

W.I. Comparison between his material and ours. Jewish material.

In 1918 at close of war went to N.Y. in connection with immigration; steel works needed laborers, agents in Europe, especially Eastern Europe, Poland, Serbia, Rumania, Latvia, etc. 2 kinds of Jews:

Ashkenazim	90%
Sephardic	10% - aristocratic learning

In course of time difference lost.

Crudist Jews: Ashkinazim. Russia, Poland. 1918: immig. critical, floods of lower classes, question of assimilation - melting pot. Studying Poles non-Jews. Interested in another large group, choice jobs, Jews, Italians. Took Poles. N.Y.C. plus 30 miles radius at time 1/ million Jews; Jews in N.Y.C. alone as many as in all of Europe except Russia and Poland.

Great ghettos in Europe: Lunberg and Warsaw. Warsaw: 300,000 Jews. $1\frac{1}{2}$ million Jews in N.Y., large congregation, 3 million in U.S. 14 million in world. 1 Jew out of every 10 in N.Y.C. Kahila book: Jewish Communal Register.

1921, immig. closed

Jews: opportunistic people - alert for chances, seizing expediency. 5 years in Europe - Jew in every hotel asked W.I. about chances. Exploratory. Speak German. Jews in N.Y. helpless, period of greenness, ship tickets paid back. Before 1900, A. Kahn and associates started Yiddish newspaper in N.Y. quite successful, ran 15 years until 1906 when introduced feature: "Bundle of letters" (Buntelbrief) letters of "opportunistic Jews" trying to get information and help, wanted to know date at which they came, trouble letters. Little

column for a time. One morning, assistant brought 3 letters: letter from a group: "neighbor for 6 years wouldn't send for his wife," made a pool brought her over and put her on his footstep asked whether it was all right. Letters pouring in, life histories. Expanded to essays. Some falsifications. In 1918 letters running one or more a day since 1906. W.I. decided to study these from "definition of situation," make up mind, mental process. Mother and child, prophet etc. individual may become leader.

Clever editors; Rabbis advice given. Column not trivial. Very extensive. Many letters trouble letters; many pour out trouble, suicide letters; editor consoles them where advice given. 15,000 letters up to date. W.I. learned to read Yiddish, lived among Jews, Yiddish-German dialect in Hebrew letters. No vowels. Advertised for young person for translation of Yiddish. 5 boys. Make resume of all letters 1906-1918; from then on read 9,000 altogether.

How use them:

How editor defined situation, integrity, fair dealing, marriage relation. Socialistic paper, free thinking, no use for rabbi but treats them with respect. Authority of paper. Fur coat case. Editor is referee. Asked to reprove husband and wife. What situation aid to be defined.

(Influence world-wide; N. Zealand, Canada, Poland, etc.) 15 men concerned with handling letters, sifted out. (Tentative) Examples.

a. Opportunism: ① (Pointing finger in letter) Girl, 13. Parental

history, unhappiness, sufferings. Good student, but sick.

Fear of death. Poor parents. T.B.

Editor - there are doctors who are generous and kind. In 4 days print a letter from a doctor, will take charge of child.

2. Woman 22: In U.S. 8 yrs. Poverty. Parents want to come to U.S. Wants to help parents. Needs money. Beautiful hair. Wants to part with hair and sell it; wants to get high price. How do it. Try to get most.

Editor - Turn to readers. Most famous letter. Created movement, for 5 weeks lists of gifts amounting to \$1,000 not less than 500 people collections. These are exceptions. In many other cases editor says "you will see brighter time." Dowry case. Editor cannot do too much. Opportunistic and humoristic letter not infrequent. All want to work up from peddling to store.

b. Mobility: Great many vicissitudes of the people, losses and opportunities. Some rise, some decline.

(1) seeking relatives opportunistically

(2) Group attachment, looking for friendship. "Meet a piece of blood". Desertion cases. Dramatic cases. 4 cases in which man married daughter. Majority of them remain tender to people in old country. Make all sorts of sacrifices. Others go to the other extreme, will not give any help. Called "stony hearts." Editor and community very hard upon that. Stereotypes.

(1) "Stony heart", brother about his "stony heart" brother, asks for censure of brother. Editor threatening to print pictures of men of stony hearts. Suits could be brought out. "Stony hearts" and community participation.

(2) "All righter" : Excites admiration and hate in ordinary ghetto Jew. Has moved out of Jewish community, no concern with its affairs. Arrogant. Doesn't participate. Admire him for getting on but despise him. e.g. meeting, relief organization for old country people; all contributed to except one, he ridiculed idea. One decided to give collection in name of "all righter."

c. Attitude on policies: appropriate behavior, knotty questions practical and sentimental.

(1) Problem of marriage match - young man had been in prison. Serious reply - Editor, find out crime. Extensive reply.

(2) Another practical problem: bastard, father in army, baptized, gentile wife, inheritance, fortune to him and former "beloved", find his "beloved," mother married to religious Jew.

Writer: go to town, see mother privately, invent a story. Tell mother whole story. Bentelbrief - mirror of life. Truth stranger than fiction.

(3) Woman raped in pogrom. Married in small Polish town. To N.Y. Meets husband. Pregnant out of rape.

Editor - difficult task to give advice (editor frequently says that), best to follow husband's advice.

Problem of organization: same thing may mean many different things "allrighter" participation in community.

d. Generation disparity of behavior between generations. Editor, attempts to fix attitude (define situation) 4 children 7-16 years old. Work in store alone; oldest daughter helps out.

Daughter acquainted with doctors and lawyer, claims it is not nice to stay in store - just candy-store - lower class business. Asks for opinion. Editor: Candy not more contemptible than oil. (J.D.Rockefeller) Poor father; shameful father.

Mores of Jews - Eastern European - needed guidance. Editor is a secular Rabbi. Has the respect. Not same sort of advice as Rabbi.

e. Implication: Death of wife Jew attempt to marry again - need and habit. Children object sometimes. 4 children, death of wife, entrusted them to sister-in-law, sister 40 years old, wonders whether he should marry her, there is another young woman.

f. Attitude: Reply unanticipated. Person gets set back. e.g. woman writing about husband. Prosaic feeling toward husband. No spiritual love, crude, clumsy. Husband has no exalted goal, does not aspire too high. Feels alone, no spiritual friend.

~~Editor~~ (Jews bear yoke, usual, not bad description).

Editor: Problem of some not solved; woman has broader claim, enjoy great world and enrich mind and home and husband may then become interesting. "Deficiency of soul is in you". Literary answer. Buntebrief - mirror of life. There are letters where writer defines the situation, take issue with editor. Compare to law court.

Man married in America, wife won't let him send money to his father because she wants it. Editor - help father. (Wives keep money, man takes out some money and gives to the wife. Send money without wife's knowledge, family quarrel.

Man, sweetheart in Europe, girl doesn't come. Parents would not let her go. Married both. Sweetheart destitute, wants to

help her. (Editor: should help her)

Kadish. Anniversary particular Kadish. Most Jews don't believe in Kadish. Letter - do not believe in Kadish what can do in memory of mother. (Editor: No matter how poor can sacrifice something. Find hungry person and feed him. Can always do something.)

Unsocial Wish: Jew more than others is sensitive to public approval because of common relationship, gossip penetrating. Jew likes justification for something which he feels he is not right. Pious Jew gets it from Rabbi. Impious reader of wishes it from editor., e.g. (1) letter from "all right": rich man; do not read Jewish paper. Wife reads Jewish papers. Plain Jewish woman, blind, hired companion reads Jewish paper. Wife likes to read Buntelbrief. "I am no beggar. I am Jew, have to have troubles;" wife blind, bought house, car, companion, servants, cannot life with blind wife. Wife says ought to divorce her. Look happiness somewhere else. Wife begs me to write to you. Rely upon advice. (thought it was wrong). Editor: takes it as practical matter. Doesn't approve him entirely. Not clear. Why separation? Performing duty. Writer must ask his own conscience. (Right to a divorce if child not born within 10 years. Editor advises desertion and coming back. Editor doesn't want the finger pointed at the man without justification.

(2) Man has sweetheart 29 year old woman. Sick T.B. In sanatorium. Does not have heart to tell her that he wants to break and get married. Wanted to be told all right to leave girl.

Editor: does not wish to give direct answer. "You ask us to pick up hot coal for you." (Many of that kind: T.B. boys and girls - needle-trade).

3. Exculpation: Seeking justification self-praise. Friend sick had sweetheart, takes girl away eventually, can't see people suffer. Console, sweetheart in and out, friend got well, fell in love. Girl left lover. Two feelings - go to girl or betray friend. "Now that he had lost her should I fear what will people say" Now going around with friend's sweetheart. Friends have different opinions. "Feel I am right." Wants right answer - justification of unsocial behavior. Editor: No one mortgage on love. But you didn't write anything bad about yourself, i.e. Editor thinks he is a louse. Editor doesn't ask for any answer.

Generations: Jewish patriarch from Bible down; respects Kosher ceremonies. Parents brought over. In U.S. children changed rapidly, no longer Kosher, can't expect to have complete harmony. Greatest obstacle, Kosher kitchen. Children keep some pretence of Kosher.

(1) Complaint of woman about father. Attempt of control by parents of children. Sacrifice to bring them over. Father fanatically religious, insists that she and husband be religious in whole details. "Husband and I far from being religious." Father demands more, calls husband heretic. Cannot agree, can't stand one another. Editor: Tragedy of green relatives. People bring their old customs, no tolerance, impose their Weltaunschung upon others, struggle going on. In Europe struggle easier for parents. Here struggle easier for children. Here fight on different basis, let the writer find a person who could explain to father. (Answer not very satisfactory - old man, probably cannot be changed). Struggle, young versus old.

(2) Children attempt to control father. Business man, 13 yrs. in country, 5 children. His father remarried, had another child, bring

over father and little daughter. Father delighted, but how can he leave his wife. Not able to come. What to do? Editor: great crime against father. Hard hearted. Help father, his wife and children. What will people think. Definition of situation. Audience of editor: all Jewry. Reiteration constant.

Letters not always grammatical. But there are professional letter writers. Letters come in bad spelling and they are connected (same in Polish letters, no punctuation, dialect). Editor made statement in recent letter is for reconciliation. Advantages for letter to editor; editor can scold without creating fight at home. Community participation

Jews ask many questions, want to know all about you. Among themselves very sensitive to behavior that is not correct. Jewish community watchful over each other. e.g. man and woman die, 11 children left. No few ever starved in community where there are various Jews. Children apportioned among/families, help.

Jews: mutual aid, extremely marked (i.e. tubercular case, girl with beautiful hair). Over-participation, meddle in other peoples business too much; gossip malicious gossip or benevolent participation.

Afternoon: November 29.

Group participation: Old persons ask permission to remarry, could treat it as "generation," but treat it as community participation. reference: what people would say about them. Old man, all his family dead or moved, nobody here but the town, i.e. public participation. Many scandals - lived among Jews, third floor gambling; woman will quarrel.

Social psychological study, information about Jews - who's who in American Jewry - noted careers of Jews. Motion picture magnates were tailors apprentices at first. In U.S. everybody up. But limitations to claims of Jews; some just want to get along, not as often supposed, intent on being very rich. Happiness depends upon character of claim. Successful shop keeper more happy than a Napoleon. Documents show that Jew not always racing for wealth. Gossipy persons carrying bad _____ must be severely condemned. Gossip all right, however, as long as it is not slander.

Very strong prejudice of Jews against Jews. Rumanian Jews lowest of all; most pronounced tendency, why Italian boys marry Jewish girls? Conclusion, 25 years ago; Italian girl not very interesting, not very smart and not very aggressive. Italian boy usual circumcised - be instructed by Rabbi - Judaism way of life. Controversy as to whether buried in Jewish cemetery.

Simple case of prejudice - Russian boy and Galician girl - Reaction of her Galician friends, Russian not straightforward. Editor: Untrue, there are all types of Jews among unfaithful husbands. 50,000 Rumanian Jews. Food habits of Rumania that place them low among other Jews.

Case of girl Ashkenazim, boy was Sephardic. Father objects. Editor: Difference is not enough, Sephardic are Jews. (Editor not completely consistent. Mixed marriages. Editor against them, find oneself in two different worlds. Exception: if both cultured, not in a different world, ordinary goy and ordinary yid not in same world. Sephardic and Ashkenazim are not in same world. Very hard to overcome habits. Rumanians: food habits? Stupid? Cultural level? Stereotype of Swede in this country. -

Family or Kinship Madness: Close participation of community if have party or circumcision, relations from 500 miles must come to it. Invitation to periodic celebrations. Parents invited and children are not invited. Examples extremely frequent. 1 a week - family mad. Editor tries to make peace.

Stereotype:

Stony heart
Allrightnich
Yente - scolding women, curser
Children - Vitriol among Jewish _____
Karger - miser
Ekshin - stubborn man that won't yield to any argument
Swiger - fellow that won't talk at all at home
Kennipel Kipper - man or wife the saving in Kennipel
Jalousenich - will not allow wife to leave
Gambler - Jews passionate card players, wives make great deal of fuss about it.

Yente case: Ex-soldier. new war, fighting sickness of young wife: cursing. Remedy. Editor: no remedy for yente - kiss or beating will not help.

Preponderance of cursing among Ashkenazim Jews - no chivalry, woman not conceived as delicate flowers. Men absorbed in business - man preoccupied with work, he reads newspaper, he doesn't speak, has not been out. Makes cutting remarks, domestic problems.

Italian marry Jewess: Suicide power device of mother to prevent marriage. Editor: when it has happened - must make the best of it, not divorce.

Most impressing fact.

(1) Great contrast between generous ones and the stony hearts.
Stony heart is rare.

(2) Self imposed handicaps give themselves and how thrive with them. Talmudie learning very prominent; be able to memorize pages of Talmud and Germorah. Father would like to be called son of rabbi rather than tailor. Go into business overnight, become quick

business although learning has no relation to business - in Europe. Overhere learning transferred - University opportunistic. Missouri, Nebraska, Mich. no tuition charged; 25 yrs. ago, rural place where can work thru, attitude toward learning which was biblical.

Question: W.I. Why people write hard letters about their relatives. (infidelity, miserliness, treachery) to be printed. People don't care what they say about person provided it is in print? Puzzling. How can they live together afterwards; perhaps take a chance.

Question: Trend in letters?

W.I. No trend in the letters: work in 1918, 1921-22. Before 1918 300 translated, 1940 Jewish situation very much changed, but character of letter changed

- (1) encouragment of journal to write anything that is interesting - literary trend. Elegantly written.
- (2) Number of people writing about letters written. e.g. of the "Karger" - girl in love with boy. Boy prosperous, good family but he is a "Karger"; doesn't want to treat her, girl wants to marry him and return. Editor: try it now and not after marriage.

D.S.T. Stereotypes Japanese

R.H. Help of ~~xxxxx~~ destitute people in Terminal Island.

F.M. Mutual aid among Japanese.

W.I. Study of adjustment on psychological side - doesn't follow out.

D.S.T. Insight in minority group.

D.N. Similarities (1) conflict of generations (2) mutual aid societies. Japanese Associ. help people who do not

understand English.

W.I. Every Jew arriving in N.Y. met by a Jewish committee.

D.N. Japanese more subservient. Abides dictates by husband
Picture-bride family.

W.I. Yente exists in Europe

D.N. Picture-bride problem: pathological women 45-50 yrs. old; tracing
back - picture bride. Adjustment as married couple, many of them
not able to adjust - Gap of education. Yente - curse rare.
Expression.

R.H. Woman in Gila who beats her husband, meek man, strong arrogant
woman.

F.M. Nature of material, quite in contrast to kind of material I am
dealing. Your material more intimate. Type we are touching, large
scale events, difficulty with our material not source of data
like bentelbrief. Don't get that type of information.

W.I. Is it your objective?

D.N. We have great deal material analogous in our journals.

D.S.T. Charlie limited to Nisei. Knows less about older generation.

D.N. No one concentrated. It has to be done. Our journal covers
conflict cases.

D.S.T. Dick and Jimmy have that sort of material.

R.H. Paper on Eta - infinitely worse.

T.T. Any bentelbrief in Jap papers?

D.N. Up to 1925-1926 find similar columns, Japanese: New World and
Nichi Bei. Now in letters to editors column, Rafu Shimpo (Denver).
Problems there too. Could use same kind of approach. Leave grants,
hearings, records. Difficult to get.

F.M. Could get them in Chicago - People went out - further hearings.
Available readily. Along Morris Opler's line.

D.S.T. Billigmeir picked up in Tule Lake at segregation.

J.S. Material will not be concentrated.

D.S.T. Charlie's cases, case material of second generation.

D.N. Objections to certain type of marriage. Against mixed. Nisei girls married to Negro Chicago.

T.T. Lower north side meeting Chicago: 9 Nisei girls married to Negroes, 6 Nisei boys to Negro girls.

J.S. Marriage with Eta.

D.N. Eta group, outcast group. History: certain types of jobs any decent man not engaged in, tanning, butchering. Precedes Buddhism.

T.T. How old.

