, a young woman who did not renounce, whether, xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx in her opinion, the camp experience had strengthened or weakened family ties, she responded:

Well, I don't know why it should create hard feelings except maybe at the time when one was pro-American and the other was anti or whichever. And at that point it might have created a hardship. . .

My folks believed the way we felt. I was born an American citizen, why should I renounce it? And I never did renounce my citizenship, like some did. I was under no pressure to renounce it either, because no member of my family felt that we should renounce. Except Bill (her brother) was pressured from his wife's side and that's why he renounced it.[1] But when it came to going back to Japan, that's when he put his foot down.

When I was at work, when it's slack, we'd all stand in front of the big stove, and they'll talk about this and that. There were some (who said) "Oh, we really have to renounce!" We'd just walk away and pretend we were doing something else.

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1. Bill and his wife remained in the United States. All of his wife's family went to Japan. When I spoke with Bill in 1981, he did not tell me that he had renounced his citizenship.

Two of my oldest respondents made spontaneous and interesting statements about the renunciation. Mr. Tokunaga,

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a feisty 45 year old Hawaiian-born Japanese,"Is there any important question I haven't asked? That you would like to tell me about?" He responded:

> Well, about the question about renouncing the American citizen. . . I believe most of the young people renounced American citizen, and I was very sad about it. I said: "You don't renounce American citizen. Keep it." But most of them don't listen to me.

I asked: "Were they listening to somebody else?" He responded:

> Yes, those radical guys. .usually a better speaker . . told them to renounce their citizen. You know, the

block manager in my next block, I thought he would renounce American citizen. But he didn't. He forced other people to renounce and then he keep it. I thought that was pretty damn dirty trick.

Mr. Morimoto, an Issei, was in his mid-thirties when he was confined in Tule Lake. Because of his association with the Co-op he came to be called a "Number One Inu." When he recommended that I talk to Mr. Iida, he also told me that Mr. Iida and his wife were among those who returned to Japan.

And they returned here about 15-17 years ago. American government said. "Well, you denounce American citizenship, but that's all right. We give back to you American citizenship. So nice, you know. . . So everybody returned to this country . . . .

Sometime parents, father and the mother influence denounce citizenship. Then very radical. . Maybe young men think he all right, but father and mother strongly against this country. . . I think American government know that. . .that's why they thought, "Well, it's OK, we give you citizenship again." (laughs)

21 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Interviewing Japanese Americans who had been subjected to the evacuation when they were school-age children or young adults not yet of voting age was not so much a learning as an emotional experience. When, in 1981, Joseph Kikuchi, who had been 9 years old at the time of the evacuation, told me that after their arrival in Japan in 1946 he and his family had starved and that, in their desperation, they had eaten grass and weeds, I was unable to respond. When the interview was over, I went to my office at Washington University, sat down at my desk, and cried. Subsequently, almost all of my respondents who had gone or had been taken to Japan told me how painful and difficult the experience had been. They went hungry, lived in makeshift cardboard houses, and were called "outsiders" by the Japanese.

"We were hated by the Japanese for going to Japan soon after the war ended. They said, 'Why did you come here? You're not Japanese, you're American.'"

"They told us, 'You're outsiders.' We never could feel at home in Japan."[1]

To take the role of or try to "understand" the feelings of young people who had been reared in the United States, had been taught to believe in the Constitution and in justice, had been confined for three or four years as if they were "dangerous criminals," had been taken to Japan by their parents, and were then called "outsiders" or "Americans" by the Japanese, is an accomplishment beyond my capabilities, or, perhaps, my strength.

What I did begin to understand and appreciate was why some of the Japanese American parents today often refuse to tell their children anything about their experiences in the camps. I asked a Japanese American who had been confined in Tule Lake if he would care to read some of my interviews. He did so and told me:

"Many former residents of camp keep their experiences bottled up within

themselves. They don't ever relate them to their children. Many related their experiences to you for the first time in 40 years! Many of the unpleasant experiences have been "blanked out" in their mind. Even today they can't recall many incidents which have left them with psychological scars."

When respondents indicated that they did not wish to talk about their reactions to a particular event, I did not encourage them to speak. And when they refused to be interviewed, I felt this was their privilege.

Separation of Family Members

A particular trauma which some respondents are reluctant to discuss was the separation and subsequently, the disintegration or "breaking up" of families. The separation began with the incarceration of the so-called "agitators" in the stockade. Mrs. Kunitatni, whose husband was confined in the stockade for almost nine months, told me that her most painful experience at Tule Lake occurred after the birth of her first child. She took the baby to the stockade fence to show to her husband and "while we were visiting, an MP came and dragged me away. And an MP came and dragged him away." She then told me that she "didn't think about it" today, "but you have recurrences in your sleep. . . a nightmare. . .like my husband being dragged away."

