

J 6/1/44 Thursday

1. Sacramento Region

Talked to Shig N. and learned some details about the distribution of Japanese in and around Sacramento. Shig himself is from a little community called Riego, about 14 miles from Sacramento. This is the same place that Ruby Kawasaki and her family are from. In all there were only about five Japanese families there. Shig used to go into Sacramento all the time and has many friends from that city.

Placer County In Tule Lake there has been much talk of Japanese from Placer Country or the Yama-no-te (Hills), as the people in Sacramento seem to refer to the region. The foothills of the Sierra Nevada range starts from Roseville and Rocklin, about 25 miles from Sacramento, and keeps rising through Loomis, Penryn, Newcastle, and Auburn. Somewhat to the north of these small communities is Lincoln. Most of these communities are dominated by Buddhists, except Loomis, where the Christian church is dominant. Loomis is noted for girls who cannot speak very fluent Japanese, ~~and~~ who go out on dates, and who are generally unpopular with the Isseis.

Florin is located only about ten miles from Sacramento toward Stockton. Walnut Grove and Isleton are located to the south in the Delta Region. To the north are Marysville and Yuba City. Still further north where there are less Japanese ~~is~~ Chico.

Florin Florin, along with Walnut Grove and Isleton, is distinguished by the existence of a segregated school for Orientals. It also has the reputation of containing many persons of eta origin and of producing what Isseis call loose women.

2. Shig N. on Relocation Plans

Shig N. has a farm in Riego, but he says that he does not want to go back to it for a couple of years now. He wants to go out east, and perhaps take up accounting. He is going to be 33 soon, but thus far has no intentions of becoming married. In all those years he says that he has met only one girl that he considered suitable, and he met her only once in Los Angeles.

3. Jimmy Izuta on Returning to Camp

Johnny, Jimmy's brother, told me that his brother who relocated to Chicago was inquiring about the possibilities of being reinducted into the center. Jimmy's reasoning was that he was now safe from the draft because of his 4-F status, but if Johnny were drafted it was best that he stay with his parents. This is somewhat absurd in a way because when he was in the center he tried to keep away from home as much as possible. I told Johnny that Beeson would probably make it difficult for Jimmy to be reinducted. Anyway, I

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said, Jimmy had no reason for coming back to camp which was rapidly deteriorating in educational value. I still don't understand why Jimmy doesn't go on to school. Jimmy also wrote and said that he could not think of calling his parents out. Shuji K. ~~W~~ had called his parents out to Chicago, and he was having a difficult time making ends meet.

4. Pickling Plant Conflict

Kogita came to see Dick Sato again to ask what right Kano had of going around telling ~~me~~ the workers and his friends that he was going to be the supervisor of the Pickling Plant when it reopened, and that he would let them work for him. Kano, for instance, told Mrs. Inouye, and Mrs. Inouye told our neighbor the Yamashita's that she was ready to quit her job in the messhall as soon as the Pickling Plant reopened, because her friend Mr. Kano had asked her to come and work for him. Mrs. Inouye is one of the most disliked women in the block. She is now living with another man, even though they are not legally married. Kogita and his group are worried because Kano is going around and telling his friends these things. He wanted to know how matters really stood. Dick came to ask me whether Takeda, Chairman of the Food Committee, wouldn't know something about it.

I told him what I knew of the situation. The Food Committee had had a meeting with Harding, a man with Washington, and they had convinced him that the Pickling Plant should be reopened in the Mess Operations Section. Harding agreed to talk to Wilder about the matter. I had told Ogawa, Council Clerk about ~~Kano's~~ the Pickling Plant situation. He had said that the Council would have to have a meeting with Wilder to get things down in writing to make sure that there was no monkey business later. I also told him about Kano, and he, Takeda, and Fujii seemed to be agreed that Kano should ~~be~~ not be allowed to return to the Pickling Plant.

According to Dick, Kogita himself does not desire the position of foreman or supervisor so much. He is just anxious to see to it that Kano does not control the place and put in his own friends, whom the other workers do not like. Dick, himself, is thinking of getting a job on the outside, and is not too anxious to become mixed up in this affair again. However, now that he is being pushed by the workers, he seems willing to take action. I suggested that he see Wilder personally before the Council meets with him. Dick's former professor at ~~the~~ the University of California is trying to get a job for Dick, and inquiries seem to have come to the center through Civil Service. Dick is afraid that Rawlings might testify against him.

The persons that Kogita and his group do not want to have in the plant are: Kano, Mrs. Hara, Mrs. Nakamura, and Mrs. Kawasaki.

J 6/2/44 Friday

1. Return to the Coast

Went to see Father Joe today about the return-to-the-Coast matter. He was busy all afternoon seeing people who came in to chat or to consult him on private matters. We decided that we wanted Dick Kanaya to see Beeson about this matter. Neither of us were on friendly terms with him, and we were not in an official capacity to be able to bring up the matter with him. We thought of Mr. Ishii, but Father Joe insisted that he was not to be trusted in a matter of this sort. Father Joe wanted me to contact Dick, which I attempted. First I went to Tom Ogawa to get the letter from Schmoie to Father Joe to show to Dick. Dick, however, was not at work, and had ~~xxx~~ not been there for about a week now, since his child had become ill. I went to his home, but found nobody there. I left a note for him to drop in at my place.

2. Takeda's Plan for Seasonal Work

Takeda said that he was going out to work on the 10th of June for the War Food Administration. Both Fred Sakata and Dr. Hayashi were working for the outfit, and he was assured that he could save up to \$185 if he did not "fool around." The opportunity to save some money seems to be the main motive in Takeda's going out.

3. Pickling Plant

I asked Takeda when the Pickling Plant would be re-opened. He said that he wanted to have this matter settled before he went. Tom Ogawa was saying that they should get Mr. Fujii to arrange ~~xxxxxxxx~~ with Mr. Stafford for a meeting between the Council and ~~Mr~~ Wilder.

4. From the Grapevine

Miller Miller left the center on May 31.

Beeson and Braden Beeson and Braden had differences of opinion on procedures for evacuees going in and out of the center. Braden felt that evacuees shouldn't have to go to a lot of trouble in order to get in and out. Braden resigned, and Beeson took over the supervision of the Statistics Section.

5. Jim M., Cultural Conflict

Jim is 27 years old at present and has been in this country for about 15 years, but he still shows signs of being a Kibei. His speaking knowledge of English is not too poor, and his inability to be accepted fully as a Nisei lies elsewhere. Probably the most noticeable fact about him is that he conforms more closely to the ideal of the Issei than of the Nisei. Besides the fact that he probably retains traces of his training in Japan, he

has shown a remarkable degree of conformity to Issei ways. He is what many Niseis would call the "quiet and majime (serious) type," which in more technical terminology is the conforming type. His one main interest has been study, which is greatly approved of by Isseis. He has concentrated on the study of aeronautics, and has graduated from one of the best aeronautics school in the country. He refrains from smoking and drinking, and even from swearing. One diversion that he allows himself is the playing on the mandolin. ~~xxxxxxx~~ In Tule Lake he was a Sunday school teacher for the Buddhist Church, and also a teacher of mathematics in the Adult Education Department. His difference from the so-called "typical" Nisei is most evident in his attitude toward girls. From his training in Japan and from instructions from his parents, he was taught ~~to~~ not to associate with girls. This he held to quite rigidly. In many cases, even when he was in close contact with a girl he did not strike up a conversation with her or attempted to know her more closely. Even when he realized that a girl wanted to have him walk her home, he ignored her completely. He said that if his parents caught him "fooling around" with a girl they would be very indignant, and he did not choose to change his way for a long time.

The break with this past adjustment came around registration time. Curiously enough, it was his intense interest in his study and work which lead to this break. He was desirous of getting a job in a defense plant to get experience along his line. He had a job lined up, but his parents, especially his father, opposed his plans on the grounds that he would be helping America in her war effort. There were words exchanged, and his father told him that if he must go out to work, not to work in a defense plant. The unfortunate registration issue arose, and Jim was one of the few who registered from his block, which was located in Ward V. In order to make matters easier for his parents, he moved to another block ~~for~~ until matters quieted down. The break had already been made, and when segregation rolled around, he left the center and his parents and sister.

It was about this time that he began to take some interests in girls for the first time. Helped by some Nisei friends he met, he was urged to meet girls and to take them out on dates. He even managed to attend a number of dances. Later he regretted that he did not take advantage of his stay in Tule Lake to become acquainted with a larger circles of girls. He began to strike up conversation with girls at the office, and to visit others in his neighborhood. His approach at this time ~~was~~ was evidently rather poor, because one Issei who had the occasion to watch Jim visit his daughter remarked that he would never be able to get a girl at the rate he was going. He was highly conscious that many Isseis thought that he was a good "catch," and this probably interfered with his technique of approaching girls.

Jim had answered "no, no" at the time registration, somewhat as a compromise to the opposition to registration, although

and
he immediately regretted this, on the following day attempted to have his answer changed. Thus even after segregation to Minidoka he was required to ~~wait~~ wait for his leave clearance to arrive from Washington. In the meantime he left the center for work in the beetfields and then on the railroad. Here he clearly showed his conforming behavior. While the rest of the boys gambled, told dirty stories, and swore, Jim refrained from all of this. He was considered somewhat of an eccentric while he was working on the railroad, and was dubbed "Professor," and kidded a great deal ~~of~~ about his mannerisms. He in turn was in the habit of criticizing others for their "bad" behavior and sometimes for their table manner.

Isseis on the whole had a higher regard for Jim than Niseis. The foreman of the gang, for instance, played up to him a great deal, and was constantly talking about taking him home for a vacation. He had an ulterior motive for doing this since he lived in a college town with very ~~xx~~ few Japanese. His daughter was a college graduate and working in one of the college laboratories, and had no prospects of a suitable mate. Most of the ^{Nisei} college students who came to the college in small numbers were now too young for her. Vacation plans were not carried out, but Jim himself dropped in to ~~xxx~~ visit the foreman's daughter on his way back from a visit to his brother, who was attending college. The girl was a very sociable and intellectual, ~~xxxxxxx~~ and he came back with reports that he had spent an enjoyable afternoon with her.

Jim was reluctant to return to the project ~~he~~ until he received clearance from Washington. When he did he returned, he came back with plans to stay in the center for about a month before seeking a job in the east. It became evident that this one-month period was to be spent in becoming better acquainted with girls. Some Isseis had written to him to tell him that they had a girl to whom they wanted to introduce him, and this was ^{center} of interest for him. He also visited other girls whom he happened to know or to meet. He had dropped ~~xxx~~ signs of shyness, and in fact was going to the other extreme of making himself obnoxious by seeming too friendly or staying too long. His approach to the whole problem was evidently not in conformity even to what some Isseis considered appropriate, for he was criticized severely by both his Nisei and Issei friends. The criticisms included the following:

He was too self-centered, and considered himself and his education too highly.

He was too choosey and criticized girls too much.

He did not have the attributes to please a Nisei girl.
He did not think too highly of girls or of love, feeling that his work was more important.

He irritated people by talking about his own marriage

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problems to the exclusion of all other topics of conversation and without regard to appropriate relationship with the individuals. He revealed his problem to almost anybody.

He insisted on talking about his past relationship with girls as if they had thought a great deal of him.

His interest in girls lacked emotion and enthusiasm.

Jim met the girl who was thought to be suitable for him, but he said that he did not feel anything toward her. He took other girls out to the movies, but evidently had not ~~found~~ found one he really liked. For three weeks he did his best to contact girls. Time was running short. His brother wrote that he had passed his physical, and was coming to the project for a visit. This reminded him that if he desired a deferment he would have to be doing some sort of work. The latest news is that he has decided to drop the matter of seeking girls, and to leave the center for points east.

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Irrigator Cross Reference

Council "Council Body Forms Special Commission"

New Hospital Committee to meet with Health Board next Thursday.

Note that both Dr. Shigaya and Dr. Ishibashi plan to relocate.

I. 6/3/44 p 1

Food "Milk Supply is Increased"

I. 6/3/44 p 1

Return to the Coast "Fisher Urges Relocation From Coast"

Note that the write-up emphasizes a minor point made by Dr. Fisher--relocation to the East. His main topic was the possibility of returning to the Coast. This article was buried in the second page, when it was
* the most important news to be conveyed to the residents.

I. 6/3/44 p 2

Council-Administration "Exhibition Softball Game Slated 3 p.m. Tomorrow at Center Field" "Appointed Personnel team Meets Evacuee Government"

The headline for this game, which seemed more significant than all other items in this issue, was buried in the fourth page.

I. 6/3/44 p 4

J 6/9/44 #2

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY

June 9, 1944

REPORT ON MINIDOKA

Introduction The purpose of this report is to show the condition in Minidoka and how it is being covered.

Problem I What was the condition in Minidoka at the time of segregation in September, 1943.

A. Administration

1. Project Director considered authoritarian in attitude.
2. Assistant Project Director Shaffer considered sympathetic to evacuees, settled many problems.
3. Except for a few exceptions the administrative staff was dominated by the attitude of the project director.
4. The administration was in the habit of imposing its own point of view on the residents. (hours of work, voluntary labor, volunteering)
5. Steps were taken to keep the residents unorganized.
 - a. Block organization discouraged.
 - b. Self-government opposed.
 - c. Block managers reduced in number.
 - d. Unwillingness shown to give evacuees power.
6. Instead of having elected representatives for evacuee advisors "personal advisors" were called in for consultation.
7. Impersonal relationship maintained with evacuees-- "fraternization" not allowed.

B. Evacuee Leaders

1. Made up mostly of Isseis. Niseis were relegated to a secondary position. Many relocated.
2. Residents governed by a system of block managers appointed by the administration.
3. The block managers dominated by S. Hara, the chairman, who in turn was one of Stafford's "personal advisors."
4. The block managers and men in key position were in the habit of imposing the instruction of the administration on the residents.
5. They were also known to be highly officious.
6. The residents were rarely consulted on matters.
7. A small group of leaders centering around the Organization Commission favored self-government and opposed the block managers.

Report on Minidoka--2

C. Residents

1. Were divided among themselves.
 - a. Some cooperative with administration.
 - b. Some apathetic.
 - c. Some dissatisfied.
2. Were dominated by fear.
 - a. Of inu.
 - b. Of blacklist.
 - c. Lacked initiative.
3. Were individualistic.

Problem II. What were the significant events in Minidoka from October, 1943. Significant events are defined as those incidents which are considered significant to the Study for one or more of the following reasons:

1. Events assigned by the Director as an important item to be followed.
2. Major events involving the whole community or a large part of the community (e.g. strikes, draft issue, creation of the Council). Major events are covered as fully as possible.
3. Minor events involving only a segment of the population or even one person which serve to clarify significant events, changes, and processes. Minor events are covered only when circumstances permit it. (e.g. Change in personnel, Pickling Plant conflict, case histories.)
(A coverage of all phases of activities in the center is not being attempted at the present time.)

A. Tulean Adjustment

1. Comparing of notes between Tuleans and Minidokans.
2. Tulean criticism of Minidoka.
3. Criticism of Tuleans by Minidokans and the administration.
4. Tulean welcome by the dissatisfied elements.
5. Lack of complete assimilation.
6. Adjustment of Tulean leaders:
 - a. Number of Tuleans who gained leadership position is small.
 - b. K. Takeda, unofficial leader of the Tuleans and Council member.
 - c. Potential leaders align themselves with different groups--pro-evacuee and pro-administration.

B. Housing Conflict (Tuleans in Action)

1. Nature of the conflict
 - a. Housing Adjustment Board's insistence on refusing small families into large apartments.

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- b. Tulean demand for an apartment for each family and refusal to move out of recreation halls to double up into rooms.
2. K. Takeda obtains job on Housing Adjustment Board.
 - b. Housing Board threatens with advantage for those who double up.
 - c. Survey proposed by Takeda reveals:
40 large apartments vacant and
27 families in recreation halls.
 - d. Housing Board insists on moving out doubled up families first.
 - e. Takeda calls on each doubled-up family and gains consent to give separate apartments to recreation hall residents first.
- C. Report to Myer (October 23, 1943)
 1. A very strong protest was registered against the administration, and self-government was urged and forced relocation questioned.
 2. The reports were written by the leaders opposed to the block managers with the help of a few Tuleans.
- D. Report to the Spanish Consul (December, 1943)

Same as above.
- E. Community Council charter presented to the residents for the second time in the same year and passed by 2657 to 686 votes.
 1. A result of pressure from Washington.
 2. Election handled by block representatives.
- F. Boilermen Conflict (January, 1944)
 1. Administration attempt to impose a 24 hour work schedule results in the explosion of anti-administration sentiment.
 2. The conflict is arbitrated by block representatives.
- G. Strikes (January)

Employment cuts result in a series of small strikes (mailmen, dentists) and general labor unrest. Mess employees organize.
- H. New Seasonal Leave Restrictions Issued (January)

Interpreted as a means of forcing relocation. Causes little disturbance.
- I. Formation of the Council (February)
 1. Persons who were considered either pro-evacuee or anti-administration were elected.
 2. Block managers and other reactionary leaders

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failed to be elected.

- J. Draft Issue (January-April)
Disturbs both Isseis and Niseis. Protest movement fails.
- K. Pickling Plant Conflict (March)
Rawlings closes down the Pickling Plant to settle a labor dispute.
- L. Warehouse Conflict (April)
Stafford discovers insubordination among his own staff and decides to cooperate with the Council in ousting the recalcitrants.
Assistant Project Director Miller resigns.
Cox plays up to the Council.
- M. Kuroki's Visit (May)
~~The Council accepts the task of fixing the damage~~
Ben Kuroki given a poor welcome.
- N. Riprap Incident (May)
The Council accepts the task of fixing the damage to the canal to cooperate with Stafford.
- O. Light Case (May)
The high school principal refuses to resign, and evacuees start a movement to retain him as principal.
- P. Irrigator-Acre Incident (May)
The new Reports Officer conflicts with the Irrigator staff, and hostile relationships are maintained.
- Q. Return to the Coast. (June)
The possibility is made public.
- R. Relocation
Strong resistance continues.
- S. Attitudes toward the war.
Many Isseis doubt that the second front will take place.