R.H. Repulsion to Eta, special districts. Up to 1900 many restrictions. Could not enter restaurants, etc. "Hemein" could kill an "Eta." Not considered as human beings. (Florin - Eta).

Walter Tsukamoto Eta - terrible thing. But in U.S. opposite definition of situation.

T.T. Tule Lake

D.N. Walter defined situation in American culture.

W.I. Behavior study.

Miy. Type of things with which dealing, historical trend in community, defining situation. Relationship?

W.I. Question of relief of poverty, sufferings inflicted by government, slum conditions led to communistic socialistic tendencies of Forward; protest newspaper against wealth. Religion: treats religion courteously. Protest against bad habits of Jews: gambling.

Encouragement of communal participation.

Sounds like pulpit. Girl with beautiful hair. Propaganda conducted by paper. Non-interference of young with old. Older men asking permission to marry. Need for companionship. When speak of divorce - with reference to getting together again.

Letters from deserting wives - Home only possible type of organization.

F.M. In relocation center human nature problem; which do not connect with development of institutions of center relationship. Family conflict to develop, social welfare (e.g. develop

W.I. Committee to meet immigrants. Board of Jewish Guardians will provide with lawyer. "Forward" handles cases.

Rich Jews, establish many societies. Those who come from same region stick together. Jewish communal register (Kehilah) 1914. Elaborate description of Jewish organization. Jews tend toward self sufficiency. Every immigrant group has to have institutions. Perpetuity to integrity, desire for homeland.

D.S.T. Political orientation. Not enough about problems above ordinary life. Kikuchi - young Nisei didn't even remember registration. Bound to make concept clear-cut.

D.N. Value of study. Analogies to Jewish problem. Make it easier to understand.

F.M. Correlation between political problem and ordinary life not obvious.

D.S.T. Socio-Anthro study planned at first. Early observation very disorganized. Then suddenly first unrest and then recorded as mad.

D.S.T. Jap Am. literate; but don't know what to record. Various journals but charming essays.

R.H. 25 interviews - discussing family problems.

"I. Meaning of material: way in which conception and policies are formed by defining situation. In my material (editor) gives decision and forms private policies, ideal and goals.

This man agitating for certain standards. All sorts of factions who are attempting to determine policies and trends have developed institutions.

F.M. Kind of institution developed different?

W.I. Yes. My material, stabilize good old customs except religion. Don't be judge of your parents. Survival of patriarchal concept of kinship at same time. Want distribution of wealth (represents needletrade ghetto dwelling element, horrible situation) Cold shoulder to religion, your situation - volcanic eruption - like behavior of cattle in a stampede when begin stampede. Random movements followed. Seeking much more, attempt to preserve desirable conditions of life, more so than a perpetual persecution of Jews. Relationship in value between Jewish formation of policies and the agitation in camps.

J.S. One way of making connection by taking individuals participating in strike and follow family pattern and see where there is family pressure. Get background and life of participant. Family pattern in registration and relocation.

W.I. Have had example: private character of great events. Student in Lumberg assassinated, governor of Silesia to keep his friend from suicide. Motivation of leadership not as important as the concern of leadership.

F.M. Unique and incidental in Tule Lake. Hitler background. As for understanding of movement incidental. Kind of thing, Is there a relationship between development of

community participation on family level and participation in a strike. Anybody off line brought under pressure to hold in line. In stable definition of situation extends in various areas of life.

D.N. Degree of community participation determines degrees of social sanction, creates situation in which people strive to act alike.

W.I. Case of 11 children in community. Solidarity begins in community not in family. Family ties more disharmony than in community, pressure on the allrightnich same as arguing with people into going to strike community, solidarity passes into kinship group. Among Jews - married pair and children. Polish Peasant, couldn't use term family, use large family 60 or 90 people. Do not insist on family. Org. starts where whole community bound, but peculiar obligation of kinship group. Don't draw line between community and family.

F.M. In center institution disturbed, institutional definition, no longer hold. e.g. question, how individual behaves toward WRA - new situation. Initially various attitudes. Community definition of situation takes place among intimately among people.

W.I. That is community matter, not family. Point: who are the leaders what form of leadership found in these upheavals.

R.H. Dominant factor in breaking strike - economic misery of individual family could no longer stand as striking unit. Break away from solid strike front and go off.

J.S. In every strike situation - same.

W.I. Not really family matter - any striking group going hungry might break.

Frank Miyamoto

12/1/44

"Tule Lake Before Segregation."

Way in which organized material, planning of report.

Whole T.L. Report 2 parts

- (1) social history
- (2) social organization.

Social history - Develop at project.

Chronological problem: process of collective adjustment by which evacuee sought to create social order. Collective: (re W.I.) situation in camp, herd rather than society. No community existed yet, aggregate of people prepared to act, this explains term.

Social history - (1) Chronology
two things done (2) Sociological
interpretation of events

How evacuees came to ^{clarify} ~~classify~~ definition of center definition -

Application of W.I. Jewish problem essential. General point of view.

Influence of W.I. on sociologist approach: used W.I. framework, -
Polish Peasant.

Center in initial stage, community in flux. Couldn't look at it structurally. Required point of view, look at change with understanding. Change - people clarify concept of relation to

- (1) Center
- (2) Evacuation
- (3) Future

People in center lacked clear understanding with which to react to certain important phases of center life - react collectively.

Problem - organize their conception. Study of social change. Theory of social change 2 pts of view:

- (1) attacked by W.I.: Environment chief influence upon human being, Marx interpretation of history, Lowie, Ogburn.

R.H. Lowie?

F.M. Environment - change, Clark Wissler, Diffusion and interaction of culture - change. (Durkheim) But leaves out individual of social change. Individual becomes passive.

(2) Psychologist: individual source of social change. McDougall - Instincts and basic impulses. All types of combination of these 2 elements.

In describing Center can't think satisfactorily in either terms - Work out method to get away from difficulty. Mechanical interaction between 1 and 2 - Try to get human interaction. Collective interaction.

Select certain type of data based on 3 considerations:

- (1) Customary interpretation of people with reference to events.
- (2) Need to know attitude ~~of~~ and value of people way to interpret thing
- (3) Nature of interaction - communication. Kind of agitation, leadership, community.

Outline - several chapters. Social history of T.L. 3 periods.

- (1) Develop of unrest
- (2) Period of rebellion
- (3) Stability

Methodology of approach.

Chap. 1. Physical plan of project. pop. brief. D.S.T. criticized it, cut it down. Separate chapter written: "Men of Goodwill," B part of chapter 1. Local opposition to site selection - even before evacuation certain. Japanese migrated to T.L. antagonism; few mass meetings, pressure of group. Japanese family driven out. Same attitude even after project started - land taken over. T.L. division of Klamath Falls project of B. of Reclamation; people of area ~~anticipate~~ anticipating to get hold of rich land - frustration of desire. Utopian character of policy (ref. Morton) T.L. administration WRA more utopian than national WRA. Nat. WRA early conscious of difficulty with Prof. Eisenhower resignation. WRA program full of contradiction. Shirrell

project level - constant optimism; initial program highly utopian. Much less aware of kinds of problem would run into. Frank Smith - picture of beautiful community - exaggeration. But other WRA people, very hopeful of what could do. Cf. Shirrell May 27.

Chap. 2. View of problem. Cf. begin. of text. First movement advanced group from Puyallup. - May.

June - addit. arrival evacuee for Pacific NW. Group from Clarksburg settled in Ward I: 1800 people; attitude of cooperation up to June 15; incoming of Sacto. movement.

J.S. Cooperation qualified - largely with administration.

D.N. Retaining caste lines.

F.M. e.g. attitude project administration, "fine bunch of people" general mood in community - Shirrell: "unusually fine man," Jacoby same. Group willing to help. Main criticism in later period, WRA not interested in Japanese welfare. But now unlike WCCA - majority of Keto.

Minutes of Council meeting: Statement by evacuee. People disturbed that Shirrell might leave.

D.S.T. T.L. and Manzanar good project in view of WRA.

F.M. Make T.L. best center.

J.S. Resentment because of evacuation.

D.N. Urge in block make block best.

F.M. Sakunada (Kato) at first working - cooperate. Have best relocation. Kato - noisiest trouble maker object to WRA. Sakurada loudest trouble maker, farmer with large family. Kato Sakurada came from Clarksburg. Simple view of world - violent hostility of enemies.

D.N. Find this type of man all over - disappointed in gaining prestige leads to violence.

F.M. Initial period tending toward cooperation, protest efforts failed. Work order agreement; not big issue. Takatsui (warden) attempted to organize pro-nationalist Kibei. Reaction to Takatsui unfavorable.

D.N. Same trouble with wardens in Poston organized themselves. Difficult time to suppress them.

R.H. Yoshiyama did same thing at Santa Anita - trouble.

F.M. Takatsui views too extreme.

D.N. Takatsui corresponds to Tao.

F.M. Conditions promoting cooperative attitude

- (1) Excellence of food
- (2) Favorable attitude toward few administrators

(1) Steak every other day, fruit, milk, paper napkins. Food undoubtedly as good as ever was. Reason- project overstocked for reception of first groups and mess management free in distribution of food.

(2) Administration came into project, mingle with evacuees. Jacoby and Shirrell.

Sacramento group started to come in June 15 up to 26. Coming of that group changed atmosphere of community. Cooperative attitude disappears. More critical comments about administration - 4,000 people entered wards 2 and 3 primarily. Background important. JACL vs. people. Among JACL leaders hated: Dr. Iki and W. Tsukamoto, Muramoto and their lieutenants. Iki accused of having tried to milk people of money rates of typhoid inoculation; when Mayeda tried to have cheaper rate, Iki opposed it.

D.N. All U.C. men.

F.M. Iki pre-evacuation not good in Sacto, same with Tsukamoto.

Sacto. language paper carried editorial. (Sacramento Nippon).

D.N. Ofu Nippo attack on newspaper not similar to editor. In old days local newspapers skimpy enterprise made a point to attack person on borderline of libel - extorted money, blackmail. Sacto and Stockton and Fresno paper - up to evacuation.

W.I. Italians in Chicago go to good rich friend and extort money.

___ Assembly Center JACL dictatorial system, Japanese administration, had little power. but as liaison in position to use favoritism. Same thing at Puyallup, army itself set up hierarchy.

Tsukamoto and Iki condemned on numerous grounds.

D.N. Tsukamoto and Iki brothers, close friends at U.C. in student's house - Ichimara, Tokasaki (in camp 3), Saburo Kido, connected with them - same clique.

F.M. Tsukamoto smooth politician and aggressive individual.

D.N. Among group very popular hated

R.H. Iki polite to Keto.

D.N. Iki married to singer - older girl (opera) Very ambitious woman.

F.M. Iki and Tsukamoto looked down upon community.

D.N. Iki doing same thing at Gila

F.M. Accusation of JACL leaders

- (1) lacked courage to protest evacuation
- (2) waved banner
- (3) safeguard personal interest
- (4) dictatorial with evacuees, nice toward Keto
- (5) favoritism

Corrupt political organization. Most Sacramentans critical of Assembly Center at time of Tuskamoto, group of Sacto young boys in transport, got hold of JACL leader baggage and wrecked medical instruments, cut baggage - Community hostility. Sacto. group: violent hostility to JACL. N.W. group hostility toward JACL. Mood of people: after what happened at Walerga, same thing shouldn't happen

again. General inclination.

J.S. Same thing in Puyallup.

F.M. JACL people didn't come along with people in Puyallup. (Didn't happen at Minidoka. Why? JACL went there) In Puyallup Sakamoto and Kurasara had JACL leader family removed to other center. In Minidoka considerable talk about inu.

J.S. Anti-JACL feeling in both situations; in Minidoka strong - they couldn't organize.

W.I. Mob rise - mob expression against JACL leaders.

D.S.T. Underlying resentment in Minidoka didn't come out.

J.S. Hard to link anti-JACL feeling and anti-WRA feeling.

F.M. Differences in T.L. which did not exist at Minidoka. Minidoka people when they went in.

J.S. NW group quiet and cooperative. anti-JACL feelings affect but did not cause anti-administration feeling.

F.M. Mood with which they came in project; related to JACL dominance. How mood developed depends on later experiences in camp. Question of organization of paper.

J.S. Essential conflict anti-JACL?

F.M. Yes.

D.N. Interpretation: common pattern. Disgruntled group out of Puyallup not power, go in occupy key positions - vested group. Group comes in and opposes vested group. Speizer information in Minidoka - Puyallup group to Minidoka - administration gives power and prestige who had opposed evacuees. Vested group at Puyallup loves prestige. People dissatisfied at Puyallup, got in power.

F.M. T.L. knew Sacto people had to say. Intra-Sacto group.

D.N. Walergo JACL people in power - antagonism of people attacked JACL.

F.M. Interpretation not full answer.

D.N. Antagonism toward JACL feeling accidental.

J.S. JACL didn't get in control in TL. failed to - Tsukamoto att'y but not enough power, people on whole were not always conscious of anti-JACL feeling.

F.M. Importance: feeling is there.

J.S. Difference Sacto-NW great

D.N. Poston situation early days. No anti-JACL feeling but had volunteer group who came ahead. They were the object of attack because had key positions. Executive assistant to unit admin. head of recreation group; foremen of crews; foremen of warehouse. Informal advisors to Division heads. Each division and section head has assistant - Key -

Fire chief
Police chief

Poston evacuee org. power to five evacuees, appointed evacuees.

D.N. Hate happened to be identified with JACL - not necessarily had to be JACL.

J.S. Hate in Minidoka didn't take anti-administration form.

F.M. Point: attempt to answer: growth of unrest. Introduction of new personnel, especially if it is leadership change. Character of center.

F.M. In Tule Lake assuming hate to JACL, reaction - Had series of criticisms toward JACL - latent in community at large. Resentment against evacuation. We Nisei could have attacked evacuation, but have to think of family and dependents. Hence hated JACL among Nisei.

J.S. Hate strong against JACL among Issei too.

F.M. But this is general attitude of Issei toward Nisei.

D.N. Qualify statement of Nisei - Kids around 17 or younger, not

thinking. 17 and 18 year old played little part. Attacks came from older Nisei or Nisei leaders.

F.M. Articulation of opposition to JACL.

D.N. Trouble of categorically dividing Isseis and Niseis.

F.M. Idea: Nisei talked about weakness of JACL, self accusation for having been so weak. Issei needed them, change of Nisei attitude in post evacuation period, needed to protest against injustice that had been done. Under needling rationalization.

D.N. Become aggressive.

F.M. True of Issei and Kibei.

J.S. Pre-evacuation picture Issei-Nisei in Sacto, Cal. and PNW. Extent of protest already existing. Protest in Sacto area greater than in PNW.

D.S.T. Very important

F.M. Arrival in Sacto group: aggressiveness. Sacto group wrote back to their relatives about housing, demands on housing.

D.N. Housing protest - needling - vicious circle.

F.M. Aggressiveness on part of Sacto people.

D.N. Poston head of housing dept. changed four times in 2 months. Now housing in evacuee hands.

J.S. Idea of incoming group dissatisfied. Interview #26 started with Ward 5 back to Ward 1 by July or August Ward 1 noticeably uncooperative in interview.

F.M. No rebellion against Sacto. JACL in Assembly Center. Even at arrival of T.L. no organized action group, general hostility. Individual aggressiveness in large part reaction to condition of Sacto. in Assembly Center. No chanelizing of hostility toward JACL.

D.N. People before evacuation constant fear of apprehension by FBI go to Assembly Center, protests not loud, still fears. Fear slowly disappears, but FBI comes in; then fear grips community but instead of becoming meek - aggressive. Cannot attack FBI, scape-goat among own people.

F.M. Will bring this out. Fear. Seeking to get lumber, jobs.

J.S. In T.L. idea: all in together, Minidoka no such feeling, hence cooperation with administration.

F.M. My generalization too broad.

J.S. Scrap lumber and job however everybody for himself.

F.M. In report: C & D not included.

Late movement,
Marysville people little anti-JACL feeling, Assembly Center relatively good one. Ward 4 and 5. Little inf. Marysville people followed leadership Sacto group. Leadership in political activity, Sacto. group.

D.N. Carried over pre-evacuation pattern. Marysville followed pattern of Sacto (received Ofu Nippo)
Marysville less opportunity.

"White zone" - July 10-14. Go into Ward 5. Newcastle, Gridley, Auburn. Curious to know about "white zone" - effect of migration in late stages. Tomato crop planted - evacuation order - embittered by losses - invested it.

D.S.T. Hopes that they would remain,

F.M. Placer county farmers orchards - deterioration. Loss of investment.

D.N. Marysville, Davis, Walnut Grove.

J.S. Placer Co. group during time of depression lost property and acquired it again just when they bought it had to evacuate.

F.M. Implication of this in registration. "Pinedale" movement

July 24 last major movement, 4,000 people, Wards 6 and 7. Experience of Pinedale - heat of Fresno, couldn't stand heat. Happy at Pinedale, they say when came to T.L., this center too big. Earlier movements already active. Pinedale thru political history most cooperative with administration. Go with administration, cause less disturbance, true of Ward 7.

Migration differentials: timing, opportunistic, lumber. By end of June scrap lumber Pinedale got none.