The separation was continued with the series of internments of male members of the Hōkoku and the Hōshi dan. And while, in]945 and]946, most of the internees and their families proudly asserted that their internment demonstrated their "true Japanese" character, the concealed feelings of many are probably reflected in the statement of a Nisei girl who told me: "A young boy, the baby of the family was sent away. He sent his mother a note concealed in a rice cake, saying, 'I'm terribly lonely, mother.' Naturally, he wouldn't admit anything like that to his family before he was sent away. But he

experiences and rejoin the mainstream of society, although it took them longer to make it back."

As Joseph Kikuchi put it: "At times, my mind did not want to return to the unpleasant memories, but I feel it's good to be reminded of how far we've come in our lifetime. It makes the good times that much more precious!"

Final Statements

My Japanese American respondents should have the final word in this report.

On September 18, 1944, George Kunitani and I were discussing the hunger strike in the stockade in which he had participated. He told me: "Our motive never was so much our release, but rather to prove our innocence. . .If accused, we wanted proof of our guilt."

On April 11, 1982, Thomas Kikuchi wrote: "With all the imperfections and the frailties inherent in our system, this is still the greatest country to live in. I feel I have become a better American because of what happened to me."

On March 2, I asked June Iwohara, "Is there anything else you'd like to tell me that I've overlooked?" She responded, "Only that I wouldn't want to go through that experience. . .I would sacrifice my life if I had to. I mean if I thought it was going to happen to my daughter or anyone else. I don't care who it is. I don't care if they're purple or what color they are. I would be willing to give my life to prevent it from happening again."

On June 6, 1981 I asked Joyce Kunitani, "Was there anything that happened to you that helped you to become a wiser or a better person?" Mrs. Kunitani thought for a long time and then said, "The experiences definitely made you wiser." I asked, "In what way?" She responded very assertively, "That they won't be put in camp the second time. That there will not be a second time. Definitely!"

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Footnotes

[1]As Curtis B. Munson put it, "The American-educated Japanese is a boor in Japan and treated as a foreigner." Cited from Years of Infamy, p. 42.

[2]Fieldnotes, February 28,]944.

[3]Spicer, et al, pp. 83-4.

[4]See pp. 20-2

[5]For example, Mrs. Iida and Mrs. Kurusu.

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[6]Impounded People, pp. 83-84,87. For an excellent and detailed description of evacuee subordination, see Impounded People,pp. 83-]02

[7]Fieldnotes, March]5,]944. For my report on the debate, see pp. 22-4.

[8]Fieldnotes, March 14,]944.

[9]Fieldnotes, March]6,]944

Concluding Comments

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girl who told me:

"A young boy, the baby of the family was sent away. He sent his mother a note concealed in a rice cake, saying, 'I'm terribly lonely, mother.' Naturally, he wouldn't admit anything like that to his family before he was sent away. But he sent it to his mother.[2]

1. Fieldnotes, February 28, 1944.

A large proportion of the parental generation at Tule Lake were poor farmers who had never been able to acquire land in the United States or, because of the evacuation, had lost their possessions.[3] These parents were entirely depenedt on thier children and could see no future for themselves in the United States. In consequence, Nisei who wished to relocate had to close their ears to their parents pleas[2] and "break" with their familes.[4] Loyal women who accompanied their renunciate husbands to Japan were separated from their families for many years.[5] Underage Nisei

2. Spicer, et al, pp. 83-4.
3. See pp. 120-121.
4. For example, Mrs. Iida and Mrs. Kurusu.

who accompanied their repatriating parents to Japan, and eventually managed to return alone suffered a series of traumata that haunt them to this day. As one of them told me: "They never were able to regain a sense of family relationship or warm sense of security. It is similar to what an orphan must feel -- alone.[6]"

Social Segregation

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

As the uprooted people came into the centers they suddenly found

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

6. Impounded People, pp. 83-4, 87. For an excellent and detailed description of evacuee subordination, see Impounded People, pp. 83-102.

of the military police announced that there was to be "no fraternization with evacuees." Some project directors also let it be known among the staff that they did no encourage personal relations with evacuees."[6]

When I arrived at the Gila Center in July of 1943, I was told that I would not be permitted to interview evacuees in my room in the womens' barrack. On one occasion, when harvesters could not be found for the cotton crop, the administration at Gila planned a cotton picking 'picnic', in which both staff members and evacuees were to participate. I rode to the cotton field in an army truck with some Japanese American friends. I was impressed with how delighted they were. Subsequently, I was told that the project director did not approve of what I had done.

When, I visited Tule Lake, in February of 1944, staff members or visitors like myself were not permitted to enter "the colony" unless they were accompanied by an armed soldier. With the assistance of Mr. Robertson I was able to by-pass this regulation; I was escorted by a co-operative member of the Internal Secuirty, who

remained outside in his car while I made my visits. I was surprised and moved at how pleased my Japanese American friends were to see me; poor as they were, some of them served food during our visit. At this time I did not fully appreciate the meaning of these social gestures.

