

James Sakoda  
Tule Lake

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them. At 12 midnight the New Year was announced, and everybody made a great deal of noise and shook each other's hands and said "Happy New Years." Then "Auld Lang Syne" was played by the orchestra. The dance continued till 1 a.m. We had to walk home rather tired.

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1. Diary

Got up at 9:30 in the morning. George had to go to work right away. Ruby made the ozoni (traditional New Year's soup with omochi), and we ate with Mrs. Kaya, who didn't bother to make it because her husband did not eat it. Went to the Recreation Department to hand in my raffle tickets. Ruby and I decided that we wouldn't have any lunch. I had decided not to do any writing on the first day of the year, but I thought it best to write up my diary for yesterday. But Art and Jobo came along to take the stuff to the factory to set up the booth to sell calendars again, and I couldn't finish my entry. It was raining, but the three of us carried the things out to the factory. There was a small crowd at the factory already when we got there around 1:30. When we started to sell the calendars they sold twice as fast as yesterday. I got into the spirit of the thing and began to shout to the people to buy calendars. I thought the Isseis would make good customers, but they tended to feel suspicious about what we were selling. Some of them didn't know that it was calendars that we were selling. It was fun selling because they sold so well. We were beginning to run out of some of the designs. When I left at 3 o'clock I think we had already sold about three or four hundred. I think most of the calendars were sold by 5 in the evening, but I wouldn't know.

Izumis. It was raining when I left the factory with the understanding that I would come back around 5 or 6. I was invited to Mr. Izumi's place and felt that I should drop in even for a short while. Tad, Mas, and Juby were playing Mahjongg with Mr. Izumi. I joined in while Mr. Izumi showed the others how to play. Later Eleanor, Setsuko, and Frances came, and they kept together with Mrs. Izumi. After

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playing Mahjongg till evening, refreshments were served. Some meat creamed on toast, boiled potatoes, pickles, olives, cakes, and a jello and avocado salad were served, and the meal was really delicious.

The boys began to play Mahjongg again, even though Mrs. Izumi wanted the boys and girls to get together. The girls were just sitting around till they finally started to pick each other's ears, and even tried to clean Mr. Izumi's ears for him. After the first round of Mahjongg was over, refreshments were served again. Some ate ochazuke, other cake, and still others ozoni. After a futile try at jitterbugging with radio music, we settled down to a game of Pounce. This was rather exciting, and it kept us occupied till 10:30 p.m. when the girls decided to go home.

Saturday, January 2, 1943

1. Diary

In the morning worked on my lecture notes on relocation policy. It took me the whole morning and a little after lunch to complete them.

Writers. Art dropped in during the morning and brought yesterday's sales along. I helped him count the money, and both of us figured up the amount we had made. The material that we used was charged up to the Community Enterprise, since they were borrowed. Only \$6.40 was spent in string and refreshments. A total of \$126 was sold, which left a profit of \$119.60. I kept the first day's sales, so Art wanted me to keep the rest too.

Janet Okano. dropped in during the afternoon just before I went to class to see Ruby, and I joined in the conversation with her. She brought up the matter of the proposed marriage between Kiyono and a Kibei fellow and said that everybody was against it. When I mentioned that I was going to teach my class today, she seemed to be interested. She asked whether she couldn't come to my class the next time, and I said that she could. Then while we were on the subject of marriage, I said that I thought she wouldn't marry a Kibei, and she immediately wanted to know the reason. I really don't know why I said that, except for the fact that she is too intelligent, too extroverted, and with too many ideals to be satisfied to marry a

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person with a very low status. Kibeis on the whole don't enjoy a very high status generally within the community. She insisted on my telling her why I thought what I did, but I put her off and told her that I had to go to my class and that I would tell her again when she came some other time.

Personality. Only four persons showed up to class -- Riley, Kiku, Roy, and Ruby Tanabe. I didn't really mind because I had gotten used to the idea of having a small class. In fact, we probably had a better class because the class was small. I discussed the background history, some of the important factors that should be considered, and then the advantages and disadvantages of going out to work at the present time. I think I impressed Riley with the fact that I had some insight into some problems which he didn't have. He catches on quickly and admitted that there was an advantage in the kind of life one might lead in here -- an easy-going life filled with leisure. But when I asked him what was wrong with such an adjustment, he was stumped. I said that such an adjustment would be all right if it weren't for the fact that we had to live in a competitive and individualistic world. The discussion proceeded quite smoothly. I'm afraid that Ruby was rather bored, but I don't think too much so. Riley definitely wants to go out. Kiku wants to go out and will if her folks will let her. Ruby feels that she ought to stay with her folks because her older brothers are leaving and she is the oldest child left in the family; Roy thinks he ought to stay. He is considering the fact that he might return to Japan after the war. After almost two hours of lecture which I gave while we sat around the stove, I continued to talk about the Jamboree, just to keep the conversation going. We talked for about half an hour or more before we broke up. I think this is a good idea to get the persons acquainted a little more.

Kiku. On the way home Kiku asked me if I kept a journal. I said that I did, and she said she wanted to see it because she was keeping one herself now. She had somehow gotten the idea from me. She was writing two pages on selected topics. I asked her to come in, and she discussed the matter further. I was going to show her part of my journal if I could find a few pages which didn't have any things about

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but I couldn't find several pages which did not mention a person, some person, so I decided not to let her read the journal just then. She, however, offered me to let me read hers. I suggested that it would be a good idea if she centralized her journal around something, perhaps her reactions to what is going on about her. She said that she wanted to be free to write whatever she wanted and didn't want to feel compelled to write certain things. I pointed out the value of unity to her, but I'm not sure whether she caught on or was convinced. She promised to bring her journal some day to let me read it, and I promised to let her read part of mine.

Took a shower right after dinner because water was going to be scarce because the electricity was going to go off in the morning, and we were not allowed to take a shower after 8 pm. I thought the lights were going to go off at 8 pm. and suggested to Ruby that we go out to play Mahjongg because we couldn't do any studying. Ruby found out that the lights were not going to go off, but we decided to go play for about an hour anyway. I had played the night before and wanted to play a little more. I was trying to make really large scores and was only able to win one game. We kept on playing for two hours and a half before I decided that it was time to come home. The Yamamotos and Takedas were playing together, but the wives vacated their places for us. There was some conversation going on, but I was too engrossed in the game to pay much attention to it. I'll have to go over and be more sociable some other time.

I was going to work on the personal adjustment section till late, but I kept coughing and couldn't get very much done. Then I got sleepy and ended by jumping into bed about 12:30 and reading till past one.

Sunday, January 3, 1943

1. Diary

I was expecting to sleep till late, but my eyes were wide open at 8 a.m. when the mess gong sounded, and so I got up. The lights went out a little after 9, and so I took the opportunity to go to see Kazuko.

Kazuko was home, and as usual I talked to her. She said that she had heard

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from a fellow that Mrs. Murayama was partial to members of the Little Theater, and she was wondering whether she should join it or not. Then she mentioned a girl who was working as a private secretary to Flemming, I think, with whom she said she got along well. I asked her what sort of person she would like to associate with, and she said she wouldn't like to associate with just anybody. This got me a little disgusted, and I told her why it was a good idea to get along with different kinds of people. When I left her I was feeling that I was being unduly critical of her and that I should stop discussing her problems with her. I wondered how she really took my being so fatherly in giving her these advices that I did because they didn't seem to be doing too much good.

When I came back Ruby was having a conference with her adult English teachers. Among the others were James Otsuka, Hattie, Janet, and Yoshiko Kiyono. There were so many persons present that I wasn't particularly sociable partly because I came home in a not too agreeable mood. James did not say very much to me and looked as though he held some resentment against me. Kiyono mentioned that she might want to come to my class, but I did not encourage her particularly. Kiyono and James stayed longer than the others, and we sat around talking; and I couldn't do any writing.

In the afternoon May and Kingo dropped in and then Hattie. We all discussed James' recent attempt to find a date. I tried to get a nap after everybody had left, but Mrs. Ishizuka came in to taste our honey to see what it was like because she wanted to buy it too. Then Kazuko knocked at the door. I was surprised to see her. She had brought me the rest of the messhall section, which ran into 89 pages. She told me that the construction division people had come after her to ask her to the social they were having at the factory from which she had been omitted. It was probably that thing that weighed on her mind which made her rather restless in the morning. She said she had refused to go after the way they treated her, and she seemed to feel all right when she came to see me. She brought back one of Richardson's books that she had borrowed from Ruby, and she borrowed two more. She also asked to read my "As They Await Evacuation." She mentioned that the Marysville JACL was willing

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to sell their typewriter and asked me if I wanted to buy one for about \$90 or so. She said that it was a very good rebuilt typewriter which the chapter had bought for \$90. After a little consideration I said that I would like to buy it and asked her to make the arrangements for me. I figured that my portable would not last too long and that a typewriter would be a good investment anyway. We kept talking about things, and we were both in a more pleasant mood than we were in the morning.

In the afternoon I also decided that I should go to Dr. Jacoby and Elberson's places to get my reports to use on my personal adjustment section. I stopped in, at Mabel's place to return her two books and also to give her two calendars, one for her and one for Tony. She seemed to be scared to see me. Tsuyako was sewing something. I talked for a while because there was no one else in the room, although I had thought that I would just leave the books and leave right away. Tsuyako soon closed up the sewing machine and said she was going home. I said that I would go home too, and since Mabel didn't say anything else except thank you, I left. Jacoby was out, and Don was out too. Mrs. Elberson was cleaning a living room full of soot which covered the room; it was caused by a faulty oil burner. She was very nice and found the coop report for me.