J.S. Peculiar, Pinedale came last and yet no dissatisfaction.

D.N. Snelson: Pinedale constant protest, fighting among themselves. Different view, admits fed beans and beans.

J.S. People from NW when first go to T.L. are antagonistic to Sacto, but after while like them; by the time they come to Minidoka are completely changed.

D.N. NW people in Pinedale, Caucasian had one office, evacuee workers in another room, segregation; people accepted it. Snelson: didn't like idea, enlarged office, moved among evacuees, but Caucasian employees and evacuees objected to that.

F.M. Migration: Sections come in. Repetition of prejudice - many of discomfort which people feel ascribed to sectional group, lack of lumber, later mig: why weren't NW people more generous? Same with job opportunities.

Character of Migration: Build up resentment within community.

Chapter III (not written up)

(1) Community bureaucratic people fed at central feeding place and everything centralized. New experience. Makes for insecurity, discontent, no control of means by which they earn livelihood. Can't go out and buy groceries. Food tastes must be adjusted what is fed at mess hall.

(2) Proliferation of interest: people interested in variety of things at first, and then boredom. At first community forums: 1,000 to 2,000 crowd. Recreation dept. large crowds. Interest in development of clubs and churches.

(3) Theory of self government, WRA emphasized this. People believed in it and expected it. In actual fact virtually impossible, community council could not become independent grievance committee, jockey with administration.

Chapter IV: Concerned as to how unrest developed prominent things that came out.

The emergence of unrest based on certain things:

A. Decline of restraints against rebellious
Always there is restraint however.

| ~~(b)~~ Decline of fear among evacuees. Evacuee out of centers very sensitive to Caucasian public. Evacuees were among Japanese in center less to fear in center than on the outside. Recreation conflict. Issei entertainment (Comic dialogue); remarks against U.S. and democracy. Caucasians out, we are among ourselves.

D.N. Most important thing to remember, inu scare. Leaders expect

all people to act alike.

F.M. In pre-evacuation period, awareness among majority WRA policy favorable to diminishing of fear. Shirrell - July 4 address, Social Idealist: freehand in development of interest. WRA policy not to suppress.

2 Disregard for government property: scrap lumber. Tear down part of barrack. Swipe WRA lumber. Take wood boxes of unoccupied barracks. later migrants suffered.

D.N. Breakdown bridges overnight in Poston.

R.H. T.L. tear part of administration building

DST Administration fell in same pattern

F.M. Public property generally subject to that - But WRA represents the public authority. Act against WRA.

Sanction of community to activity: it is not stealing. If person can take WRA lumber, it is a feat. Legend of Sakuna (Bl. 32)

Adventurer lived with Chinese guerilla - go out at night carries rope, ties it around lumber and slowly takes it. Indication of decline of restraint.

3 Social irresponsibility: In any rebellion, anarchist thinking: WRA owes us a living; irresponsible view socially comes out in various ways throughout period. Get everything from WRA free of charge, WRA responsible.

W.I. Prison psychology.

J.S. In hospital - if someone dies WRA responsibility.

D.N. Controversy on how much WRA should do.

J.S. Council of Minidoka: Memo to Washington - responsibility - Reply: joint responsibility, same problem exists.

4. Loss of regard for Keto administrator. Very rapidly as work with

administration, loss of regard for Farm Supervisor - Techniques criticized.

D.N. Carry over for disrespect of Caucasian in ability in farming (pre-evacuation).

F.M. Disorganization: whole evacuee felt in working circumstances, inevitable conclusion, administrator no good. In-group conflict. Element of criticism.

5. Outside influence bearing on community.

June: Taking of Kiska and Attu. Japanese advance in South Pacific, reinforce attitude of superiority.

D.N. Poston- whenever Japanese side winning - degree of unrest increases, get more defiant.

F.M. Farm crew comment - critical of American soldiers M.P. Regard spirit of Japanese soldier incomparable.

B. Appearance for need of action:

1. Elevation of expectation brought about by promises of WRA factor in creating among evacuees hope that something could be made. Even in Sacto. group, Maseki editor of Tulean Dispatch most cooperate. Administration did nothing to keep up its promises. Injure promise-community to have theatre - in later period issue when demanded that evacuee pay for it. Promises not specific but attitude clear to the evacuee - arouse hope of evacuee. Factor in motivation for activity. Phase of thinking of community.

C. Community suffers from insecurity in early period. Housewives drying leftover rice - In case transport system should breakdown. Hoarding, which administration decries in letter to Tulean Dispatch.

D. Scrap lumber need - need to get thing started. Shirrell personality: great "activist" wants to get things rolling, presses

things constantly. Need for production on farm gets various activities started in all directions despite all obstacles. Type of pushing reflected itself in community. Not aware of evacuee. Innumerable obstacles to action. Difficulties of procurement: outstanding difficulty. Failure of Carson to do as much as Herada. Procurement division: Herada's demands to Okada. Irritation felt over difficulty.

Farm: procurement bad. Farmers want to do things right. Not proper equipment. Need for action and obstacle to action: important factor in growth of work.

Administration disorganization type-keeping division. Revisions of forms - didn't know what to do.

DST Typical of government procedure.

F.M. Unrest leads to a definition of responsible agent for discontent process by which communication takes place. Definition of rights
F.M.Knight: "People fight for rights rather than interests" - (economic)
Equals among equals: very important to evacuee. Evacuee will accept inequality with Keto administration; he is deeply conscious of evacuee inequality. Among equals. Everyone evacuated.

R.H. Complaints that some evacuees get special privilege.

F.M. Attack of evacuee against his own group - especially those who try to get special rights.

J.S. But they themselves are not willing to give up their own rights.

F.M. Center bureaucratic org. placed evacuee on same level. Easy to conceive equality. Other definition of responsible agent: hated Keto WRA, Gov. Delayed protest of evacuation. Didn't protest even at Assembly Center. At Relocation Center - afterthought. Keto: Object of hostility, most present Ketos object to WRA.

D.N. Being among Jap: get intoxicated by own strength.

F.M. Difficulty in writing; not body of data that can be filed easily.

DST: Frank social psychology contribution. Any questions about farm strike?

J.S. Feeble strike.

F.M. Cathartic strike all suppressions came out at the time.
Spontaneous strike.

Chapt. V. Rebellion

1. Process of communication - Conceptualize data and point their significance; introduction of new personnel disturbing, especially if incoming view disturbing.

2. Rebellion of a smaller unit than community at large.
Place at which it develops. Takes place in work units of the community.

DST In any group type of situation develops; nothing abnormal in manipulations.

J.S. Work group situation number of works. Relation adm. and evacuee another situation. Could get deadlock in total situation but more easily deadlock in work situation. Need a leader or agitator. Specific situation in which deadlock occurs if effect big enough and enough feeling then developed.

F.M. We are to find out a little more on how unrest develops.

D.N. Mining town similar situation.

F.M. Commonsense generalization about strike. There is a process by which evolve from state of grievance to state of strike.

Relocation center - defining policies takes place in relationship of people with reference to special situation. Try to describe

these situations which give rise to conflict.

Elements of communication: appearance of agitator and leader.

Records office conflict certain individual takes leadership. The majority of people unconvinced. Describe in what way definition arises.

J.S. Crowd fickle in the road it follows.

D.N. Doubt it - certain leaders always have followers and followers stick with leaders.

F.M. Behavior of crowd could be incidental. Near end of farm strike. Monday, issue, all arrive at block 12 with leadership on Sunday saying that should go to work Monday. Crowd milling around uncertain as it is as to what to do. Whatever leadership developed they could have followed. Kato statement conciliatory. If somebody else said "we are going to strike," could have had strike prolonged.

DST. Can't settle it. Accurate description shifts under conditions.

D.N. Don't see any shifts; community not integrated in Aug. 1942, no agitation, crowd not defining situation yet. Might have had desire to go to work. Agitator could restrain masses, could not force masses to act in certain way.

F.M. Hypothetical discussion.

W.I. Crowd can be "indefinite" "Polish warfare" - mob situation, just a word may determine to quit or go ahead. The person who would determine the way the mob sways need not be an agitator.

F.M. These people without agitation would not ~~rise~~ rise to violent heights as there was no agitation leader vocalize the idea latent in individual. Leader questions publicly opposition.

D.N. Difference between agitator and leader.

F.M. Agitator, questions existing system. Leader, accepts framework of system.

D.N. Dichotomy - agitator cannot become leader as long as fights existing system.

F.M. Not all leaders are agitators. Takes back dichotomy.

D.N. So called leaders at present have been agitators. Leader is one who has followers. Agitators do not have them, necessarily.

W.I. True.

F.M. "Bootlicker" immoral to some evacuee. "Inu". Reference to constitutional rights - not be evacuated. "Damned keto makes fool of us."

D.N. In eyes of Caucasian employees agitators are disloyal.

F.M. Strike as panacea for community ills. Construction crew, Aug. 26, threatened to strike. Ceilings and walls of evacuee barracks not completed and would injure evacuees.

Packing workers on strike. For every issue that came up, spontaneous reaction of evacuees, "let us strike."

D.N. "Let us quit" is the word.

F.M. Japanese conception of use of force. Aug. 20, 5 days after Farm Strike. ^{Imaseki} Masaki of Tulean Dispatch beaten up by crew of messhall 18. Tulean Dispatch men used to go to messhall to get a bite to eat at 11 p.m. Some Nisei of paper went up took coffee and sandwiches. Chief cook and workers (Kibeis) (Messhall #18) against Tulean Dispatch. Incident in which arguments, demands of apologies from Nisei member, one of cooks brings out butcher knife. ^{Imaseki} Masaki enters and declares, "I shall take responsibility", gets in on conflict. Mediates. Staff fed at office after 11 rather than messhall. As they leave, alleged Imaseki laughed Kibei cook felt hurt. "We will get you." On following day Imaseki approached by chief cook, taken to laundry and beaten up by chief cook and assistants. Not serious. During beating demanded apology.

Interpretation of people of incident: Nisei resented Kibei attack upon Imaseki (only technical Kibei) Kibei on the defensive because of discussion of Kibei character. Issei support Kibei; boys at mess-hall #18 had some reason for beating. Kibei: "Jap. given to violence, however Jap. never would commit act of violence unless sufficiently irritated. If irritated quick to commit act of violence. Jap. point of view on the whole: peaceful people will try to avoid trouble if cannot understand the point then will have to show him his point."

J.S. View more common among Nisei gangs; true among Kibei. Not group characteristics.

D.N. Side with Frank. Carry over from old country. Beaten up twice in Japan. In middle school, on street, failed to bow to upper classmen; at night beaten up to be put in place.

J.S. Not approved by peace loving family man. Approved by kids.

D.N. Assassination of prime minister.

F.M. Murderer should not be given full sentence, has a reason for murder.

R.H. When people beat T.L. no difference between Nisei and Kibei.

D.N. Now Nisei and Kibei more intermingled than before .

F.M. Given chance to Keto to deal fairly; but they will not do it; hence reaction. Rest of rebellion follows similar pattern.

D.N. Santa Anita disturbance on same pattern.

F.M. Chap. VI: new WRA policy following Aug. meeting in S.F.

Shirrell made new addressed, improved system of wage payments, clothing allowances given. Elaborate plan on how community to evolve.

Merit plan for good work. Fair Employment practice Committee:

Didn't serve any function. Organize committee among 7 branches of workers, liaison committees in grievances of workers. Very few

attended meetings to elect committees (5%), death knoll to committee. Played role in messhall strike.

J.S. Farm strike - poor food - Pilter (Pilcher?) system: give food only 1 day ahead of time. Matter taken up to committee, committee took up with Shirrell but given run around. Demoralized, blocked.

F.M. In general both administration and workers ignored committees. Function never clear. At same time Shirrell made further efforts to revitalize community org. Labor day celebration. Morale program. Elaborate preparations.

DST. Give material on Chap. VII and VIII.

F.M. Material scattered forms.

D.N. Last two chapters going to touch upon collaborate, going to talk on evolution of community government in center.

Chap. VII. Ascendance of Issei power not occurred had issue arisen; issue brought from outside.

Type of material on (A): Gen Hitomi wrote up material at my block meeting, casual notes made F.M.

(A) Overseas broadcast issue: Letter in WRA office, June 1942.

Proposal by OWI that WRA aid American prisoners in camp thru favorable presentation of Japanese in Camp here. O'Brien of OWI talk. Come with recording instrument. Strictly truthful about center conditions - discussed among evacuees, give news to relatives in Japan. Advisors urged O'Brien against action, difficult to get cooperation of people. Ikeda "how do we know that Americans are badly treated?" Mistreatment of prisoners propaganda; how do we know it is true. Stand taken by Issei when proposal made public; despite warnings OWI went ahead and attempted.

J.S. Should have gone to Minidoka.

F.M. Decided not to carry it out. Council had to come out in favor of broadcast. Help situation of American prisoners - Shirrell demanded that council takes more action in community government. Nisei councilmen took this to heart, had to take pro-American attitude. OWI and WRA refused to have Spanish Consul and evacuees listen to program. Issei provoked by Nisei. Tsukamoto leader in discussion for broadcast.

J.S. Council approached first; refer it to Issei. Meeting, fiery speeches. Issei representative voted "no." Afterwards Nisei said "Issei are bunch of agitators, will affect us - separate meeting of council, Tsukamoto voted "yes," stand of council.

J.S. Theatre issue - Nisei council voted for coop. building theatre. Issei held separate meeting and approved Nisei Council. Council another meeting. Shirrell said referendum, lowered age to sixteen. High pressure: 2 to 1 against it. Issei power.

DST. Pattern same. Council makes decision, Issei finds about it and makes pressure.

F.M. Issei had no political power. Protest in Nisei Council.

D.N. Council put on spot - loyalty issue put in front of them by administration.

DST Tsukamoto thought in terms of miniature democracy.

J.S. Block Council: Issei

R.H. Planning Board, powerful?

Issei Council before segregation.

F.M. Planning board proposed in October - essential conflict - Issei-Nisei. Had to give power to Issei for stabilization.

D.N. Issei have forced issue to Nisei on block level - common technique.

Nisei councilmen feared it.

F.M. (c) Tsukamoto played cagey role thru initial period, conscious of hostility of Sacto group. In city council early careful to select item popular to support it. Dramatic speaker. But by this time sensed Nisei-Issei fundamental came (cause?) pro-broadcast and pro-theatre project. At time of theatre project issue Tsukamoto drew document of American Civil Liberty Union, declared bill in House of Representatives. Nisei citizenship to be revoked - (Stewart bill); scene, people shocked. Tsukamoto announcement premature. This was a misstatement by Civil Liberties Union. Used this as instrument to work up Nisei to back him up. Condemn anti-JACL forces. Tom Shibutani criticized JACL. Loud applause for Tom. Ferguson July 4: no bill could pass house revoke citizenship. Tsukamoto caught councilmen unaware. Tried to gain support, unfavorable; it proved to be false announcement. In meantime considerable concern in community. As a result, some interest revived in citizenship; outdoor Forum, "Citizenship Rally," Shibutani, Ferguson, Tsukamoto, direct clash Shibutani - Tsukamoto on JACL. Verbal audience JACL men. Shibutani didn't go into politics - (People on study got tagged as inu but at registration all those registered were inu). Another meeting on JACL whether to organize T.L. chapter. Nov. 1942 meeting of JACL, Tsukamoto introduced motion as to whether JACL should favor induction, answer unfavorable. JACL never mentioned in council until this time. Openly advocated support of JACL.

D.N. In Poston and Tule Lake opposition to JACL motion.

F.M. JACL gained some prestige but got caught in registration. Late Nov. and Dec. announcement of JACL conf. JACL went into hole as result; effort continued, Community opposed to JACL.

D.N. Hell at Poston and Manzanar at that time.

F.M. (d) October Strike: do not belong here. Messhall strike.

J.S. 5 demands. Main demand get Pilter (Pilcher?) out and more meat.

F.M. Messhall workers separated in space unlike Farm crew, more difficult to organize.

Strike proposals appeared no way of striking without inconvenience to people themselves.

Techniques: delaying the meals as to affect work of employees.

DST Didn't know when to eat, very effective.

F.M. Day and half strike. Myer on project. Pilcher handed resignation Shirrell reluctant about letting him go. WRA would lose face, WRA blamed Shirrell for registration trouble.

F.M. Myer told Shirrell to oust Pilcher.

DST WRA still oppose Shirrell.

R.H. Still carry over in T.L.

DST Coverley instructed to be a strong man, but didn't know techniques. Embree started it by writing article.

D.N. Same pattern: appointed personnel work as one unit. Evacuees divided them and conquered.

DST 2 camps in administration at time. Thing could have been prevented.

F.M. Furniture factory strike. Browne, superintendent, looked down upon evacuees, considerable opposition to Browne. Liked another man Bentz; way it was worked out, evacuees agreed if Browne gives more consideration to evacuees they would return. Browne dismissed.

J.S. Story was a prison warden.