Report on Minidoka--5

Problem III What were the major changes that occurred in Minidoka. Major changes are defined as those which affect important characteristics of the center as described in Problem I.

A. Administration

1. The Project Director is considered more sympathetic to evacuees than before.
2. Shaffer is replaced by Miller, who antagonizes evacuees.
3. Turnover in administrative personnel results in administrators inexperienced with evacuees.
4. The highly anti-evacuee administrators find it increasingly difficult to deal with evacuees arbitrarily.
5. The administration finds it increasingly difficult to impose its will on the residents.
6. The power of the Council is recognized by the administration.

Leaders

1. Still made up mostly of Isseis.
2. The power has shifted from the old leaders, especially the block managers, to the new leaders, centered around the community council.
3. After the reaction against the pro-administration type of leadership, the new leaders have worked for the interest of both the residents and the administration.
4. The highly officious leader has become greatly unpopular and many leaders have softened their attitude toward residents.
5. The leaders are still fairly independent of the people, but they show more consideration for the best interest of the residents than before.
6. Certain leaders, especially the block managers and leaders of the mess employees, have shown opposition to the councilmen.

C. Residents

1. The residents are more satisfied with the present condition than before.
2. They have been freed from fear of the in and of the administration.
3. The opinion of Isseis, rather than that of the administration, has come to dominate the project.
4. The residents are better organized for action than before.
5. Resistance to administrative plans has increased. (Voluntary work, employment cuts, seasonal work, relocation.)

J 6/8/44 # 3

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
STAFF CONFERENCE JUNE 8- JUNE 12, 1944

A G E N D A

June 8

2:00 p.m. Frank Miyamoto, Discussion Leader

Topic: "Analysis of Factors contributing to Conflict and Social disorganization in Relocation Projects, with particular reference to Tule Lake through the registration period."

June 9

10:00 a.m. James Sakoda, Discussion Leader

Topic: "Analysis of Conflict situations and Social reorganization following registration, with particular reference to Minidoka after the arrival of the Tuleans."

2:00 p.m. Rosalie Hankey, Discussion Leader

Topic: "Analysis of Conflicts and cleavages in Tule Lake after Segregation."

June 10

10:00 a.m. Richard Nishimoto, Discussion Leader

Topic: "Analyzing the 'core' of the Japanese Community in Relocation Projects."

2:00 p.m. Morton Grodzins, Discussion Leader

Topic: "Analyzing the development of WRA policies at the National level."

June 11

10:00 a.m. Charles Kikuchi, Discussion Leader

Topic: "Analyzing the problems of the individual and family resettler."

June 11

2:00 p.m. Morton Grodzins, Discussion Leader

Topic: "Political Factors in the Formulation of Evacuation Policy."

8:00 p.m. Togo Tanaka, Discussion Leader

Topic: "Building up the Political and Social History of the Japanese prior to Evacuation, with particular reference to the Los Angeles area."

June 12

10:00 a.m. Dorothy Thomas, Discussion Leader

Topic: "Plans for analyzing data on economic and population aspects of Evacuation."

2:00 p.m. W. I. Thomas, Discussion Leader

Topic: "Critique of Objectives, approaches and gaps in the data."

May 19, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO PARTICIPANTS IN CONFERENCE

FROM: D.S. THOMAS

This is to inform you that the conference will be held at the New Grand Hotel in Salt Lake City instead of the Hotel Utah.

The reason for the change is the following: Arrangements were made with the Hotel Utah weeks ago, but a letter giving the specific details concerning the participants, including their names, was sent out only ten days ago. Today I received a letter asking that the conference be cancelled. The excuse given was that "prior reservations" made it impossible to accommodate us.

We thereupon telephoned the Hotel Newhouse in Salt Lake City and told them our needs in regard to rooms. They agreed to take care of us. We then said "Five of the nine persons attending are Japanese Americans from the staff of the University of California." They said, "We cannot give them accommodations."

We reported the situation to the WRA office in San Francisco. They put one of their Salt Lake men on the case, and discovered that three hotels in Salt Lake City have recently adopted this discriminatory policy: the Utah, the Newhouse, and the Temple.

They obtained accommodations for us at the New Grand, which has no such discriminatory policy.

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

A. Relocation centers in general.

1. Restrictions and losses resulting from evacuation.
 - a. Loss of business, savings, homes, status and self-respect.
 - b. Regimentation of conduct, and confinement.
 - c. Isolation from main American stream of life; loss of any identification with majority group.
2. Confusion of evacuation and relocation.
 - a. Indefiniteness of reasons for evacuation, and resulting indefiniteness of evacuee status.
 - b. Speed of evacuation and resulting inadequate instructions to evacuees, inadequate preparations and planning, and general confusion.
3. Administrative difficulties of the W.R.A.
 - a. Inconsistencies within W.R.A. policy; the effort to operate a democratic community under undemocratic conditions.
 - b. Unprecedented character of evacuation, and experience in administering evacuees or Japanese.
 - c. Problems of a war agency administering a suspected group; shortage of equipment, public relations difficulties, etc.
4. The nature of the center situation.
 - a. Disruption of established Japanese communities, and need for reorganization under new and special conditions.
 - b. Administration of a "Japanese community" by Caucasian authorities. The background of Japanese distrust of Caucasians. The superordinate-subordinate relationship.
 - c. Massing of large heterogeneous population in close confinement under conditions favorable to crowd behavior.

B. Tule Lake in particular.

1. Location of Tule Lake.
 - a. Within restricted California zone. Close supervision by Western Defense Command and subjection to scrutiny of hostile California elements.
 - b. Closeness to San Francisco and resulting tendency to use Tule Lake as an experimental center.
2. The W.R.A. administration at Tule Lake.
 - a. First center opened under W.R.A. supervision. Initial test of W.R.A. policies and program.

- b. Optimism and leniency of Shirrell and other members of appointed personnel.
3. Composition of Tule Lake evacuee population.
- a. Greatest heterogeneity of population. Drawn in large numbers from California, Oregon and Washington.
 - b. Largest single aggregation of evacuee population. ~~XX~~ (of. Gila and Poston) Problems of communication and distribution of goods increased.
 - c. The conservative background of the California element. Subjection to considerable race hostility. Rural population.
 - d. Large numbers of kibeï in the center.
4. The nature of center organization.
- a. Breadth and intensity of activities; Shirrell's role. E.g., farm and construction crews.
 - b. Non-functional character of center plan, particularly the administrative offices.

ANALYZING THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIVIDUAL FAMILY RESETTLER

I. Resettlement

- A. Factors predisposing towards resettlement.
- B. Timing of resettlement.
- C. Mechanism by which resettlement was achieved.
- D. Sequence of places sought in resettlement.

II. Housing

- A. Sequence of dwellings sought and lived in.
- B. Adjustment to housing facilities.
- C. Relations with other residents.

III. Employment

- A. Sequence of jobs.
- B. Conditions of work.
- C. Relations with others.
- D. Income and budget.
- E. Economic Future.

IV. The draft

- A. Effect on the men.
- B. Effect on the women.
- C. Effect on married couples.

V. Family relations in Chicago.

- A. Nature of relationships.
- B. Changes in family relations.
- C. Sequence of family resettlement.
- D. Family members remaining in center.

VI. Leisure time and social life

- A. Amount of leisure time.
- B. Friends and social groups.
- C. Social events.
- D. Personal preferences in leisure.
- E. Boy-girl relations.

VII. Nisei society

- A. Increasing nisei contacts.
- B. Caucasian contacts.
- C. Integration vs. segregation.

VIII. Political views

- A. Nisei political status.
- B. Internationasl status.

IX. Evacuee Publicity

- A. Unfavorable publicity.
- B. Favorable publicity.

X. Personality problems

One or two comments on J's report

J 6/13/44 #3-2, the third paragraph. "Someone made a report on the conditions under which seasonal workers were being recruited at present, and the conclusion was that the conditions were only fair." We want to know what kind of report was made. What kind of conclusion? Why they thought fair?

"A letter describing conditions on the outside by a relocatee was read for the benefit of the people." We want to know the content of the letter and its reactions.

"The results of the election for councilmen were reviewed for the benefit of all, and the remark made that more than half of the councilmen had been replaced." What kind of remarks? What did they say?

These are the keys to tell how the people are behaving and thinking in Topaz. It was unfortunate that these were not elaborated. #5-2, the second paragraph. He is speaking of "accomodated" people. This was touched upon by us during the conference. I am glad somebody else think in the same way as we did.

"When the draft issue came up, Wirin of the ACLU was consulted." Did the Managers consult Wirin? It is important to specify. If so, it is ^avery important deviation from the Managers of other centers.

6/13/44
J ~~1/1/44~~ Tuesday

1. Peterson, Relocation Officer

According to Elmer Smith, Peterson is enthusiastic about his work and knows what he is doing. When he drove Dr. Thomas, Togo and myself to Topaz, he seemed somewhat curt in manners. He stated, however, he was against discrimination, and that he had refused to send evacuee workers to the Hotel Utah because of the attitude of the manager there who said, "They want the same treatment as white people."

Seasonal leave Peterson said that he was in favor of abolishing seasonal leave altogether because it was not helping the relocation program. He said that it had been a mistake to make it difficult for persons to be reinducted.

2. Topaz

The first day in Topaz I went to see Mrs. Kawamoto from Berkeley and the Najimas from Oakland along with Dr. Thomas. Then I went in search of the Akahoshi's, my former block manager in Tule Lake, and had lunch there. I also had him make arrangements for a room for the duration of my stay. I dropped in at Community Analysis office and was introduced to Hoffman, the Community Analyst. I then looked up Mrs. Yoshida and Mr. Ikeda, both former Tuleans. For the next three days I spent most of my time looking up persons that I had known either in Berkeley or in Tule Lake. The following impression of Topaz is the result of my conversation with these people.

3. Administration

The things said about the Topaz administration was neither highly adverse or favorable. Mrs. A. said that all of the Caucasians here were not too bad. The more common attitude toward the administration by persons who seemed to know what they were talking about was that the project director followed administrative instructions closely and was not sympathetic toward evacuees. He was shrewd, however, and was always confident that he was in control of the situation on the project. The project director was suspicious of the block managers, and insisted on matters dealing with the administration be brought up through the community council. Some implied that Ernst was something of a dictator, although this reputation was not strong.

The most interesting comparison made by persons active on the project was between Hughes and Roscoe Bell. Hughes had been a very understanding sort of person, and attempted to make adjustments for the evacuees within the limitations of regulations. He stood well with both the project director and evacuees. Earlier this year, however, he was replaced by Roscoe Bell, who refused to make the

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adjustments that Hughes had been making. Hughes, for instance, had promised that he would do everything to get overtime in cash for last year's work. Bell came out and stated bluntly that overtime would be paid in cash only from now on. When people refused to volunteer to fix the decaying pipelines, Bell is said to have threatened to shut down the water.

4. Block Managers

The block managers in Topaz ~~ix~~ are a highly active group. Under the able leadership of Jimmy Harano, who seems to be an older Nisei, they hold daily meetings to discuss problems. Some people claim that they are going beyond their function, and taking up matters which should be discussed by the Community Council. The attitude of the administration toward the Block Managers seems to differ. Some, like the project director, seems to distrust this body. Others, like the Community Analyst, feels that it is very constructive. Evacuees seemed quite agreed in feeling that the best leaders were among the Block Managers and not the Community Council.

The attitude displayed by the block managers at the meeting that I attended was definitely pro-evacuee and somewhat suspicious toward the administration. When volunteering for the pipelines was discussed, the dominant opinion was that no one should be asked to volunteer until it was clear that the administration intended to pay cash for any extra work put in by evacuees. Several individuals expressed opinions that the mess workers could not be expected to work over the weekend if they were not to receive the promised overtime in cash. The attitude of the council in going out and volunteering for work on the pipelines was denounced as not expressing the real wish of the people. Someone made a report on the conditions under which seasonal workers were being recruited at present, and the conclusion was that the conditions were only fair. A letter describing conditions on the outside by a relocatee was read for the benefit of the people. The results of the election for councilmen were reviewed for the benefit of all, and the remark made that more than half of the councilmen had been replaced. Some discussion was also held on the application for picnic grounds and the arrangements for a welcome party for the new project director. I was asked to say something about Minidoka, and some pointed questions were asked me about the conditions there, such as the quality of food.

5. Community Council

The attitude toward the Community Council ranged from lack of interest to outright denunciations. Two general reputations were that the councilmen were not real leaders and that they were pro-administration. Ochikubo, the chairman of the Council, for instance, was considered

by some as harmless, but by others as worthless and a braggart. One person described him as the sort that looked down upon those without position. Because of the disrepute of the councilmen, capable men considered it an affront to be nominated to that body and others refused to run for it at all. When an election for councilmen was held more than half were replaced. In a number of blocks no one else would run for the office, and in some blocks an election was not held. The pro-administration attitude is illustrated by the stand taken by the Council in regards to the volunteering for work on the pipelines. It is also said that the Council advocated relocation and caused a reaction against it among the people.

6. Residents

In general the residents are quiet and somewhat submissive. Ikeda made a somewhat significant remark when he pointed out the difference between the people who lived in the Bay Area and those who lived in and around Sacramento. In the former they depended a great deal upon Caucasians for their living, especially in the service trades. In the latter they owned their own farm or business and depended more on the Japanese community for their support. Consequently the people from the Bay Area were much more likely to be cooperative with Caucasians than people from the Sacramento Valley. To this observation should be added that the people in Topaz

1. Are mostly from urban areas. The people are more likely to be educated and sophisticated. The background of the population is homogeneous. (
2. Are not large in number.
3. Are fairly well-organized, especially through the block managers. (Even today the residents of Minidoka are still not well organized for action.) When the draft issue came up, Wirin of the ACLU was consulted. (In Minidoka no such action was taken.)

7. Tuleans

The attitude of the Tulean in Topaz is identical with that of Tuleans in Minidoka, although those in Topaz seem to have less reasons than those in Minidoka for them. The morale in Tule Lake is considered much better in pre-segregation Tule Lake than in Topaz. By morale is ~~xxxxxx~~ not meant a "cooperative" attitude toward the administration, but cooperation between evacuees for their common welfare. The major source of conflict for Tuleans in Topaz seems to have been job-getting (In Minidoka it was housing). They first came into the project and demanded jobs on an equal footing with former residents of Topaz, since this had been promised them in Tule Lake. Tuleans claimed that many of

the Topaz leaders tried to keep jobs away from them. The co-op, ~~x~~ for instance, was run undemocratically by the Grant Avenue merchants, and even when Tuleans were elected as representatives, they were not nominated for the Board of Directors.

Tuleans complained that the people in Topaz were lacking in guts. They did not ~~xxx~~ demand things of the administration, ~~xxx~~ such as recreational fund, which they deserved. The administration explanation, when it was demanded, was that it thought that the fund could be better used for the war effort than for recreational purposes. Even when there was a strike, the people did not stick together.

Another common complaint of Tuleans was that activities were not well organized. The recreation department, for instance, was very poorly organized, compared to Tule Lake. While the Adult Education Department conducted classes in English and in the crafts, the schools were considered a disgrace. As Niseis put it, the place was "dead."

8. Pipeline Conflict

As early as last year the pipes laid within the project began to spring leaks, and ever since it has been necessary to keep replacing them. For voluntary work on the pipelines last year overtime was promised in cash. Through the winter months work was done by a special crew, working under adverse weather conditions. They were paid \$19 because of the condition under which they were working. Since there was a shortage of work for the newly arrived Tuleans, many of the workers were Tuleans.

Presumably these arrangements were made by Assistant Project Director Hughes. Earlier this year he was replaced by Roscoe Bell, who also reversed some of the arrangements made by his predecessor. Hughes had given the residents the impression that he was doing his best to have the overtime for last year paid in cash. Bell came out bluntly and stated that overtime could not be paid in cash for previous periods, but would be paid for work done ~~xxxx~~ henceforth. Another change that he made recently was to reduce the wages of the special crew from \$19 to \$16, on the grounds that the weather was more favorable now. The crew then refused to continue work, and the leader of the group went out on seasonal work with some members of the crew. When the crew was again offered the job at \$19, it was too late, for no one offered to do the work. A plea was then made for residents to offer their services on a voluntary basis. Many residents, including the block managers, refused to work until they were shown proof that they would be paid in cash for the extra work that they did. The administration is said to have threatened to turn off the water in order to save the water, which was flooding parts of the project through serious leaks in the pipelines. The resort of some residents and also the block managers was

that the administration could turn off the water if it wanted to. The Community Council, in the meantime, went on record favoring the idea of volunteering their labor, and Chairman Ochikubo and some council members did some work on the pipelines one Sunday. However, the Council did not receive the support of the residents on this matter. Bell is said to have stated that the block managers really did not represent the voice of the residents, and the latter decided at one of their meetings to get petitions ~~xxx~~ signed by residents, stating that they did not want to do extra work unless they were paid for it. The matter was temporarily settled by using high school students on the job, presumably at \$19.

9. Overtime for Mess Workers

The mess workers were voicing a protest over not being paid for overtime work, both ~~xx~~ at the block managers' meeting and a special meeting of mess chefs. The mess workers claimed that when they complained that they were working 48 hours and receiving only 44 hour pay, the administration, probably through Hughes, promised to pay the extra four hours in cash. Trouble began when it was announced recently that overtime promised in the past could not be paid. The main question was, not so much the work that they had been doing, but the amount of work they would do in the future. They argued that ~~xx~~ they should refuse to work part of one day, if they were not to be paid the overtime.

This controversy over the overtime payment seems to have been aggravated somewhat by the fact that Tuleans who worked overtime at the time of segregation were promptly paid in cash. This matter was considered by other departments who now had less workers but had to carry on the same amount of work. They argued that where five workers were required and only three were working, they should receive the overtime for the two workers. The project, it was pointed out, would be increasingly short of workers, and unless this matter of overtime was straightened out, the residents would be required to do excessive ~~xxxx~~ amount of work. The attitude at the block managers' meeting seemed to be that the running of the project was the function of the administration, and that it was not necessary for the evacuees to take the responsibility of providing employment when a shortage developed. The block managers represented the fact that the council had gone on record as declaring the block managers, among others, as being unessential workers.