Fumi Sakamoto. In the evening Fumi Sakamoto dropped in to discuss office matters with me, and she was here till 10. She came to ask me what I thought was wrong with the squabble that was going on in the coop office, especially between Koso and herself and Koso and Noboru Honda. She asked me whether it was her fault that relations were not very smooth. Then she also asked me about the formation of the Employer Relation Committee, which I discussed with her. I took the opportunity to ask her background. She did not agree with her father on his relation with her mother and told him outright. This made her father take it out on her mother. Relations being like this, she left home at the age of 12 and ever since lived mostly with Caucasians and only went home to see her folks occasionally. She never associated very much with Niseis. She's going on 29 right now. She admitted that she was aggressive and blunt. She said that she never felt that she was superior to

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the Japanese people or that Caucasians were necessarily superior to the Japanese. In fact, she felt insecure among Japanese because she could not speak the language very well and always had to keep wondering how they accepted her. She said her sick leave resulted from the fact that she had had disputes with Koso about that time. I asked her why she wanted to go out, and she said that her habits were becoming sloppy in here. Her English, for one thing, was becoming poor. Her head, she also thought, was not receiving much stimulation except for her coop work. I put her jacket on for her when she left and handed her her mittens, which she admitted she had not made herself. Then I saw her to the door and suddenly realized that I should see her home. I told her to wait a minute and I would see her home. I said that I got used to thinking that she wasn't a girl. We talked as we walked home, and she put her arm through mine. She asked me when I was going to take her to the show, which I had promised at the end of the year; and I said that it would have to wait till after the reports were finished. I am pretty sure that she feels lonesome and desires some attention from men. She asked me in at her place, but I said that I would have to get back to my report.

But it was getting late by the time I got back so that I decided to start writing my journal. It's 11:15 now, and I still have more entries to make; but I am getting sleepy, and I'll have to leave the rest till tomorrow.

Monday, January 4, 1943

1. Eddy Masui and Sumiko Takemoto

I finally found out who the neighbors were talking about when they said that there was a man in the block whose wife was pregnant and that he had an affair with another girl and made her pregnant too. They couldn't have known each other for very long because I don't think they knew each other before evacuation. Eddy is in his late 20's and is working as a warden at the present time. His father is acting as a reverend, although he used to be only a common worker or farmer, I believe. Everybody seems to say that they wouldn't suspect anything of the sort of Eddy. I didn't know him very well, but I used to meet him here and there, and he used to say

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"Hello, Jimmy" to me. I met him at the Jamboree with several little children, and I asked whether they were his kids. He said that one of them was a niece or something. Then I asked him whether he was married. He said that he was but did not get along very well with his wife. I asked him if he was separated, and he said that he wasn't quite separated yet, and I got the impression that he was planning to become separated. I had seen him at a dance with Sumiko Takemoto, and I had thought all along that Eddy was not married. I asked a girl about the matter, and she seemed to think that he had gotten into that sort of trouble before several times. I asked May whether she knew anything about the trouble Sumiko was supposed to be in, and she didn't think that she was pregnant.

2. Mas and Tom

Mas Tanaka and Tom Hiraga have both gone out to the sugar beet field to work. Tom wanted to make some money to go on to school and says that the next time he is going out, he is going to school, now that he has made some money. Mas had been in Japan, I believe, and he has some difficulty with the finer points of English grammar. But he gets along best with Niseis. Both of them tend to be rather quiet and certainly not rowdy. Mas is slightly Japanesey, but both are certainly not extremely Americanized and "fast."

After they have come back from the sugar beet field, both of them lost a great deal of their inhibitions about approaching girls. At the New Year's party Mas kept talking about girls and even said that he was willing to get married. The surprising thing was not that he was interested in girls but that he was willing to admit that he was. At the New Year's Eve dance Mas danced with a girl and had bought a 50¢ corsage for her. Tom has shown the same sort of change so far as I can see. At the Record's Office Reunion he put his arms around a girl and even sat on the lap of one of the girls, which I don't think he would have done before. Most Niseis of his type would not have done it in public anyway. I don't know what both of the fellows went through, but going out to work seems to be a good way of dropping your inhibitions.

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3. Eleanor Nakagawa

Eleanor said that she was planning to go out to Minn. I think her boyfriend is there. She said that she applied for a domestic job there already. She said that she had many friends there so that she would not be lonesome. I suppose it's going to be another one of those places where Japanese are going to congregate.

4. Kibei Student Club

I heard part of this from some of Ruby's teachers and part of it from Roy Nojima. The Kibei students in the Adult Education classes have gotten together to form a Kibei Club. Mr. Shirrell was approached on the matter and his approval secured. There were a few people in the club who were more nationalistic who desired to make the membership in the Club open to all Kibeis. Others like Roy who were desirous of maintaining more American ways were opposed to it. For one thing they felt that it was dangerous for a Kibei Club with an open membership to be formed.

Last Sunday a party was held with a few of the Kibei teachers taking part. Some games were played and refreshments served. Games were played in Japanese, however, and not in English. Hattie did the Jan ken po stunt with two blindfolded persons. She tried to lead one of the Kibei boys by the arm, and he shook her hands off and said, "Henna koto wo suru na!" (Don't do anything funny!) and embarrassed Hattie. The boys sat in one corner and the girls in the other. Roy has confessed to Hattie, however, that some of the fellows really wanted to learn how to dance. I have asked Miyoko, who has several Kibei classes, to keep records of them for me. I don't know what kind of a job she'll do, but there is nothing like trying.

5. Yoshiko Kiyono

Yoshiko was working at the Placement Office. She seems to have an aggressive manner which I don't think people like. She's gone to college and has been associating there mostly with people older than herself. For the last three months or so she has been teaching English to a Kibei fellow named Bob. She's about 25, while Bob

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is only 21 or so. The two seem to like each other and have made up their minds to get married. Someone was approached to become their Baishakunin, but the man refused because he thought it was a poor match. The girl was too old and had too much education for the boy. It was thought that they would make an unhappy pair. So far everybody seems to be against the match. The interesting thing about the match is that the girl had not been successful in finding a mate among the Niseis and had therefore picked on a Kibei and a young one at that. Dorothy Sofye seems to have done the same thing when she married Tatsuo. They show very little affection toward each other in public and at home too, I am sure.

6. James Otsuka

Whatever a "drip" is, James is supposed to be a good example of one. From Mike, Hattie, and May I have been able to piece together reactions that girls have taken to him. In the first place, people don't seem to like him. This seems to be attributed to his attempt to give the impression that he knows a great deal, his being nose-y about other people's business, his lack of consideration for the other person, his being bossy at times. To girls that he has taken out on dates the more serious objections are that he is very tight with his money (he tries to sell his bids when he can't find a date), he has very poor manners, he has "halitosis," he leaves a girl at a dance just to dance with someone he wants to dance with. The charges against him then are two in number: (1) that he has a poor personality, and (2) that he doesn't know how to behave when he is with a girl. The latter can be attributed to the fact that he has had a very Japanese background and has not had the opportunity to learn how to behave with girls. The former can be due to a variety of reasons, one being the fact that he stutters a little.

For the New Year's dance he asked several of the girls in the block that he knew, and all of them turned him down. They include Kiyoko, Hattie, and Yaye. Then he went to the coop and asked Mike, who turned him down. Then he also asked Asako and some of the English teachers. In all it was figured that he asked about six or seven and still he was unable to find a date for the dance. The surprising thing is

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that he had the courage to ask so many girls. He has taken the adjustment of giving people and himself the impression that there is nothing wrong with himself and that he can get a date anytime he wants one. Therefore, when he has made up his mind to get a date he has to keep trying until he succeeds just to keep up his pretense of all being/right.

#### 7. Coop Board of Directors Meeting

The meeting is opened at 8 p.m. The minutes are read first by Koso. Mr. Sugimoto, the new treasurer, gave a little speech about accepting his job. The minutes are written up too much in detail and take time to read. I write a note telling Mike of that fact, adding that what I ask is not very important. She writes back that I am important, aren't I?

Mr. Imai, the vice-president of the Social Club of the enterprise employees, is introduced.

The report on the movie projector is not all in yet. The second membership drive was supposed to start today, but the financial statement has not arrived yet, and therefore the drive has not begun yet.

General Member's Report. He starts to talk in Japanese but soon shifts to English. The scripts that we ordered will be delayed, and therefore some order has to be placed in Klamath Falls.

Source of Supplies. It is difficult to get new sources of supplies. It is almost impossible to get new sources of supplies. It isn't a matter of money. When the financial statement comes out, we can get supplies from our old sources.

Shibata (he starts to speak in English but shifts to Japanese, probably for the benefit of the Isseis): The New City Laundry is doing business with the coop and paying 15%. The Cascade Laundry offers to do business on the same basis. The NCL is doing a business of \$865 a month.

Ikeda: Why not keep the latter company out? (The Cascade company was stopped from coming in, but it is still coming in until further plans are worked out. The block manager is being paid the 10% commission, but most block managers seem to be

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returning the money to the customers.)

J.S.: Is it very inconvenient to the people if they have to go to the canteen to get their laundry? (Mr. Taketa says that it is.)

Horiuchi: Make the rate of \$75 for one laundry and \$100 for the other.

A few are in favor of deciding this matter right away. Someone suggests that the matter be left up to the Management Committee. Mr. Ikeda feels that the matter should be settled right away. J.S. suggests that the managers be left to work out the details with the Management Committee. J.S. makes the motion, Mr. Itami seconds it, and it is passed.

Employee Relations Committee.