During my visit of mid-March, I was able to talk with a number of the "appointed personnel". Some of them were very sympathetic to the Japanese Americans, who were now called "residents" or "colonists". A young school teacher of American History told me that she "let the kids talk and say what they please." She made no attempt to justify what they had experienced. "How could I justify evacuation?", she asked. She then invited me to attend her class on the next day when a debate on the draft was scheduled.[7]

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

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

By "they" she meant the staff members who were not sympathetic. Another female staff member told me that she would very much like to go in and look around "the colony", but "that was not considered the thing to do here."[8]

Most of the WRA Community Analysts were professional anthropologists and sociologists employed specifically to talk with and consult evacuees and obtain their views and suggestions. Dr. Opler

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7 1. Fieldnotes, March 15, 1944. For my report on the debate, see pp. 22-4.
8 2. Fieldnotes, March 14, 1944.

began to resume such work after the popular referendum of mid-January. In March, however, some staff members told me that Dr. Opler was about to be transferred to the Jerome Center. I asked him about this and he told me that he was not going to Jerome, but that his "friendliness and mixing with evacuees" was responsible for the rumors.[9]

During the entire year of 1944, virtually no Caucasian staff member, with the exception of Mr. Robertson, an assistant project director much respected by the Japanese, some Christian pastors, and myself, engaged in anything that could be called social intercourse with the Japanese Americans. Indeed, it was not until I began to interview Japanese Ameicans in 1981 that I began to suspect that my accomplishments as a fieldworker in Tule Lake were not entirely a reflections of my professional abilities. To a significant degree they may reflect the fact that most of my respondents interpreted my visits as evidence that I, a Caucasian American, regarded them as decent, law-abiding and trustworthy individuals.

On several occasions, well intentioned Japanese Americans urged to the project director to initiated genuine social itneraction between the Japanese Americans and the staff. In late February of 1944 Mr. Kurihara wrote:

> The location of the administration buildings, fenced off to protect the administrative forces was bad enough. Situated out of the way and further separated by the Base Hospital [it] gave little or no chance whatever for the residents and the officials to meet and cultivate friendship. Even a casual friendship would go a long way to maintain peace and order. . .The more the Adminsitrator and his forces get in friendly contact with the Japanese, the better will be their understanding.

9 Fieldnotes, March 16, 1944.

And in June of 1944 Mr. Itabashi wrote:

> Why does the Project Director hide himself? Needless, to say, when one meets a stranger and keep an intimate contact with him, he cannot only avoid misunderstanding between them, but also create a friendly feeling even when unhappy thing happened . . .My advice to the Director is to show himself at the block managers' meeting at least once every week and keep direct contact with the representatives of all the residents and exchange views with them. This is the only way to avoid misunderstanding, create friendly feeling, and save the camp from any further trouble.

In time, some circumspect pastors, ministers, and a few school teachers were able to initiate genuine social relationships between themselves and some of the Japanese Americans. I was not aware of the significance of these relationships until I interviewed these Japanese Americans in 1981-2.

When I asked Joseph Kikuchi, age 9, whether he remembered the WRA school in the Rower Relocation Center, he said:

> I thought it was real good.. .They ~~xxx~~ didn't ~~xxxxxxxx~~ have any facilities except home made desks and a couple of books.
>
> I still remember the teachers were really dedicated type. I think quite a few were Quakers or Christians. The type of encouragement and everything that they gave us was really good, I think. Becuase during World War II, when the popular thing is to hate the Japanese, those people committed themselves and helped us.

When I asked Robert Oda, age ~~20~~ 19, "Looking back, what was the most helpful thing you learned about your fellow human being?", he responded:

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

When I asked Arthur Kikuchi, age 15, what incidents at Tule Lake came especially to his mind, he said:

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

Later in the interview he told me of an incident which occured after he had left the center:

> I was serving in the armed forces and a lady came up to me and said, 'Get out of that uniform you dirty Jap'.

> That's the sort of thing you do run into. I think the thing that we're able to put up with that is the fact that I became a Christian in 1950, and was able to understand how the Lord bore all of our scars for us. And so it's bearable. I thinkeveyone carries certain crosses, and this is ours.

Mrs. Kataoka, who was 77 years old when I interviewed her and 37 at the time of the evacuation, was sent to Tule Lake as an isolated individual because all of her relatives had repatriated to Japan. She told me that she had been encouraged to study the Bible by a Japanese Christian:

> He leaded me to study the Bible and the Bible prophecy; I got kind of interested, you know, how God could help. That's where I got my strength, and I studied real hard from Genesis to Revelations . . .Many Caucasian, like missionary workers, came into my home, and, of course, they wanted to lead me in the Bible passages.