10. Miscellaneous Attitudes

Miscellaneous attitudes expressed by the residents--especially those who were not leaders--indicated that the prevailing attitudes within the centers were about the same.

11. Mr. Koya on Invasion

Mr. Koya, Issei ex-Tulean, and formerly a cook for a Caucasian family, said:

"The invasion is having difficulties. About 500 gliders were lost and 180,000 dead were counted. Germany may lose the war after 2 or 3 years, but the Allies won't win a decisive victory."

12. Hi O. on the Draft

Hi is a Buddhist, ~~xxxxxxx~~ married, at the time of ~~xx~~ evacuation, and in his late 20's. He remained in the center, working as an accountant, for which he was college-trained. He waited until until he was reclassified 1-A and passed his physical, and then went to work on the railroad. Because he was not able to get a deferment there, he went into share-cropping, although he did not really like farming. Now he states that he likes the work. He is deferred for the present. When the time comes, his wife said, they would like to return to the Coast.

13. Masami S. on the Draft

~~Masami has been in Japan, but is more of a Nisei than a Kibei.~~ He is ~~xxxxxxx~~ in his middle twenties, and is married. He had poor vision, but it was correctable. He was given limited service, which was somewhat disappointing to him. He is money-conscious, and is thinking of making toys to sell on the outside.

14. Mrs. K. on the Draft

Mrs. K. has an only son in the service, on whom she dotes a great deal. She undoubtedly wanted to have her son finish college, become married, and live close to her. She asked me how my draft status stood, and I told her that I had received no notice thus far. Her comment was:

"You're certainly lucky."

~~Thaxxxxxxxx~~ Some of the people seem to believe definitely that Kibeis are not being called.

15. Masako M., Tule Bound

I dropped in to see Masako, whom I knew as a Buddhist. She was rather Japanese, and had married a Kibei. She had a baby. She said that she and her husband had expatriated, but that they postponed going to Tule Lake because of the birth of the baby.

16. Zig A., Tulean

Zig is still in his early twenties, but was married at

the time of segregation. He thought that compared to Tule Lake Topaz was a "dead" place. He also thought that the people in Topaz had no guts. He said that he went out to work on the Tule Lake harvest. When I mentioned that the people in Tule Lake probably didn't like it, he said:

"What the heck, I went out for the sake of the money."

17. Mr. Nakayama on the Future

Mr. Nakayama is a bachelor Issei, who used to do domestic work in Berkeley. He is a rather quiet person, and is now working as a ~~xxxx~~ janitor in his block. He said that he didn't have to work more than a couple of hours everyday. He had planned to return to Japan before the war, but had been waiting for a certain party to pay a debt to him. He said that he wanted to return to Japan as soon as the war was over. He remarked that he didn't think that it was going to be possible ~~for~~ to work for Hakujins even if the war ended, because it would be so unpleasant.

18. Mrs. Mizutani on the Future

Mrs. Mizutani is an elderly Issei woman, who had been living alone in Berkeley, doing housework. Since ~~xxxxxxx~~ being evacuated, she had aged tremendously. She had been ceased with fear at the time of evacuation, and said that she could hardly do her own packing, she cried so much. She lived in an apartment with a younger woman, but seemed to be afraid to face the future. She thought that it was best for all of us to ~~xxx~~ return to Japan after the war. Even if the West Coast opened up she thought that it would be too dangerous to return there. She expressed the fear that she would not be able to return to Japan and might die in this country.

19. Mr. Moriya, Issai

Mr. Moriya comes from the Northwest, and consequently has few friends in Topaz. He has two baby boys. Recently he had twins, but one of them died. He seemed ashamed to reveal the fact that he had twins, and did not talk about it. His wife's mother, who is somewhat queer, is living with him. He is probably about 40, and able to work.

Mr. Moriya plans to go out on seasonal to work for a couple of months. He says that extra money is needed to living in the center. It's not so bad now, he says, because he works in the messhall and can bring food home.

He went for his relocation interview and said that he was not thinking of relocation now because he just had a baby. He claimed that there was no need to give the real answers to the questions they asked. His intention

seems to be to stay in the center for the duration. He stated that even if the Coast were opened up there wouldn't be much use in only a few Japanese returning. He said that he didn't want to bring up his children among ^{Hakujins,} although it might be satisfactory if they were ^{not} mistreated. He thought that if Japan didn't lose everything in the war, jobs would be available for Niseis. However, if they wanted to stay in this country, he thought that many Isseis would have to remain here, too. He thought that farming perhaps would be the best for Japanese after the war.

20. Ray Mito

Met Ray's father, who was ready to leave for a teaching job. He seemed to have been well-educated. They had lived among Caucasians, and Ray had associated largely with Caucasians during his childhood. Ray's father sent him to college to take up law, because this seemed to be the best way improve the future of the Japanese. Also, he advised his son to take up ROTC because he felt that this again would make a good impression on the Caucasians. Ray consequently took four years of ROTC, and a congressman promised to take him to West Point. When the war broke out, and Ray was drafted, he was not allowed to serve in a combat unit, but was placed in a medical corp. Recently Ray was asked to join the all-Nisei combat unit, but this he refused to do. Finally he was allowed to enter the paratroopers' school. Mr. Mito said that both parents and ~~xxxxxxx~~ son felt no regret about his having to go overseas eventually. Ray spoke very little Japanese, and was married to Doris, a Sansei, who could not speak Japanese.

21. Hiro K., Nisei leader

Hiro is a college graduate, somewhat idealistic, and plans to go into social work. He is working in the Community Analysis Section. He lamented the poor school system, and the inferior teachers it had. He felt that the WRA had mishandled ev- cuse problems. He does not trust Caucasians with information about talk of war and allegiance. He believed that Ernst was dictatorial. He said that Hoffman, the Community Analyst, was afraid of the project director, and that the Community Analysis Section was not playing its part fully. He felt that the administration was being very negative when it ~~xxx~~ suggested the abolishing of the Japanese language classes, in order to improve the morale in the center. He considered those refusing to report for their physical to be draft-dodgers. He believed that no major trouble would occur on the project soon.

22. Mr. Ikeda, Sacramentan on Return to the Coast

Mr. Ikeda, ex-Tulean and Sacramentan, has as his motto "help the people as much as possible." He is working in the Legal Aid Section, and finds that the people appreciates his help. He felt that some demands should be made for

the benefit of those who were to return to the Coast. His first contention was that very few evacuees could afford to return to the Coast. Many had already sold their property because of fear of legal entanglement. Consequently, they now needed financial aid. Farmers, even though they had property, he said, could not risk going back until they were sure of a steady labor supply. Domestic workers from the Bay Area, he said, who had been bowing their heads to Caucasians, might be able to adjust themselves, but he didn't think that the people from the Sacramento area could do this. They had either been proprietors or had lived on the Japanese community, not depending on the Caucasians very much. He felt that a committee should be organized to present matters of this sort to the proper authority.

23. Mr. Yama, Ex-Tulean

Yama is a Kibei in his early thirties, married to a Nisei girl. He ~~is~~ lacks calm decision, and was considered an agitator by some people in his block in Tule Lake. In the excitement of registration he expatriated, but through guidance from his wife, he cancelled it. He used to work in the Recreation Department in Tule Lake, and came to Topaz and found it not too well organized. He attempted to get a job in the Recreation Department in Topaz, but some Isseis interfered, telling him that they could not hire any more workers. He disliked this attitude of the incapable leaders here on the project. He was instrumental in pointing out that in Tule Lake the Recreation Department was allotted a fund of \$800. The Caucasian supervisor stated that he didn't know anything about a fund. They went to the accountant and inquired about the matter. The accountant explained that there was a fund for the recreation department, but he thought that it could be put to better use in the war effort.

At the Placement Office Yama was offered a job in the Housing Division/ as the Senior Clerk. He was supposed to get a C rating, but the Caucasian supervisor changed his rating from \$19 to \$16. He brought this matter to the attention of the supervisor, asking why she had lowered his rating and raised that of another clerk who had been working there before. By complaining to the head of the Social Welfare Department, he was able to have his C rating restored. This supervisor was removed from her position, and went to work in the Leaves Office. When Yama went there to demand an immediate hearing for leave clearance, he claims, she was very obliging and gave him a special hearing.

Yama is now working in one of the repair shops. Some Caucasians came into the shop when the workers were resting, and the head of the shop complained. Yama declared that they were resting because they had done sufficient work ~~XXXXXX~~ To fill in the excess time the workers

were ordered to move sacks of seed which were stored in the same building. Yama declared that it was not their work to do this work, since the seeds belonged to some other division. The Hakujin said that it was their work as long as the seed was in the building. Yama replied that if that were the case they would have to go out and plant the seeds because it was in the same building. The Hakujin finally gave up. Yama also told him that he would work 8 hours a day if they exchanged wages.

Ben Kuroki According to Yama, Ben Kuroki received a fairly good welcome here. Nobody appeared at the gate, but many went to hear him speak. Ben denounced the Fascists on the West Coast and received applause from Isseis. Ben avoided making irritating remarks.

Toward the radical individuals in the block he said that they ought to think more about the Niseis who wanted to live in America. He also pointed out that the only ones that Japan wanted were those who had money or ~~xxxxxxx~~ education.

Yama also pointed out that the block head who made the announcements was the sort who liked to show off and who did not have the ability of a leader. He complained when a Nisei who was inducted went without the block being informed of this fact.

The people here, Yama said, were very independent and had no community spirit. For instance, after Tuleans came they started to collect five cents per person per month to give to the doctors. At first they planned on ~~xxxxxxx~~ giving a doctor \$70, but this had to be reduced to \$50. The amount collected is becoming less and less because people do not ~~xxxxxxx~~ contribute their full share.

24. Social Welfare Department

Took Mr. Sugimoto to ~~xxx~~ the Social Welfare Department to see if he could get a P.A. grant. He is over 70 and has a daughter doing housework. ~~X~~ The Japanese woman in charge, in her middle thirties, did not seem too friendly, and said that he was not eligible for a grant as long as his daughter was working. His daughter said that the supervisor had the reputation of being for the WRA rather than for the people. Mr. Sugimoto said that she showed favoritism to her own friends. I asked her rather pointedly whether there were any exceptions to the rule that if a member of the family were working any other member in the family would not be eligible for a P.A. grant. She said that there were some exceptions, but that she couldn't reveal why because of the confidential nature of the cases. I persisted in my question, and she finally gave the example of a family where the children just refused to support the father and the latter was allowed a P.A. grant. I mentioned that Mr. Sugimoto was receiving a P.A. grant in Tule Lake (his daughter was not working the), and the supervisor replied that people

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in Tule Lake were receiving grants which they weren't supposed to. I got her to make the statement that if Mr. Sugimoto's daughter did not work, Mr. Sugimoto would be eligible for both x P.A. and clothing grants.

25. Relocation Interviews

I discussed the results of the relocation interviews with Bob Iseri of the Statistical Laboratory. We came to the conclusion that very little factual material could be gotten from the interview data.

26. Mr. Morimoto

I talked to Mr. Morimoto for a little while. He seemed to be concerned about the reason for the WRA being so anxious to get the people out of the centers. I gave him my view of the situation, which he probably thought plausible, but about which he still may have had doubts. The common explanation, is, of course, that the WRA is anxious to get people out because they are now in hot waters because they have people in the centers. His son is out on a hauling business, and the rest of the family is expected to relocate as soon as it becomes possible.

27. Hisako H.

At the gate I ran into Hisako H. M. had told me to look her up, but I had forgotten about it completely. Hisako seemed reluctant to talk about relocation, and said that she was going out on seasonal. Evidently there is some family obstacle. She said that the last of her group, Yoshimi K., was relocating soon.

8 6/16/44 Friday

1. Statistical Laboratory

Material available

1. Master punch cards

Are in alphabetical order (not according to centers)
One card for each individual who has been in a center.
Have entered advices up to January, 1944.
More advices are to be entered when they arrive.

2. Segregation Record

For those who went to Tule Lake.
Is now being posted.

3. Indefinite Leave Record

Almost complete

4. E-Z sort cards for indefinite leave record

5. Roster of project residents

February, 1943 already here (Lacks center address)
March 31, 1944 to come in. (Copies may be available
on the project.)

Contains the following information:

1. Name
2. Age
3. Sex
4. Marital Status
5. Citizenship
6. Family Number
7. Previous Address
8. Alien Registration Number

Those for 1944 contain in addition the following:

1. Date of birth
2. The Previous address is broken down into the following:

Assembly Center
Direct Evacuation
Parolee
Release from Institution
Voluntary Evacuation
Birth
Transfer from other center
Transfer due to segregation

6. Master file of Form 26's

7. Family Counseling Face Sheet

Now being interviewed. Not compulsory.

1. Family Composition
2. Segregated family members
3. Occupation

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4. Relocated Family Members
5. Relocation Narrative
 - a. Relocation plans
 - b. Attitude toward West Coast
 - c. Economic Status
 - d. Factors favoring relocation
 - e. Factors deterring relocation
 - f. Prospects of relocation
6. Project Employment
7. Previous employment

8. WCCA film records
Being checked with master file.

9. Advices
Now in alphabetical order.
Will be sorted according to type of advices.

10. Birth and Death Card for each individual planned.

20.
J 6/6/44 Tuesday

1. Personal

Preparation for the conference in Salt Lake City is keeping me busy, making it impossible to keep up with current events. I shall have to pick up whatever possible after I come back.

2. George Kurota on the Draft

George, who has been attending college, has come back to camp for a visit, along with a number of his pals. All of them give the impression of being lively. For one thing, they do not worry excessively about the draft, and seem to accept it as a matter of course. They don't want to volunteer, but if it comes, they are willing to accept it without question. George is resigned to the fate of not being able to go back to school.

3. Rumor on the Draft

News has drifted back from a young kid who was working on the railroad in Oregon that a draft official told him that if he were not drafted by the end of this month or the next, he may not be drafted until next year. His father seems to be pinning his hope that this may turn out to be true.

4. Invasion News

The news of the invasion came somewhat as a surprise to many, it seems. For one thing, many of the Isseis were saying that invasion would not be possible. This was reflected in the remark that America certainly had a lot of guts to take such a risk. One Issei, who reflects the opinion of the boilerhouse crowd, said that ~~xxx~~ the Allies have already lost 1,200,000 men. He thought that when they lost another million, they will quit fighting. Several Isseis were heard saying that they now believed that the war was going to last a long time.

Several Niseis working in the administration area pointed proudly to the fact of the invasion. The general reaction of the majority of the Niseis is not known.

One Issei with a Nisei wife ~~x~~ claimed that Isseis never did say that the invasion would not be possible.

5. Matsunos on Future Plans

The Matsunos look forward to returning to the Coast some day. Mrs. Matsuno said that they will not be disloyal to Japan, but neither will she disobey the laws of the United States. The father volunteered for the United States Army just before the end of the last war. The boy, George, is willing to be drafted, and the parents don't intend to do anything to change his mind about it. She said that they'll

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go to their sister's place in Loomis if they believe that feeling in the Delta Region is too bad against the Japanese. They seem to have a very positive outlook on their future.

6. Kakimotos on the Future

Mrs. Kakimoto said that George was not willing to go out now because he felt that people on the outside would be drafted before those on the inside. He's even hesitating about going to school, which he wanted to do so badly. Mrs. Kakimoto wanted her husband to take the children out so that they could go to school. She believes that if they can't return to Japan right away they might as well go out and do something. Her husband refuses to go out, however. He doesn't want to go back to Japan right away because of their farm. She herself doesn't want to go back to Japan unless it's absolutely necessary, and this for the sake of her children.

7. Mrs. Kakimoto on the Invasion

Concerning the second front, Mrs. Kakimoto said that the Allies are being slaughtered. She feels that at this rate the Allies are going to give up right away and the war is going to be over soon.

8. Mrs. Kakimoto on Mother-Daughter Relationship

Concerning her daughter, Mrs. Kakimoto said that her daughter, who is graduating high school this year, complained that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ she had to do what other girls in the block were doing. Mrs. K., however, felt that her daughter shouldn't "run around" too much. She said that she was allowing her daughter to go out only about once in three times that other girls went out "because she would get a bad reputation with Isseis." I cited the example of Taro's run away marriage to her and urged her to relax her control on her daughter so that she would not have a warped personality. (This battle against the Issei to give Niseis more freedom is a constant one.) Mrs. K. said that it was the parent's fault if their children weren't trained to take care of their parents when they grew up.

9. "Doc" on Attitude Toward War

"Doc" argued that Isseis and Niseis were in a peculiar position because they didn't want either Japan or America to lose the war. He felt that the Allies wouldn't have too much success with the second front. Before that he felt that it wasn't too likely that the second front would be attempted.