Fumi (Gives the report. A supplement to the first report. Personnel Director to be created. Appointed by the Board of Directors. An executive position to the personnel management division. She talked so fast that I don't think most people understood the contents of the report. The chairman says that he didn't understand very well. Mr. Sato says that he would like to have a summary of the report again. Fumi gives the important points.)

Takemoto: It's a good idea. What do you think, Mr. Imai? We didn't have a good chance to give the employees a voice in running the store.

Imai: In the by-laws there wasn't any employees association, which should exist in any organization. The workers are not able to say what they want to do. We thought that it would be a good idea if the representatives of the employees organization were able to sit in on the meetings of the Board of the Management Committee. We thought that it would be a good idea if the president of the Employer's Club were able to sit on the Board.

Chairman (He enlarges on what went on before. He is in favor of getting the cooperation of the workers. An acceptance of the report takes some time.)

Sato: Why not let the manager handle the matter. Why bring the employees into a meeting.

Fumi: That would leave the employees without a voice.

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Sato: Members say that there are a lot of young men hanging around the canteen. There are too many young girls and young men hanging around because of that. Why not cut down the number of younger girls?

General manager: The policy is to hire people above 24 or 25.

The chairman tries to take a vote without a motion. J.S. moves that Miss Sakamoto's recommendations be accepted in full. Seconded and passed unanimously.

#### Advance Buying.

Buyer: Until now we have not been doing advance buying. But it is becoming harder to get goods and we would like to make advance orders. We would like to place our orders at least three or four months in advance. Otherwise, it is going to be very difficult to get ahold of goods.

Mitsutome: Why did Mr. Smith set a policy against advance orders?

Buyer: Probably because he did not know how long we would stay here.

J.S.: Can we cancel advance orders?

Buyer: We are not sure.

Imai: The wholesale is going to find it hard to dispose of drygoods, because the sizes for Japanese are difficult to get, if the order is cancelled. We had a hard time getting dry goods together because we did not have time to place advance orders. But customers don't consider that, but rather they crab all the time. I would favor advance order.

Chairman: Even if the war is over, we may not be able to get out for a half a year or a year.

Mr. Mitsutome makes a motion to allow six months in advance. J.S. seconds the motion, and it is passed unanimously.

#### Surplus Clothing

George Ikegami: The WRA is not going to give out any more clothing, and they would like to have the coop purchase these goods. We asked whether we could buy the clothing at a reduced rate so that we can sell it at the same rate that they have been selling them at.

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Taketa: The main reason the WRA decided to stop distributing clothing was that they did not have enough manpower to carry on the distribution. How about the coop acting as an agent for the WRA?

X: We bought some cheap shoes, but we can sell only good shoes, and we have a stock of cheap shoes left over.

J.S. pokes Koso and tells him to get a motion on the matter. Koso tells the chairman. The chairman tries to pass the matter without a vote.

J.S. makes the motion to give the general manager the power to buy surplus clothing from the WRA. Mr. Itami seconds, and the motion is passed unanimously.

Taketa: How about including the treasurer in the Executive Committee? He makes a motion. It is seconded. The motion is passed unanimously.

Hamai: As long as this is a coop, I don't think the word business should be used. I think the word service should be used.

Reclassification.

Ikeda: The matter of raising the pay of those who have worked over six months to \$19 was referred to the Management Committee. The opinion of Ward 2 was against such a move. The Management Committee, however, recommended the raise.

Fumi: I think that if the recommendation comes from the Employer Relations Committee it would give them a good start.

Ikeda: We have to go ahead even if there are some people against a decision.

Imai: The barber shop employees and shoe shop employees are getting \$19. The cashiers are getting \$19 even though they are not having too much responsibility. The rest of the girls are getting \$16 even though they have a lot of experience. Alice Abe does most of the buying for women's goods, but she is receiving only \$16.

Ikeda: There is a girl in the #1 canteen who takes money. I heard it three times. A man bought two cigarettes free of charge, and another man came along and bought a pack of cigarettes and said that he would not pay anything because she had given cigarettes away free. The boy handling fruits gives poor services. How about getting clerks numbers?

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Ikegami: Everybody is against numbers. (There is a great deal of drifting in this discussion. A motion is called for, but no one makes one. J.S. moves that the matter be left up to the Personnel Director to consult the Employer Relations Committee and the representatives of the canteen employees.)

Mitsutome: Wouldn't it be against the policy of not changing the management policy for three months?

Takemoto: It may.

The motion is passed unanimously.

Makino: I move that the six persons be appointed as members of the Employer Relations Committee.

1. Shinozaki
2. Iseri
3. Yoshida
4. Dairiki
5. Omura
6. Watanabe (tentative)

The meeting was adjourned around 10:50.

After the meeting all of the members went to mess #1820 to eat a midnight snack. Since Mr. Ikeda has come to the Board meetings he has come to favor more action by the Board. I think he sees that the Board is doing its best to get through with its business. Some of the managers from the stores and buyers and representatives of the employers were present at the meeting, and their presence served to improve relations with the board. Much of the misunderstanding of the past has been caused by lack of contact with each other. The meeting proceeded quite smoothly although there was some rambling. Mr. Kuramoto seems to feel helpless because he doesn't know what to do at times.

### 8. Coop Office Trouble

There is trouble in the coop staff office and most of it seems to be the fault of Koso, the executive secretary. He has gotten the idea that he is the head of the

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office and Fumi and Noboru are both subservient to him. Fumi seems to have run across the same trouble before and almost had a nervous breakdown and had to take a sick leave for ten days. I think James left because Koso was trying to boss him around as a messenger boy too much. I asked Fumi what was the real complaint against Koso and she enumerated some. (1) Koso gave the wrong work to the wrong person. He would ask either Fumi or Noboru to take the minutes at a board meeting, when he himself should be taking them. He would ask either of them to help him with such insignificant work as stapling notices and addressing notices. Koso's contention was that this was one office and that everyone should help when there was need for help. Consequently he felt at leave to ask any one's secretary to do work for him when he had two good secretaries, Mike and Hisako, working for him. (2) Koso has also been slow in carrying out his work. Recommendations would be passed on to him which he would not take action upon, possibly because he did not get around to it. A suggestion was made to him for placing complaint boxes in each canteen, but this has not been done to date. On the other hand, Koso goes out with the car when the same thing could probably just as well be done by phone. Then he insisted on sending out New Year's greetings to representatives when the office was so busy. The coordination of the work of the committees and the Board and the committees have not been done so far, and this is really Koso's work. (3) Koso doesn't subscribe to the idea that work should be clearly divided in the office to achieve maximum efficiency. He seems to have gotten the idea that he is the head of the office, and doesn't seem to realize that Fumi and Noboru have just as important work as he has. He feels that the two him, when actually they are more responsible to are responsible to the Board. They don't mind taking work that rightly belongs to them from Koso, but they don't want to do any work that they feel should be done by Koso himself or his secretary.

To iron this matter out a conference was held by the three with Mr. Elber-son. All of them seem to have blamed Koso for not organizing his work. The feeling was that if Koso organized his work everything would proceed more smoothly and he could get everything done without extra help. They also felt that he should not have an assistant unless he was able to organize his work in such a way so that the assist-

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ant would have definite work to do, instead of doing all of the work that Koso did and then letting go around wasting his time elsewhere.

Because of these irritations the two do not speak to Koso directly so much. Instead they have taken to communicating with him through inter-office memos. Mike says he doesn't mind Koso so very much because he worked with Japanese men who acted like that before. Koso doesn't seem to realize that in order to get people to work in a place like this or any place else, you have to get their cooperation and their willingness to work. One of the ways to do this is to make the secretaries feel that their work is their own and one which even he himself cannot control. Fumi sees things like these very clearly since she's had more experience than Koso.

Fumi said that Mr. Shinohara, Koso's assistant, was becoming rather noseey too. He was hired to do translation work, but at the present time there isn't very much of it to do. Mike says that Japanese men are funny. Both Mike and Fumi believe that Koso has definite Japanesy points of view and stands up for the Isseis quite a bit.

Fumi and Noboru decided that they would be as cooperative with Koso as possible, but they definitely did not want Koso to pile work on them which did not belong to them. Fumi asked me whether it was her fault that this trouble existed. I pointed out that it couldn't be because Noboru was involved in it too. I added that it would be best if she weren't so blunt about things. She wanted to know what could be done about the matter. I suggested that Don speak to Koso, but Fumi said that he did not want to say anymore than what he said at the staff meeting. I then suggested that they remain firm in their stand that they would not take work which did not rightly belong to them, and let the situation explode if it had to. I thought that even for the fact of learning how an office should be run, it was best if the two did not take on responsibilities which Koso should be handling. Tonight, however, Fumi offered to Koso that she take the minutes if he wanted her to.

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1. Special Board of Directors Meeting

Eight p.m. Only eight are here, so we don't have a quorum.

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Reeder: I talked to Mr. Smith about bringing in our clothing on their truck and trailer. We were open only about an hour or so and we sold about \$400 worth. They bought the better stuff. I talked to Don about it, and it is hard to get the right sizes. I talked to him on the possibility of making a store here and putting it on a more permanent footing. If we could have a room about this size, we <sup>could</sup> put in anything that would compete with what you have in your stock. I would like to give some Florsheim shoes and the like. Also nice suits, slacks, and other things that make a complete men's store. We could get you the merchandise, I'm sure. We inventory about \$50,000 a year.

General manager: What proportion are you going to work on?

Reeder: I estimated that we will have to stock with about \$10,000 worth of inventory. I would rather let you fellows handle the whole deal. Pick up one man who would be responsible to me for the store.

Taketa: What margin can you allow us?