F.M. Packing Shed Strike: Nisei worker objected to strenuousness of work. Then announcement of Tsukamoto. Confusion packing shed constant discontent, irregularity of hours and poor working conditions, disorg.

of work situation. Shirrell in his concern for more communication started Issei meetings, middle of Oct., would discuss new developments each week. Issei gained satisfaction out of meetings, could voice opinions, Issei gained recognition.

J.S. Shoe ration: local conflict with local ration board. Came up time and again.

D.N. Issei-Nisei dichotomy widespread. Issei emerging red.

F.M. Not sufficient data to present this view. Nisei group on blue side. Middle group here not emerged. There is moderate group.

F.M. How

D.N. Following private lives of leaders. Difficulty cover it as far as Poston concerned.

F.M. In writing tendency to use general terms. Temporary dissolution of council because of their defeats.

Chapter VIII.

November Charter Club approved by election. New council established. Form much more agreeable. Cominating men regarded as more likely to serve their ends. Approval of Permanent Commission council Charter.

D.N. Political career of Nagai.

F.M. Tsukamoto defeatedⁱⁿ/election.

J.S. Tsukamoto who drew new Charter makes it independent from Block 28 members.

F.M. Issei opposed issue on grounds couldn't get enough representation.

J.S. Issei didn't all see implications.

F.M. Nimura in Ward 5 agitated against Charter; most Issei reasonable: large Council couldn't work satisfactorily. Vote was favorable. But there was a lot of confusion. Charter detailed document. Nov.

Planning Board organized. No opposition. Issei approved of it; little

suspicion of ideas; technical staff. Initially conceived: organized to attempt to anticipate problems of community and nip them in the bud, reasons of technical staff. 7 new Council, 1 from each ward; emphasis on Issei representation.

D.N. As early as July 1942 Issei asked for Issei representation.

J.S. Issei body

F.M. Initially this was not planned: not a council.

D.N. Compromise on WRA

F.M. Yes. Shirrell would like to have group of Issei advisors. Shirrell liked it, Tsukamoto didn't like it.

D.N. Issei try to muscle in.

F.M. In talking to Shibata didn't realize it was going to become Issei council. Shirrell might have had suspicion. As it turned out, became Issei branch of council. Election of Board stabilization would have. If Issei powerful would avoided trouble.

J.S. Issei agitators.

F.M. Tent factory proposal: proposal for establishment under outside management. Only ones to work citizens to build tents for Army and paid extra amount. Council got proposal, declared take it up to Planning Board. Plan submitted. Board unwilling to take responsibility ask for more work on plan; with power Issei more cautious. In course of discussion it turned out approved plan. In council opposition arose; new composition of council. Proposition defeated. Planning board more cautious stand; issues: splitting of wages, defeated on question of how much would be paid by WRA for subsistence.

D.N. Some Issei refrained from voting, aliens not our concern.

J.S. True.

F.M. Other indication of stabilization, many persons very much discussed about strikes. (disgusted?)

D.N. Emergence of moderates.

F.M. Peak of tension, overseas broadcast. Messhall Strike final anti-climax. T.L. Cons. coop organized; proposal approved by Issei. Directorate of coop. 7 Issei and 7 Nisei and 1 appointed personnel.

R.H. Rumor accusing coop. to hire Sacto. people.

J.S. Hitomi leader of coop. after segregation. JACL member strong following in co-op.

F.M. Seasonal work progress. Revival of interest in relocation policy. As soon as Coverley came in first point of emphasis, leaving center. Instability created by relocation among Issei, even though had stabilized community govt. Issei opposed relocation.

J.S. WRA, stop further construction because of emphasis on relocation in spite of needs. Start tearing down.

F.M. Fears if Nisei go out, Nisei girls will not get married. Removal of Shirrell and in Coverley. Immediate reaction at large - Shirrell good man but not concerned over removal. Friends of Shirrell upset. Coverley followed entirely different policy. Shirrell had just come to succeed in gaining control over community. Had Shirrell remained registration would not have blown up.

J.S. Shirrell got into financial difficulties.

F.M. Pressure on Shirrell why farm had shown loss \$1800. Shirrell poor administrator.

DST Morton has little material.

D.n. Shirrell not in good standing with WRA.

F.M. Used to cut red-tape more than other project directors.

DST Financial business never raised against him. General wasteful policy.

F.M. Carson to Myer - not enough discipline. Myer to Carson, lack of discipline reason for removal of Shirrell.

J.S. Important problem as in Minidoka. Appointed personnel favorable to evacuees, get in trouble with administration.

D.N. Kimbal: How Washington office policy fire any anti-Japanese employee. Provinse stand: Man being transferred to Indian Service at Poston because community analyst wrote report. Lot of trouble. Appointed personnel.

R.H. Persons hated by Jap. are good technicians.

Coverley: Policy (1) would see no one; no one could enter upon him. Only Jacoby and Hayes could see him informally. Make appointment. No evacuee could see Coverley. Extremely dictatorial with everybody.

(2) Cordial with evacuee but associated little with evacuees.

(3) Draws up memos on what to organize, bureaucratic individual.

DST Asst. Reg. Director in WRA.

F.M. Holiday activities: whole thing discussed. Political: this item is isolated. My limitations:

Chapter IX.- Registration.

Hayes who attended Washington conference to discuss procedure was drunk and sat in very few conferences. Returned to T.L., community council heard of it, wanted to know more about it, asked him and Coverley to attend special meeting. Information never given to council. Planning Board got some idea, extremely sketchy. First public discussion procedure. Evening Feb. 9, 1 day before registration, sergeants and lieutenants presented first Stimson's letter and War Dept. announcement; little information on procedure. Asked for registration: No discussion.

J.S. Somebody asked for translation but no time.

F.M. On following day understood start registration with first barracks and work through and register all those over 17. Temper of community different, preparation in Minidoka different, Okajima spoke at some meetings, declaring Nisei should register and volunteer at Minidoka. Criticism.

D.N. Okajima on blue side.

R.H. A typical

DST Issei nevertheless

D.N. Erroneous picture - utterances, beliefs of Okajima, Bohemian.

F.M. In Minidoka, assistant project director, urged people to register and urged Nisei to volunteer. That statement was never made in T.L.; at Minidoka question and answer. At Minidoka started at one end of project, 2 blocks at a time working up toward end. T.L. started in all blocks at same time, opposition mass reaction at Minidoka no concerted reaction, Issei in Minidoka answered original question on loyalty to Emperor until block 13.

D.N. Not unusual. Work corps agreement in Poston - allegiance question.

DST But Minidoka didn't have it.

F.M. People who raised question did it two at a time blocks in Minidoka. At T.L. all at same time, telephone at Planning Board. Confusion. Question as to whether (1) Issei would register

(2) Nisei should volunteer labor

(3) People should apply relocation or not, didn't want to go out, if signed many believed would have to go out.

J.S. Leave clearance forms used, for aliens and females. Male citizen Selective Service forms.

F.M. Planning Board had meeting afternoon, demanded delay of registration for more clarification, question whether it was compulsory. Hayes said it was not compulsory at first.

D.N. Carter declared to community no registration - then next day no registration.

F.M. Then wire from Washington it was compulsory. Immediate issue: whether to register or not. Same evening: not register unless know more. Council and Planning Board prepared answers and questions put to Army personnel and answers were given and passed around in blocks. 3 days later, change of Issei "I shall abide by law of U.S." People afraid to register, anybody who registered were "inu," let us as a community register. The opposition: individual matter. Pressure of unified community refusal very strong. As consequence of stubbornness Coverley instituted new program. Certain blocks should register on certain days. Wanted to get this over with very quickly, didn't appreciate implications. Blocks 42 and 25 required to register on Thursday. In block 42 very few registered. On following day Coverley and Lt. read off list of those who failed to register. Block 42 people wrote out a petition. Up until Thursday if anybody repatriated not required to register, rush to repatriate; order was changed on Friday. Petition to Coverley. On Sunday Feb. 21 cordon of guards of MP surrounded blocks with bayonets and tear gas and machine guns and rounded up 37 of block 42 people and sent them off to Klamath Falls jail. As trucks leave, shouts of "Banzai" from crowd. Threat of sentence 28 years. Block 42 "white zone" and Marysville.

D.N. War Dept. never sanctioned any refusal be punished.

DST Evidence Dillon Myer sanctioned it.

F.M. Block 42 incident reactions. People demanded Council and Planning Board get boys free. Could not do anything. They resigned Monday. Same night first Kibei mass meeting - easy thing (400), they became leadership of community and Takatsui leader, did not believe in beating, Kibei members carried out number of meetings.

D.N. Takatsui did not have enough control.

J.S. Beating which was mistake of Kibei turned Issei against them.

F.M. Kibei dominant for one week. Block 42 boys sacrificed themselves, play up Giri. Nisei organized a "goon squad,"

J.S. Kibei warned Nisei; organized Hawaiian "goon squad" but nobody came in. Movies.

D.N. Evacuee fight against evacuees and administration.

DST After that opposition deteriorated.

F.M. Removal of Kibei - opposition to registration declined almost 2,000 who did not register, 400 or 500 loyal didn't get out.

DST Documentation very good on registration.

December 2

Jimmy Sakoda: "Segregation Report"

Determination of loyalty or disloyalty on basis of registration. Allowance for doubtful cases. Whole pressure in T.L. try to get people to change over. Educational program for segregation carried by Morris Carter, Fleming, Jacoby. Went over fairly well. Very serious ideas which people got in their mind, T.L. another center. Best came in before program got under way - early Sept. Best was at Denver Conference

About half of population in T.L. remained. Why did so many people remain in T.L. when in other places only 2 percent.

(1) Concept: center where people loyal to Japan to stay, idea was tempered in educational process, avoided terms; center for those who like the Japanese way of life. Leaders helped to do that in their translation.

(2) WRA try to say: we are going to be very humane, segregation not punishment, center not different from others, except would not be able to leave center. In July, employment cut.

(3) If went to other centers will be forced to relocate; people got the idea that purpose of segregation was to relocate. Mistakes in translation.

(4) Factor of insecurity brought about. Draft would not apply to segregation. Better chance of avoiding draft.

(5) Matter, if loyal to Japan will get indemnity (same argument in relocation)

(6) Even if stay going to be fair. Appeal Boards set up. Interpretation of people: "WRA want to get us out" - idea can always leave T.L.

Reasons for people that remained:

(1) Loyalty to Japan, strong reason. Especially true of Issei men

in terms of family groups. Mother in between father and children who wanted to leave.

In one family, son left and worked in war industry and other son drafted.

(2) Draft evasion: parents didn't want sons to be drafted. Boy: get job and get deferred. Applied secretly. Family decided to stay on account of him and they stayed behind. Few cases where splits of family.

(3) Avoiding forced relocation: little children, can't go out. Old parents very frantic - 2 daughters went out (Tanabe family). Common attitude: tell them story to sound disloyal and they stay. Those who wanted to stay would be allowed to stay; free choice; some were loyal but were allowed to stay.

(4) Some wanted to stay with friends and family. Desire not to move very strong. Fear of strange places.

DST WRA gives reason that they didn't want to leave Calif.
Same reason for Manzanar segregation.

(5) Large number of them decided to stay.

F.M. Community pressure to stay.

J.S. No. In Ward 5 tremendous pressure.

F.M. Mother makes comment: woman from Clarksburg makes loud comments about people leaving.

D.N. People remaining behind justifying their position. Definite split. Team of ace relocation officers in T.L.

J.S. WRA tried to do too many things at once. Sent team of relocation officers.

D.N. Kennedy said did good job.

Jimmy Sakoda

Minidoka considered best center; no trouble during registration; study in Minidoka, safe. Couple of months: nothing happened. Suddenly around December '43-Jan. '44 strikes from then on it was good: all trouble. Still having trouble in relation council, administration. Break history of Minidoka into periods:

- (1) First period down to where Tulean arrival: Dictatorship - quiet.
- (2) Second Period: arrival of Tuleans, complaints and explosion.
- (3) Third period: administrative changes. Conflicts within admin. warehouse incident, April-July '44.
- (4) Fourth period: Administration and council deadlock. Council tries to gain prestige by opposing admin. up to present.

(1) First Period: Certain people in administration and attitudes. Adm. dominated by Stafford (project director) Shaeffer (asst. project director). Stafford: dictator, strict, scared people. Shaeffer: sincere, sympathetic, paternal, willing to give favor to evacuee friends. Paradox in the staff, both liberal and non-liberal minded got along all right. Anderson gave evacuees power.

F.M. Shaeffer got along well with Stafford. Act as go between.

J.S. Look in Shaeffer more. Did lot of things and then informed Stafford. Housing conflict, over 9,000 people at one time, complaints. Shaeffer called Fuji and Fuji told him how to handle. Shaeffer called meeting and ordered according to suggestions.

F.M. Appearance of character such as Best and Hike.

J.S. Hike made small rooms.

D.N. Happened in Poston. Smallness.

J.S. Give credit to Shaeffer, keep smooth relationship with evacuees; combination of Shaeffer and Stafford conducive to amiable existence. Evacuee leaders 2 foremost: Main formal org. block managers with block office for 4 block managers, appointed by administration. Election discouraged. Also informal leaders 1 advisor, got close to administration. Sejihara (Issei).

When people came from Puyallup anti-JACL feeling, intent on keeping JACL out. Sejihara then got in close to staff, recommended by Sakamoto.

T.T. How Sakamoto (JACL) recommended Sejihara?

J.S. Personal relationship, loan of money from Sejihara to Sakamoto.

F.M. Sejihara didn't have anything to do with JACL in Seattle.

T.T. Could be a rumor

F.M. Block set up as against T.L.

DST Composition of top

J.S. Physical set up very different from T.L. or Topaz., where blocks together. Minidoka stretched out by blocks 2 by 2.

Block Managers:

Keep people unorganized. Idea goes all the way thru.

R.H. Evacuee criticism of WRA., they are trying to divide us.

F.M. Block meetings didn't take shape as T.L.

J.S. Political activity in block at minimum, sat in block office.

4 block managers can't get close to block manager of your block.

Between personal advisors and block manager cooperated with administration and held control of evacuees. Registration speeches by administration "got to show loyalty or else you are skunk," used convince leader. Okajima, S. Takahashi, speeches aroused boys.

Degree of co-operation on part of leaders never found in T.L. In T.L. H. Mayeda couldn't have done that.

DST Registration interpreted as army volunteering.

J.S. Issei were boiling inside, however, frustration. That was extent of opposition.

D.N. Distinction: Issei concerned with draft of boys and Issei not concerned with this.

J.S. Don't have anything on bachelor Issei.

F.M. Kibei in Minidoka negligible.

Numerical insignificance, Frank Hattori, Kibei acted as interpreter, nothing to oppose registration.

D.N. Leaders in Minidoka belonged to ambivalent group, would not actively oppose volunteering.

J.S. Use of threat employed by leaders, people scared.

D.N. How leaders behaved significant

DST Overt positive stand in favor of administration composition of population - Miyamoto concept of "homogeneity."

J.S. Pop. striking

(1) All from Northwest except a few Tuleans, Washington and Oregon.

(2) Largely urban Seattle and Portland, whole project dominated by urban population. 80% to 90% (unlike Topaz) Combination important, people from NW tend to be cooperative and people from urban even more so than rural.

D.N. Necessity of comparative study Topaz - Minidoka. Topaz: Bay Area-urban; Minidoka: Urban N.W.

Behavior apparently alike. Comparative quietness. Common denominator: urban.

DST Not enough evidence. More seething in Topaz earlier.

D.N. Point: ~~safe whether emphasis on NW origin is important.~~

D.N. Can't control type of administration.

DST Yes, Cannot compare. Comparison only in T.L.

D.N. Point: safe whether emphasis on NW origin is important.

DST Good control in T.L.

D.N. Pinedale group arrived had identity with vested and anti-vested interest.

F.M. 500 Seattle)
200 Clarksburg) First group
1000 Puget Sound, Medford)

D.N. NW people engaged in urbanized profession.

DST Not so Hood River

D.N. NW urbanized, more to do with American culture.

F.M. In NW farm group more Americanized.

J.S. Portland and Puyallup. Bainbridge people. Out of 35 block 6 or 7.

Portland never quite made majority.

Block Managers: Early block delegates elected. Charter for sub-government body. Stafford put them off and off until pressure from Washington. Vote in June Defeat of charter 2 to 1, attitude of people administration opposed to it. Block Mgrs. opposed it. Other leaders opposed it. Everything smooth.

F.M. Brought in JACL as clique.

J.S. Aside from project wide leader get people in key positions; leaders head of CA: men or adjustment board; chief cook, CA: Ikoma acting big, secretaries tried to put off. Compare T.L. and Minidoka attitude of leaders, ~~parxi~~ paternalistic in Minidoka.

Residents - cooperative attitude at first, administration said evacuee to use their own labor to dig coal pit - they did it. Great deal of fear - wouldn't talk about war - hush it up. Idea that block managers "inu" - lots of talk about inu. Imaginary black list. May be picked up, out of work.

F.M. Minidoka throughout period dominated by Nisei. Many leaders pro-American attitude, fear of pop. in expressing pro-Japanese views. In Seattle people knew who had been picked up among their community leaders. Hachiguchi (uncle) couldn't understand why not picked up. Fear of being picked up fact came from single community. Know each other.