J 6/7/44 Wednesday

1. Personal: En Route to Salt Lake City

When an individual leaves the center for the outside, he leaves one world and enters another. While many differences between the life in the center and on the outside can be pointed out, one important one is fact that one is populated almost wholly by evacuees, and the other largely by persons who are not Japanese. Several problems immediately face the traveling evacuee--transportation, eating, and sleeping. How he makes an adjustment in these fields is an interesting problem. In the past two opposite trends in different individuals have been noticed. One is for fellow evacuees to band together, and the other is for them to avoid evacuees as much as possible. My experience from Hunt to Salt Lake City was of the former variety. From Hunt to Twin Falls I rode a bus filled with outgoing evacuees. The station in Twin Falls was occupied by a number of evacuees. When the bus going to Salt Lake City came in, there were at least a dozen people waiting to buy tickets. Besides myself there was another evacuee youth, and a third hung around on the fringes, hoping to get tickets if we were successful in our attempt. Two buses arrived, and only about two persons were able to get. I immediately decided that there was no sense in waiting in Twin Falls for the afternoon bus, when a train was leaving Shoshone in the afternoon. However, the last bus to Shoshone had already left. I talked to the other two evacuees and found out that they wanted to go to Salt Lake City, too. I suggested that we catch a taxi to Shoshone. I went out to negotiate for a taxi. I ran into Joe, the evacuee bus driver for the Twin Falls-Hunt line, and asked him if there ~~xxxxxx~~ was any way to catch the Shoshone train. He suggested that we catch the bus that left Jerome at noon for Shoshone. I negotiated with a taxi driver, and found out that it was illegal to go beyond ten miles of the town, but that he was willing to go four five dollars. Since there wasn't too much time, I took up his offer, picked up the other two boys, and hurried on to Jerome. We were fortunate in being able to catch the bus just as it was coming around the corner. After that we stuck together all the way to Salt Lake City. In Shoshone we ate together in a restaurant run by a Japanese. After the train came in we got in together and sat together on our suitcases. At Pocatello we had to change trains and we were able to sit together. We left one fellow in charge and ~~the~~ I went with the other fellow to get box lunches for the three of us. In the station I ran into Walter Wada, a Kibei friend from Pasadena Junior College, who was going to Salt Lake City. All four of us then sat together. There was a young Issei couple on the train from Shoshone who hovered close to us all through the trip. When we got off at Salt Lake City, Walter, who had lived in Salt Lake City before, was greeted by his fiancée, and went on his own way. One fellow had been working in Salt Lake City and was staying with other evacuees at Carpenter Hall. He and I decided to deposit the other fellow at a Japanese hotel, although he said that he preferred to stay at the "Y", if possible. The young Issei couple seemed lost, and so we

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asked whether they knew their way about. The husband, who spoke good English, said that a reverend was supposed to meet them at the station. We offered to take them to a Japanese hotel, which he was about to do when the reverend appeared. The three of us walked up to Japanese town, and deposited one fellow at a Japanese hotel, and the two of us parted at a corner where the other fellow was to catch his street car.

J 6/8/44 Thursday

1. Notes on the Staff Conference

The conference of the staff of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study met in the New Grand Hotel, because Hotel Utah, Hotel Newhouse, and the Temple Square Hotel would not accept reservations for the conference. The conference lasted from June 8 through June 12, with two or three sessions daily. Those attending were Dorothy and W.I. Thomas, Frank Miyamoto, James Sakoda, Richard Nishimoto, Morton Grodzins, Charles Kikuchi, and Togo Tanaka. Rosalie Hankey, now stationed in Tule Lake, was not able to attend. The conference was notable for the amount of serious discussion held on what seemed to be important issues, such as the definition of the problem for the Study, of allegiance, of democracy. There was general agreement among those attending the conference that a great deal had been accomplished by the exchange of ideas. Part of the success of the conference was attributed to the discussion of concrete data, rather than of abstract problems and plans. W.I.'s comment that this was the best conference that he had ever attended and that everyone performed "brilliantly" may be an exaggeration, but indicates the advance made by the Study.

No secretary was appointed for the various sessions, and whatever notes taken by any single member are likely to be sketchy and have many gaps. When the discussion was most heated and perhaps most important there was a tendency to forget to take notes. For the sake of future reference what notes I took at the sessions are copied here, and commented upon briefly.

2. Frank Miyamoto

2 p.m. Topic: "Analysis of Factors contributing to Conflict and Social disorganization in Relocation Projects, with particular reference to Tule Lake through the registration period."

F.M.: Discussion is limited to the initial (also critical) period, from the opening of the project through the farm strike.

These factors (see outline) were the important factors:

Points stressed:

1. Evacuee status is indefinite.
2. Effort to operate a democratic community under undemocratic conditions.
3. The massing of large heterogeneous population in close confinement under conditions favorable to crowd behavior.

Difference noted in Japanese from different districts. Also between Issei, Nisei and Kibei.

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R.N.: What contrast is there between Seattle and Los Angeles?

F.M.: 1. L.A. is much larger.
2. L.A. and Seattle different in nature.
3. California had a more intense anti-Japanese feeling, although this is difficult to point out. E.g. Minidoka and the California centers seem to differ. Seattle people did not feel an intense race antagonism.

R.N.: Seattle Japanese were also subjected to anti-Japanese feeling, especially around early 1920's.

F.M.: Northwest people came to the point where their relationship with Caucasians was symbiotic. There wasn't the feeling that the Caucasians were out to get the Japanese. ~~It~~ There was no organized group against the Japanese. Japanese tended to "cater" more to Caucasians. The Sacramento people were more antagonistic. In the Northwest Japanese were the Uncle Toms, who tried to "get along" with the Caucasians.

Crowd behavior E.g. registration in Tule Lake and in Minidoka. In Tule Lake registration was done in every block at once. In Minidoka two blocks were taken at a time, and crystallization of sentiment was not possible. In Tule Lake a total response was touched off.

(Comment Frank has brought up some of the important factors which seem to account for some of the differences between centers in reaction to the same sort of condition. One factor is size, another the attitude toward the dominant group, and still another is the heterogeneity of the population. In Tule Lake all of the conditions seemed to favor conflict. However, as Charlie pointed out, it has not been proven that any single factor can account for the conflicts or that heterogeneity is an important factor. In this regard it would be a good idea to compare the other centers on the above factors. Topaz especially is of interest because it contained people who were:

1. From the same area, almost wholly urban, and somewhat accommodated to Caucasians through occupational relationships (especially the service trades).
2. Not large in number.

Minidoka was not too large, and came from the same general Northwest area. But a urban-rural cleavage has been noticed among the residents.

Granada, it seems, was composed of people from California, the center was small, but a definite sectional antagonism existed. ~~xxxxxx~~

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At this point we are conscious of gaps in the data, both in the pre-evacuation phase and in the early stages within the center.)

Shirrell

J.S. He couldn't unify the staff.

F.M. He did too many things. Optimism lead him to make promises. I don't think that his weakness outweighed his strength.

R.N. Did different groups adopt different behaviors?

F.M. Yes, Ward VII, for instance, was most "cooperative."

Background

F.M. Tule Lake got the extremes. Florin, Walnut Grove, ~~xxxx~~ Isleton people at one extreme.

R.N. We can call it the Sacramento group, couldn't we?

F.M. There was a difference between Sacramento and Stockton, wasn't there?

R.N. Just the difference in the kind of farming done.

F.M. Placer County seems to be the center of anti-Japanese sentiment in recent years.

R.N. It was true in 1920-30.

C.K. The resentment in that area is great. Japanese live in the poorer section of the town.

R.N. The greatest migration in that area was between 1920-35.

F.M. There were a large number of Kibeis in Tule Lake.

R.N. That might be accounted for by the migratory workers who could not take care of their children themselves.

C.K. It depends on identification.

J.S. It is convenient to keep the different types of communities in mind rather than lumping them together.

R.N. In regards to the definition of a Kibei I discovered that in Poston I there were 2000 Niseis 21 years of over, and that one-half were Kibeis according to the WRA definition.

F.M. I am using another definition of a Kibei.

(Comment The number of Kibeis should be looked into.)

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Number of workers

F.M. Farm~~er~~ workers numbered 650, and construction workers about a 1000. Any issue becomes a community-wide issue.

Shirrell was also anxious to get ^{the} farm started. A constant pressure exerted to get farm products out.

C.K. Heterogeneity is an important factor, you say, but didn't you get trouble in a homogeneous center?

F.M. The size of the community makes organization difficult.

R.N. Real leaders were not elected. This is the same in all centers.

F.M. Shirrell encouraged block organization.

R.N. Sectional groups kept together.

F.M. There was internal strife and also strife with the administration.

C.K. There were several factors at work:

Heterogeneity
Sectionalism
Issei-Nisei conflict

R.N. That fact that the registration in Tule Lake was ~~xxxx~~ carried out at once is very important. We almost had a block manggers' strike. We could create a big agitation. A subjugation crew of 50 or 60, which is only a small segment, wouldn't have much influence.

R.N. It was stated that Tule Lake was a testing ground. In the early days the WRA didn't have a national policy at all. On October 28 the first administrative instructions came out. Up to that time each project was allowed freedom. If Tule Lake was run by the San Francisco regional office it should be brought out. The general policy was brought out on May 29.

C.K. What experimentation?

F.M. The broadcast, ~~xx~~ the farm, and the co-op. The latter was handled skillfully.

R.N. In Poston the OWI overseas broadcast by the Boulder people was taken to Poston and an effort made to broadcast it inside the center.

D.S. Nothing was done in Tule to quash any movement. There was no "counteraction" as in Poston.

Initial Period

F.M. There was contrast in Tule Lake between the initial period (May 27 to June 15) and the period following August 15, 1942. The dominant idea at first was cooperation to build a utopian community--to live harmoniously. By August 15 there was almost complete split between administration and the evacuees, and an extreme tension existed. The problem is to describe the process by which this change took place.

Up to June 10 1800 people came and lived in Ward I. One striking thing was the good meals served in Tule Lake. The first impression was good. Also, the people got to know the Caucasian administrators. There were some dissatisfaction expressed by people from the Puget Sound and Oregon areas, but on the whole conditions were good. Dissatisfaction died down. Good community morale existed.

The idea of cooperation was not complete submission, but helplessness and acceptance. 'If we can't get back at the people of California for getting us in here, we can at least get along with them.' Many Isseis were fearful of the FBI, and preferred to let Niseis run things. The Kibeis were not organized, and the Isseis remained docile. People expressed gratitude toward the administration.

The factors which were favorable were:

1. The serving of good meals.
2. The community was small enough for the people to know the administrators.

Second Period

F.M. The migration of the Sacramento and Arboga groups from June 16 placed a strain on the administration. After the Sacramento group came in there was a marked difference. Within the group there was a reaction to the Iki-Tsukamoto control in the assembly center. There was a deep competition for status and other things among the evacuees. Equipment, scrap lumber and job opportunities were scarce.

The initial conflicts were intra-resident conflicts. The messhall conflicts were intra-block issues. The Recreation Department conflict was one for status. It resulted in the putting on of pro-Japanese programs, and the firing of Ray Muramoto. The accusation of inu was made against Kasubushi. There was a feeling that the WRA was trying to squelch everything the Isseis wanted to do. There was an internal struggle before the struggle with the administration.

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W.I. The homogeneous population idea is very fanciful. Grievances become important, and homogeneous population disappears. The human nature idea comes in.

R.N. What part would conditioning play?

W.I. It should be examined.

In the draft report a certain boy will react the same as another not so much because of their past history, but because of their "inside." Correlate that with the past or the killer idea with fighters.

D.S. But there is a great deal of evidence on the other side.

W.I. Uniformity or diversity of human nature is our problem.

D.S. Statistics explain nothing. The explanation comes down to human nature and individual differences.

J 6/9/44 Friday

1. Conference Notes: Frank Miyamoto (Continuation)

F.M.: In Tule Lake there was a change from "cooperation" to non-cooperation. There was dissatisfaction, such as the idea that the WRA owed the people a living.

Conditions leading to discontent include:

1. deterioration of the quality of the food.
2. Relationship with the administration decline in personal contact.

The problem is: how was discontent organized.

R.N. Even when discontent is organized, resignation is the behavior of some people.

F.M. Uniformity in a large group cannot be expected, but the general trend is important.

C.K. /Was this sort of agitating behavior noticed before evacuation.

R.N. In 1930 there was an agitation against inu who was extorting money from ~~skipped~~ illegal immigrants.

W.I. Is conversion from resignation to another attitude possible?

C.K. Could it be that the type of leaders has changed.

F.M. True, community leaders were interned. Elected leadership was not as effective as other leaders. Frequently the person who shouted the most was most effective.

D.S. The important point was being cooped up. On the outside there are normal channels to settle matters.

R.N. In the inside the expectation of punishment was reduced-- there was less restraint.

In Granada they retained some sense of the outside because they went out to shop.

There's

F.M. /Not one factor, but many.

Organization of Discontent (Farm Strike)

F.M. Farm workers were needed, but the response was small. There was discussion of the wisdom of working. Disorganization existed on the farm. It is difficult to say how discontent was organized into a protest. My view is that it was spontaneous--over the matter of food. But the ground work was already laid. Several blocks were fed on bare breakfast. Block 6 complained that

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they could serve only tea and toast. Men complained that they couldn't work. There were disturbers in the midst. A committee was formed--mostly of foremen--who were generally Niseis. The controversy was not Issei-Nisei, however. Pilcher ~~xxx~~ was accused of instituting the "Pilcher system."

A mass meeting was then held. Agitators talked. Some of their arguments were pro-Japan. But leaders urged the workers to go back to work until matters were looked into.

Immediately after a second uncontrolled meeting was held, in which the complaint of lack of food was registered. There were a series of agitating speakers, but in the end the workers were urged to go back to work.

The farm strike brought to a head all the issues. It set off a spark and started a series of strikes. My task is to show how this initial protest was organized.

There was transfer of intra-evacuee conflict into ~~xxx~~ an evacuee-administration conflict. The fact of evacuation and deprivation are an underlying factor. The concept that evacuees were prisoners of war and consequently did not have to work existed. Isseis maintained an ambivalence toward this prisoner of war attitude.

My report will trace the change from the cooperative attitude to the dissatisfaction. It will include the following chapters:

Introduction
Social History
Social Organization
Analytical

D.S. Each person will write his own center up differently. The comparative aspect can come later.

W.I. A strong amount of opportunism was expressed. Jews are consistently opportunistic. In a crisis of this sort, you've got to reform your definitions. You have agitators, different appeals, dissimilarity. But a certain principle of opportunistic decision will come out--property/ interest, food, etc. There is not such a great dissimilarity in your centers, perhaps. Feeling about for course, there may be diversity by the general process of adaptive opportunism.

F.M. Rapid change cause the greatest amount of adaptive opportunism. Where tradition is strong you get the least.

J 6/10/44 Saturday

1. Conference Notes: Richard Nishimoto

Richard Nishimoto presented the idea that Japanese differed in their acculturation (Japanese v.s. American culture), and represented this picture on a continuum colored red (Japanese) at one end and shading into blue (American) at the other extreme. Most Japanese in America were represented as being a blend of American and Japanese culture, with a few at both extremes. The "core" of the Japanese in America, he stated, were a blend. To this idea of cultural difference Nishimoto added that of personality type. The reference during the ~~next~~ rest of the conference to "red" and "blue" probably showed the importance of this concept of cultural difference. However, as Frank pointed out and Nishimoto admitted, it was difficult to define culture in the first place.

Life history Dick's life history is that of an industrious Yobiyose or technical Issei. He came to this country in 1920, and went through 4 years of high school in San Francisco. During the summertime he worked in Colusa, Vacaville, Suisun, Fairfield, and as a ~~waiter~~ waiter in Chinatown. Feeling that higher education would afford him equal economic opportunity with Caucasians, he went to Stanford University and took up engineering. While attending Stanford he worked in Lodi, Vacaville, Delano, Bakersfield. In Monterey he stayed with the pioneer in the fishing industry. There were 20 or 30 young Isseis in the university, and only 2 or 3 Niseis. He learned that other Japanese were blocked in their ambition, and that opportunity in engineering was "almost non-existent." He had come to America to join his family. He liked the easy life here, but he wanted to escape to Japan. In his senior year things came to a crisis. He realized that he had to return to Japan for an outlet. It was at this time that he veered away from the engineering courses that he was taking. After graduation he made applications to big companies, but was turned down. One company offered him a job in Argentina, but he turned that down. Dick never returned to America. After graduation he was broke, and went into the insurance game. He acted as interpreter in the courts, but being an alien, he was only on "call." In 1934 he went broke, and went into the fruitstand business.

Japanese v.s. American culture

R.N. Camps are entirely different from the outside and are cultural islands. The composition of the population, for instance, is different. In Poston I, for instance, there are 2,012 Niseis 21 years and over, and 726 of these have had some schooling in Japan. Compared to this there are 3,083 Isseis.

Isseis who land in America can be considered at one end of the scale. Contact with the American culture causes change or conditioning. Conditioning differs with individual--some people will react to American culture. There is also community difference in conditioning. Japanese language schools retard the process of change. So does education in Japan. While Isseis start at the Japanese cultural extreme, Niseis generally begin somewhere in the middle. At the other extreme are Nisei orphans adopted by a Caucasian family, such as Slocum Tokutaro.

Personality Types

Introvert type The introvert type tends to withdraw away from American culture. He shuts himself up with his own cultural group. He feels more secure in the Japanese group.

Fighting type The fighting and more extrovert type will react against this impact. If called disloyal, he is likely to act more disloyal.

Messhall Kibei The messhall Kibei illustrate the introvert type. He has the same cultural attributes as the Leupp Kibei, but has a different personality.

Leupp Kibei The Leupp Kibei is extroverted, self-centered. Other people take interest in what they are doing. They have little regard for the welfare of others, and little regard for other people. They have usually failed in the past. Their aspirations have been blocked, and were perhaps were too high. They are not consistent in their action. They are touchy about criticisms. They flare up for no visible reason. They have delusions of persecution. They blame others for their failures. In the relocation center they identify persecutors with the JAAC, Nisei ad building workers, Caucasians. They transfer past grievances to them. Some of them had unfortunate experiences in Japan. They were brought up by relatives, subject to arbitrary restraint. They were discriminated from other children. There is a ~~strong~~ remarkable resemblance in the past histories of these individuals. They have a strong inferiority complex.

Persecution feeling leads the Leupp type to attack an inu. Others support him because they feel more secure with an inu out of the way. It is interesting that those who beat up a person did not have previous association with the person. This type tried to Jap- nize the whole community.

At the opposite extreme a group tried to Americanize the community. In the middle there are attempts to reform both ends. Thus one finds three main reforming "stresses."

"Core" or Middle Group

Segregation took out the Japanese element. The above "vocal" and "shut-in" types went to Tule Lake. Reloca- tion is taking the more Americanized elements out of the projects. The community now has a better chance to integrate itself in the middle. The irritation of the middle by the extremes has lessened.