R: The expense shouldn't run into more than \$100 a month. Alterations would have to be done, of course.

General manager: How about using the #4 store?

J.S.: The people may not like the idea of selling expensive goods because the people buy the most expensive goods.

Elberson: That feeling is probably much less than at one time.

R.: We carry first class goods and they tell us what prices we should sell them for. My proposition was that we would split up the profit. The mark-up is about 40%.

Taketa: How often do you want your account cleared:

R.: About two or three weeks.

Elberson: The price of shirts should be the same in both stores.

Reeder: I would like to have a protection against competitors. The prices will be the same as the outside.

J.S. and Roy: The only point to worry about is the opinion of the people.

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X.: The younger people are demanding better things because their old clothes are beginning to wear out. We want to give the people what they want. When we get a good thing in, it is sold out in a couple of hours. Mr. Ishikawa and I will try to get the better sort of things because we know what we want now.

Elberson: The people who have been in business the longest are going to find it easiest to buy things.

X.: How about our trip? Why not decide on certain things? We won't be buying hats, suits, and shoes.

J.S.: We have to be careful about creating a demand for expensive goods.

Taketa: We should consult other committees. We should also make the details definite. The profit to be divided. Payment every two weeks. The cost of articles is invoice plus freight. Who's going to get the fixtures?

R.: We will get the fixtures and the cash register.

Taketa: We will furnish the labor.

Agreement for one year in advance. No competitors.

R.: I have been here twenty years, and had a business of \$200,000.

Elberson: How much would it cost to get supplies through you?

R.: For small orders it would be about 10%.

George: I don't think it should be taken back to the wards.

Elberson: This is also a service for the administration staff.

Taketa: I am against taking matters back to the ward without a thorough discussion among the Board and committees first.

J.S.: Do you mean to say the matter should not be taken back to the ward?

Taketa: No, I don't say that. But we should be in the position to guide the people.

Elberson: You should choose one person who will be responsible for presenting this to the others.

J.S. suggests that Fumi draw up a report to be presented to the whole board. The meeting is adjourned at 9:30.

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Analysis. Most of the discussion was carried on by the general manager, Taketa, Sakoda, and Reeder. Mr. Elberson and the assistant buyer also pitched in. Strangely enough, Roy agreed with me on the one point that I stressed. Most of the Isseis were not present. Mr. Mitsutomi hardly said anything, and probably did not know very well what was going on. We have come to learn how to handle important business. Instead of rushing ahead and making a decision right away, we have learned to get the opinion of committees and also to assign someone to write up a report and to contact other committees.

## 2. James Otsuka

James came in today and announced that he was quitting his work. He said that he was going to be the Thoreau of Tule Lake. He had quit, he said, because he wanted to work on the coop report. He said that he told Dr. Francis that he was leaving because he wanted to study some Japanese prior to leaving the center. Ruby believes that the real reason that he quit was that he didn't get along with the other people on the teaching staff. Mrs. Yoshida felt that by the way he talked he probably didn't know very well what he was doing. This is his second termination within about two months, and it just goes to show that he is not well-adjusted here. He doesn't even speak to me anymore, probably because he feels that I don't like him either.

Wednesday, January 6, 1943

## 1. James Otsuka

James opened that door this morning and said hello to Ruby, threw her eraser into the room, and left with only a thank you. I was at my desk and possibly he didn't want to speak to me. Anyway, Ruby thought he was a queer fellow, acting in that way and not being more civil.

## 2. Lily Matsushima

As we were coming out of the mess hall this morning Lily came up to us. I took her hand, which she offered, and shook it; I learned that she was leaving. I asked her to come in, but she said that she was in a hurry. She was leaving for a domestic job

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near Chicago. She said she could save up money and perhaps go to school later with it. She was smiling and seemed to feel rather triumphant about the fact that she was leaving.

### 3. Minnie Nakano

I understood that Minnie left for a job outside too. I will have to find out what sort of job she found.

Thursday, January 7, 1943

### 1. Ward 2 Coop Meeting

The meeting opened at 7:45. Practically everyone is here. Only two are absent. The minutes are read. Mr. Kajita is introduced as the representative from Block 29. Mr. Matsumoto is to make a report on the Committee on Committees. He says that he hasn't any report to make. The chairman asks Mr. Matsumoto to give the first report just to satisfy his ego.

J.S. gives the report on the Board of Director's meeting. There are complaints because the matter of the income tax came out in the paper before the representatives knew anything about it.

Mr. Ikeda takes a dig at Mr. Kuramoto for not knowing that Employer Relations Committee members had been elected. Mr. Mitsutomi, Matsumoto, and others agree that this ward is very serious (shinken).

Laundry. One block manager quit handling laundry because block people did not always pay up right away. Some people feel that the matter should be left up to the block manager.

Shinozaki: How many per cent of the people are buying with scrip? I think the matter ought to be explained more clearly to the people through the Dispatch.

Membership Committee Report. The membership drive has been extended because the statement has not arrived from the auditor yet.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:30.

### 2. Mrs. Kakiuchi (conservative family).

Mrs. Kakiuchi came this morning to tell Ruby that she was quitting her English

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class for a while because her children asked that she stay at home. It all started because of this howling that mothers are causing juvenile delinquency by not staying at home, by attending too many classes. It is true that many mothers are attending classes, but it is doubtful whether juvenile delinquency is directly a result of that. She said that her children like to stay at home and want her to be home even though most of them go to school. George, who is coming to my class, is eighteen years old and is working in the messhall at the present time. He is a very nice fellow and seems to like to study. The youngest child is fifteen. She said that her girls were very quiet and only went to church and did not go out any place else. She realized that they were being brought up too quietly, but I think she feels very proud of them. George too is very conforming and attends several classes during the day. He says that he wants to go to college even if he has to go out to work for a while to do so. His mother was afraid that if she let him out he would be hurt because of the racial prejudice existing on the outside. This fear of violence seems to be general among Isseis. She asked George to stay in camp a bit longer. She offered to stay home more for the sake of her children. This disturbed her so that she could not sleep last night. She made up her mind for the sake of her children that she was going to quit her English class for a while, even though she was very sorry to have to drop something which she had started. She felt that she couldn't be thinking of herself all of the time.

I advised her to send George out to school because it was good for him to be shoved around. I also assured her that she had very little to fear from racial prejudice because violence was the exception. I also pointed out the possibility of being drafted and that it was better to send her child to school while she had the opportunity.

The interesting thing about this family is its conforming nature. George likes to study and is willing to listen to his mother in most things. He says that he'll wait till fall about deciding to go to school. Her girl is quiet and doesn't go out much except to church. Clearly the children have made a submissive adjustment to their parents and are very much attached to them. The mother is a very intelligent

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woman and looks after the welfare of her children rather closely. They fit very closely into the pattern of a submissive type of adjustment. The question is, "What makes the children submissive?"

### 3. Elsie Yagi

Elsie waits on our table now and we like to talk to her. She's still rather young yet and we like to kid her because she's rather good-natured and makes believe that she is angry every time we kid her about something. She says that she is going to start working in the Placement Office. She has learned typing but not shorthand. She thinks that she's going to like her work there better than working in the mess-hall. Her sister is going to work with her. She also stated that her family was going to move to Colorado if they got a chance. Most of the girls would probably be working in homes, which would be better than earning only \$16 inside here. We kidded her about working in the Placement Office because they gave dances frequently. She said that she never went to dances very much and only learned it in November. She must have learned it when the block gave the dance practice. Today I grabbed a platter of food away from Ruby because she said she had just come in and said she was tired from walking. She saw it and said that she didn't like "Japanese style," the idea of boys being first. I told her that I had better change my ways if that were the case, and she waved her hand at us and went off to serve another table.

Friday, January 8, 1943

### 1. Special Board of Directors Meeting

The Board is meeting tonight with the Management Committee to discuss the propositions of Mr. Reeder's opening a men's furnishing store. A quorum of the Board is not present here tonight. The chairman is not here. The minutes of the last Board meeting are read. Mr. Kubo has taken the chair. He asks Fumi to read the report she has drawn up. She says that she can't speak in Japanese. She looks at Koso who was not present at the last Board meeting and is not cooperative. Fumi starts to read the report. Questions are asked for. J.S. suggests that it's better

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to give the idea first because the Management Committee doesn't know what it is all about. Mr. Ikeda agrees to this suggestion. Koso starts to explain, but he calls Mr. Reeder an agent. Fumi questions this and calls upon Mr. Taketa to explain, "... because he's the only one that can explain fully." Mr. Taketa proceeds to explain in Japanese, showing how this matter is a partnership. He does a very good job. After a general account is given by Mr. Taketa, Mr. Kubo instructs Fumi to go ahead and read the report. The report is too much in detail for the preliminary discussion. Fumi reads in English, but I'm afraid most of the people are not interested.

Ikeda: We should discuss whether such a shop is necessary.

Chairman: Is such a store necessary?

Ikeda: I think the older group is opposed to such a shop.

Sato: People can buy through the mail-order. The public opinion may be against this.

Ikeda: The younger people may be for this. This is a questionable matter.

Ichikawa: I am against this matter. It's troublesome in handling other goods. There is no need to wear Arrow shirts. The only problem is whether we can get ahold of merchandise. If we can't get ahold of merchandise, then Dick Reeder won't be able to get ahold of it either. We don't want to handle hats and suits because it costs too much to store up. But I am against other general goods being sold by them. I think we can get most of the goods, even national brands.

J.S.: I think the young people want things like sport shirts.