D.N. Criteria of homogeneity: geography.

F.M. Difference between Seattle and L.A.

DST In Seattle people could get to know each other.

D.N. Do not need to make distinction between Seattle and L.A. If Poston occupied by L.A. people different.

DST L.A. metropolis

D.N. Even in L.A. each people know each other

DST Futile to argue hypothetically. It is homogeneous.

D.N. Granada, LA.

J.S. Actually people in Minidoka not organized in any way. Residents tendency to be individualistic. Doctors, dentists in for private enterprise; but they united and had a set up.

F.M. Homogeneity: not agreement but knowledge. In T.L. didn't know each other hence have to get agreement.

D.N. In Minidoka established hierarchy similar to Seattle. Integrated already; didn't need jockeying.

J.S. But imp. leaders of Seattle picked up; leaders in Minidoka second rate.

D.N. Battle-field situation.

DST Min. not clear cut.

D.N. Poston good center now. Hierarchy analogous to pre-evacuation hierarchy.

F.M. In T.L. gossip at first; because knew each other; gossip about leaders.

D.N. Minidoka organized at first hierarchy analogous to previous pattern.

J.S. As soon as block mgr. discredited.

DST They were organized

J.S. Yes, org. based on administration and keep people disorg. so that they could hold power.

D.N. Comparative study block 2 Poston: L.A. Salinas, Lancaster, friction. Block 45 all L.A. people integrated, no friction.

J.S. Resentment build up in July 1943; employment cut 1/3. Within 1 week (rather than 3 months) people took cut willingly. Recreation halls kept locked up. Adult education cut out. Movies cut out, but brought in again under Washington pressure. Fishmarket closed down. Co-op. employ. cut down even they were not supposed to do it. Emphasis on relocation. Block mgr. talked about relocation. Loudspeaker Nakamura chairman of block mgr. propaganda about relocation, jobs in Chicago, etc. both in English and Japanese.

F.M. Relation of center to area Twin Falls, sugar beet fields, potato fields.

J.S. Resentment built against forced relocation. Segregation was quiet - only few Nisei and Issei leaders. Minidoka good relationship with nearby community. (1) Farmers wanted workers. Seasonal leaves, beet workers and potato also; (2) Towns and shops was good trade, catered to Japanese; town favorable except few restaurants.

F.M. Easy to get in and out of center - unlike other centers.

J.S. To go out sign 1 or 2 weeks in advance. Easy to get out.

F.M. Little regulation.

J.S. Occasionally complaints about many Japanese in town. Seasonal workers in touch with community. In first period resentment built up.

F.M. Went back to first day. Problem in Minidoka not unlike T.L.

In Minidoka: (1) People living in Rec. Hall

(2) Coal inadequate - people cold

(3) Outside latrines in winter mud thick

(4) Dust much worse than T.L.

(5) Housing congestion

DST F.M. has letter about early Minidoka, turn over to J.S.

D.N. Nothing more.

J.S.

2nd Period - End of Sept. 1943.- April, 1943.

Rise of protest with incoming of Tuleans.

Tuleans came in and did lot of talking. By this time, housing and food ~~fk~~ fairly good. Other conditions not bad, grass grown. Tuleans were from NW.

F.M. (1) Bainbridge people came in spring 1943, had gone down to Manzanar, kicked around until arrived in Minidoka with own people; but had "Calif. spirit" 1 block.

(2) Seasonal workers from other centers dropped in.

Consciousness of difference.

D.N. "Calif. spirit" L.A. people talking about Orange people.

DST Breakdown of Tuleans.

J.S. Admitted latrines better, agreed food better served. Tuleans complained: "What's the matter, why don't you kick"; have to be paid - don't volunteer for work.

D.N. NW people contaminated by Calif. people?

F.M. Experienced different kind of things.

D.N. Came in same group, same opposition as vested people don't have to use idea of protest. Even if knew that it worked. Had a motive to protest.

J.S. (1)"Infection"- cast history

(2) Matter of being "outsider" out vested interests.

D.N. Behavior pattern of protest universal.

R.H. Infection true - my own case

D.N. Yes, but you are receptive

DST T.L. had impact

D.N. Fighting NW bias

W.I. Experience of T.L. have impressed attitudes - NW is belligerent group originally had impress from experiences, transferred to another community, took attitude of fight, problem: to what extent reg. imprints can be erased.

D.N. True

F.M. I admired T.L. group at first.

D.N. Agrees with WI, knew pattern of protest; rewarded in T.L.

W.I. Has Hawaiian group modified? Pacified?

D.N. Jerome, Hawaiian Nisei.

F.M. Kibei group in Seattle, became much more assimilated than T.L. Kibei, take on American point of view, situation in Seattle. In center rebelliousness diluted.

J.S Tuleans: question how much accusation of administration what Tuleans did? (1) change people weak: every Tulean said it. "our strike effective" Stories exaggerated as to effectiveness - Issei gave these stories. (2) Denouncing of inu on part of disgruntled Minidokans, poured it out to me.

F.M. Rationalization.

J.S. (3) Talk about war - Tuleans talked. No antennas on barracks at first, then they appeared.

(4) Porches: fire-hazard, prohibit addition. After Tuleans, porches and awnings put up.

(5) Tuleans at same time greatly disliked, trouble makers,

"Zoot suiters" jeans, denim jackets go to dances, long haircuts.

D.N. Repressed desire of NW found expression.

R.H. Tojo haircuts necessary in T.L., very short. Long haired people younger Nisei. Patriots expose Tojo haircuts.

J.S. Intense sectional feeling, gambling learned at seasonal workers, kids getting bad ever since Tuleans came in. Even today sectional feelings affect block unity. People from city awful. Feeling of resentment. Pattern of association holds. Children play among each other.

Rise of Vocal Protest: Oct.-Nov.

Tuleans placed in Rec. Hall, protested - beyond, housing advisory board. Forced matters so that each Tulean got an apartment. Triumph. Spanish Consul, block delegates big fuss about hospital food. Myer - protest. Wash. protest. Ofer of Charter again offered in Dec. passed by 2 to 1. (Six months ago failed 2 to 1) rise of protest.

First explosion: Boilermen strike. When winter comes a number of workers Boilermen and janitors cut down 8 to 4. Had to start 6 stoves. Admin. Green gave ultimatum. All those who would not comply would be fired - translator omitted word, fired. Boilermen decided wouldn't comply. Order keep duty 24 hours because fire. Last straw. Meeting, roll call, decided wouldn't work Dec. 31. Stafford out of Project, Davidson sent memo out. Meeting for Jan. 4 called. Admin. didn't handle skilfully. Have investigation group. Can't in a case of workers because of budget. Roll-call. First one said no and all said no. 10 days strike.

No hot water for 10 days. Every one affected. Mass support evident. Negotiations carried on by block mgrs., suggestions, boilermen go to work. Block delegates Fuji increase workers possible - if admin.

sincere ought to have workers. Block delegates selected neg. committee. Asked Wash. telegram Washington say no, can't increase number of boilermen. Fuji: plea - women and children suffer; boilermen should go back to work. Work on old schedule so they went back to work. People angry, block people had to fire stoves.

R.H. In Gila same pattern. Anger. Not enough table pounding. Washington no and then fizzle.

J.S. Tuleans said: a flop. Immediately after draft situation. Rise of protest, can't let sons go off to war. Meetings of Issei and Nisei, sit tight and not report for physical. Idea took hold. No leader willing to stick neck out. First group to report, no decision reached, only 2 failed to report. After that only certain percentage.

DST About 60 did not report altogether.

J.S. Resistance to draft, individual resistance.

R.H. Why resistance?

J.S. Feeling kicked around, why should we go. Better to go to jail than army.

F.M. Minidoka: heaviest relocation, leadership drained out.

J.S. When Ben Kurochi came received worst reception than at Heart Mt. Kurochi Nisei aviator. Propaganda of War Dept. leaders afraid to ask for voluntary work.

Pop. characteristics changed

- (1) leadership taken out
- (2) Chart of total pop. change
- (3) Change in age distribution by sex

Dec. 1942: large group of Nisei reach 22. Nisei dominate.

Sept. 1944: because of relocation pop. has changed so as to affect young Nisei males. Ages 20-30 people wiped out. Not quite as true for females. Issei pop. now dominate.

Issei pop. now dominate. Issei more and more dominate whole camp pop. Changes in admin. Shaeffer left soon after Tuleans came in.

Change: 3 asst. project directors instead of 1. Policies made by asst. project director.

Davidson: formerly head of agric. now in charge of operations. Weak character. Willing to give in more to evacuees. Church and teacher group.

Dean Miller: Opposite. Recent arrival with Tuleans. Disliked evacuees and especially Tuleans. Disliked heartily Japs. Favor strong policy.

Palmeroy: Indefinite. Afraid but stood for strong policy. Not sympathetic to evacuees. Struggle with administration.

Example: Warehouse incident. Council formed in Feb., incident in April. Occasion for incident attempt to change central service system. Motor pool, truck, central, not approved by Washington. Asked that set up be abandoned. In making change Ford in project control section supposed to take group of 70 workers didn't want to take them all, didn't want to take people on stop list. Finally only 16 asked to transfer to Ford's section. Workers supposed to show up Saturday. Confusion some didn't show up in time - 8 were dismissed. Others didn't want to work. Adminis. wanted to have them work. Wholesale termination. Swampers and stewards section didn't like to be transferred - they were terminated. 4 or 5 different crews terminated as a whole. Finally council protested. At first Stafford strong, would not stand for mutiny, go back to work. Council asked meekly workers to go back to work. However understanding would go back to one job. Ford ordered some workers to work for him. Strike again. For a while work stopped, did not go to messhall for 2 days.

Stafford changed tactics. Fuji, right went too fast; tell Miller to go easy. Miller refused to retract order. Stafford and Fuji and council fought against Miller and group. Washington investigator came. Miller was told to move out. Council and Stafford jumped on 3 or 4 appointed personnel including Ford. Powers resigned. Ford stuck to his guns. Kicked out.

(Dean Miller from Idaho)

Situation where type of adminis. change complex of adm. For a while Stafford stabbed others in back.

R.H. How get good inf. on administration.

J.S. Technique difficult at first, Warehouse conflict easy, council investigated matter. Davidson would tell side of story. Ford came out and said when fired. Grapevine, Stafford secretary was a Tulean and used to be my typist.

R.H. Inf. diff.

J.S. Information thru analyst

D.N. Evacuee in intrigue in appointed personnel

J.S. Always had council view: Tamoga, not close to opposite side.

Attempt at explaining how policies made. Among leaders definite change. During period talk against blocking Segihara, chairman Hosakawa inus. Keiichi relocation division, old leadership discredited. When Ben Kuroka came, Sigihara and Nisei leaders handled it. Nobody liked it. Keiichi relocation - didn't take hold.

Council established itself with solution of warehouse conflict in favor. Victory over admin. However council now looked upon with suspicion. Tool of administration. Council has now to show that it can do something, some change after Tuleans came in, toward people in key positions. Residents became very free, start talking about war; shortwave sets made, working time looser. Whole attitude toward

speeding on trucks. Put out porches, awnings. General relaxation of tension, defiance of administration, up to middle of 1944.

W.I. Without any influence of another group provocation of gov. not sufficient unrest. Treatment of Indians by gov. Indians of N.C. to good lands, provocation of gov., Indians agitation, medicine men Running of railroad thru territory and tearing bosom off mother earth desecration. Fury and massacre. Mixing population facilitates disturbance. But there was enough provocation for spontaneous unrest.

J.S. First period quiet on surface, can't tell.

R.H. Even with quiet, resentment.

W.I. Delayed resentment.

F.M. Granada peaceful at first? If so, issues as in Minidoka.

D.N. Hope to go to Granada; Granada fortunate, L.A. population. Leader of that group went into prominent position - council takes orders from Block manager. Council, Issei and Nisei. Block manager Issei.

J.S. In Minidoka, never Issei - conflict in politics, Nisei went out to seasonal, not there as form of political organization.

D.N. When Issei on top, quiet. (F.M.) Granada situation, provocation, Tuleans in Minidoka.

J.S. Tuleans did same thing in each center. Moving; gov. provocation.

DST Tuleans didn't want to leave T.L.

D.N. People from Seattle glorified what happened in NW.

F.M. California bias.

R.H. Peace when Issei get on top in T.L., more criticism of stubborn Issei by agitators. Internal security critics, Issei swallow

D.N. Different picture. Issei ⁱⁿ positions.

J.S. Issei prove to look out for own welfare; just as Nisei to be inus.

DST Human nature.

D.N. Saying have all kinds of human nature. If all leaders get in leading positions, quiet if old relationship reestablished.

DST If evacuation had occurred 10 years later - different picture, Nisei would have been established.

J.S. 3rd period with warehouse conflict: April-July, 1944.

Council after initial victory left above, Stafford amicable with Council, conflict in administration. At warehouse conflict; highly anti-evacuee clique fired. At same time Miller retaliated on pro-evacuee clique.

D.N. Kimball of Washington office came in.

J.S. Washington office for evacuee general revolt among pro-evacuee personnel, series of protests, appeal to newspaper. Case of Light, ~~was~~ head of High School, very pro-evacuee; willing to have idealistic concept of education advanced. Course system (Stanford); integrate social sciences and English, learn about world problems thru social sciences and use English as practice. 2 hrs. per day. Kleinkoff superintendent of education of Idaho, did not favor it. Conflict among teachers, actually course system did not fit into relocation. Too many students. Have to have small class. Have to have skillful teachers and sympathetic - talk about evacuation. Teacher make remarks justified evacuation, students oppose it.

Revolt against authority. Pro-evacuee clique teacher looked down upon Idaho teachers.

Work experience program: 1 credit for working $\frac{1}{2}$ -day. Teacher in charge liberal argument. Requirement of Idaho Dept. of Ed., called ... glasted work experience program - dual standard - students have to

work hard. Workers did not want. As employer avoid persons with work experience with prevailing attitude toward work. Light given low rating. Kleinkoff and Pomeroy and Stafford agreed had to be fired. Trials held. Made appeal to Washington. Rating slightly raised and transferred to Poston. Reason given: insubordination.

D.N. Light cry-baby man, had sad experience in life. Tendency to agitate. Aggravated. Transfer from Minidoka causes for his transfers. Deserved to be transferred.

J.S. Students protested. Stafford said to students "Contemptible."

D.N. Poston dumping ground for agitators. Light, O'Day, Carter. They are nobody in Poston. Whole Caucasian personnel homogeneous.

J.S. Davidson (brother of Dave) charge of insubordination. He promised swimming pool and quoted Stafford. But charge is that he did not have authority. Davidson go to Washington to protest backing of church people. Petition signed. At same time ratings of liberal group lowered. Great deal of protest in May.

DST Not liberalism. Protest group very inefficient. Davis at Yale.

D.N. ~~Nax~~ In center: certain people will behave anti-evacuee and act pro.

DST Religious people protest, actually radicals can be inefficient.

W.I. Great many of refugees very high graded. But many others get ratings when they are feeble minded.

J.S. Davidson not efficient. Criticized for making too much criticism. In other cases, sudden drop in rating came at time when Miller kicked out. Konner and Olson vs. Stafford. Konner in charge of motor pool and partially under control of Army, supported by Army. Konner pledged on acting status - with low rating suddenly. He feels was unfair. As a result Konner writes to Davidson, reveals all things

done by Stafford to harass Konner. Newspapermen sensational expose to newspaper in Twin Falls against Stafford. Whole thing settled by Konner having to leave. Stafford explains that there are 2 kinds of administrators to watch out for

(1) Too sympathetic to evacuees (Davidson)

(2) Jap haters

He is middle group. Whole administration torn apart by both extremes. Turn over rapid then.

July 1944 - Washington decided to send man to educate administration. Huberman (Publichousing, graduate, Indian Service) written some books, German Jew, no race prejudice, liberal, read widely, sociologist.

D.N. Belief by WRA Indian Service people good people to handle race problem.

J.S. For whole months - training program, circulate questionnaire (attitudes)

DST Get hold of copy of questionnaire.

J.S. Back to Washington. Make statement. 50% of personnel in Minidoka no good. General level is really much lower, except recently hiring people in Washington. Huberman. People degrees in sociology.

D.N. Minidoka experimental station for social science.

J.S. Effort to correct efforts. Huberman - Asst. Project Director.

D.N. Courses for Asst. Project Director thick book, each new person required to read it.

J.S. Conflict within administration. Rollings keeps in background. Nichols: young cocky fellow talked derogatory about Negroes, believes in administration. Increase appointed personnel. Hired in Washington. Kicked out all evacuee secretaries, replaced by appointed personnel.

D.N. Policy of replacing Caucasian secretary by evacuee girls relocated.

J.S. New set of appointed personnel, formation of liberal clique. Elmer Smith, etc. One sec. efficient - transferred. Nichols trans. sec. first. Matter of policy, put Caucasian regardless of whether they are efficient or not. Evacuee sec. are appointed personnel even tho paid \$16 to \$19.

W.I. Why sec. resign when Caucasian come in.