The middle group tends to think largely in terms of punishment and reward. This always serves as a check to extreme behavior. In the registration crisis, for instance, consideration of the restriction of not being able to leave the center lead some to change their answer from "no" to "yes." Some considered the draft a punishment, and escaped it by expatriation.

With the middle group there is usually a certain range of reaction. For instance, the reaction to the Gilbert Island war news was as follows:

1. Japan won.
2. You can't tell. America may be lying.
3. America lost many ships and may have lost.
3. Japan fought with every means, but could not repel the attack. Japan was not strong enough.
4. Japanese lost. America has plenty of power to spare. If Truk is taken that's the end of Japan.
5. I expected it all along.
6. I hope America will beat Japan.

In a crisis the intensity of behavior and the spread to extreme behavior increases.

2. Morton Grodzins on Allegiance

Morton's report on WRA policies is written up, and hence notes were not taken on it. His discussion of the question of allegiance, however, caused quite a heated discussion, and some points brought out in the discussion is worth recording here.

M.G. Political allegiance is a very personal matter. I believe that in a democracy the privileges must outweigh

the responsibilities, such as taxation, fighting, etc. The sacrifices that are required can be only temporary. If continued for an undue length of time, the people will want something else.

Theory of Imbalance For Japanese-Americans evacuation and detention was a period of imbalance. Responsibilities ~~far greater than the privileges~~ were far greater than the privileges. When the prospect of the balance coming back again is remote, it results in the loss of allegiance. But that allegiance can be brought back again. In periods of crisis allegiance is cheaply held. Allegiance is highly volatile. If you right the balance, then you have loyalty again.

- W.I. You speak of allegiance as temporary. So it is in such a matter as signing a paper or something. But I don't think any Japanese should be completely loyal because they didn't share all of the privileges. But I think they were sufficiently loyal. I think that the question of loyalty in this study is going to be an academic one. Cherishing of sentiment to a native land is like cherishing your father. There is a core of attachment. Shifting about does not have much to do with loyalty.
- D.S. I objected to Morton's idea of the assumption of a large amount of patriotism--his idea of erosion of loyalty.
- M.G. Given some amiability toward the U.S. that would be reduced with lack of privileges. Kurihara is a good example.
- D.S. I think Kurihara is loyal right now. A disloyal person is an active saboteur. Japanese, I believe, are not to be treated as disloyal as long as he does not commit an act against the U.S. The rest is a person's personal life.

Comments It should be noted that the difference of opinion is based on different concepts of what loyalty or disloyalty is. The problem is primarily one of definition. The difficulty seems to be one of clarifying a subjective state of mind, if possible, in terms of overt behavior. ~~For instance, a person who refused to report for his physical can be considered to be disloyal. Or a person who commits sabotage can be considered disloyal to his country. What a person does or says, however, is not always a good indication of what he feels, or what he is.~~

We then come back to the original question. What is loyalty or disloyalty. First of all, it seems to be a subjective state of mind, which can be measured only grossly by more objective overt behavior. Identification with a country and all it stands for seems to be an important part of allegiance. There is, as W.I. pointed

out, a "core of attachment." Beyond this, however, individuals seem to differ in their interpretation of what constitutes loyalty or disloyalty. A person might say that he is going to be loyal and fight for the United States because he wants to be a good Japanese. His definition of loyalty would differ from that of Charlie, who might say that he prefers the American way of living to that of the Japanese way, and that he prefers the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan. Another might say that he was going to be a good American and stay away from the draft as long as possible because all of the Americans that he knows does this.

Reasons for the existence of a "core of attachment" will differ with individuals. However, it seems to be highly dependent upon a person's concept of the value of the country to his future welfare, which in turn would depend also on its value to him in the past. W.I. expresses this in his "adaptive opportunism," R.N. in his use of the words "punishment and reward," and M.G. in his theory of imbalance. It can be assumed that there ~~xxx~~ ^{are} degrees of difference in attachment to one's country. It is not a matter of being either loyal or disloyal. This accounts for W.I.'s remark that a Nisei cannot be expected to be ~~xx~~ completely loyal, and that he was "sufficiently loyal." The degree of attachment of an individual may ~~xxxxx~~ ^{change} at a time of crisis, but it is doubtful whether the "core of attachment" is entirely "eroded." This may explain why it is so difficult to determine ^{the} loyalty or disloyalty of an individual.

Another point that should be brought out in the discussion of identification is that of dual identification or ambivalence. This concept seems to hold the key to the understanding of the whole problem. With many Japanese in America there is a strong attachment to both America and Japan. In others one attachment is much stronger than the other. But it is probably not an exaggeration to say that practically all of them have some "core of attachment" to both countries. This is somewhat reflected in the hope that the war would end in a draw, or to favor one country on one occasion and the other on another. The superpatriotic gestures of some individuals concerned with their status among the majority group can be interpreted as a means to draw attention from one identification to the other one.

To sum up allegiance refers to a state of mind which is difficult to measure objectively and whose definition differs with different individuals.

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10. Irrigator Cross-Reference

Draft: "108 Hunt Men Report June 21 For Induction"

"47 Hunt Men Receive June Draft Calls"

I. 6/10/44 p 1

Administration: "Roth Appointed Director of Activity Program"

I. 6/10/44 p 1

Relocation: "Beeson Announces Family Interview Survey Schedule"

I. 6/10/44 p 1

Return to the Coast "Dillon Myer Backs Return of Evacuees to
West Coast."

I. 6/10/44 p 1

Administration: "Braden Resigns as Statistician"

I. 6/10/44 p 1

J 6/11/44 Sunday

1. Togo Tanaka: Pre-evacuation Japanese Community

A brief summary of some of the points brought out by Togo's report on the pre-evacuation material on the Los Angeles area Japanese ~~is~~ follows. Togo's material seems to fit in very well with the rest of the material presented by other members of the staff. It ties in especially well with Morton's study of the pressure groups and the part they played in achieving evacuation. The history of the JAOL and the other leadership groups and organizations become meaningful. With the presentation of Togo's material, other parts of the study all seemed to fall into place of its own accord.

The important point brought out by Togo was that 14 or 15 months before the outbreak of the war with Japan, the leading organizations were aware of "impending disaster." At that time they attempted to improve the relationship between Japan and America. After the abrogation of the treaty between the two countries, their efforts were exerted to protect their own business interests. Changes in organization took place, with Niseis given a greater share of positions than before. Charges of fifth columnist activities were made against the Japanese, and Nisei were over-anxious to show themselves to be American. The JAOL, which was chiefly concerned with social activities, came into prominence in 1941. Mike Masaoka was brought in from Salt Lake City, and the organization began to expand its activities.

Comments Togo's report suggest as the general theme of the study "The Repercussions of the War Between Japan and America on the Japanese in America."

J 6/12/44 Monday

1. Dorothy S. Thomas: Population Study

The study of population change includes the study of migration, birth, and death. The census is fairly accurate only from 1910. Myths have grown up about the procreation rate of Japanese in this country, much of which can be shown to be nonsense.

Two general trends in the population change are:

1. Greater length of life
2. Reduced fertility.

Expectation of Life When the country was founded the expectation of life was from 25 to 35 years. At present it is around 65 years. The death rate is not a good measure of the expectation of life since the composition of the population affects the death rate. A more useful index is the index of survival, which takes into account the specific death rate for each age group. Assuming that 100,000 are born, calculations are made as to how many will survive to live to be of various age. The index of survival is the average survival.

In general females have a better chance for survival (in the womb) than the male.

In 1920, the index of survival was:

Whites.....	58
Japanese in Am....	50
Negroes.....	42
Japanese in Japan.	42

In 1940

Whites.....	69
Japanese in Am....	68
Negroes.....	55
Japanese in Japan.	49

In 1920 Japanese males had a better chance for survival than females. In 1940 Japanese females had the better chance for survival. Hypothesis: Child birth means increased hazards for females.

Rate of Reproduction

M.G. This is important. Two arguments often used against Japanese were:

- a. The possibility of sabotage.
- b. Biological increase.

D.S. The crude birth rate is misleading. A more refined index is obtained by eliminating males, those below 15,

and those above 50. Then the rates of reproduction for those from 15-20, 20-25, etc., are taken as a basis for calculation. One index of reproduction is Total Fertility--i.e. the number of ~~children~~^{people} to every 1000 women.

1920

Japanese in America.....8000
Whites.....2000
Japanese in Japan.....5000

1940

Japanese in America.....2200
Whites.....2000
Japanese in Japan.....5000

The Net Reproduction Rate was:

1920

~~Net~~ Japanese in America.....2.6 (160 per cent increase)
Whites......82

1940

Japanese in America.....1.00
Whites......78

1942 in Tule Lake

.82

Rate of Marriage The increased fertility might be explainable, as in the case of the French-Canadians, by the rate of marriage.

1920

Japanese
Whites..

15-24

80% married
32% "

24-34

96% married
76% "

1940

Japanese
Whites

Nisei

12%
~~37%~~ 37%

Issei

26%

Nisei

72% (80%)
80%

Issei

92%

Marital Fertility (Birth per 1000 married women)

1940

Japanese
Whites....

15-24

340
260

24-34

200 (220 citizens
110 90 aliens)

2. W. I. Thomas's Comments on the Study

W.I. This is the best scientific conference that I have attended. This Study is larger than that of the Japanese in California. It overflows into every discipline. It may help to change public attitude.

This study is at the culminating point, not only in time but in structural efficiency, of the study of behavior in the field of sociology. All of the social sciences have been behavior studies. I have naturally been interested in the changes that have taken place in these approaches. It has been said that there has been no contribution to the control of behavior in individuals and societies--no appreciable contribution from any of the social sciences. In social welfare they have a remedial process, but the control of crime and disorganization, of alcoholism and race prejudice, (has not been possible). Economics has not made any contribution either in changing attitudes.

Approaches to the problem of human behavior

1. First taught as social philosophy.

2. My interest in the immigrants in Chicago and their problems. My interest in Polish warfare lead me to question what ^{effect} the old world culture had on immigrants here. That resulted in the Polish Peasant.

The behavior of the Polish immigrant could be explained in terms of a "duality of attitudes." In the old country the peasant was called "cattle." In this country he felt that he was as good as anybody else.

Most of the data for the Polish Peasant was second hand and no comparison with your study. We had no statistical element, for instance.

The Polish Peasant and your study represent studies of groups and the relationship of individuals to the group and group to group. No other study has been made along this line, and I am delighted with this setup. If anything is to come out for the control of behavior, you're getting closer to it.

3. Interest in juvenile delinquency. Establishment of juvenile courts and detention homes. The heroic study of Healy and Bronner/ did not produce a solution to the problem.

4. Psychology and psychoanalysis. Has been disappointing as a discipline/ in reference to the control of behavior.

J 6/12/44 #2-2

After some discussion on the abandonment of an old culture for a new one W.I. concluded with the following statement:

This is a pessimistic sketch of what has preceeded, and it seems to be that you are the hope of the world.

D.S. I wish you would elaborate on the inevitableness of disorganization preceeding organization.

W.I. elaborates on this point, indicating that following disorganization organization ~~can~~ is possible on a higher or lower level of efficiency.

R.N. There are different degrees of disorganization.

W.I. I think so. The Germans had a better concept of what American ~~culture~~ culture was and didn't have the disorganization of the Polish.

M.G. We were talking of what use would be made of the data. We reached the conclusion that in so far as the collection of the data ~~was~~ should be concerned we should do it without regard to practical use.

W.I. You can give your attention to what may have practical application.

D.S. If you're a reformer it seems that you have to be a bit dishonest.

F.M. What do you think is the likely contribution of this study.

W.I. You are uncovering certain aspects of behavior. In reference to mobility and crisis, dislocation of a person's situation leads to a period of random movement, such as the change of occupation. This temporary disorganization may lead to reorganization. The whole evacuation could be looked upon as an experiment.

Comments W.I. looks upon the Study as the study of an ethnic group, somewhat paralleling his Polish Peasant. He has indicated that from his own experience the study of the group in relation ~~xxx~~ to the individual and the study of individuals in relation to the group and the study of group-to-group relationship is the most efficient in getting material useful for the control of human behavior. In this regard, he feels that the material resulting from the Study can make a contribution to society. From the standpoint of the structuralization of the material he has indicated that the evacuation can be considered as an experiment. This crisis has caused disorganization, and ~~x~~ random movements and reorganization can be expected.

More Comments The last conference in Chicago was mostly occupied with plans. One question in the minds of several of the members was: "What is our problem." This question went unanswered because it was felt to be premature.

At this conference it was no longer necessary to ask this question. I for one came away with the feeling that all of the pieces were falling into place and that the structuralization of the material was taking care of itself. The pattern of adjustment-crisis-disorganization-reorganization seems to suggest itself. Togo brought out vividly the pre-evacuation Japanese community which attempted frantically to avoid the "impending disaster" which it saw approaching. Morton showed how evacuation had been brought about and made a national policy. He also showed how the WRA attempted to find a satisfactory solution for the uprooted Japanese. On the project level the "social history" of the various projects revealed the sort of conflicts and adjustments being studied. Those working on the project level found no difficulty in agreeing that emphasis should be placed upon the political aspects of camp life--political being defined broadly to include labor relations and the struggle for status. The resettlement phase, as Charlie revealed it, indicated a further step in the process of adjustment.

The future outlook of the Study has also become clear. As W.I. has pointed out, the important thing to look for now is the long-range adjustment of the evacuees. We are in a position to ask;

1. What will happen when the West Coast is opened up?
2. What will happen to those remaining in the centers?
3. What will happen when the war ends?

J 6/16/44 #2

1. Kaz Tanabe

The predicament of the Tanabe family is only one example of the unnecessary misery caused by segregation. Kaz and her sister had left ~~xxxxxxx~~ Tule Lake, but their parents stayed. Their father, especially, was adamant about staying, one of his major reasons being that he did not want to go to another center and be forced to relocate. When Kaz's sister was married, their parents opposed the marriage. Evidently the father was not too anxious to have her marry. The parents wanted the two to visit them first, but before the permit arrived the prospective husband had to rush off to his job. Consequently, the two were married without parental blessing, and went off together. When their permit to visit Tule Lake did come, neither of them were willing to take the trip.

Kaz is anxious for her parents, and wants to get them to move to Topaz, if possible. She has been attempting to get a permit to visit her parents herself, but thus far has had no luck. She wants to convince her father that he should leave Tule Lake for Topaz, where she and her sister could visit their parents. Kaz is especially concerned for her mother, who is willing to transfer. Her parents have not loved each other very much, Kaz says, but she believed ~~that~~ at the time segregation that the two of them should keep together. The possibility of returning to the West Coast may give her father some incentive for making the transfer.

2. JACL

Some mention should be made of the experience of the staff members with JACL leaders in Salt Lake City. A dinner party with Larry Tajiri was arranged one evening. On another occasion he asked several of us to drop in for coffee. I also had occasion to speak to Hito Okada when I dropped in at the office to have a ~~xxxx~~ check cashed.

Larry Tajiri Last year when I passed through Salt Lake City, I was impressed with Larry because of the sort of things he had been printing in the Pacific Citizen, which showed him to be quite liberal in view. I remember his thumbing through P.M. and discussing other minority groups, including the Negroes. More recently, however, I did not like the unsympathetic way in which the Niseis protesting against the draft were being treated in the P.C. The use of the word "draft-dodger" especially was distasteful to me because it showed a lack of sympathy. To other members of the staff it represented "flag-waving" and the expression of 120 per cent Americanism. It came somewhat of a shock to hear Larry declare that the other three vernacular papers which were distorting the minds of the center residents should be suppressed. He also talked of the WRA as if it could be depended upon to uphold the interest of the evacuees, which again showed certain limitations in outlook.

J 6/16/44 #2-2

Saburo Kido The person who gave me a very poor impression, however, was Saburo Kido, who was at Larry's the evening Charlie, Togo, and Morton, and I went over there. I can still remember that practically all of the things that Kido said were distasteful. First, concerning the people in the center, he said that they were all hopeless, and that he didn't intend to do anything with them until they came out. He also considered the "draft-dodgers" now in jail "hopeless cases," after some JACL members had tried to talk them into changing their minds. Saburo thought that it was dangerous to associate with Negroes because of their extreme attitude. He had been to a race-relation meeting, and a Negro lady had told him/ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ in regards to his attitude toward the Niseis in jail: "You shouldn't be against your own people."

In discussing allegiance Kido made the flat statement: I believe in my country right or wrong. Togo tried to point out to him that intelligent persons didn't say things like that.

Kido was also trying to argue that a Nisei organization, such as the JACL, would help Niseis to "assimilate." Togo argued that Nisei gatherings retarded assimilation.

In discussing the relative merits of the 100th Battalion and the 442nd Battalion, Kido remarked that the latter had a better record. Then he went on to say that the Hawaiian Battalion were made up of stevedores and rough-necks. Mrs. Tajiri, I believe it was, tried to point out that there might be other sorts of people in the battalion.

Kido talked about the possibility of forming chapters of the JACL in Chicago and in New York. He also said that the constitution would be revised to allow non-Japanese to become members. The present membership, he stated, was 1500.

Hito Okada Hito struck me as being a very sensible person. His attitude toward the people in the center did not seem to be as objectionable as that of Kido. We discussed the fact that Ben Kuroki had received a poor welcome in Minidoka. Hito agreed that Ben made a mistake when he referred to his "dishonorable ancestors" and said that they had told Ben not to do this in Topaz. Hito wondered why the community councils of the various centers did not cooperate with the JACL in putting up test cases for the draft issue. He said that the JACL did not have sufficient funds to spend on test cases, and felt that the people should support such a movement.

J 6/18/44 Saturday

1. Irrigator Cross-Reference

Draft: "Induction Ceremonies Slated Here June 21"

I. 6/17/44 p 1

Draft: "ASTRP Now Open to Nisei Candidates"

I. 6/17/44 p 1

Council: "Council Sets Up Hospital Benefit Fund"

I. 6/17/44 p 1

Leave: "New Gate Procedure Now Put into Effect"

"Beeson Announces New Short Term Leave Regulation"

I. 6/17/44 p 1

Spanish Consul: "Akiyama Receives Word from Consul on Center Visit."