Taketa: If it's clear that the young people want these goods, then perhaps we should give them this service. But if we are going to create the demand, we have to question the wisdom of this move. If the coop can buy in sufficient quantity, then there is no need for this service. It's a good idea to open a source for ourselves at this time. I think we should wait till after the buying trip to make our decision. We can tell Mr. Reeder that we have to clear the legal aspect with the WRA.

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Sato: I don't think we should decide this matter by ourselves.

Taketa: I move to table this matter until the legal aspect is clarified with the WRA.

J.S. seconds the motion.

Mr. Taketa means that we should wait till after the trip.

The motion is passed unanimously. But a quorum is not present.

Employee Representatives.

Honda: The employees desire one person from each store, which would make about twelve or thirteen representatives from the employee's side.

J.S.: I'm in favor of it.

Fumi: They don't have any voting power anyway.

Taketa: (when asked for his opinion): I don't know. (He is peeved.)

Sheetrock.

I would like to get the o.k. of the Board to close a store at any time to put in sheetrocks.

Roy: I think this should be left up to the manager.

This matter is left up to the general manager.

Rationed Goods. Wired from Washington: Evacuees cannot buy canned goods if they are rationed. Therefore the coop cannot sell canned goods when the ration goes into effect.

Montgomery Ward. Since catalogues and goods are scarce, they want us to wait till the spring and summer catalogue comes out. The service will not be available till the end of February.

Scripts. All of the scrip coming into the office are being burned.

Cigarettes. We are selling at cost at the present time. I wonder whether we shouldn't raise the price a little.

Sato: I think the mark-up should be fair (equal).

Ikeda: I am not in favor of raising the price just now. If you are making a loss on the cigarettes, you might raise it; but I suggest that you don't raise the

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price on the rest of the merchandise. You don't have to discuss such matters to us.

Vote of Thanks. Members of the Board of Directors and members of the committees are leaving. I would like to send them a letter of thanks.

Koizumi: I would like to have a door placed on the north side in the middle. It will make it less crowded, make it easier to open the door.

There are too many complaints from the Sears Roebuck mail order. Everybody brings in the complaints to canteen #1. I would suggest that the center office be made at canteen #4 so that the purchaser can stop there on his way back from the post office and register any complaint that he might have. They should write on the order blank whether they paid cash or scrip. Also a credit slip should be made to make refunds to customers.

We would like a clock in each store. It would make the hours of work easier to keep track of.

I would suggest that the counting of money be done more orderly and a special table be made for such purpose.

I suggest this form for selling scrip books.

Ashizawa: There are plans for an extension in the office.

J.S. moves that the meeting be adjourned. 9:30 p.m.

X (Management Committee): Things we recommended have not been carried out.

Koso: I have been analyzing the minutes and have been sending them to the right channels.

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Duplicate sales tags to be kept.

Kitade: I mentioned the sales tags about three weeks ago.

Kubo: We were discussing check cashing at the time.

Taketa: I think the Board should send a report back to the committees.

Koso: So the blame falls on me. I try as much as possible to answer the complaints as much as possible. When I speak to the General Manager sometimes it is refused and it is difficult to send representatives to all of these complaints. My original plan was to get the three persons to handle part of the committees, but I am handling the committees alone.

JS makes suggestions.

Koso says that things are becoming clearer for him.

Koso: I want an assistant. My secretary is doing straight typing.

Roy: The Board shouldn't handle such small matters. (The matter of inefficiency in the co-op office came up tonight. It will probably be partially solved by Koso finding an assistant for himself.)

#### Clara Sakamoto

Said that she didn't intend to leave the mess hall just now.

#### Helen Sugiyama

Told Ruby that she didn't like her teacher because she bragged too much about America. When Ruby asked her whether she didn't like that she replied that she liked it in class, but not in her heart.

Monday, January 11, 1943

#### Co-op Board of Directors' Meeting

The meeting is opened at 7:55. Eleven Board members are present. The roll is called and the minutes of the last two meetings are read. The minutes alone take about 20 minutes to read.

#### Report from Ed. Director

Noboru Honda: I want to report on the activities of our department for the

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last month. There are no outward results of our activities. One reason for this is that the co-op has only started and that it is necessary to give a good start. Most of the work in the past month has been gathering facts, watching. Our main activity has centered on publishing notices in the DISPATCH. We intend to publish pamphlets explaining the income tax, the check-cashing policy, the quality of co-op merchandise. The committee has been meeting every week. Most of the discussion has been on plans. We have been studying camp psychology. The meetings in the block should be divided into three groups, it was discussed -- Nisei, Issei men, Issei women. The co-op should be approached first from a practical angle and then take up the ideals later. There are plans for an educational leader in each ward who will be paid by WRA. Those already chosen James Sakamoto, Shigeto Ohmura. We have studied how we can get people to attend block meetings. We are also planning to discuss the setting up of a scholarship, have study groups, poster contests. I have been attending all of the meetings to learn all I can about co-ops. Miss Topping has a study class. Each one of her pupils is going to start new study groups. We are planning to get educational movies. I have neglected the other committees, I know.

Employee Relations Committee

This committee is going to meet for the first time tomorrow night. I hope to meet with all of the store representatives tomorrow. The wage scale will be discussed first. Study classes for employees have been discussed with Mr. Shibata and with the managers. In the morning when the store is not busy we will have classes for four or five clerks. We will take the best clerks first. We are going to try to better the service. I would like to have your approval of having 11 representatives from the employees instead of 7 as suggested before. They will not have any voting power. They will act only as an advisory body. Consent given by general assent.

I will try to avoid publishing results of the Board meeting before the ward meeting. But what shall I do when it is necessary to publish something quicker.

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(Everyone feels that he should go ahead and publish whatever he desires.)

I attended the canteen social club and they were thankful for the concern of the co-op for the employees. They would like to have one person sit in on the meeting of the Board of Directors.

Sato: I don't think an employee should sit on the Board of Directors.

Taketa: I think the Board should sit alone. But if there is anyone who wants to present a problem he should present it to the executive secretary.

Ikeda: I agree with Mr. Taketa. When matters concerning the employees are handled, they should not be sitting in on such meetings.

Shibata: How about sending a copy of the Board meetings to the employees.

Roy: How about sending a representative from the Board.

Fumi: I don't think the employees would like that either.

Elberson: Would you object to having one representative sit in at the Board meeting?

Shibata: One employee went around and said that in the Board meeting they accused employees of being crooked. I told them that such a thing didn't occur at Board meetings and showed them the minutes.

Elberson: I would favor a representative from the employees myself.

Mr. Taketa moves that the employees be refused a representative to sit regularly on Board meetings but they can when they have a special problem to present. Mr. Horiuchi seconds the motion. JS amends the motion to include the sending of copies of the Board minutes.

Passed: 9-0. JS doesn't vote.

Taketa: I leave it to Mr. Honda to present the matter to the social club as diplomatically as possible.

### Scholarship Loan

Elberson reads a request for a scholarship fund for Bob Ota:

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Room rent at cooperative rooming house	\$ 14.00
Meals	1.50 a day
Tuition	50.00 a semester
Transportation	90.00
Total	210.00

Payment of 1 per cent a month on the balance after finding a job.

I hope you consider this very seriously because it means relocation for a Japanese and the carrying of the Japanese standard into the Co-op Movement.

Within the last two weeks the juvenile delinquency problem is making people begin to think that perhaps the theater may be a good idea. There is also increasing amount of organizational pressure for the theater. The Recreation Coordinating Council is recommending a theater. The committee investigating juvenile delinquency is also recommending the theater as a solution. The theater project, the first time, made the people realize the importance of the co-op. This time it is playing into the hands of the co-op because there is a need for it. If I were a co-op director I would push this matter when the time is right.

Taketa: What facilities do we have?

Elberson: The gymnasium is not so good because we can't use it often enough and because Mr. Harkness says that it will hurt the floor. The people seem to be in favor of a separate building.

Taketa: In case we build a building is there a possibility of an agreement with the WRA of the disposition of the building when we get out of here.

Elberson: I think so. As a matter of fact between us here, the rental policy came out -- about \$75 per barrack. Mr. Coverley is very much at pains to court our favors. He is in favor of buying up all of the equipment we have to recompense for our rent.

Sato: I know 8 out of 10 people want a theater all right. I like to have a theater myself. When Mr. Shirrell let 16 year kids vote, 75 per cent or so said no.

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That came from the people, and they felt that the WRA should provide a theater. The WRA should buy the projector. I know that if we favor the theater there are going to be a lot of objections.

Elberson: The WRA will never furnish us with a theater.

JS: Can we get lumber?

Elberson: There are ways.

JS: Why did Mr. Smith say that we couldn't get lumber after September.

Elberson: We could get lumber in the name of several individuals. One person can't get more than \$200.

Roy: I lost confidence in Mr. Smith. Until this time I thought he was all right.

Honda: Mr. Shimbo was not in favor of using the gymnasium because it was a place to play, too. He is doing something about it among the blocks.

Harry: I'm trying to get the poultry farm completed, but I am still having trouble getting more lumber to complete my poultry farm. We had \$1,500,000 worth of lumber, which disappeared. We can't get any more until we get more from the WPB.

Taketa: How about getting the Planning Board to ask the people.

Ikeda: If the WRA is willing to buy back the building, the project ought to be successful.

Shibata: You want to decide whether the people want the theater or not. There is a juvenile delinquency committee. Until they say that a theater is necessary, they represent all of the organization. Then we don't have to be afraid of anything. How about contacting that committee. I think they are in favor of a motion picture.

JS: I think we should get a committee composed of various organizations to back this idea up.

Elberson: That is a good suggestion. The co-op is a business organization. The selling of ideas to the people should be done by a larger group.