J.S. Evacuee sec. insulted by change. Caucasian sec. outranks. Discrimination in pay (\$1650 and up) Labor shortage, person who resigns can get job. Many staying at home to plan for relocation.

D.N. Could be a policy of WRA to emphasize relocation. Not race discrimination necessarily.

J.S. June 1944 gate: changing of personnel. Evacuee postmaster.

DST WRA wants forced relocation.

D.N. National policy dilemma. WRA force people out - jobs are abundant and yet forced relocation would create labor shortage: Hence hiring of Caucasians.

J.S. WRA policy fluctuates. Provinse, policy now to cut down appointed personnel and yet it increases.

Change - policy toward hiring.

R.H. Crazy teachers.

DST Miss Topping in T.L.

D.N. Poston old lady teachers. One day started to yell, "Boys try to rape me."

DST. Miss Topping took shower standing on head.

(Billigmeier report) Borderline mental case. Mother radios for Tokyo.

J.S. AFTERNOON
Council started well on warehouse incident. Got along well. As time went relationship more and more difficult. E.g. council asked block 22 whether wanted to move - memo (?) of #22 didn't want to move.

Administration interpreted this as shrinking (shirking) of responsibility for council. Announcement clean out basement fire hazard - janitors wanted announcement people should not put garbage can near dish washing place. Council did not want to make these announcements, trivial work. Ex. Sec. those things should not be burdened on council, spurn those things.

Ordinance Depot: Sept. '44:- Army says want 5,000 workers in Ordnance Depot, 500 families at a time from Minidoka. Place not started. Talked with council. Army said everything 50¢ hr. up to 80¢, work manual, handling ammunition, heavy. Those who took job would be deferred, nobody below 26. Council asked army question--frozen on job - Relocation proposition - work for duration only. For Issei sign certain papers, civil service, oath - Personality questionnaire also have to be cleared. Promised cleared within 3 weeks. Major Davis and Meek came. Council very enthusiastic.

F.M. WRA blindness?

DST: WRA really believe it is opportunity.

D.N. Not true of appointed staff in Poston.

J.S. Provinse didn't realize significance, cleared in Washington rapidly.

D.N. Myer was consulted then.

DST Way things happened, e.g. selective service negotiation for things pushed thru very fast, long time; tho legal dept. never saw the form.

J.S.
S.J. Provinse was informed on publication.

D.N. Relocation div. and community management don't get along; do things independently. Relocation Div. knew of it.

J.S.
S.J. Staff enthusiastic, Army expects response, if loyal, of evacuee. Council also felt they were on the spot; knew they should make showing. Council knew also wouldn't be able to put it over.

D.N. Same team visited by Poston. Army argument "it would be national defense."

J.S. Major Davis straight forward - employment offer voluntary; but here is opportunity to show loyalty.

D.N. Change of argument.

DST Evidence?

J.S. In on initial meeting heard Major Davis speak.

Council on spot; if went all out terrific reaction. Only attractive thing; matter of being deferred, chance to move family; but matter moving from one camp to another, life there not stable, housing projects; restrictions.

D.N. Good housing unit according to picture.

J.S. Inner area where actual work going on. Badge

D.N. Stressed fact, not fused, not dangerous.

F.M. Blast at Tuole

DST Stuff more dangerous than propaganda.

J.S. Council on the spot, unable to explain why it was only attractive to men 25 to 35 - draft? Some attempt at explanation.

Administration pro-council preferred to be neutral, wanted relocation division to handle. Stafford infuriated. However S. Takahashi thought it was good offer. Send representative to look over. Nobody wanted to go. Let S. Takahashi go to see depot. Council suggested that to Adm. Issei from relocation division was pressured into going by Relocation officer, innocent Nisei. Fuji went and Takahashi. Beason went also. Came back made report. Not too bad. Work not too hard. Food not bad describing apt. Adm. wanted to go on a section by section meeting to explain it. Council advised against it. Beason insisted. Had mass meeting, very few people showed up, about 15 to 25. Announcement sent up explaining whole offer. All old men. Most young men out on

seasonal. Very embarrassing. Held meetings at 2 places, gave up further meetings.

D.N. Poston when Davis and Meek came in, Meek very nice, Davis very bull headed. Fact that they were coming it was made known 10 days in advance. Team wanted to meet body of representatives. Crawford in charge of relocation. Contacted me to see if could have emergency meeting of block managers. Team met with representatives in unit 2. For units 1 and 3 meeting in chairmen of council, Relocation office, #1 veteran city clerk, and vice chairman of council #3 and myself. Davis explained all. Presented pictures; husky guys pushing hand trucks, I told them did not have husky Nisei left here. Crawford and Carter backed me. Caucasian personnel and evacuee working together not to make bad effect on Army team.

F.M. At T.L. Jacoby, Carter, etc. people were then more understanding.

DST Impression tendency to push them in mind.

D.N. Poston Caucasian and evacuees together to avoid showdown.

F.M. During registration at Minidoka Caucasian pushed.

S.S. After failure S. Takahashi took Asawa went out to nearby labor camps and far off and did succeed in getting about 60 applicants who were on seasonal leaves.

F.M. C.T. Takahashi right man to Stafford.

S.S.
E.J. C.T. looked out for his own interest. On trial for selling of scrap steel to Japan. Has to clarify his status with U.S. government. Council refused to take action, more examples about council balks and administration resists it. Tension piled up, now it is on deadlock. Stafford: "You shrink responsibility" and try to high pressure me."

Back to administration, new set of appointed personnel and assistant project director. Not smooth working. Stafford trying to

do lots of things himself. Shaeffer was doing lots of things. Huberman comes back assistant project director in charge of community management. Rollings head of operations. Nichols in charge of administering - anti-evacuee. Rollings leans toward Stafford. Huberman man of ideas, brain trust - "I have been on this -- wrote a book -- specialized in field of recreation." Brags, jumps all over everybody - wants to get people to work. Trouble foreman is not good. "You people are responsible," seems to have power coming from Washington. Has no race prejudice observation.

Relationship with C.A. staff. Provinse here when he first came. Open recreation hall. Do something; Provinse agrees. Trying to get rec. hall opened. Matter of concern in Washington. Meets with C.A. staff. He says : "You are not doing anything worthwhile," here is recreation for children. Stafford resents it. Says, "You are loafing". He implies they are lazy, program lousy, proposal: open a rec. hall in each section; who will be supervisors? Stafford resents it. H. says 1 supervisor in each rec. hall in each section. Stafford said tried it and didn't work. C.A. people grumble; oppose him. About 15 supervisors. Huberman objects to note, wants to order. Rec. evacuee centered and financed. Huberman doesn't know this, says it is all wrong. C.A. staff wants to resign. Talked to Huberman, said to him You are doing things all wrong. You are called dictator. Says "no" he is interested in people. Could take advantage of situation, turn back everything to C.A. and asked them to work out program, give whole month - Huberman disappointed. Very sure of himself.

D.N. If he comes to Poston - situation - he would get whole job.

J.S. M. Staley came down to reorganize C.A. activity in Minidoka C.A. staff indignant. Huberman calls them politician (rightly) Disc. on evacuee advisory council. People want certain type of

activity. Idea of compromise. Stafford "cut off tail of dog at once." Walks in with Huberman. Close down C.A., 2 weeks period, for accounting, terminated. No accusation. Staff surprised. Roth removed and transferred to Relocation Division, resented Huberman. Huberman's task from middle of Oct. to end Nov., Nov. 1-15. No activity from Nov. 15. Plan evolved. Huberman tried his bright ideas - questionnaire to find out what people want; I told him he wouldn't get response. People suspicious about questionnaires. I suggested, get advisory group to get their ideas. Maybe get council. He called up council. In council: feeling can't touch. Let Huberman alone. Toward end of Nov. new C.A. supervisor Johnston. Japanese staff? Huberman feels that he would rather not have old staff back. Unless termination of workers justified old C.A. staff should be shown no discrimination. Memo of protest, Huberman answered letter. Very difficult problem. Solid resistance. Man from Washington who claims that he is trained; every step he takes is opposed to what he wrote. I was invited to dinner, talked labor, liberal ideas, in actual practice dictatorial.

One more incident to show way deadlock developed between council and administration. Gym. started after Tuleans arrived, slow in being started, then after Tuleans arrived did start it. During winter crew never large. Work didn't progress. By Nov. 70% finished. Huberman: bright idea, people have gym in a hurry, one later afternoon before Stafford left for Denver conference, "Build the Gym" week by appointed personnel; raise enthusiasm. Matters planned. Sat. Council called in. Explained to them, Start Monday. Printed on Saturday. Appointed personnel send 15 or 20 men evacuees to counter with same number. Council asked to cooperate. Fuji thought it was good idea, can't promise. Workers warned that appointed personnel will come work. Ichimitsu supervisor, been in charge of whole construction, proud of

work, takes praise, very good job. Come to work: rings gong at 9 - at 11 stop work, go home, same in afternoon, work 4 hours but work hard over weekend, crew warned to show up early Monday morning. Group of 15 shows up, didn't know anything about construction. Plank goes ahead and ignores Ichimitsu. Worked whole day. In evening Japanese workers gather tools, close up, Caucasian workers have to go home. Ichimitsu didn't like it; side stepping of authority. Ichimitsu says will quit. Plank says "trying to help," why should you quit; Plank surprised. Huberman, Fuji and myself went to see Ichimitsu. Plank idea chief engineer. Huberman gives in, so Plank found to be wrong. I and Fuji told that he is right, Ichimitsu temperamental, his foreman says to be cooperative. Caucasian continued for week, council met Tuesday, suggested administration made own announcement on matter, whole thing flop. Not much progress. Construction not very good, Caucasians cracked floors.

R.H. Cotton picking exhibition in T.L. evacuee and Caucasian.

Build up rapport (Washington order) Caucasian picked very little, Japanese stayed by themselves and grumbled. Put in hard day's labor. Build up no rapport.

J.S. Stafford back from Denver conference; reprimanded for gym not being completed. To get any use of it would have to be completed if camp closed. Told Myer to get assurance for evacuees that they will cooperate to complete gym. (Oct. 20) Memo to Council, you got to finish gym, have to assure that it will be finished. Can't use more than 70 persons; has to be completed by end of year. Conditions: either promise to complete or boarded up. "Fortify Council by Ultimatum." Council received it, in a dilemma. Want to say "no," but then will be made responsible gym boarded up and then lose gym. Council hence could not say "no." But if it said "yes" it would have

accepted responsibility for finishing. Calculation of hours on assumption of 8-hr. day. Council could not guarantee gym would be completed. Stafford: Guarantee "be done to last nail"; go back and try to think up what to do. Result memo: "will be completed" provided - with lots of conditions:

1. Estimate of required man hours adequate - approval for additional workers.
2. Possible to recruit such workers
3. "Full priority."
4. Good weather
5. Engineer supervision
6. Workers seniority to return to old position

Stafford: Good, but you kicked me in the pants. Council worried. matter of man hours. Worker full 8 hrs; couldn't ask workers to work that. Increase crew hard enough. Council said go "as far as we can." Main hall could be completed. Evacuees all ready to go. Stafford made arrangement for putting in Caucasian supervisors. Old set-up: Ichimitsu and Beatty get on well and Beatty lets him alone. Changed: elaborate set up, series of 7 foremen and Ichimitsu only 1 of them. Ichimitsu lower. Additional people hired handled by other foremen. On top of them Mr. Hampton and on top ~~of~~ Beatty and then Mr. Plank. As soon as we knew that, knew that it wouldn't work. Ichimitsu displeased. Long feud. Ichimitsu and Plank. Plank in Indian Service for 12 years, Stafford relies on him. Not intelligent and rough, and does not know how to deal with evacuees, irritates them. Ichimitsu mad at Plank who poo-hoos him. Ichimitsu being lowered in status, disgruntled. We went to see him, can't tell hakujin to leave. He is in a fix; doesn't want to quit. Feels badly, Fuji and I see Mr. Stafford. Fuji optimistic and radiates it, says evacuees anxious to have gym. Evacuees really don't give a damn. Rumor: "WRA want to get

work done with cheap labor - so that soldiers will use it."

D.N. Our threat to WRA schoolbuilding adobe going on.

J.S. Stafford willing to give Ichimitsu credit for gym, have write up, will recruit workers, get picture of gym and play up Ichimitsu. Stafford insists on wanting gym finished. Position of Ichimitsu. Stafford doesn't want to have Ichimitsu assistant, Fuji misunderstood him. We ran into Plank and Beatty, Hampton, discussed same thing. We suggested that Ichimitsu be made assistant to Hampton. Everything quiet. Fuji misunderstands again. Another meeting with Stafford. He says Ichimitsu temperamental, civil service, can't put evacuee above appointed personnel. Sectional attitude "no." We come home, council adviser spurned. Stafford shows work progress report, time keeping. Nov. 1, special progress report, per day. First report 21 carpenters 4 hours, hour of accomp. $21 \times 4 = 84$. He says report sent to work. 2nd Report, 24 carpenters 3.15 hours = 78 hours. Several days goes on, Council protests. Then workers hear about it - ask Plank about time keeper. "Crowson" keeping time and foreman of next crew. Ichimitsu says can't work. Quits so does the whole crew. Omura Ichimitsu. There is a dog, we beat the dog. Crowson said to Stafford, Internal Security picked up Omura.

Workers protest:

1. Supervisors
2. Keep time

D.N. Another method to get more work. Internal Security had 40 night watchmen, work only 3 hrs. a night. 120 man hours new fellows came in wanted more efficiency. Propose they should work 5 hrs. Men complained. Chief of Internal Security: they would not quit, made announcements in effect as of Nov. 1, 10 men quit, 30 night watchmen working 5 hours, 150 men hrs. He was very happy.

DST Trend in change of work hrs - from very beginning?

J.S. Worse in beginning. Everybody working. Overstaffing. Job scarce. Next thing: meeting Stafford and Council. Fuji for personal meeting.

F.M. Council?

J.S. Council chairman Fuji (parolee) meek person, smooth, could sway people, over-optimistic, avoid trouble, likes Stafford and protects him. 2 other parolees, Mayeno and Miharu former Nihonjin Kai men in Seattle, inclined toward peace. (Parolees at disadvantage). On other extreme Tom Ogawa (Canadian: 36) agrees with him, standing firm, try to please residents, whereas Fuji, Mayeno and Mihara try for Adm. S. Osawa against adm. and Doi supervisor of motor pool crew; not too intelligent, willing to be anti-adm. Chikata pharmacist, no opinion. Shikida: no opinion, split. Takeda out, against Fuji, Ogawa has weight and prestige. I am executive sec. of Fair Employment Board, only 2 meetings, Board figurehead. I am attached to council; sit on all meetings. Fuji went to Stafford by himself, saw Stafford and have meeting, barrage of threats explaining his standpoint, he could invoke D-24 (or D-28) form on which get pay if don't work full 8 hrs. day, will pay them on hr pay. Threat. Old Issei don't get along with Parents Soldiers Assoc., slip, gave information away (Segihara) Council indignant. He says "pro-Japan" sentiment, resistance because of that, don't forget if get trouble give stake. I said: "council placed in difficult position, ultimatum council can't go down. What we suggest: meeting of workers, ask whether would like to talk to workers. Stafford says "will not do it." Council meeting, decided to have Stafford clarification. Fuji doesn't like to have anything in writing, Fuji saw Stafford. Meeting: Stafford can't take out Caucasian supervisors. Daily progress report-keep track of work- no intention to do anything else. Men afraid will be paid on hour basis. If men don't cooperate

will pay them on hour. Council said present this to worker, ask him to put it in writing, Stafford writes memo explaining his stand.

D.N. In conference somebody instructed Project Director to get more work out of evacuees.

J.S. In Washington, making adjustment. Steward head, make adjust. get minutes of Project Directors' conference, Denver Oct. 1944.

Stafford made construction consultant to Beatty. Council not impressed.

Workers called together and matter presented. Workers grievances.

Fuji proposal: evacuee take responsibility for finishing part of it.

Fuji had talked to Ichimitsu. Rosy assurance of Fuji. Workers would work full time. Workers have to accept it, impossible way.

Peculiar process; at this time decided to get out. Too much undercover movement. Fuji-Stafford-Ichimitsu-Graham-Elmer Smith- Back and forth.

Adm. consents finally to lot of minor concessions, stoves, truck service, stands firm on supervisors, Ichimitsu: will not work as long as Plank and Crowson around, so Stafford agrees to put Plank on grievance committee and keep away from gym. Ichimitsu and Stafford stand firm on Crowson - deadlock. Fuji and other decide - got workers to go back in spite of Crowson. Matter presented to Ichimitsu, he refuses unless Crowson out. Deadlock. I was at meeting, I suggested that Washington office decide. Everybody agreed. Memo sent to Washington by Council, goal good, approach bad.

DST How things sent to Washington.

J.S. Memo sent to Myers. Wanted to send teletype, but too long. status now - deadlock. Other issue - Motor pool.

Gradual tension on both sides. Adm. force it on. Panic of Adm.

D.N. Kimball talked to Stafford.

J.S. Stafford smooth, ridiculous threat.

D.N. Same proposal in Poston - joint meeting. Evacuees told: human

beings, \$16 a month.