I. 6/17/44 p 1

Administration "Committee Chosen for Appointed Staff Activities"

I. 6/17/44 p 1

Return to Coast "Topaz Soldier's Family Returns to San Francisco"

I. 6/17/44 p 1

J 6/19/44 Monday

1. Gate Procedure

Recently the Washington office came out with a new gate procedure calculated to keep an accurate count of the number of persons within and without the center. Braden quarreled with Beeson on the advisability of putting such a gate procedure into effect, and as a result resigned and left the project. What bothered Braden probably was that in order to keep an accurate count as required by instructions from Washington a fence and a couple of back gates were required. Evelyn Rose, who was sent to the project to iron this matter out, merely ignored the back door check because it involved too many difficulties. She worked out the front gate procedure in such a way that there were little complaints from the residents or the M.P. She said that she couldn't understand why Braden wasn't willing to make adjustments and work the matter out. After all, she said, on the project level all Washington instructions were expected to be adjusted to suit each project.

2. Induction Procedure

When Evelyn Rose asked Beeson what policy he was taking on induction, his answer was that everybody was being inducted because he had discovered that the rumor that it was not possible to be inducted was having adverse effect on relocation. However, if the report from the relocation officer was unfavorable these individuals were not allowed to go out again until they were cleared from Washington. On the matter of induction the project director was given the discretion of determining who were to be reinducted. In some project the project director might take the policy of reinducting practically none or, as Beeson seemed to be doing, of reinducting everybody who applied for it. Evelyn felt that it was more sensible to have hearings for each individual case and consider reinduction on the basis of the hearings.

3. Evelyn Rose on Beeson

Evelyn said that she liked Beeson at first because of his attitude towards evacuees, but that the longer she stayed the less she liked him. My experience with him has been about the same. He seemed to be very understanding at first, but later showed himself to be quite dogmatic.

4. Fair Labor Practice Committee

According to sources close to the Community Council, the Fair Labor Practice Committee has not been set up as yet. Mr. Stafford sent out a memo in February suggesting a Fair Labor Practice Committee which he wanted. The committee would be selected by the Council and most of the work would be done by a Caucasian advisor appointed by the administration. Also, the function of the committee was limited to the discussion of working ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ arrangements and

J 6/20/44 Tuesday

1. Joint Meeting

A regular joint meeting of the Council and the Coordinating ~~Commission~~ Council was held this afternoon. ~~Next~~ ~~after~~ Some of the more lively members of the groups had left the project for seasonal work, and the discussions were generally trivial and dull.

Two problems which occupied the ~~most~~ major part of the meeting were:

1. Hospital Koenkai
2. Standardization of social obligations.

Fujii also suggested that the Council sponsor the employment of school children on the farm.

He is showing himself to be cooperative with the administration. It did not seem to occur to any one present to oppose this idea on the ground that employment was the problem of the administration, except where functions vital to the evacuees, such as the messhall and hospital, were concerned.

2. Bull Session

"Bishop" invited Oyama, Elmer Smith and myself to a bull-session to discuss problems of the evacuees. This group along with Ken Yamada and K. Takeda probably constitute a clique who is interested in the future welfare of the Japanese in America. They also desire to exert sufficient influence both inside and outside of the center to improve the lot of the evacuees.

3. Bull Session on Light Case

Mr. Light's case was discussed at the bull session. Both "Bishop" and Smith felt that Light should do more talking, as long as he was not going to resign and was fighting the matter. The case is presumably undergoing hearing on the project level with Brooks in charge. Mr. Light asked Smith to testify as the Community Analyst, but so far Smith says that he has not been called in. According to "Bishop" Kleinkopf, Superintendent of Education and Light's immediate superior, has given Light a favorable testimony. Pomeroy, it is said, is the real bottleneck. Smith thought that Light should make counter-charges against those who were opposed to him.

4. Church People Ousted

This incident is amusing in a way, but indicates the sort of conflict that goes on in the administration area. Mr. Stafford is taking a vacation in Boise, and Mr. Pomeroy is now left in charge as the Acting Project Director. Some church people came in to help with the Y work on the project,

and received Davidson's permission to stay in his apartment during their stay on the project. Davidson's reasoning seemed to be that this was all right because he was paying rent on his apartment, even though he was away on personal business in California. Pomeroy evidently refused to recognize this arrangement, and forced the church people to live in a trailer belonging to Mr. Light, which was placed outside of the project gates.

The interesting point about this incident ~~that~~ is that personal animosity seems to play a greater part in the decisions made than saner considerations, such as the fact that the church people are here to do construction work in organizing recreation and that church people on the outside have done a great deal to help the adjustment of evacuees.

One other point to be noted is that the Project Director is not on the project. Thus far many of the major incidents on projects have occurred when the project director was away. This is another instance, although the incident is only a minor one.

5. Pomeroy

Pomeroy, the assistant project director who had been considered somewhat as an enigma, seems to be indicating his attitudes more definitely. He has been considered to be aligned with neither Davidson on the one hand or Miller on the other. Neither is he on intimate terms with Stafford. In his attitude toward Light and toward the church people he has taken a definite stand. Both Mrs. Davidson and Mrs. Pomeroy were active on the project. Smith hinted that there was competition for status between them, and that they influenced their husband's attitude toward each other.

Pomeroy is to leave soon for a job in Seattle. "Bishop" claims that Pomeroy took this job away from Fogarty.

6. Davidson

Davidson was sympathetic toward evacuees, but was a poor administrator. For instance, he was reprimanded for the way in which he distributed passenger cars. It is said that his friends received the good cars and his enemies the poor ones. There seems to be a correlation between sympathy toward evacuees and poor administration, and lack of sympathy toward evacuees and good administration. Miller, for instance, was considered a good administrator in the WPA. Shaffer was considered sympathetic toward evacuees and skillful in handling people, but was a poor administrator. He made too many promises and did not have enough of them on paper.

7. Barrett

Barrett, the new project attorney, already has the reputation of being sympathetic toward evacuees. Some people in the Council are saying that he is too sympathetic. This is surprising, Smith said, in a lawyer who has been working for a large corporation for the past ten years. Barrett is very liberal, has very few race prejudices, and believes in labor unions. He goes out of his way to do favors for evacuees. For instance, he goes to Twin Falls with evacuees on business because he is afraid that they are going to get a poor deal if he doesn't. Smith feels that sooner or later Barrett is going to become involved in what he terms "administrative cross-currents," the only way out of which is to quit his job. At one meeting, for instance, Barrett offered to "work it out with Tom," and some of the assistant project directors objected to this attitude taken on Barrett's part.

8. C.A. Director

The new C.A. director is said to be a Jew, and consequently willing to go out of his way to improve the lot of evacuees. For instance, he claimed that he was going to have a "No Japs Allowed" sign from some establishment in Twin Falls taken down.

9. Administrative Turnover

The change in the administrative staff is rapid. Smith says that he was gone for a week, and found 15 faces in the administration that he had never seen before. Brooks is taking Miller's place temporarily. Pomeroy is going to leave soon. Davidson is out temporarily, but may not return. In the meantime his place is being taken by Rawlings, who is considered unsympathetic toward evacuees.

10. Brooks

Brooks, Personnel Director from Washington, is said to have stated that now that he is here on the project, he can't consider matters as lightly as he used to in Washington. He now has to consider the effect a policy change has on the lives of 7000 individuals.

11. Smith on Public Relations

Smith says that the WRA officials don't know a thing about how to measure the pulse of the community. The relocation officers don't know a thing, either. All they are interested in, he says, is to get workers out and back again. They don't study why troubles occur. The farmers in this area, he says, are getting the transient labor psychology, which he thinks should be corrected.

J 6/20/44 #12

12. "Bishop" on Public Relations

"Bishop" said that he found it difficult to convince church people on the outside that they should take action. They do just enough, he says, to salve their own conscience. He plans to take a three week trip out to the Middle West, to talk to church people. He also wants to see how the people he sent out are getting along.

13. Oyama on the Council

Oyama says that he knows that the Council is not functioning properly. The block commissioners are not the real leaders in the block, and they have difficulty getting recognition. He wants to work out a procedure whereby the real leader would become the block commissioner and have control of the block.

He wants to have minutes and notices written in Japanese to be distributed to each block. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

J 6/23/44 Friday

1. Banal Incident

It is said that some residents, especially those who gather in the boilerroom, criticized the Council for undertaking the responsibility of fixing the canal, when it was not definitely known who was responsible for the damage. (See J 5/15/44 #1, 5/16/44 #1, 5/17/44 #1, I. 5/20/44 p 1) An Issei came in to tell Fujii, Chairman of the Council, that he was very sorry that he had caused the Council so much trouble. He admitted to having set fire to the rip-rap in order to facilitate fishing along the canal. Members of the Council were delighted to hear this, since this gave them a strong argument against those who criticized them for their act of collaboration with the administration.

2. Mrs. M. on the Draft

The other day when some boys were given their physical examination or induction ceremony in the hospital, Mrs. M.'s son was rejected. Mrs. M., who works in the messhall as a waitress, was bubbling over with ~~her~~ joy, so she said, as she related this story. Her son was examined carefully by three doctors because he had some spots on his back. Finally he was rejected. Mrs. M. was so happy that she could not sleep for several nights. Her son, who is barely 18, is a perfectly healthy specimen. He was disturbed about the fact that he had not passed his physical, saying that people would think that something was wrong with him. He chided his mother for rejoicing over the rejection, which he himself regretted.

3. Statistics Section

Went to the Statistics Section, but found out that Evelyn Rose had already left for Topaz. I talked to the supervisor in charge, an ex-Tulean, who was very helpful. First, I looked over the files that were being kept. There was a master file for individuals who ~~had~~^{were} ever registered in the project. Colored cards were used to indicate indefinite and short-term leaves. There was also a file of those who had ~~left~~ left the project, either for short-term, seasonal, or indefinite. The indefinite leaves were filed according to types of leaves: alien, citizen, education, volunteer, selective service, releases, transfers, expatriation, repatriation. There were also birth and death cards for each individual born or who died. There were also two rosters of the result of a census taken on February, 1943, and March, 1944. Both contained basic data, but in the former block address was lacking. Also, the former was listed ~~according to~~ alphabetically, whereas the latter was grouped by families living together and then listed alphabetically. On the basis of the latter, a file of families was being prepared.

It seems obvious that any study of leaves and of birth

J 6/23/44 #3-2

and death on the project level should make ~~xxx~~ use of the special files kept in the office, if possible.

The two rosters provide a picture of the project population on a particular day. Those out on seasonal or shortterm, while still residents of the project, would not appear on the roster. Otherwise, the difference between the 1944 and 1943 rosters would indicate addition or subtraction from the population during that period. By making use of the rosters a general picture of the change in population can be gotten. Presumably the rosters are going to be made up every six months--at least once a year, and seem to be worth preserving. With the rosters it will be possible to keep track of the changing family composition, as relocation affects the younger members of the family.

4. Tulean on Minidoka Administration

I talked to the supervisor of the Statistic Section. He is 25 years of age, married, and has one child. He is a transfer from Tule Lake, and his criticism of the Minidoka administration is significant. He said:

"Carter wrote to me and asked me how the attitude of the administration here was. In Tule Lake I used to get along well with the Hakujins. People like Carter, Elberson and others used to be easy to get along with. Here it's different. They order you around and don't take you into their confidence. Braden, for instance, never did discuss any of the problems in this office with me. Some of the things that he did ~~xx~~ turned out to be wrong. When he left suddenly, I couldn't do much because I hadn't been allowed to discuss the basic problems with Braden."

His thinking was definitely in terms of pro-evacuee v.s. pro-administration. He said:

"Is the Community Analysis office for the Japanese? Some people don't think so, I always figured that it was."

He was willing to do me a favor without consulting the Caucasian superiors. This seems to be the typical Tule Lake attitude. This to Tuleans constitute "good morale."

5. Barbers on Pomeroy

I was in the barber shop, when Mr. Pomeroy was having his hair cut. After he was through, he pulled out a five dollar bill. When given his change, he walked out, having paid twenty cents for the service. Several barbers commented upon this fact. Some of the ~~xxxx~~ milder comments was that if it had been Mr. Davidson, he would leave fifty cents. And said:

"He's certainly stingy."

J 6/23/44 #5-2

One vociferous barber said:

"Shaku ni sawaru! (Gets me mad). Nothing gets me so mad as to cut a keto for twenty cents. I don't mind a small boy so much. It's not the money that gets me, but the attitude. They get around \$4,000, don't they? This is a barber shop for evacuees. They could go to town and get their haircut, you know. I've been telling the co-op to charge the keto fifty cents."

The other barbers agreed with him.

J 6/24/44 Saturday

1. Incident in Twin Falls

Today it was fairly general knowledge among the residents that an incident had occurred in Twin Falls. According to the Twin Falls Time (6/24/44):

WORKERS BROUGHT HERE GO ON STRIKE

Seventy-five Japanese-American laborers, who were brought here from Poston, Ariz., to work for farmers in the Twin Falls area refused to leave the labor camp yesterday following a disturbance in downtown Twin Falls late Thursday. They demand that they be given protection or sent back to Poston.

Later they were addressed by Chief of Police Howard Gillette and E.E. Scannell, manager of the camp said that he believed nearly all of them would rescind their demand to be returned to Poston and would continue to work in the fields here.

He said that up to late last night only one of the workers refused to reconsider.

Block residents furnished the following details:

A Japanese was attacked by Hakuji.

A Japanese was standing in front of the theater and was attacked by a group of Hakuji.

The evacuee bus driver of the Twin Falls bus line gave the following account:

"The fight was between two groups of hoodlums. The Japanese were ~~to~~ to blame, too, because they were dressed in zootsuits, and the people out here aren't used to them. There were two Japanese boys from California, and they were attacked by five Hakujis. The Hakujis were really to blame because they were the ones who started the fight. The Japanese could have avoided trouble by being quiet, but they took up the fight. They carry around knives about six inches long, and flash them on the slightest provocation. I'm more afraid of those ~~zootsuits~~ zootsuits than I am of Hakujis, because you don't know what they'll do to you."

The boilerman reported that on Sunday morning there was another fight between Japanese and Hakuji, but this has not been confirmed in any way.

Mr. Hara, who felt that evacuees should not leave the center, thought that this was a good indication that people should not leave the center. He said that conditions on the outside was going to become worse for Japanese as the war progressed.

On the whole residents did not seem too disturbed.

2. Issei Attitude toward the War

The general strategy of the Japanese as explained by various Isseis is that Japan is drawing the Allied forces further and further into Japanese territory. When the opportune moment arrives, Japan intends to bring out her main fleet for a major showdown. The Allied attack on Saipan recently evoked varied comments. Some said that Japan could afford to lose more territory. One Issei who seems to have studied the matter quite thoroughly admitted that Saipan was an important base for Japan and that she should not lose it. He also said that United States made a poor move when she came so deep into Japan's territory, and predicted that Japan would bring out her fleet and annihilate the U.S. fleet. On this basis he claimed that United States was bound to be defeated.

"Doc", who takes the stand that most Isseis don't want either Japan or America to lose, said that Japan might give up more territory to the Allies, but that she could afford to do so. But he stated emphatically that Japan would not be defeated. This seemed to be based, not on military calculations, but on faith.

"Booklover," a Kaisha worker attached to life in America, was openminded about the possibility of Japan's continuing to lose more territory, without being able to bring her fleet out for a showdown battle. However, he said that he did not believe that Japan would be defeated. This again was not based on military insight, but seemingly on a belief that he has had for a long time.

"General," married Nisei whose ideas were more like those of a Kibei than of most Niseis, argued that Japan could not be defeated. He claimed that the broadcast from Japan was more accurate than the one emanating from the United States, and that American soldiers admitted this themselves.

3. "General" on Seasonal Work

"General," married Nisei with Kibeish ideas, is now out on seasonal work. Recently he came back for a visit, and was seemingly embarrassed when an Issei said:

"I thought you would be the last person to go out."

His reply was:

"I'm only out on seasonal. I'm only working for my own benefit, and it's none of my business whom else I benefit."

4. Pickling Plant Conflict

Mr. Kogita came around to see Mr. Sato once more about the opening of the pickling plant. Since Mr. Sato went out to work on a farm, he has not been able to ~~xx~~ take any steps to regain his position as supervisor of the Pickling Plant. I talked to Mr. Kogita and found out that he still had hopes that Mr. Kano might be defeated in his effort to gain control of the plant.

Mr. Kogita's attitude was that the matter was one of victory or defeat for his group of workers. He said that it would be very irritating if Kano got his own way about the matter, and was anxious to defeat Kano if at all possible. Sato felt that Kogita's expressed wish of defeating Kano was based more on "pride" and "face-saving" than the desire for the job. Kogita had a good job as stove tender in a messhall, a work he considered easy and which gave him free-time during the day. He talked to Sato, and evidently could not get much help from him. Takeda was out// on seasonal work, and Kogita did not think that the rest of the Councilmen could help him very much. He said that if the Council could not have the Pickling Plant transferred to the Steward Division as instructed by Washington, then it did not have much power. In his mind, then, it seemed that the prestige of the Council was also at stake. He said that he would see Ken Yamada, block commissioner, who was the only other person that he could expect to push the matter for him. I asked him whether he had seen Tom Ogawa, and Kogita ~~kk~~ replied that he did not know the individual.

I asked about Kano, and Kogita said that he seemed 80 % confident that he would be able to get the job as supervisor of the Pickling Plant. ~~W~~ When Kogita ran into Kano the other day, the latter intimated that Rawlings said that the plant would be reopened soon. Kano is the foreman of the Packing Shed, a foreman on the farm, and presumably the foreman of the Pickling Plant, Kogita said, and is acting like a bigshot.

The workers are somewhat divided on the issue, according to Kogita. More workers are anxious to work for Sato than for Kano. If Kano is to become the supervisor, however, a number of the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ uncertain workers were expected to go back to work. Mrs. Yamada is without work now and is anxious to get back into the Pickling Plant. She used to support Sato, but through a recent marriage in the family, is now a distant relative to Kano. Kogita now feels that he can't confide too much in her.