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Honda: We should be prepared to make the theater when the pressure is put on us.

Koso: My suggestion is to form a fact finding committee.

Horiuchi: I think we should only ask our members. We do what we can.

JS: I suggest that a committee be appointed to find facts of the theater. Also, have Mr. Honda use a person to organize the committee to back up the theater, contacting other organizations.

Roy: I suggest that Mr. Honda be made the head of the committee and have only one committee.

Horiuchi: Why not go back to the block right now.

Mitsutome: Maybe it's not a good idea for the co-op to go ahead with the organization of the committee. It's better to have other organizations to start on this. It is better to have other authorities favor the theater.

Sato: I think the people are already in favor of a committee.

JS moves that Mr. Honda be allowed to find more facts about the theater project. Harry seconds. JS implies that Mr. Honda should prod other organizations to back this matter up.

Roy: We shouldn't let this matter out.

### Scholarship

JS: My ward was against it.

Roy: My ward was against it, too. Many felt that they wanted to send their own children.

Koso: It's good for the Co-op Movement.

Fumi: Two hundred and fifty dollars is not very large for an organization. I didn't want to appeal to the Board. I asked a Caucasian credit union and they offered me enough money for two years.

Horiuchi: I favor this, as a good idea. I suggest that for the next time there

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be some sort of a contest.

Ryugo: People are touchy about who is sent.

Harry: We are setting a precedent. What would stop the Board from giving the money to all the people.

Roy: Where are we going to set the limit.

Elberson: This is a loan for people who want education on co-ops.

JS: I suggest that a general policy on scholarship be set and everyone be allowed to apply for the scholarship.

Mitsutome and Ikeda: It's too early to bring matters of this sort up. The co-op has to be built up first. This matter is left as JS suggested, only that Koso suggested that the matter be referred to the representatives at a general assembly.

General Manager's Report

Surplus clothing: The price was too high and the quality poor, and so they did not do anything. Shoe repair material was discussed and will be taken over if the price is all right. They wanted cash, but we didn't think it was advisable. About \$2,000-\$2,500 available.

Buying Trip: To San Francisco or Portland is not possible unless the buyers go East. We should consider Reeder's proposition to buy for us at 10 per cent.

Member leaving: He wants his \$1 back and wants to know when he will receive his patronage dividend.

Elberson: We would have to pay him before he went out.

Fumi: We just return the \$1, don't we, because his membership has <sup>not</sup> been accepted yet.

Koso: I think such a person should be paid something of the accumulated profit.

JS: I think a person who applied for membership should be considered a member.  
(Elberson thinks so too.)

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Ryugo, Horiuchi, and Ikeda think that they should be members.

Rationing of canned goods: Mr. Coverley has been contacted to see if the colonists can buy some canned goods after taxing goes into effect.

Mr. Coverley says that he will give the shoes to the mess workers because Mr. Shirrell committed himself on that.

Koso wanted to give a report, but was told by Mr. Kuramoto that he couldn't do it, but that he could see the Executive Committee tomorrow. I wonder what's up.

Koso: Mr. Itami is going out and tendered his resignation as a Board member.

Donation policy:

Koso: Committee on Committee recommendation: Get the recommendation of the ward, except in case of emergency.

General manager: I suggest that you put an amount to be set. I think it's foolish to take \$2 or \$3 donations to the wards.

JS: I think more specific rulings should be made.

Issei: Why donate anything at all. There's no sense in making donations of \$2 or \$3.

Mitsutome: Why not set up a committee and study the matter.

JS moves that the matter be referred back to the Committee on Committees.

Harry seconds the motion. The motion is passed unanimously.

City Directory: Six thousand copies for \$2,025. One hundred and sixty pages.

Membership drive: Wednesday evening a meeting of the membership committee will be held and the second membership drive will begin the following day.

JS: Since we don't have to pay the income tax we will be paying the past profit according to patronage and not be divided equally. We have run across a snag.

Mr. Horiuchi says the same thing.

Elberson: You have to appeal to them on a different basis. Say, on the point that you want more capital.

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Taketa: You tell them that time has changed.

Fumi: The Board is too timid.

Sato: Why did you print that each member would get \$2 each. (He flares up.)

JS: I'm sorry I brought this matter up. How about leaving it up to the membership committee.

Chairman: Why not postpone the membership committee meeting one week.

Honda: We intend to equip the membership committee members with the proper arguments.

Sugimoto: It's going to be unfair to those who bought a great deal first. The people should be asked to give the patronage refund back to the co-op and the money be distributed equally.

Vote of thanks to all committee men.

Passed. Acceptance of all membership application -- passed.

Patronage refund to those leaving. Leave the estimate up to the treasurer. 11:30 p.m.

Wednesday, January 13, 1943

Tad Ikemoto

Tad came over in the evening the other night to return a Japanese book that Ruby had loaned to him. He is learning Japanese from Byron Akitsuki, a Kibei with a university education over here. Tad is definitely one of those quiet type of Nisei, and many people think that he is a Kibei. He was brought up in Walnut Grove and Sacramento. At the latter place his folks were running a boarding house, which he did not expect to continue himself. When he first started to go to college he was very shy, it seemed. He used to come to the Berkeley Buddhist Church, and say very little. About the only activity he took part in was the Bay district oratorical in Japanese. In spite of the fact that he has never been to Japan he speaks Japanese like a Kibei almost, and speaks English with an accent and pronounces "th" like "d."

He had come over once before and we tried to teach him how to dance, but

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he didn't get along very far. He says that he is willing to learn how to dance. Even at Berkeley when there was a dance practice he came once, but didn't continue to come and hence wasn't able to learn. He says that he doesn't know anything about music or rhythm and therefore is afraid to start. He said of himself that he was afraid of doing anything he wasn't sure of. George and I suggested that he go to one of the dancing classes, and he said that he would try. Timidity seems to be a definite part of his makeup. He is not greatly disturbed, however.

We discussed the ways that fellows had to take up in order to please the girls. We agreed that boys tend to lay their emphasis on sex, whereas girls desired other sorts of attention. Tad said that he was not used to joking about with girls. Lately, he said, he had gotten a little used to talking to them. Formerly, he said, he was afraid of even putting his arms around a fellow, but now when he works as a supervisor at the office he is no longer afraid of putting his arms around a fellow when he is telling them something about the work. But he said that he would be afraid to do a thing like that to a girl. Some people, he said, walk around hand in hand with girls without seeming to care at all -- he thought that he wouldn't be able to do anything like that. Here we can see clearly that Tad has been brought up to feel that these ways that have to do with girls were definitely not right. In his mind he may feel that such a behavior is not really wrong, but he still finds difficulty in actually carrying them out.

The type of girl that Tad likes is interesting, too. I asked him whether he liked a Kibei girl, and he said that he didn't. He said that they were not frank enough (assari shinai). I asked him whether there was any person in the Records Office that he liked. He said that he didn't like Alice Abe (not the same one working in the canteen), and one other girl because they were the kind that flirted with boys too much. Then I asked whether he thought Setsuko Hayashi and Frances Yoshikawa

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were all right, and he said that they were. It is clear that he likes a Nisei girl who is quiet as he is. I mentioned that it was difficult for him to meet such a girl because both parties were the sort who would not make an advance. George then mentioned that it was for that reason baishakunins were necessary.

Tad says that he doesn't want to stay in American after the war. He feels that if he goes to Japan he can find a fairly good job. I pointed out the fact that if he remains too quiet he will find it difficult to accomplish very much. Both Tad and George agreed to this.

This section was written to bring out clearly the attitude that Tad takes toward others such as Alice and his preference for the quieter type of girl. Also his reluctance to act in certain ways which were acceptable to those who were Americanized, but unacceptable to his parents. His timidity seems to be significant, too. The fact that many people at first take him for a Kibei is interesting. It would be interesting to find out what Isseis think of him and then what other Niseis think of him. This is one way in which the characteristics of a person can be measured, since we are what we think we are and what others think we are.

Saturday, January 16, 1943

George Sakoda

The other evening when Tad was here, we got into a discussion of psychology. George wanted to know some of the difficulties that he had in adjusting himself. I pointed out that he had always been shy in the past, and that this was probably due to the fact that he was born an elder child and had felt left out when the other children arrived. We had always been submissive to our parents and were rather "Japanesy." On top of his he had lived alone in America for several years now as a farm laborer and consequently had picked up rather rough ways. I did not tell him that May had said that he didn't have manners and therefore she was afraid of introducing him to other girls. But this reveals the difficulty he has in receiving the

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approval of girls. They may like his quiet ways, but they certainly don't like his lack of proper manners. I pointed out that since coming here he has lost some of his shyness. Part of this is probably due to the fact that his position as head of the Hog Department has given him some confidence. The lowering of social standards in the camp probably contributed to the increased ease with which he was able to attend dances, for instance. But I pointed out that his ways were still very crude. He had not learned the ways of the social group yet. For instance, when he took a girl out he was not always careful how he dressed. Also, he did not seem to pay the proper sort of attention to the girl as he should. At the last New Year's Eve dance he wanted to be working at the pork stand <sup>had</sup> and/not come home to dress up properly.