DST Amazing that Dies Committee did not pick up working conditions.

J.S. Tension

D.N. Difficulty of project director.

DST Difficulties in comparison to behavior of residents unduly different.

D.N. High school audit. dedicated. Capacity for 1,100 people. Only 200 persons present, included evacuee students, orchestra, include 125 Caucasian employees. Okamoto spoke Japanese; when Carter came over and told him to build school building talked about million of bricks; building to be used by child and grandchild. Now they want us to get out - Caucasian curious.

DST How can they expect enthusiasm with policy?

D.N. Rumors at Poston Project Director back from Denver and spoke about closing of center. Project director requested to appear.

DST Contrast Poston to Minidoka. We start with Poston strike.

D.N. ~~Fists~~ Fists over head of adm. in Poston.

R.H. Minidoka like Gila.

D.N. Caucasian like to cooperate with evacuees.

DST Stafford hampered. Must be frustrated.

D.N. When Kimball there last week, analyzed Poston situation to big factory strong labor union, operation more effective.

F.M. True also in T.L. as soon as people organized would talk to adm.

J.S. If adm. refuses then trouble.

F.M. 20 yrs. ago labor union troubles.

J.S. Organization of material?

DST We want

1. Chronological material in real order. Not only in journal. Clear cut. Under functional headings. Suggestions.

R.H. True

DST Have to have thread clear.

D.N. Poston went also thru that stage.

DST New data: coverage good. Somehow, try to get some build up of situation in Minidoka before Tuleans came in; attitudes unreliable, Frank can help us. Frank's notes.

F.M. Visited Minidoka Nov.

D.N. Frank's report well organized.

DST But can't do exactly

D.N. Chapter 1 trip to Washington, get copy of Frank's report.

Dick Nishimoto

Afternoon Session

One affair in detail. Not in Journal. Strike of subsistence crew (Tues. Oct. 24, 1944).

Group of 4 workers, one component of many subsistence crews. Handled sacks of potatoes, sugar, coffee, onions, canned goods. Hard to get people to do this job - old males predominant. Plant packed full of stuff; 4 Issei men unload trucks - too much work. As early as Sept. original crew depleted by leaves (seas. and ind.) Originally there were 14 people. Hence complaints. Head of Mess Oper., Snelson (Chief Steward at Pinedale) replaced Joe Stultz, who replaced Earl Best (Ht. Mount.) Early investigation subsistence graft.

Endi Sugimoto most instrumental in getting Best out, Snelson and Snelson. Three Asst. Stewards, Campbell, Maxey, Burdick. Kobayashi handles ration points for evacuees, but by intrigue became unofficial adviser to Snelson. Issei 50 yrs. butcher work, lacked in ability to deal with people. Employees were mostly Nisei - hence able to control employee, told Nisei off, boot licked chefs in block. Foreman of remaining crew also Issei Bunya could not get along with Kobayashi. Quarrels of crew with Kobayashi. But because of imp. of work and crew was Issei, Kobayashi didn't do much. Bunya insisted that crew be expanded to 18 (4 more than quota allowed). Argument, hard work. Subsistence dept. tried to get worker in. Employment office ineffectual. Snelson finally sent crew to Okamoto, city mgr., and chairman of Community Council. Okamoto proposed volunteers from each block to augment crew. Parker warehouse shorthanded - get volunteers out of block and diverting them to 2 ends. (Parker - load
(Warehouse - unload

Participation of 3 camps in succession; 12 blocks at a time participated.

12 men. Usual procedure established by Nakashi (Labor Relations Board - early strife).

This tried out for two weeks, but difficulties. Volunteers drawn out by non-essential dept. ((Essent: police, hospital, messhall). Trouble.

(1) Work in warehouse and take things home - 2 sacks of dry shrimp gone, another day Ketchup, then sugar. Irresponsible. Subsistence dept. had the acct.

(2) These people going in for the day refused to take orders from permanent crews.

(3) If interruption of work for short time, went home.

(4) People not willing to learn and cooperate.

That is unit 1 not bad, unit 2 and 3 must come by bus, showed up at 11 a.m., when all the work is completed. Most people visited their friends. One day group from unit 3, block mgrs. as soon as arrived at bus station went into fire station and played "goh" and refused to go to work (crew continually complained). Unit #3 disorganized. Volunteer system not good. Then said unit #1 will do it; let #2 and 3 be responsible to send people to Parker. Not satisfactory. Crew disgusted and for permanent workers with definite job.

Kobayashi appealed to Okamoto. Block mgrs. assistance called upon. Kobayashi disgusted and appealed to Sawada and meeting of executive committee members that they get permanent crew members. They tried to pass buck. Succeeded to increase crew from 5 to 12. Even with 12 members complained. They asked for 18. Did not want to work 8 hrs. a day. Wanted to split crew in 2 and take every other afternoon off. Give 3 or 4 members whole day off. Elaborate time table. Each member would be called to work 20 hrs. a week. Wanted 18 people to do that. Subsistence section failed to recruit permanent workers. Block mgr. recruited 12. Crews wanted to make community realize the importance of their work.

Crew didn't like complacency of residents. Hence on Oct. 23 crew decided to strike. Used English word strike. Sawada, Okamoto, Sumida, knew crew would strike, got together and felt it was a good idea. After the strike and when rice, potatoes, etc. stopped coming into kitchen, residents realized seriousness of situation. On Tues. 24 crew failed to appear in warehouse. In afternoon Kobayashi came to Okamoto, Sawada and reported that crew struck. These 3 got in touch with Bunya and promised as soon as civic org. were able to get more people to warehouse willing to come back to work en masse. Pledge. Thus had 12 people. First occasion in which Okamoto, Sawada and Sumida got together to solve problem. Okamoto confessed to friend of Sawada had realized could not work alone; wanted support, Okamoto reported to Sawada and Sumida strike. Tues. aft. 24, Okamoto came for solution. Bunya called to conf. and made pledge. On Oct. 25 Bunya appeared and explained situation; councilmen took it seriously. All four put things in same vein. Sawada good at putting argu. in Japanese.

Question (1. WRA had promised to unload
(
(2. WRA guaranteed subsistence

Very effective. Statement not resented ("earthy" statement:: You don't want to lick.....)

F.M. Do you get agitator.

D.N. Councilmen know support. Councilmen afraid to talk against Sawada - means fight against block mgr. system.

F.M. Considerable progress.

R.H. Situation of council wishing to coop. with Okamoto, Sawada, fear block mgr. system.

D.N. Ad. out of picture. Block councilmen pledge to get one worker out of every block. Openings in Parker to be filled out. Blocks

excused: blocks from which 12 members crew came and 6 Parker workers
18 blocks excused: Hence 18 workers to be obtained.

Question: What to do with uncooperative blocks. All kinds of arguments; main one, Stop food going to blocks. Fellow said: penalizing kids and women, food belongs to WRA. Finally decided: permissible to forget to send stuff to blocks which forgot to send workers. Pressure without illegality. Blocks held meeting that night, serious but not conscious of action of other blocks. Councilman brought back news and said to block mgr. that program had support of block mgr. system. Next morning block mgr. reported (Thurs. 26) to supervisor of block mgr., first one, got work if could get release of Com. Enterprise. Pressure on Com. Enterprise. That was release. 2nd one, No, nobody. Sawada said knowing that there is intercommunication between block mgr: your block is the one that failed, most blocks getting people out,new crew to refuse block to supply with food. Block mgr. get more serious - and so on....

2nd Block meeting.- Each family in block decided to donate 25¢ a pay to person who would accept. By Friday morning all blocks had representative except few blocks with charts for excuse; but willing to send volunteers every day. On October 26, because Kobayashi not consulted - Snelson was out for a day. On 26, unit #2 heard about strike; unit #2 willing to recruit volunteers. Stuff unloaded in warehouse altho nothing went to kitchen. Kobayashi wanted this crew of volunteers to become permanent; didn't realize it was impossible - they would have been "scabs."

Crew being established and size beyond size allowed (25). Sawada went to Project Director who allowed extra quota - sanctioned it with Chief of emp. office. Difficulty solved easily. Kobayashi because of

ambition insisted preparation of termination paper for original crew of 12. Bunya went in Mess Op. Friday morning to find address of crew moving. Evacuee sec. said they were terminated. Members mad, reported to Sawada and Sumida. They traced papers in reverse order, Emp. office headed by ambitious Issei (Oye) to get in favor with group imperative. Oye said: No termination papers. Traced them in Mess Op. Intercepted. Took papers to Project director office. Project director called in Burdick who was meekly willing to retract papers, went back.

Sat. subsistence knew they lost out, knew had to get crew in. Protested to chairman of Manpower Commission, challenged ... of workers and each one of workers.

R.H. Kobayashi motives?

D.N. Has been running mess oper. wants to keep on. Sees danger of block mgr. and council. Kobayashi vested man. First joint meeting, unit adm. Div. and sect. heads with project director. Burdick present at meeting - tho not supposed to appear. Sawada knew why Burdick was there. Project director asked Burdick to explain, Sawada said "Nothing to explain." Burdick said "yes." Sawada showed fists: "failed to recruit own workers we came in to help you, nothing to do until get workers, if you want to challenge any one, we have to withdraw all." Later on Project director said there's some difficulty. Later conf. with chairman of Manpower Commission, it was conceded that subsistence ... will not challenge worker. Conceded that subsistence will have right to show preference for foreman if OK with worker. Subsis. dept. picked one boy, accepted by worker. We knew crew willing to have boy as foreman. There was no concession. 25 started working on Monday, 6 sent to Parker.

We put each Caucasian under control. Snelson back from L.A. on Monday. Thursday, Nov. 2, instructed placement officer (evacuee) that

assignment sheets be withheld - still wanted to challenge. Oye called Sawada. Sawada went into director and requested a conf. Snelson went to hospital! Burdick came in alone; Sawada challenged Burdick; Burdick said didn't know; Burdick afraid to tell proceedings to Snelson. Snelson didn't know. Burdick promised to explain to all Caucasian employees nature of whole thing.

New pattern.

(1) first time council and block mgrs. together. Evacuee united.

(2) Evacuee had good bargaining point. Subsistence dept. afraid Snelson comes to Sawada's office for him to talk to Assistant Project director.

(3) Evacuee emerging on top. No evacuee up to recent cussed Caucasian in front of Project director.

Great strength shown.

Transportation difficulty. Hospital, caste system strongest. Evacuee X-ray Tech. To solve problem all cars placed under him - comes up (vice chairman of Local Council). Powell bullied into accepting this set up.

Powell, Ph.D. Philosophy, Wisconsin, close friend of Lucy Adams. Wants to have paternalism in Poston. Powell fails know everything. Later ~~grown~~ journals would reveal it.

Crisis in hospital: Chief Med. officer doesn't want to take order of evacuee to use his car has to sign trip sheet with evacuee - X-Ray Just before he left Poston. Staff Sat. ~~at~~ aft. Kimball, Okamoto, I, Yamamoto appeared before appointed personnel (60 persons)., Powell presided: "amazing turn out." In adriot way we pointed out that no caste system will be recognized in Poston. Hierarchy of evacuees and Caucasians is getting to be merged.

F.M. Have to compromise, evacuee can't always have to have own way.

D.N. Compromised below; must get at top, what asked, compromise in lower stages.

R.M. In T.L. with Nisei council no compromise down below.

D.N. Statement from Powell at staff conf. "When block mgr. and councils are together they work wonders."

F.M. Ushi?

D.N. They are among block mgr.

F.M. Attempts to rise in evacuee community?

DST No time.

D.N. Recent attempt to get in Executive Board by foreign element from Santa Fe.

R.H. How long power has it functioned.

D.N. Since Oct. 20, 1944.

R.H. No time to see opposition.

D.N. Unless one of ... relocate. X-Ray technician, Issei, good English, capable, good man to come up, Dr. Suzuki.

As soon as "appointed personnel" makes mistake puts them in front of project director, Sawada show strength.

R.H. When Sugimoto investigated graft did it do it capably: trust-worthy?

D.N. Andi Sugimoto, summer 1943 (?) had guts to fight administration. Able to get up there because not anxious to get up there.

DST Yes, he refused; he was pushed up.

Discussion

DST In regard to Poston, we are getting data on later stages - need data on early stage.

D.N. Spending great time get early data from Kimball. Kimball in favor

of idea. Staff suspect I have pressure in Washington. Speizer (Spicer) tells people who come to Poston and tells him to see Nishimoto.

DST Specific. Frank can't get any more data. Problems:

Jimmy and Rosalie. What shall they do in last months? Minidoka.

D.N. I am not interested in what I discussed. Interested how people thought and what they want to do; it seems that Jimmy follows community gov. should go on.

DST Follow up what happens in Minidoka

D.N. Jimmy doing good work in following developments I pointed out. Scrapped original speech for this reason. The pattern comes out as prescribed here. T.L. and Minidoka behind process.

J.S. Early stage some efforts made to get representative body and give advice to Administration. ... down now. Have to call Wash. Kimball, Speizer (Spicer?) or Provinse.

DST Where do you feel you are weak Jimmy?

J.S. In recent developments I have concrete data, weak on the initial period, wasn't there.

(1) I should make sure that general outline of situation not biased. Emphasis on initial stages, selection of block mgr.

(2) Another part, matter of relation between superv. evacuee foremen and worker, in various sections. Have material on various sections. Behavior of Issei and Nisei in these depts.

(3) School: relationship between students and teachers.

R.H.) Spread out too much.

D.N.)

DST)

D.N. Poston supposed to be on school. Fell down in this respect. I don't like to write it.

F.M. Evacuee sentiment?

J.S. Have that - concrete data. Report on the draft.

DST J.S. journal concrete situation described, repetition of many conversations. Latrine conversations. "Latrine philosophies."

War conversation. In terms of concrete incidents have some material. There is body of material with residents alone.

(1) Draft

(2) Memorial service for casualties

F.M. Picture of adminis. activity have enough material?

D.N. Yes, with residents as much reaction as possible should be brought in.

DST ... big comparative report - look at Minidoka for
cf.?

(1) Report of Frank

(2) " " Dick

What do we need - details - to get comparable trends.

D.N.) Has good coverage of each incident occurring at Minidoka. Would ~~J.S.~~ he be able to place individual incident in the totality - effect on

(1) Leadership

(2) Total community

Very difficult as ... are to realize importance in the totality, string incidents together.

J.S. Have to break down incidents. Fields of political activity: fairly good idea of pattern of progressive change. Idea: certain type of leadership, e.g. block mgrs. discredited, rise in protest, rise of council, new leadership had to fight with adm. has to refuse lots of things. Type of adm. to hang on to power, try to keep evacuees in their place, process of trying to maintain status because give in to adm.

D.N. Extension of what Frank said. Good acct. of how people felt different things happen. Trend of war.

J.S. Material on war skimpy.

D.N. Attitude of people
Org. of councilmen and block mgrs.

When try to suppress movement of 2 million yen, not way to act for real Jap., disloyal act for Jap. Can't use that argu. anymore.
War has changed. People are optimistic.

DST. Do have good amt. of material on attitudes. Important.

J.S. Larger framework of America is Japan can be brought into picture.
Vague. But in draft situation it is brought in.

D.N. Not important to follow evacuee employee - Caucasian pattern unless diff.

J.S. Main reason for following it, only conflicts are labor conflicts which develop in relationship worker.

D.N. Labor troubles don't show enough variations. Follow concrete pattern - defying against caste system. Would too much coverage justify time spent.

DST We have it already. It needs to be pulled together.

D.N. Two or three accounts of labor trouble in J.S. follows similar pattern.

J.S. Except have relationship how trouble starts and spreads. As soon as get serious trouble ... leaders take it up.

D.N. I differ. Difference: question whether we are studying camp as a whole or studying segment. Time limited. If trouble does not affect whole camp can forget.

DST. Criterion?

D.N. Intuition.

J.S. In order to know attitude of Caucasians see how act in situation (?)
Council weak. To show the total picture, keep in mind where they belong.

DST. He has the material. More of the same sort not desirable. But not concrete in positive suggestion. Next step.

F.M. Interrelationship of events. In writing my report, Farm strike; find in notes get change in behavioristic character of people, increasing acts of violence, truck driver careless, foremen concern, but nobody else concerned; behavior in situation. Period of contentment diff. behavior. Lack this material.

J.S. Get things looseness of ... ^{obey} juvenile delinquency - speeding-should be followed in general.

F.M. Difficult matter to select significance of social history. Select sign changes.

D.N. Can't cover quarrels between man and wife unless it affects community life.

W.I. Same body of material, different angle. Dick--policy. Development of policy. JS--attitudes.

D.N. No. My journal not development of policy; I have attitudes.

W.I. Interested in a single center presented in entirety for comparison of pattern under diff. leadership and sequence of experience.

DST I tried to make point. What could get in comparative most essential from now on?

D.N. We can't answer, can't tell what happens in T.L.

R.H. We are in far, can't see whole.

DST Dick's journal pays great deal attention to change attitudes.

J.S. Compare on attitude on

Segregation
Draft
Relocation
Opening of Coast

DN. Time limited only 3 or 6 months. What shall we do to round up report?