J 6/24/44 #5

5. Irrigator Cross-Reference

Council "Hara Elected Treasurer of Hospital Fund"

I. 6/24/44 p 1

Employment "Labor Shortage Hinders Gym Work Says Ishimitsu"

I. 6/24/44 p 1

Draft "66 Sworn in to Service at Ceremony"

"Seven Inductees go to Camp Savage"

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Return to Coast "Gen. Emmons Transferred"

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Doctors "Drs. Paul Shigaya, Ishibashi Leave"

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J 6/26/44 Monday

1. Pickling Plant Conflict

Kogita seemed to be the only one that was actively interested in seeing Kano defeated in his effort to control the Pickling Plant when it reopened. I suddenly decided that I would do what I could to have the Pickling Plant transferred to the Mess Management Section. It occurred to me that this transfer was ordered from Washington, and that the Council's resigned attitude toward Rawlings' desire to control the Pickling Plant was unwarranted.

I talked to Fujii, the chairman of the Council, in the morning. He had delayed taking any action on this matter, and was saying about the same thing he had been saying when I left for the conference several weeks ago. Evidently Wilder had been sounded out once on the matter, and the Council was given the impression that he was willing to let Rawlings take over the Pickling Plant in order to avoid trouble with him. Takeda, before he left for seasonal work, had tried to get action on this matter, but was not able to. During this period Stafford had been away on a vacation (flying his plane), and the Council had decided that it was best to wait for Stafford to return before taking any action. Fujii's reason for this wait was that Stafford did not like the direct negotiation of the Council with an A.P. member, and wanted the Council to carry on all business with A.P. members through him. Ogawa's interpretation of Stafford's attitude was that Stafford was a bit afraid of the power of the Council to put A.P. members "on the spot" through adroit questioning, which would go down on record in the minutes. Fujii said that he would get the Food Committee to arrange a meeting with Wilder and Rawlings, to straighten out the matter.

Two observations that might be pointed out here is that Fujii wants to please Stafford by not negotiating directly with an A.P. member. Also, he is not anxious to take action himself on this matter. Both points have been observed in Fujii before.

I discussed the possibility of the Pickling Plant being transferred to the Mess Management Section. Fujii seemed to think that if a meeting between Wilder and Rawlings were arranged it would not be too difficult. I suggested that the Council sound out Wilder informally on the matter and then take it up with Mr. Stafford. Then I asked Fujii if he knew that Washington had sent a directive through some time ago (it was April 4, 1944) stating that the processing of food ~~xxx~~ (except for canning) was to be done by the Mess Management Section. He had not heard of it, and I promised to get hold of a copy of it for him. We discussed some of the arguments that might be used in effecting the transfer, ~~xxx~~ such as the utilization of surplus produce, which Rawlings is claimed to have used to retain the Pickling Plant, and the year round making of tsukemono,

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which was a good reason why the Mess Management Section should take over the processing of tsukemono. I also pointed out that the prestige of the Council was at stake, and that if the Council did not succeed in effecting the transfer in spite of an instruction from Washington, it would be considered worthless by the residents concerned.

Suddenly Fujii decided that he could call up Wilder himself right away. He called Wilder up on the phone, and found out that Wilder was not adverse to taking over the Pickling Plant if he were asked to. He pointed out, however, that Rawlings had stated his desire to retain the Pickling Plant in order to dispose of surplus vegetable. Fujii said that the Council would arrange a meeting with Wilder and Rawlings some time this week.

I talked to Dick Sato, former supervisor of the Pickling Plant, about this matter. I suggested to him that he go to see Wilder and "break the ice" for the Council, since the Council and Wilder were not on good terms. I had suggested this move to Dick a number of times, and it suddenly occurred to him, it seems, that this was a good idea. I showed him the Washington directive of April 4, which he had not seen before, and saw that the transfer could be made. I asked him who could be made the foreman of the Pickling Plant, since he himself was going out on seasonal work, and he suggested that his wife be made the supervisor and Kogita the assistant. In this way, he said, Kogita could do the actual work of directing the processing of the tsukemono, while his wife could deal with the administration. He said that someone who could deal with Hakujins was necessary, and that neither Kogita nor Kano could do this. Kogita had the advantage of knowing how to make miso, Dick said. Right after lunch I went to see Ogawa, and Dick must have thought that I was going to see Wilder, for he came along with me.

Ogawa was not at home, and so Dick and I went to the Council office. I showed Ogawa the Washington directive. Ogawa was rather pessimistic about the whole affair, saying that when he contacted Wilder on the matter, Wilder had said that he had too much trouble with Rawlings already, since he refused to let Rawlings ~~let~~ dump surplus produce on the Mess Management Section. Wilder was anxious to serve the best meal possible within the budget limitations, and refused to feed the residents the same produce more than twice a week. In order to avoid further trouble Wilder was willing for Rawlings to retain the Pickling Plant. Ogawa then went on to elaborate that Rawlings was a "powerful" man because he was the head of the Agriculture Section, and Stafford was very anxious about the farm. The possible reason for this interest Ogawa gave as ~~ix~~ "it looks good on paper." He was inclined to feel that the case for the transfer was weak. After reading the Washington directive, however, he seemed ~~xxxxxx~~ more hopeful that the transfer could be made. When I brought up the point that the prestige of the Council was at stake, he was sarcastic, and

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said, "What prestige, does the Council have any prestige?" He also said that matters of this sort should not be taken too seriously, as Kogita seemed to be doing. Fujii made a crack aimed at both Dick and myself to the effect that perhaps all this was "politics."

Dick in the meantime had called up Wilder's office, but found out that he was not in. A meeting of the education committee and the public relations committee on the coming Fourth of July program was about to begin, and Dick and I left the office. Since there was no use in trying to see Wilder, we went home.

I came home and worked on a set of questions which might be brought up at a meeting on the transfer. The questions were aimed to bring out points in favor of the transfer of the food manufacture from the Agriculture Section to the Mess Management Section.

In the evening I took this set of questions and two memos from Rawlings to Sato, which I thought that the Council ought to have on hand, and handed them to Tom Ogawa. He had suggested that Dick Sato and I might sit in on the coming meeting, but I explained to him that I could not sit in on any meeting because I did not have any status on the project.

I was going to bring up the matter of working as ~~his~~ Tom's assistant, but since he did not complain about the amount of work that he was doing, I decided not to.

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2. Washington Directive on Transfer of Industrial Activities

C O P Y

April 4, 1944

Subject: Transfer of Industrial Activities

Distribution: A

Due to the restriction of industrial activities on the various centers, for the most part, to those having to do with center operation, it is considered advisable at this time to transfer the responsibility for a number of activities from the Industrial Section to other sections.

Supervision of food preparation and final processing, including the production of tofu, miso, bean sprouts, shoya sauce, and other similar foods, the pickling of vegetables, the operation of bakeries, and the operation of butcher shops will be the responsibility of the Mess Management Section.

All carpenter shops, furniture factories, and sawmills will be the responsibility of the Engineering Section.

There will remain under the supervision of the Industry Section, the ship model factory, the silk screen projects, clothing factories, mattress factory and similar functions not closely related to the operation of other sections of the centers.

These transfers shall be effective April 1, and fourth quarter budgets shall be adjusted in the field accordingly.

Where the Project Director feels that the above change at this time would result in serious loss or difficulty in question, he may request that the transfer of any of these responsibilities be deferred and shall submit, for the consideration of the Director, a thorough justification for his request.

D. S. Myer

Director

3. Questions on the Transfer of Industrial Activities

1. Washington Directive of April 4, 1944 Ordering the Transfer

- a. Should the transfer have been made in April?
- b. Has the Project Director made a special request to Washington to defer this transfer?

2. Procurement of Vegetables the Year Round

The Residents desire tsukemono whenever rice is served, is daily. Earlier this year the Agriculture Section went on record deciding that the activities of the Industry Section would be limited to "the manufacture of Tofu and the preservation of surplus project produced crops by pickling or canning." (2/9/44 memo, Rawlings to Sato) In March the Pickling Plant was closed and all workers terminated because "surplus project produced vegetables will not be available for pickling from now until 1944 crops are ready to harvest." (3/9/44 memo, Rawlings to Sato)

- a. Can the Agriculture Section provide vegetables to be processed the year round?
- b. Can the Mess Management Section procure food for processing into tsukemono the year round?

3. Utilization of Surplus Project-Produced Vegetable

- a. Is there a limit to the amount of vegetable that can be processed into tsukemono for project use?
- b. If the Pickling Plant is transferred to the Mess Management Section, will the utilization of surplus vegetable be made more difficult?
- c. What is the best ways of disposing of surplus vegetable?

4. Increasing the Variety of Food Manufactured on the Project

Earlier this year the Agriculture Section discouraged the expansion of the activities of the Industry Section. The Council, on the other hand, went on record recommending the manufacture of tofu, tsukemono, miso, bean sprout, shoyu.

- a. Does the increased production of food on the project increase the expense of providing food for residents?
Can
- b. ~~Does~~ Can the Mess Management Section undertake the manufacture of the above foods insofar as it is feasible?
- c. Can the Agriculture Section undertake the manufacture of the above?

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5. Physical Facilities

1. Where has the pickling of vegetables been carried on until now?
2. Where can it be carried on if transferred to the Mess Management Section?

6. Personnel

The Pickling Plant under the Industry Section had a labor dispute, which was the partial cause of the closing down of the plant. Many former workers desire the transfer from the Agriculture Section because of this trouble.

1. Is a capable supervisor available?
2. Are workers available?

6/26/44 #4

4. Picnicking

Doi, Supervisor of the Motor Pool, was discussing the problem involved in providing trucks for the groups going out on picnics. Formerly some groups went out to choice spots (names unknown), but lately this has been prohibited by Doi on the grounds that the road was too rough and that the ride damaged the trucks. Now they ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ generally go to the North Gate for picnics. Last Sunday 18 trucks went out on picnics. Doi approved of the picnics, but pointed out some of the problems that they entailed:

1. Truck drivers have to work an extra day without pay, when they prefer not to. Generally there is no compensation for this extra work.
2. Truck drivers take persons out to the North Gate, and then go off with the truck to do visiting of their own. In case of emergency ~~xxxxx~~ such as sickness, the use of a truck becomes necessary. To remedy this situation Doi takes it upon himself to make the rounds of the various picnicking groups, and he finds it necessary to ~~x~~ run errands for them.
3. The number of picnicking grounds at the North Gate is limited, and confusion results.
4. The C. A. has not set a definite policy as to the number of groups that should be allowed to go out each Sunday. Roth and Osawa have differing opinions on the subject.

While Doi stated that he was interested in allowing as many groups as possible to enjoy picnicking, Fujii tended to think more in terms of restrictions. He stated, for instance, that people were going out picnicking in small cliques as well as in block units. If this were to continue, he predicted that some persons will have gone out picnicking several times and others none at all. He suggested that picnicking be allowed only on a block basis. His general disapproval of ~~the~~ encouraging picnicking was expressed in these terms: "I don't care for picnics. I'd rather stay home and sleep." In contrast, Doi stated that a real picnic could only be had in friendly groups, although people could go out in block groups if they wanted to. Both agreed that some sort of procedure should be outlined to make the picnicking function without conflicts.

5. Coal Distribution

Doi's general attitude toward his work seems to be that he is doing his best for the people, but ~~that~~ feels that many residents do not appreciate this fact. He complained that he had to tell residents time and again to use up the coal supply without leaving dust behind. To some blocks which did not listen to him, he refused to send more coal.

Now the coal supply is just about exhausted, and the supply for the next period has not started to come in as yet. He said that for the hospital he used to gather together good coal and mix it with the poor to help them out, but now there is no coal to mix in with the poor grade left over. In about a week's time the messhalls would be without coal, he said. He stated that the people did not know how much trouble he went to to keep the boys working. Eighty per cent of the workers on the coal crew now were high school boys, he said, and predicted that there would not be enough coal workers to haul in the coal when it started to come after the high school reopened again. In order to keep the boys satisfied, he said, he spent money which had been earned in carnivals by the old coal crew members to buy the workers ice-cream and soda pop.

While Doi and Fujii were agreeing with each other, Fujii's remarks sounded less pleasant to the ear of an evacuee. ^{was} Fujii said that the residents had to realize that this/war time, and that coal was difficult to get. It could not be gotten in nearby towns even if they had the money to pay for it, he said. He implied that the people should be thankful for what they were receiving. Stafford, he said, was worried because the people on the outside might find out that people on the inside were wasting coal, and it might become impossible to purchase coal in the future.

In general Doi argued for some restrictions on the residents, and Fujii believed in more restrictions for them than Doi.

6. Change in the Council

Because Dr. Shigaya left, it became necessary to replace him/ on the Council. A runner-up, Kuraoka, was asked to take over this function. Kuraoka declined on the grounds that he had a duty to his block as block commissioner, and did not feel that he could leave this post. Consequently, the next runner-up, Doi, was asked to take over this task. Some Council members felt that it was slightly awkward to have Doi take Shigaya's position as chairman of the Education Committee, but there did not seem to be any way in which the positions of the various councilmen as heads of committees could be juggled.

7. Hospital Koen-kai

According to Ogawa, Kuraoka brought up the charge in a recent meeting of the Education Committee and Public Relations Committee that the formation of a separate Koen-kai was an affront to the block commissioners. The Council was accused of having formed a large body not controlled by either the Council or the block commissioners. Ogawa's answer ~~kk~~ was that as a matter of fact many block commissioners did not stand in well with the block people and that the collection of funds would have been difficult for some of them. Ogawa also brought up at this time that it was

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desirable to make the organization within the block uniform throughout the project, as suggested by Mr. Hata. (I had suggested this to Mr. Hata long ago, and Tom Ogawa himself had this in mind.)

J 6/27/44 Tuesday

1. George Matsune on the Draft

Ran into Mrs. Matsune in her block. I asked her whether George, her son, had passed the physical. She said that George had passed his first physical, but had been rejected in the second one, when they found that his lungs still had traces of recentness of the healing. George seemed somewhat dejected, she said, and didn't want to discuss the matter further. Mrs. Matsune said that she felt relieved. Mrs. Y., who was talking to Mrs. Matsune, commented that it was better that George wasn't taken.

2. "Doc" on Nisei Loyalty

"Doc," who tends to argue on both sides of the question, said about Nisei loyalty.

"I really believe that Niseis should be loyal to the United States, even though they are not treated right. After all, they don't know Japan at all, even if some of them do have dual citizenship. How can they feel loyal to Japan. Isseis, of course, are different. Of course, you can't tell people things like ~~xxxx~~ because they'll call you an inu."

3. "Doc" on Return to the Coast

"Doc" himself is planning to leave the center to see ~~xxx~~ daughter through college. I discussed the possibility of the WRA attempting to close up the center when the Coast is opened up with him, referring to a statement made in the Pacific Citizen. I expressed doubt that the WRA was going to succeed in getting very many persons out. "Doc" said:

"They're smart. They give people the idea that the centers are going to be closed up and that they have to leave. And a lot of them are going to leave. If they don't before the war is over, they are going to find it more difficult after the war. They could save a couple of centers for old people who can't leave. If they close all of the other centers, the people will have to leave. They didn't like segregation, but they had to leave just the same."

~~xxxxDocxxxxxxxx~~

He hinted, however, that those without job and housing would have to receive aid in establishing themselves, possibly through WRA offices located on the Coast. Also, they would have to be guaranteed protection, possibly by the Army, until danger of violence is over. Given these conditions, he said, he thought that the people would leave the centers of their own accord.

4. Return to the Coast--Myer

A recent issue of the Pacific Citizen (June 24, 1944) credited Myer with the following:

"This is the first closing of a WRA center. Eight relocation centers and the Tule Lake Segregation Center remain in operation. D. S. Myer, Director of the WRA, said recently that WRA has no immediate plan to close any more centers. He stated that all centers (except Tule Lake) will be closed within a reasonable time after the War Department determines that military necessity no longer requires the maintenance of the exclusion order."

This is the first announcement of the next major move to be made by the WRA. Here again, Myer is attempting to do two things at a time, when even one would be difficult. He is trying to raise restrictions to returning to the West Coast, and at the same time is trying to close the centers. While this approach may be acceptable to congressmen, to evacuees the presentation of these two ~~ideas~~ ^{ideas} is disastrous. Even if the Coast were opened up, many people would hesitate to return to their former homes. It is doubtful whether many would even apply for return, until they were assured that it was safe to return. If this return to the Coast is urged by the WRA, the resistance to it can crystallize throughout the camp. Attempt to close centers would not be mere urging--it would mean eviction to many evacuees. Once a resistance movement is begun within the centers, even those who desire to leave would be under pressure not to desert the group.

Lifting of restrictions on the West Coast is the first positive program, as far as evacuees is concerned. To link this program with a fundamental fear of the evacuees--eviction--seems to be a major error on the part of the Washington WRA. If the movement to return Japanese to the West Coast is handled skillfully, perhaps about a half of those remaining in the center can be expected to leave the center before the war is over. If it is going to be bungled, as other programs have been, then the WRA is doomed with a large number of evacuees within the centers even when the war is over.

J 6/28/44 Wednesday

1. Dick K. on Attitude of Leader

I spoke to Dick K. about the project situation in general, and we got into a discussion of leaders. He said that most of the leaders here in the project were not leaders back home. Also, those who were leaders back home were not always respected by the people.

His attitude toward the general run of Isseis was interesting. He said that they thought in terms of Japan winning the war, just because they got their news through Radio Tokyo. Also, they expected to get indemnities for staying in the center, which he thought was foolish. Also, many of them thought that the Spanish Consul could do a lot for them. He himself had taken reports to the Spanish Consul seriously at first, ~~he~~ but now he doesn't see what good the Spanish Consul done thus far.

To win the favor of the Isseis, he said, it was necessary to act anti-administration. Some leaders did this, he said, but he was too honest to be able to do this successfully. He was disgusted with the people because they called him names just because he was the chairman of the Relocation Planning Commission. He said that he would not run again even if he were nominated to the Council.