Formerly he used to be rather shy and was always watching out for the feelings of other people. He was timid. At present he is starting to get over this. He is no longer afraid of asking people for things, and the like. When he was going to take the Hog Department over, he wanted to let Ted go ahead and be the head because he seemed to be anxious to become the head, even though George knew that Ted was not competent. At the present time, however, he no longer takes a back seat. He tells the boys what they should do without worrying too much about how they feel, although he does say it in a manner which doesn't anger them. He has even taken to doing things that Warren has ordered not to do. It doesn't bother him any longer to kill a hog with the others and consume it privately. In fact, he says that a fellow who can't do a wrong thing now and then is not capable of doing great things. He says that his bringing up was very bad and he wishes that he had been brought up to be less obedient. I then told him that he was going to the other extreme at the present time. He is starting to get to a point where he is actually rude. Several times now he has told Ruby that women are foolish, and surprised her by hurting her feelings. I explained that in his attempt at seeming not to care too much about what other people said that he was going to the other extreme and becoming too rude and aggressive.

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George is a good example of a person who has changed his adjustment since coming here. Even before the war he had begun to attend dances, but he was still very shy. It was only after coming here that he has gone to dances more and has dropped some of his shyness. His change is not complete, and he finds that he has not accepted enough of the ways of the social group to be wholly acceptable. What this change is due to is still a question, but the fact that his relative position in the Japanese community has greatly increased probably has a great deal to do with it.

Don Elberson

It has been pointed out by various people that my writeup of Don in my co-op report was very favorable, implying that it was too much so. Fumi hinted at this in a way, saying that at some points Don tended to hold up the program of the co-op. Don and his wife hinted that the writeup about him was very good. D.S. felt that I had presented only the good side and I failed to mention that he was trying to force a set idea of the co-op on the people without considering the nature of the relocation center.

The feeling of some of the representatives again Don seems to bring this latter point out rather clearly. The matter of setting up a scholarship fund was rejected in Ward II once before. Don presented the matter at the Board of Directors' meeting where it did not meet the approval of the ward for consideration. At Ward II the matter came up for discussion this week and it was decided that it was premature to consider such a thing. The feeling was that there were a great many other things to do which required immediate attention. Mr. Ikeda, especially, felt that Mr. Elberson was too idealistic and did not consider the position of the Japanese people in the center. Don feels that the best way to get students relocated is to find them jobs on the outside in co-ops after going through a short training, for which he feels that the co-op should lend money.

Otsukas

What Hattie Kurose said the other day is indicative of the nature of the

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Otsukas. James' father has been a farmer before and in recent years was a gardener in Rosemeade, in a rural district near Pasadena. They have been rather poor, and at the same time have been rather "Japanesy." James stutters a little, and for this reason probably feels a great deal of inferiority in his bad moments. He, however, has taken to attempting to act as if he gets along with everyone, and for that reason makes himself obnoxious. He has started to break away from his "Japanesy" ways and has taken to dating girls out, but unfortunately he has not learned any of the manners which would make him acceptable to girls. His sister, on the other hand, has remained "Japanesy" and rather quiet.

Hattie comes from a rather conservative home, it seems but is an "average" Nisei. She is a Christian and keeps up the ways upheld in a Christian church. She wants to go out to school and also wants to go to a place where there aren't too many Japanese. Thus, it can be said that she is more Americanized than she is Japanesy. If at all, she leans toward approaching Caucasians than toward being "Japanesy." The reaction of such a person to the Otsuka family is of interest.

Hattie said that because she lives in the same block with James she had occasion to meet his sister and speak to her. She said that she was very quiet and was difficult to get along with. She thought that she didn't get along with the rest of the Niseis, except one popular Nisei girl with whom she was always seen. She was "cute," she said, but somehow did not seem to be well adjusted. I asked her whether she was "Japanesy," and Hattie said that she was.

James, on the other hand, did not strike her as being so "Japanesy," possibly because he talked to girls, spoke English and went out on dates. However, to her he was a "drip" -- a person who did not have **any** manners at all. His table manners, for instance, were atrocious. This accusation seems to be rather an important one to Hattie and also to other girls such as Yaye, who cared about dates and dances a great deal. On top of that James was obnoxious because he tried too hard to impress people. He acted as if he knew so much, for instance. Whenever Hattie comes over

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the "drip" is a lively topic for conversation. She ridicules him a great deal and calls him Amadare (raindrop) in a scornful fashion.

I think James has begun to feel that something is wrong with himself. He has been constantly frustrated in his attempts to approach people, especially girls, and to ask the latter for dates. No one can be refused by half a dozen girls in a row and not begin to feel that something is wrong with himself. He is rather uncertain about his behavior, it seems, an indication of a disturbed state of mind. He was working in the co-op office, but quit it to teach English to the students, with the idea that he would have time to write a report on the co-op for Elberson. Then he decided to quit his teaching job in order to work on the report alone. The other day he came to see me about the report and I pointed out to him that he was wasting his time if he weren't being paid by Mr. Elberson. He thought this over, it seems, and decided to stay on the teaching job. In the meantime Ruby had assigned his class to some one else and there was no longer any place for him so she had to put him in charge of books. She didn't want him to teach, anyway, because she feels that he is not capable of teaching well.

Mike and Shizuko Imbe

It is generally true that in a family most of the children are similarly "Japanesy" or "Americanized." In some cases where one child has left the home early they have grown up differently as in Fumi Sakamoto's case. Also in the case of the Sakodas the point at which George left the family and has lived alone in America while others were in Japan has made him quite different from the other three. However, to find a contrast between a "Japanesy" type of girl and an "Americanized" type of girl in the same family, neither of them having left the family, is rather unique. It points to the fact that besides the nature of the family group, whether it is "Japanesy" or not, whether it is strict or not, there is still another factor which causes individual differences. This factor probably indicates the way in which the

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child adjusted himself to his family, her pattern of adjustment.

The following account was given to me by Mike in a rather informal way as we ate at the reception party given for Mr. Coverley last night. I did not press her for details and the account was given without any suspicion that I was interested in recording the details.

It all started out by my asking Mike whether she had gone to Japanese school at all. I had noticed that when she took the minutes of the Board meeting she did not understand very well what some of the men said in Japanese. She herself always preferred to speak English and rarely broke into Japanese unless she was at home and was speaking to her mother. Whenever she spoke to me she used English. I had noticed that Shizuko, on the other hand, was almost always speaking in Japanese, and did not speak English very much. Both of them, however, dressed and looked like other Nisei girls.

Mike was a girl whom I found difficult to understand. She was working for the Sumitomo Bank at one time and also as executive secretary of the Sacramento JACL at the time of evacuation. She stated that she wanted to get out of this camp as soon as she could find a decent job. She did not like having so many Japanese about her. Eating in the mess hall, for one thing, bothered her. Her sympathies were rather strongly with the U.S. and she would say such things as "Japan is going to feel sorry she bombed Pearl Harbor." She resented the fact that her neighbors were busybodies and were hurt because she didn't do certain things. Just because she got up late for breakfast sometimes, they talked about her. When some men came around to get her to sign a petition to oust Mr. Pilcher, she refused to sign the petition because she didn't know what it was all about, and they resented the fact. Her attitude of resentment toward the Japanese people seems to have been rather general. She hardly ever went to dances, and I believe the two times that I have taken her were the only times that she has gone since coming to camp, although she can dance

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quite well. Both she and her sister stay home a great deal and knit a lot. She seems to have taken a slightly "snooty" sort of adjustment as far as her social standards go. She has bought a set of best sellers from the Book of the Month Club, although she doesn't seem to be particularly interested in reading. In fact, many of the books she bought she hasn't read yet. Possibly the books serve to bolster her sense of inferiority, since she admitted feeling rather insecure, although she didn't say why.

Mike is at present 29, while Shizuko is probably around 23. There were some brothers in between, I think, but they died of accident. Shizuko is smarter than Mike and this may account for part of Mike's sense of insecurity. Also Mike was sick with T.B., I believe, and had to quit work for a while. This too probably has bothered her a great deal. Mike's account of Shizuko helps to bring out the contrast between the two sisters rather clearly.

The parents were interested in Japanese art a great deal, and both of them were sent to Japanese school. Mike, however, did not like Japanese school, and after some struggle gave up after attempting it for 8 years. She was also made to take lessons in Japanese drama which she did not like. She finally dropped this against the protest of her parents; because there was desire on the part of the parents to help out the teacher. Shizuko was made to take lessons after Mike. Shizuko seems to have taken to it quite well, and continued the lessons for a number of years. She also went to Japanese school several years more than Mike did. Shizuko's friends were different from Mike's. They were the quiet and "Japanesy" type who also learned Japanese drama. Shizuko wants to return to Japan and would have returned with her mother if it hadn't been for the war. Mike believes that she would have been happy over there. Mike says that Shizuko cannot speak or write English too well.

There is no hint in the present account as to what caused the difference in pattern of adjustment of the two girls. The effect of past adjustment on present

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attitudes is very great, and unless taken into consideration study of present attitudes alone is likely to be misleading.

Submissiveness -- Aggressiveness

It has been my general assumption that the submissive person in the family became "Japanesy" and that the aggressive person became Americanized. This is especially true of children whose parents are conservative and desire to maintain Japanese ways as much as possible. In the case of the Imbes, however, this is not borne out at all. In the first place, Shizuko is not the submissive type. She is rather blunt about the way she says things to people, making retorts and wisecracks whenever she pleases. She is evidently smarter than Mike is, and has a confidence that Mike does not have. On the other hand, Mike is not the extremely submissive type, but she does have some feeling of inferiority and also is careful not to hurt other people's feelings. She seems to find it easy to get along with people and she is not afraid of meeting them, showing that she is not entirely shy and timid. In many ways she is defiant toward the Japanese people around her and continues to identify herself with the U.S. in spite of the pressure that is put upon her by people about her. This only goes to show that there is more than just submissiveness and aggressiveness in determining whether a Nisei becomes greater or less Americanized. Clearly some finer measuring instrument than interviewing is necessary to discover some of the other factors involved. Since an instrument to measure degrees of submissiveness and aggressiveness and "Japanesy" and Americanization is difficult<sup>to get</sup>, the problem will have to be formulated in such a way as to make such an instrument unnecessary. Even though finer measurement cannot be made the shortcomings of gross divisions into "types" should be watched carefully.