F.M. Catch up on gaps?

J.S. Yes, try hard. Initial period.

F.M. Of period during which you were in Minidoka- problems of filling gaps?

J.S. Yes, Have to make outline and try to catch up.

D.N. Question: to J.S. and R.H.- In future, situation arises, would you know how people behave? E.g., Find WRA cars being misused and abused, joy rides, girls out in official cars and official hours; project tries to clamp down, would you know how people would behave?

J.S. Hard to say.

R.H. Yes.

D.N. R.H. has to follow everything of moderate group.

DST How would they behave.

R.H. Mass would be against them if punished as they deserve.

D.N. It is a pattern.

J.S. In Minidoka nothing gets around, community sentiment doesn't take hold.

D.N. Then you know the pattern. Check it. Don't spend too much time.

DST to Frank: Gaps?

J.S. Since I have been there not too much on political side. No catch upon graft with relocation, little material.

F.M. What could get to add to report. Turn over of personnel, and why turn over.

DST-D.N. Suppose you went to Granada next month, what would you do?

D.N. Same situation in Gila. Report--I'll use same procedure. Visit my old friends, rather fortunate they are in key positions, able to visit without establishing rapport, go in and talk.

F.M. Picture of political org?

D.N. Start with present--what are they doing; problems having regard to adm., block mgr. system; kind of mess council; background; how stack up to each other.

DST In terms of those questions: Do you think you could write Minidoka report since segregation?

J.S. Since segregation.

DST In build up before seg. get rapport with old Minidokans.

J.S. It will be sketchy.

D.N. Difficult for Jimmy to trace back what happened before seg.

DST. What to avoid generally, before seg. in Minidoka, passive, etc. But not optimistic on early attitude.

D.N. Evacuee observer difficult to get. Secret document not available on manipulation of adm.

DST Community Analysis reports terrible. Anthropological papers, washhall (?) behavior, etc. Evacuees can write.

D.N. J.S. analogous to historian position. Has to go thru documents.

F.M. Reports officer, Community Analysis have reports. Hit on major events and issues.

J.S. Housing, motor-pool, specific things.

D.N. We have now Frank's report. By going thru it will know how to organize material. In position to know what we have.

DST Bob and wife to T.L. went thru whole file. Frank in Wash.

D.N. Exactly what happens at Poston.

F.M. Documents in Minidoka?

DST No. Order can't come from Washington. Couldn't be done. Wait until project closed.

D.N. R.H. got good report, knows what is lacking. Follow-up future events and fill in gaps.

R.H. ... charts. Ever since small group org. for reg-seg. red super patriots -- Tachibara, Wayakayama. As time passed, they have come into red nucleus and nucleus not so red, purple. Group of older advisors, false front of 600 young men, hot shot patriots, ready for riots. Then took into bosom those released from stockade: Yoshiyama, Kai and Kuratomi split off. Keep quiet. Rumor. Dai Nippon pressure group. No evidence. Little later in open. Membership blanks, adults, (Return-to-Japan-to-serve-Emperor) 3 aims:

- (1) Control camps;
- (2) get camp under Justice;
- (3) kick Best out of office

Scared adm. into letting them continue. As group integrated lost public support, moderate. When used peaceful means, beating Tokunaga, Aritaga, arise quiet people. Kurahara rose in public spirit spy on them and watch. Kurahara respected by ex-Leupp boys. Boys in Wakagama gang who respect Kurahara. Kurahara prepared powerful club over Wakagama so that Wakayama repressed and frustrated in 3 last weeks. Kurahara has men in moderate nucleus and try to get him in occasional people in nucleus. Small leaders have been kicked out of nucleus. Good rapport ~~with~~ with all factions and friends all over camp who matter. Even Oda member of my group. Constant grumbling. Only one with guts. Kurahara job by grace of God. Keep up contacts. Follow nucleus action, reaction of common people.

DST Excellent procedure. Wait until come to Berkeley for final organization.

R.H. Question: wiser to keep track. Rewrite first parts of report since am in good.

DST Try to get J.S. to Berkeley in January. Pull chronological acct. into some shape. Would start writing. Cut journal together.

First quick organization of all material under certain headings.

D.N. Has good acct. of events.

DST Some can ... We want interconnected report, then in Berkeley can go to finished writing.

F.M. Would like criticism.

DST Theoretical.

F.M. If write thing as political history don't see difference if try to bring in development relationships and then there is such a mass of junk, feel at a loss to do it.

J.S. Political struggle clear.

DST Social adjustment (?) seem trivial, some of which
Won't know about certain things, organized it well.

F.M. Mental conflict.

DST Incidents out of prop. ef. process of life. Handled O.K.

J.S. Main problem difficult to get.

F.M. Issues clear. Where things not clear run into difficulty.

D.N. Time sequence.

DST But it is political in broad sense.

D.N. War political?

DST Yes. R.H.'s report - all T.L. agitators, actually bulk of people who lead own life not recorded - how people behave.

R.H. Have "sentiments" - put in the orchestration.

DST Frank's difficulty--where do you put it? Strike-Picture in Topaz-Issei home-apparent contentment.Shell work. Leisure more than they ever had. Sort of life.

D.N. Try to put it, have failed.

F.M. When it is definite incident, Tom, Dick and Harry easy to put it down.

D.N. Wide range of re-actions. Have integrated- Tom, Dick and Harry integrated.

DST Examples misleading.

F.M. Shell making, interminably?

DST Tea, shell, general sociability, Leisure.

W.I. I would neglect great deal, wouldn't attempt to stop at any point. In beginning emphasis is so and so, mention common life easily. Superfluous to try to include minute description of everything. Can establish certain goals with approach. The salutary neglect of details with reference to bringing in main things.

Methodologically 3 forms:

- (1) All material to certain persons or committee who handled as body and neglect idea, result of relocation.
- (2) Issue series of monographs, great deal of repetition and body upon which social science could work
- (3) Series of studies and meaning of whole process brought out in final ...

DST Now proceeding on monograph basis.

W.I. Not time to raise final questions.

F.M. As long as I can discard ^{inhibition} ./. as emphasis on major events.

DST Disregard inhibition. In J.S. Issei behavior, gossip, etc.

D.N. Tamie worked on doing (?) but didn't.

DST Tamie good outline maker.

D.N. Anthropologist good in static community, but get crazy in dynamic situation.

J.S. Some major incidents are the pattern to follow.

DST With reaction of Tom, Dick and Harry. Covered in most field notes of all people in Study.

W.I. Good device.

F.M. Winter conf.- Tamie raised point of bias of report.

D.S.Thomas

Analysis of dichotomy "loyal" and "disloyal" 30% Tule Lake "disloyal." Dichotomy not accepted at face value.

Attitude test.

Data 11,000 cases; 17 yrs. of age and over, February 1943.

Loyal) Relocated, transferred
Disloyal)

Issei.

Nisei (Kibei - any education in Japan
(Non-Kibei

Kibei: Diff. in terms of education age non-significant. Bimodality of age.

Marital status, residence and occupation before evacuation. Data on evacuation.

Analysis of factors under 3 headings:

Demographic: age, sex, occupation

Ecology: distribution

Social Density: Diff. in loyal strong.

Very important to hold everything constant when examine one factor.

Data turned over to Kuznets.

Memorandum reading.

Marital differentiation.

Occupational differentiation.

Ecological.

F.M. Tacoma - more conservative community than Seattle - more Buddhist in Tacoma as compared to Christian. Tacoma also went to Pinedale.

F.M. Economic status more favorable?

J.S. Seattle migrated to Los Angeles to get jobs. Farmers in N.W. small
Not better off in

Large farmers in California

D.N. 1932-35 height of migration from N. to S.

F.M. Peak of pop. in Seattle 10,000 in 1928, in 1930-8,300; 1940-7,300.
Steady decline. Seattle econ. based on Japanese support. Better opportunity in L.A.

D.N. Pop. density per unit area, degree of concentration in the area.

DST Very difficult to get.

D.N. Japanese per square mile, in township.

DST S.F. and L.A. and S.J. people

- (1) free zone
- (2) Higher prop. of Kibei?

J.S. Couldn't answer; there are more Kibei in S.F. and L.A. anyhow.

DST Doubt it.

D.N. Pre-evac. L.A. pop. Kibei small.

J.S. Those who moved to white zone, fear of being picked up.

D.N. This is minor factor; econ. factor.

DST Could have a class.

D.N. Selected group.

DST Florin had fewest Kibei and NW in general.

F.M. Courtland segregated schools. Family member or non-family members.

DST Blocks more homogeneous.

D.N. S.F. people direct evac.

DST No analysis of free zone.

D.N. S.F. and Placer came in together.

DST S.F. more concentrated than L.A.

F.M. Group from Tanforan at one time 50 or 70.

DST There were incidents in the projects - incident block 42. Very important. T.L. experience. Suggest: mass contagion should be taken into account.

J.S. People from Tacoma in Ward 6 were more disloyal than in Ward 7.
Checked.

DST Location in a given block significant.

Social Density: Extent of concentration or dispersion.

D.N. Nisei with Jap. Language school; always with Kibei.

D.N. Degree of education.

DST This degree of education difficult to get a measure.

D.N. The more educate understand. The ... educated since the immediate situation. Japanese pop. not well stratified, no clear class stratification.

J.S. Seattle group. foreign-trade group, Mitsi-Mitsubuchi

W.I. In some cases leadership arise to convert everybody.

D.N. Have to be predisposed. Neutralizing terms.

DST Free zone differential would like explanation for big diff.

D.N. That does not control secondary migration. Diff. most marked in case of Issei. Great diff. Non-agric. classes. Greater losses, greater bitterness of people.

D.N. Type of Jap. community in Central Calif. Extensive Japanese school education.

DST Throw out city

J.S. Free zone mixed with Placer ward 5 or 6. Ward 5 block 42 incident would affect them.

J.S. Free zone in middle of trouble area. Assembly Center people not in trouble area. Measure the distance from trouble areas.

DST Good hypothesis; however few~~er~~ cases, females thrown in.

J.S. Intense feeling in Ward 5.

DST T.L. only place where can make of this intensity. Cards of other projects will show. Make it on relocation. Check findings.

F.M. If got data for Topaz, be able to hold urban constant.

DST Greater number.

Poston will have L.A. group.

J.S. Minidoka. Block analysis not important.

F.M. Votes by blocks on the theatre issue. Issei-Nisei- vote by blocks.
Vote on the charter.

J.S. Have votes in journal - overseas broadcasts - not blockwise. Charter too.

November 1942, Tulean Dispatch (Late October).

Togo Tanaka

Jobs held on project.

Togo Tanaka: Have covered 3/4 of JACL material. 80% of correspondence covers periods of 4 and 5 chronological history of JACL in 5 periods.

Outline:

Period 1. local civic club 1918-1929. No written or published material. Personal interview of few individuals. No continuity with later period. Interpreted continuity (4 different parts)
Cycle in interest, period active and then steady decline and then rise. Correlation with support by Issei org. Relation with Jap. Association. Absence of Kibei participation.

Yobiyose seinen (Issei left over by parents) Relation with Caucasian. Public relation technique. Goodwill relation. Top econ. interest. World War I.- Americanism. Eliminate word Japanese. Dissociate Issei from Nisei. Few documents in 30's fear to be judged as hyphenated American. Japan was ...

Period 2: Emergence of national org. 1930-1936: JACL emergence national org. Pacific Citizen. Not much in way of files. In all activities difference in period 2 from period 1. Period 1 study

group detached from community. Interview from Yatabe.

D.N. Harry Suzukawa mixed marriage, child.

T.T. 6 young men in 1918 together for their own interest.

D.N. Kay Tsukamoto, "People's Laundry" Sugakawa employee;
Hayashi just established in dentistry; Tom not well established;
Kiyoshi:

All these young men were connected prof. to their fathers.

Together because of friendship, same age, informal group, little
prof. interest.

F.M. Seattle: 1921-1922 Okuda started org. for purpose of combatting
anti-alien land law.

T.T. Met at Jap. Y.M.C.A. All college graduates. 1923 effect of
Seattle activity. State-wide league 15 chapt. by 1926, then dies
out. First convention 1922, no records. Yatabe recollection.
Delegate selected by Jap. Assoc.

F.M. In Seattle Okuda and Osawa. U.S. Supreme Court passed
eligibility. Shiog[?]osawa, T. Nakamuro[?], to make front.

T.T. Nothing on Seattle.

J.S. Material from Shigosawa

D.N. Rivalry Calif.-Wash. in early days.

T.T. Interview technique best. Anything about it.

All people leaders.

D.N. Leaders in JACL good connection with people from Japan
going thru.

T.T. ~~On~~ 1930-1936 period, JACL political and econ. self protection.
National lobbying, Cable Act, Gakuin bills, local discrimination,
segregation JACL, flag-waving, device to achieve ends.

D.N. Window dressing.

T.T. Confusion in JACL, flag waving end rather than means.

F.M. Biography of individual. In 1920's, Nisei more Japanese than 1930 Nisei.

D.N. Necessary to tie scope of study with whole study. Not extensive.

T.T. Next period crystallization, biographies of outstanding individuals. In relation role, after 1936, Period Adjustment 1936-41. Bid for Jap. community leadership, mistakes of Nihonjin Kai. Must have some leadership. "Security thru unity." Change in relation with Issei.

DST First part can be sketched in. We are interested in role in war period. Activity in early period not interesting.

D.N. Outline; manuscript would go beyond 1,000 pages.

T.T. Doubt it.

DST Formation of early history, no time to get to point of interest.

T.T. Develop that least familiar later period. Documents at hand. No outline. Familiar with later period.

D.N. Limitation to scope of study - tempting to emphasize JACL. Question whether it is worthwhile.

DST JACL structural development not important force. Have to fill history - make it brief.

D.N. ... Go thru documents and conceptualize 15 years and write it up.

F.M. Hypothesis: Character of JACL 1920-1930 influenced by ambiguous situation.

D.N. Conclusion would serve purpose.

DST Couldn't use if it were done. No comparable history.

W.I. Introd. statement doesn't need concrete data; not much trouble. Don't devote great deal of time to early years.

T.T. To get sweep of whole, read P.C. Perspective. Ambiguous position of Nisei brought in.

D.N. Early stages JACL org. mostly dominated by Issei org.

T.T. Base periods on P.C. 1936-1937, impact of international situation. Org. influenced mostly by situation in Far East develop.

D.N. Dogmatic prior to Pearl Harbor 15 pages; sketch sufficient.

J.S. In 1937-1941 description of leaders and then go into action.

T.T. Material overweighted early period.

DST Had to read on early material to get background. Don't worry about documentation.

D.N. Read thru.

Period 4: Period of
Sept. 1941 - April, 1942. Familiar anti-JACL movement.

Period 5: Period of Reorganization:

D.N. About P.C. pre-Pearl Harbor, be short. Entire knowledge goes into it.

T.T. Same as all JACL.

D.N. Faith in judgment in early phase.

DST. Waste of time to work on early phase.

D.N. ... What JACL did after Pearl Harbor in influencing over-all policy.

J.S. Middle of 1941?

T.T. Complete first draft of all chapters, with exception of Period 5.

D.N. No objection to first manuscript.

DST. Could write for own purpose. Then revision and boiling down

can do later. Don't worry about early period.

D.N. Introduction. Documentation not essential.

W.I. Did JACL espouse interests of Japanese, reversed role now.

T.T. Picture not clear, ... for citizenship of select group of Japanese. Fishing industry - 1930-1936. Throughout period also constant effort to disavow or deny representing Jap interests. Effect of international situation. In 1931 identify with Japan, spokesman for Japan to educate. In 1937, a movement toward separation to role of neutral in China situation. Further effort to disavow Issei.

F.M. JACL never strong protest org. Negro: more like Booker ~~Beethe~~ ^{T. Wright} policy than DuBois.

D.N. Concise picture.

J.S. Pro-Jap. in terms of Issei relation in early period of the thirties.

F.M. Pro-Americanism outbreak of war - protest org. (CIO American). JACL: express loyalty because fear.

D.N. Defensive.

DST. P.C. defensive attitude grown in last 6 months. P.C. organized year ago - good paper, pressing points of/... ^{discrimination(?)} Now flag waving of most extreme sort. Service, draft dodgers, name calling.

Jimmy Omura freed.

D.N. Japanese language papers.

T.T. Interviewed Joe Masuoka; Masa Sato; Mike Masuoka, spoke to L.A.C. club.

DST Mike's correspondence rich source.

T.T. I see most that is available. Personal interview helpful, attitudes. Last night, Young Democrats: Omura, Kunitani.

J.S. Were aloof until evacuation. Then tried to get in the group.

F.M. Larry Tajiri has been leftist.

T.T. P.C. divorcing itself from JACL.

DST Larry like Mich.

R.H. Chinese hold on their culture much more. Chinese Nisei talk Chinese.

W.I. Role of Mich?

D.N. Poston, Mich. personal adv. to director. Political role?

F.M. In Cleveland strongly for integration against segregation.

DST Charlie on that side. Much more tolerant now. Mich arrogant. Michie and Charlie at Tanforan.

J.S. Kunitani - associated with Jewish boys.