2. Draft Protest Cases

It is reported that some boys were picked up to be sent to jail because of failure to report for their physical or for induction. Some people are saying that life in jail as reported by those already is not so bad. Still others say that it is better to go to jail than to go to the Army.

3. "Uncle" on the Future

"Uncle" recently had occasion to go to Salt Lake City to fetch the cremated remains of a friend. He came back with the report that he saw few drunks on the streets, and figured that the people were quite serious about the prosecution of the war. This, he intimidated, was a sign that America could not be optimistic about the outcome of the war.

He visited a cannery in Ogden which had offered him a job as cook. He learned that the wages was about 75 cents an hour. On the average a person received from \$180 to \$200 a month at this work, sometimes working as much as 20 hours a day. He figured that if he paid 20 per cent for taxes and \$1 a day for food, he would only have ~~\$1~~ a little over a hundred dollars left, from which he would have to buy tobacco. He also figured that if America lost the war the value of the American dollar would become very doubtful, making the value of working on the outside now rather doubtful. He ended up by concluding that it was best not

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to go out to work. This decision was reached with the aid of that consideration that he should not go out to work if he were to be true to his country. He did not intend to stay in this country after the war, and planned to return to his country as soon as possible after the war was over. He had enough funds on hand, he said, to do this. He said that all Isseis could not do this because of lack of funds, and many of them had to go out to work either because of this or because of attachment to their children. Although he was a frequenter of the boilerroom, he conceded that it was better for Isseis in this position to go out to work and save some money while the war was in progress. While he believed that America would not win the war, he stated that it was doubtful how much indemnity the evacuees could receive, and that it was best to plan one's future without counting on it.

J 6/29/44 Thursday

1. Warehouse Conflict Analysis

I've started to work on a report on the warehouse conflict. I am patterning the report somewhat after the pickling plant report, which began with a description of the participants, and then gave the story of the conflict in chronological order.

Went to see Tom Ogawa, Community Clerk, about some details of the conflict. One was the distribution of the 77 men who were supposed to be transferred in the first place. According to Tom's account, the 77 as listed by Doi included members of the garbage and coal crews. Stafford heard about this and ordered them to be left alone. This left 27 to be transferred. Ford then refused to accept any part-time worker or anyone on the stop-list. This reduced the list to 16.

Evidently there was a utility crew in Central Service which did the all-around warehousing, trucking, and unloading work on the project. It was this crew and the function of the crew which was to be transferred to the Property Control Section. Even after the transfer was made, however, a substantial utility crew under Mr. Ono was left in Central Service. Why this should be is not very clear.

I showed Tom my administrative-worker chart with Miller and Ford colored solid red, Powers and Cox striped, and Wilder pinkish. It also showed Davidson solid black. I wanted to know where Connor and Olson stood. Tom caught on to the general idea of what the colors meant, although I didn't explain it to him. He said that Powers should be "all red", that Keener was red, too. About Connor, he said that he was "in Dutch" with Stafford, and was a sort of "rough diamond" and difficult to place. He was not a "bad fellow," he declared. He implied that Olson was less congenial to evacuees than Connor, but was still disliked by Stafford. Tom said that one reason for this antagonism between the Operations Division and Stafford was that they had to take orders from an Army man because they were using Army equipment.

Another point that I asked was whether there was any difference between the workers in Central Service and those in the Administrative Management Division. Tom said that all of the ~~xxxxx~~ warehouse workers in the latter division did not like Wilder and Powers, and Ford and Cox, with the possible exception of the Yamamoto crew. Most of the people in this group were old Isseis. The workers in Central Service were mixture of Isseis and Niseis, with a substantial number of the latter. The 16 transferees, for instance, were all young "hotheads," who were of draftable age, and weren't going to taking any arrogance from a Caucasian. Also, under Doi and before under Takahashi, the workers had become used to a liberal treatment. When they

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worked they worked hard, but they were allowed to loaf when there was no work to be done, they were given refreshments in the afternoon. Takahashi used to take the boys into town and treat them with money from his own pocket. Takahashi, according to his own account, used to "bawl out" Hakuji when they acted too bossy. He said that when Powers first acted that way in asking for a truck, he told him to "go to hell," and Powers apologized. In other words, the transfer involved a serious problem of adjustment for the young boys to be transferred.

~~xx~~ Another interesting observation that Tom made was that Stafford had definitely changed his attitude from red to ~~black~~ black. Cox, too, he said, had changed from red to black. This phenomenon seems to call for a refinement of the red-black scale, whatever it is measuring. Some persons seem to carry both attitudes, and exhibiting one or the other when convenient. The whole problem cannot be simplified too much, but Tom's ready acceptance of the concept is significant.

2. Agricultural-Labor Shortage Conflict

Because of lack of agricultural workers, some of the tomatoes, ~~plants~~ plants in the hotbeds, instead of being planted in the field, was distributed to residents. Stafford, according to Tom, is anxious to show a good record on the farm, primarily, it seems, because "it looks good on paper." From the viewpoint of residents, however, agriculture was not one of the "essential" work on the project, compared to messhall, hospital, warehouse work. Obviously, if a labor shortage developed, a conflict is going to occur, both within the administration, among the leaders, and among the residents. Stafford, obviously, is going to be reluctant to cut down his agricultural program, judging by the amount of interest he shows in the farm. In his meetings with the Council he had been trying to put the idea of increased "flexibility" to spread the increased work so as not to place too much burden on a small group of workers. This increase in work, no matter how skillfully it is effected, is the sort of thing that residents object to, ~~xxxx~~ unless they are paid for it. Thus far there has been no talk of cash payment for overtime. On the other hand, Fujii has been talking about recruiting high school kids for farm work during their vacation, which is in direct support of Stafford's farm program. Unless more consideration is given to the workers' point of view, discontent is certain to arise, and later lead to open conflict.

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3. Leadership Study

I have begun a study of leadership with the help of Dick Kanaya, Smith's righthand man. I am now compiling a list of ~~xxxxxxx~~ former leaders in Seattle from the Hokubei Nenkan, a directory. I also plan to make a list of leaders here on the project. I also hope to ~~classify~~ make a note of the popularity and ability of these leaders, and the basis on which they held their positions. Dick is a great help, and Mr. Kitayama of the Irrigator seems to be willing to help, too.

I have gotten Smith "hepped up" about the study of leadership. He said:

"I've been trying to avoid the study of leadership, because it was too complicated."

He seemed to imply that he was now ready to undertake such a study.

He said that the leadership on the project was bound to be unstable. If it were approved by the administration, then it lost its popularity with the residents. This in itself shows the predicament of the leader. I was more optimistic and said that a stable leadership could be developed, if the leaders knew the right techniques to employ within the centers. This is X's claim, of course.

4. Smith on the JACL

From the talk on leadership ~~we~~ Smith and I began to argue about the JACL. I knew he thought highly of the JACL, but I just could not keep my mouth shut. My general contention was that the JACL did not have the support of the people in the centers, and very little support of Niseis on the outside.

Smith's defense of the JACL was very interesting. He thought that on the outside the JACL was receiving support from many Niseis. This was a factual matter, and was really not a matter to be argued between us. I could not help feeling that Smith was not close enough to Niseis to know how they felt about the JACL. His defense of the JACL was as follows: To get any sort of work done the JACL had to have the support of members of the majority group--the Caucasians. To win this support in some cases it was necessary to exaggerate certain loyalties. This justified the "flag-waving" done by the JACL. To carry on the fight against the elements in the Caucasian group opposed to the Japanese, it was necessary to "fight fire with fire, propaganda with propaganda," which again justified the actions and stands of the JACL. He emphasized over and over again the necessity of winning the support of the CAUCASIANS. That he referred to a certain type of Caucasian became evident when he stated that the Niseis in New York had made

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the mistake of becoming mixed up with COMMUNISTS!!!, and had lost the support of such persons as Pearl Buck. He also pointed out the danger of being aligned with certain "hotheaded" Negro groups. The JACL had the support of the CAUCASIANS, and therefore it was all right. I tried to point out that it didn't have to exaggerate its behavior to the extent that it was all out of sympathy with its own group. I pointed out, for instance, that it didn't have to worship the WRA blindly, as it seemed to be doing.

I kept to my argument. Leaders who did not have the support of the following were not functioning as leaders.

J 6/30/44 Friday

1. Jimmy Izuta , Volunteer, Refused

Several weeks ago Jimmy Izuta, who had applied for ~~xxx~~ induction into Savage, suddenly received a second 4-C classification. His parents were overjoyed to see this, but Jimmy himself expressed dissatisfaction over being classified as an alien. However, he did not worry too much about this classification for two reasons:

a. He had recently completed his leave clearance hearing on the project (because he was a Kibei who returned to America in 1939), and McLaughlin had assured him that he would probably be cleared and that he would be able to go outside/ and also into the Army. He felt that he had received his 4-F because he had not been processed through this leave clearance hearing.

b. He had volunteered for Savage, and he felt sure that the authorities there would see to it that he was cleared and accepted into the Army.

Today Jimmy came to me, highly dejected and confused. He showed me a letter from Camp Savage, which was evidently the cause of his state of mind. The letter read:

your

"We regret to advise that ~~xxxx~~papers have been rejected for clearance in Washington for reasons unknown to us. We shall have to close your file for that reason.

"If we receive any further word concerning your case, we shall notify you promptly."

It was signed by Paul Rusch, the director there.

Jimmy said:

"I can't understand why they would do such a thing to me. Here I was hoping that if I heard from Savage, everything would be cleared up, and then they send me this. I was sick the last few days, and was better yesterday. But today I received this, and I'm feeling bad again."

From ~~xxxxxxx~~ answers to questions that I asked him, I gathered that Jimmy had the following view on the situation. He was still hopeful that he might be accepted, perhaps when he receives his leave clearance papers. If this happened, he was glad to join the Army. On the other hand, he was willing to give up the idea of trying to get in "if that's the way they're going to treat(him)". He wanted to go out to school and his parents were willing to let him, if he didn't go too far away from Camp. Jimmy did not want to go too far, either. However, he remarked that it would seem awfully funny being classified as a 4-C.

I tried to explain to him why he was placed in the predicament of not being accepted when he volunteered.

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Most Japanese were under suspicion, anyway, but this was especially true of Kibeis. The definition of a Kibei as commonly accepted in actual day-to-day association within the Japanese group and the one set up by the Army and the WRA differed. There were some Kibeis who came to this country over ten years ago who were evidently not considered Kibeis, although they were so considered by Japanese. On the other hand, persons like Jimmy, who did not have the traits of a Kibei but could pass for a Nisei in any circle were considered Kibei by the Army and the WRA. While the WRA gave persons of "doubtful loyalty" a leave clearance hearing, evidently the Army did not do so. I was therefore doubtful as to whether he would be cleared by the Army because the WRA cleared him for leave.

2. Student on JACL

I asked a student from the University of Idaho how the Japanese students regarded the JACL. He said that the number of Japanese students there was small, and that while they had discussed the draft situation thoroughly, they had not brought up the JACL for discussion. One student, he said, remarked that the JACL did not seem to be of much use to the Japanese. On the other hand, he had not heard anyone say much in favor of that organization.

3. Leadership Study

Talked to Watanab~~x~~e, Ogawa, and Kanaya on the subject of ~~xxx~~ Japanese leaders. Watanab~~x~~e seemed to believe that the persons who were quiet and what he termed "gentlemen" were the ones to be respected. He remarked that both in internment camp and here they tended to stay in the background and refuse to accept leadership positions. One reason for this reluctance is given as the pressure from their wives not to do anything for the Japanese community because it was for this reason they were interned before. On the other hand, he pointed to certain persons as being "ignorant" or "no good" as leader, even though they held important positions formerly within the Japanese community.

Both Ogawa and Watanab~~x~~e seemed to believe that it was foolish to be a leader in an internment camp or here, and that the more intelligent ones were refusing to accept leadership positions.

Good Leader Ogawa and Watanab~~x~~e discussed some of the leaders at Santa Fe. Abe, Shungo from Los Angeles was considered an "outstanding" leader. One particularly good example of a good leader, they said, was a certain Mr. Kondo from California. I asked for particulars of this man which made him a good man. He was a big farmer before. He was tactful and humble, and listened quietly to both the complaints from the internees and to the administration. Complaints were taken from internees to barrack captains, from barrack captain

to three compound mayors and a single governor. In the process of sifting the complaints as they came up, the ideas of the few ~~xx~~ "radical" persons were generally dropped. Kondo was able to convince the internees that he was taking the right road, and he was welcomed by the administration as a capable leader. These negotiations were made not too difficult by the fact that the Director happened to be a very sympathetic person who was willing to give in to some of the demands.

Another able leader, a member of the Kaisha group, held the respect of the internees. His admonition was that they should act as citizens of a great country, and quietly accept the treatment they were getting. After all, they were foreigners in this country which was at war with their own country.

Mihara, Genji, Mediocre Leader Mihara was cited as a leader who was only mediocre. When he went to internment camp he joined a few of the other leaders such as Sugimachi in upholding the Geneva Agreement. Men were being required to work, although in many other respects they were getting better treatment than the agreement required. Some of the men decided to go on a strike not to work, also making complaints at the same time about other matters relating to food and clothing. The ~~xxxxx~~ Army Officer demanded to know how many refused to work. There were about two hundred such men, including several leaders. The men were placed in separate barracks under guard and refused permission to leave them, while the leaders were locked up separately. Whereas Sugimachi and the other leader took the punishment with the others, Mihara evidently changed his position and was released. This, of course, made him unpopular with the men who had gone on strike.

Poor Leaders Both Ogawa and Watanabe remarked how surprising it was to sleep in the same barrack with many of the so-called bigshots and find out ~~xxxx~~ that lacked character. Ogawa was especially surprised at the bozu (Buddhist priests) who did not show more admirable qualities than any of the others.

They said that those who were for protesting loudly against the administration was in favor with many of the internees. This was especially true now, Watanabe said, because the quieter ones were coming ~~home~~ out as parolees.

Stable v.s. Unstable persons According to both Ogawa and Watanabe the more stable persons kept quiet in internment camp and often refused to take leadership position. When opportunity came to return to a relocation center they took it. The more stable persons, therefore, were the ones that returned. On the other hand, some of those who were antagonistic toward the administration were welcomed by many internees, and were not able to return.

4. Internee View on Camp Government

W., an internee who returned recently to this camp, explained his idea of the proper attitude toward camp government. He said that there was no sense in raising a great deal of fuss against the administration, and that there must be give and take, at least. He said that the administration could be expected to take fairly good care of the residents, if they were left alone. He believed that Isseis should ~~not~~ remember that they were foreigners in a country at war with their own country. Consequently he did not disapprove of former leaders who refused to take part in camp politics.

W's attitude toward relocation was ~~not~~ very positive. He said that he was willing to relocate if he could find a house for his family. He thought that the WRA should make efforts to locate houses for evacuees. He argued that jobs were available for those who wished to work in any region. Since Japanese had not been living on a very high standard before evacuation, most of them could make a living on the outside. When I pointed out that evacuee leaders were afraid to advocate relocation because they would be considered inu, he thought that it was strange. He thought that the WRA ought to make more effort to educate the people about the condition on the outside.

5. Indemnity Possibility

Watanabe and Kanaya discussed the possibility of receiving financial aid when the war was over. Kanaya ~~snickered~~ sneered and said that he thought that people were mistaken if they thought they would receive an indemnity. Watanabe ~~said~~ said that in internment camp he had heard experts say that the Japanese Government furnished interned people with funds with which to establish themselves. The sum was not a small sum, he said, and was supposed to be paid back within 20 or 30 years, although in actuality this payment was not required. Since this had occurred in past wars, he did not doubt that it would occur after the end of this one. However, he thought that a person could receive this aid even if he were relocated. Also, he thought it was best not to rely on this aid. Kanaya did not seem to be too convinced of the possibility of receiving financial aid. He said that Niseis at least would not be eligible, and Watanabe said that it might be made available to all Japanese.

6. Stable Leaders in Camp

I asked Ogawa and Kanaya whether there were any ~~stable~~ leaders in camp who could influence the whole camp in case of a crisis, such as the closing of the camps. Were there leaders who were influential enough, for instance, to convince the residents that those able to should relocate. The answer was that there were no such leaders here.

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7. Acree V.s. Smith

Smith and Acree are writing conflicting reports on the incidents taking place in the labor camps in this area. Smith states that the boys who were shot at by some Caucasian boys do not believe in the alibi that they were merely shooting magpies. ~~Smith~~ Acree evidently sticks to the story that the boys were merely shooting magpies, as they claimed. Smith describes the housing at one of the labor camps as "stables," a term to which Acree evidently objects.

Relocation Officer from Salt Lake City, Peterson, came to see Smith about his going out to investigate local conditions. Peterson said that it was all right if he would take ~~of~~ care of the following:

- a. To notify the local relocation officer that he is coming.
- b. to get his "slant" on local conditions. In other words, not to ignore him.

Smith agreed to this, and in return asked to be allowed to get into the files of the field offices. Peterson said that he could. Smith wants to find out whether letters which have been sent to the field offices have been followed up as they should have.

Smith's attitude toward Acree, as he explained to Peterson, was that he was ~~going~~ not going to be bothered by the newspaperman from the South. It was his business to find out how people felt on the outside, and Acree could go ahead and write up his report as he saw it.

8. Miller and the School Teacher

According to Mrs. S., who works as a janitress in the dormitory in the Ad Area, Miller is a baka. All the workers in that area receive the same \$16 for their work, although those who work in the apartments work only half day. Some who do day work receive as much as a dollar a day. One school teacher from Hawaii whose husband went into the Navy wanted to stay on and work for the evacuee children. Since she had two children she wanted to hire a Japanese lady to work for her all day for \$40 a month. Stafford o.k.'d this matter, but Miller insisted that she could not do this. She wanted to know if she could hire anyone to come in from the outside, and Miller still refused. Since Mrs. S. had been asked to do this work, and she wanted the job, she didn't like Miller for what he did. The teacher finally left the project.