She then told me that her neighbors, "who were all Buddhists" called her <u>inu</u> (informer) because of these visits. But, she indicated, reading the Bible gave her strength :

> "to withstand all kinds of difficult situations; so I stood up and I guess I was the only one in the whole block. I was the only Christian in the whole block. And then I went to church on Sunday morning, so they didn't like that either.

And whenI asked her: "Is there any experience ... that you still carry with you - that you can never forget?" she responded:

> ~~Th~~ The people's kindness in the camp. I never forget. Because being, well, I used to go to church so , . . administration people. . . high school teacher, grammar school teacher, they all get together and ~~they~~ they used to invite not only me, but all the Christian people that want to go and have a chat with the people there.

Military Service After Tule Lake

Three of my respondents told me that after their confinement at Tule Lake they had served in the United States Army. Joseph Kikuchi, age 9 had been taken to Japan by his parents.

Jewish family and went to high school.

"I spent one year in Japan and then I came back on my own. I was 14 or so. And I made my way since then, by myself."

He lived with and worked for a Jewish family for room and board.

"And, from there I volunteered for the United States Army during the Korean War. It's really ironic. Up from 1941 to '45 or '46 we're what they call security risks. And then by 1949 We're all in Military Intelligence, with the highest security clearance. I got the highest clearance. So I look back on it today and I think, boy, that is really ironic. From a suspected disloyal person you get the highest security clearance.

The reason, I think, is that we were still trying to prove our loyalty. . . Most of us were too young for World War II. And when the Korean War came, quite a few of us volunteered. . to continue to prove that we were loyal. My brothers also volunteered. They were all in Military Intelligence. One was in Air Force Intelligence and the other was in the CIC, which is Counter Intelligence.. . So today, when they say that we were put in camp because of disloyalty, it doesn't really hold water, because, as soon as the war's over we're considered the loyalest kids and given high military classification.

It doesn't really make sense."

Mr. Okamoto, who was 11 at the time of the evacuation, told me that when he was in Tule Lake he attended one of the Japanese language schools and learned to speak Japanese very well. "I got so I couldn't speak English so well with my English speaking friends. I felt I was developing a Japanese accent." Mr. Okamoto left Tule Lake

in October of 1945, worked his way through high school and then enlisted in the Army. During the Korean war because of his competence in Japanese he served in the Army Language School. Like ~~Mxxx~~ John Kikuchi, he relished the irony of serving in Military Intelligence only a few years after he and his family had been stigmatized as "dangerous criminals."

Arthur ~~Kxkx~~ Kikuchi, age 15, was the only member of his ~~large~~ family who remained in the United States at the end of ~~xxx~~ the war. His parents and seven siblings went to Japan. ~~Hextxxxxxxthatxbecause~~ He told me that in 1946 he was subjected to a deportation hearing and was subsiquently/ confined in the ~~xxxxxxx~~ the Crystal City Internment Camp. ~~Sxxx~~ Shortly after his release from Crystal City he was drafted and served ~~thxx~~ in the Army for 15 months.

A Confession

I confess that after I received my fellowship I had to force myself to approach Japanese Americans who had been segregated at Tule Lake ~~interviewed~~ and ask them if they would be willing ~~care~~ to talk about their experiences. I had a strong premonition that many of them had ~~passed through excruciating experiences~~ had a very difficult time after they left the camps, and ~~Since I had known some of them so well in Tule Lake,~~ I was reluctant to make an extensive and detailed recording of their agonies. But when, in my first interview, I learned that Mr. Kunitani (who, as a leader of the Daihyo Sha Kai, had been confined in the stockade for 8 months) had relocated to a small town in Pennsylvania, had become a farm manager and a leader of the community, I was elated~~, and, perhaps, even ecstatic~~. When, in subsequent interviews and correspondence I listened to or read the agonizing experiences of Joseph Kikuchi and Arthur Kikuchi and Mitchiko Tsuda I felt deeply grieved and ashamed. But I was able to continue my work because I began to develop a deep sense of obligation to my respondents, most of whom had stubbornly, courageously, intelligently, and sometimes piously coped with or transcended their experiences and have become personnel directors, architects, insurance salesmen, expert electricians, designers, professors, doctors, and, in the case of Mr. Kunitani, dedicated and appreciated leaders in their communities.

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

Or, as Joseph Kikuchi put it: "At times, my mind did not want to return to the unpleasant memories, but I feel it's good to be reminded of how far we've come in our lifetime. It makes the good times that much more precious!"

Final Statements

My Japanese Americans should have the final word in this report.

On September 18, 1944, George Kunitani and I were discussing the hunger strike in the stockade in which he had participated. He told me: "Our motive never was so much our release, but rather to prove our innocence. . . If accused, we wanted proof of our guilt."

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