Sunday, January 17, 1943

Committee on Committees

Koso and JS are present. Mr. Matsumoto is not here because he has a sore leg.

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The committee seems to have gotten together for a specific reason. Mr. Katakiri takes over the chair. He tries to bring up the matter of the donation at first, but others tell him to bring up the main problem first.

Chairman: Let's discuss the matter with Mr. Takemoto.

X: Last night we met and couldn't do any business because Mr. Takemoto wasn't here. I think that you have too much work. But we would like to see you do your work as an Executive Secretary.

Koso: Even my work as an Executive Secretary has been too much for me. I am thinking about selecting an assistant this afternoon. I am thinking of quitting my work as a councilman. I presented my resignation to the Board, but they did not accept it. I found the work too much for me. Originally I had in mind having the Research and Educational directors assigned to various committees. I assigned Fumi to the Committee on Committees, but she complained that she was too busy. Until now I spent most of my time in organizational work, getting desks and chairs and taking care of the membership drive. I didn't have much time to pay attention to suggestions from the committees. But I have been handing such suggestions to various committees.

X: We thought that it would be a good idea to put in about three more paid workers. Since the salary doesn't matter, I think you should have assistants to whom you can dictate matters. You should have as much assistance as you need.

X: You should stay in the office yourself and not go out.

Donation:

Chairman: Why not leave this matter up to the ward.

JS: The Board would like to have details set down.

Tonomura: We should not give any donation without the consent of the ward till patronage dividends are paid. If they want to give a donation they can always ask the ward. They can call a special meeting if they want to.

X: We should have an Issei trained as candidate for staff positions.

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The committee knew that it should go ahead and make recommendations on donations, but it kept wandering from topic to topic and did not seem to be able to get any business completed at all. The chairman did not seem to know how to go about getting the recommendations. Finally JS was called upon to take charge of the discussion in order to get some concrete results. JS started out by getting suggestions for the kind of organizations in which donations would be and would not be given and started the discussion in the right direction. In between members of the committee kept bringing up other business, and JS had to come back to the matter at hand continually. Tonomura kept saying for a while that if the Board had consulted the ward about the first donations they would not have had this problem on their hands now. He could not see that that was irrelevant to the questions.

Attitude toward Smith and Miyamoto: All of the committee members who were Isseis, seemed to agree that the donations \$30 to Mr. Smith and Mr. Miyamoto was too large. They mentioned that the people were suspicious of both of them, especially Mr. Smith. One person mentioned that there was no need for the people to give Mr. Smith anything, although he might have left something to the people. They did not seem to realize that Mr. Smith might have done a service to the people.

Donation: Concerning the donation it was decided that donations would be given only to organizations which represented the community and which were to use them for the purpose of benefiting the whole community. Members felt that it was all right to donate to the Recreation Department, the Social Welfare, the hospital and for education. A few of them had doubts as to whether the Dance Studio which puts on entertainment was of benefit to the whole community. The amount of donation without consulting the ward was limited to \$50 a month. This was less than 1 per cent of the estimated profits of the co-op. As an excuse for this small amount the committee said that the business was still in a stage of being built and in one where it did not have

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sufficient capital. Once it started to pay patronage dividends, the committee said, the sum for donations could be raised. JS pointed out that \$50 a month was extremely small for a million dollar business, but they seemed to think that it was sufficient for the present.

It was decided that for store managers, Board members, directors, chairmen of committees and wards a letter of thanks (Kanshajo) written and a very small gift presented. The feeling was that it was sufficient to give a Kanshajo, and hence the limit for a gift was set at \$5. Mr. Tonomura wanted to make it even smaller and lower it to \$2. He is certainly tight and has some very queer ideas. Isamu says that he is a Seventh Day Adventist. Someone mentioned that Isseis would understand the value of the kanshajo, but Niseis would not and would prefer to have an expensive gift. This feeling of difference with Niseis is definite among most Isseis, and usually they feel that they are superior to Niseis. This in spite of the fact that they are not able to conduct meetings and get things done when left to themselves, even on a matter which they can decide entirely by themselves.

There are a great many other discussions on various problems, most of them not relating to any work of the Committee on Committees. All of the members like to talk a great deal, and don't seem anxious to get their own work done so much as to have an opportunity to talk.

Naoko Hoshino

Nao came to my class for the first time the other day. May has noticed that she is "cold" towards people and does not even smile towards them in her block, even though she sees them every day. In the Welfare Department where she is supervisor, she doesn't seem to be able to get along amiably with the other workers. I sensed a gulf between her and the workers when she first came. She was rather cold to me at first, too, until she got to know me a little better. It still requires some business, however, for her to approach me. I figured that she tried to keep people at arm's length because she felt rather insecure. Whenever I see her and we come

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around to the subject she complains how poorly trained her workers are. This could, of course, be an attempt on her part to compensate by criticizing her workers rather than criticizing herself. In class she answered several questions, but each time she used big words which the others probably did not know. She used the word neurasthenia and hypochondria, when she could have just as well used easier terms. This too seems to point to a basic sense of insecurity which seems to bother her.

Kazuko Tanabe

Kazuko came to class for the first time with Ruby. She came in late and so I did not have a chance to say anything to her. All during class she seemed to be nervous and in a state which I never saw her in at home. Whether she was actually ill or not I don't know. She seemed to be feeling a tremendous tension. Perhaps she feels like that when she is in a Japanese group. I'll have to ask her about it.

Mitsutomes

It is difficult to determine just how the Japanese are stratified into classes. One method of raising one's prestige above those of the others, is to maintain a higher social standard. Generally among the immigrant Japanese the average family doesn't bother too much about reading literature, maintaining an interest in classic music, playing golf, and the like. Interests and entertainments are likely to be of the more common sort such as Naniwabushi, Go, shogi, popular songs, movies, flower arrangement. The Mitsutomes maintain ways which are characteristic of the "intellectual class" in Japan (interi). In the first place, both Mr. and Mrs. Mitsutome read classic Japanese literature. Mr. M. came over to borrow some of our books the other day and mentioned that thought (shiso) was an important thing and took home the volume on proletariat literature. This liberal interest is characteristic of the interi class. Mr. Mitsutome plays golf and Mah Jong, both of which are also characteristic. Also, Mr. M. mentioned that he had a collection of 200 classic European records, which again is indicative of a standard which is usually not maintained by immigrants. Mrs. Mitsutome's attitude, too, is typical. She seems to nag her husband a little. She blandly told him to go to bed ahead of her because she was playing Mah Jong with

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us. She said that she did not want it said of her that she kept him up because he could go to bed any time he wanted to. Beside this maintenance of standard is economic interest. Mr. M. used to have a hardware in Sacramento and was probably considered modestly wealthy. He keeps drawing on his bank roll, and says he has to buy food and clothing. He is at present working as a boiler man, and once mentioned that it was an inferior (Katona) job. Mr. Mitsutome's prestige in the community can be seen from the fact that he was elected to the Board of Directors of the co-op. When the membership drive was held he talked to most of the people in his block and got practically all of them into the co-op as members. This would not have been possible if he did not enjoy prestige in his block.

So far Mr. M. has been able to maintain his status within the community, it can be said. In other words, his past prestige still serves to give him distinction. The question is whether this situation will change or not. He can still draw on his bank account. He can maintain some of the ways of the interi class. But his job is only that of a boilerman and many status ways cannot be maintained in here. The interesting problem is that of seeing to what extent his status is reduced because of changed conditions within the camp.

Mary Taketa

Mary seems to have definitely made up her mind that she is not going out. She has to rely on her husband, she says, and feels that a good job will be hard to find. She is working in the beauty shop at present and seems to be satisfied with her work. She said that the workers were generally satisfied with their work, although they were kept busy enough. If they are worked too hard they crab, she said. It would be interesting to find out why Mary does not want to go out.

Monday, January 18, 1943

Co-op Ad. Office Trouble, Koso Takemoto

There has been trouble in the co-op administration office ever since Koso went in. At first Fumi thought that he would be a good person to have in the office,

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especially because he could speak Japanese so well. She thought at first that he was a capable person, but she has come to think differently about him. His main difficulties seem to be a lack of business sense, a lack of executive ability, and a lack of ability to handle people. Koso has had no business experience, and hence it takes him a long time to understand some of the problems that come up which Fumi could grasp in a few moments. This, of course, serves to slow down his work considerably. His knowledge of the co-op he has had to pick up as he went along, and he has also had to learn about how a co-op should be organized, both of which Fumi and Elberson already knew about when Koso was just getting started. Another thing, Koso doesn't know how to organize his work and delegate authority. He shoves work on to people indiscriminately without giving them the power to complete their work by themselves. He would get them started on one work and then take it away whenever he pleased. Also, Fumi says that he is not the type that can make decisions right away and he has to be consulting committees and people. He cannot carry out a thing in a hurry which an executive should be able to do. Because of this it has been difficult for Koso to get along amiably with others working in the office. They did not like the fact that he did not delegate authority, but preferred to order people around like messenger boys. James Otsuka did not like this and this was probably a partial reason for his leaving the co-op office. Fumi felt this irritation the greatest because she had turned over the main job of running the co-op office to Koso and he wasn't doing a thorough job of it. This irritation accounted for the fact that she had to take a rest for over a week.

Now that Koso has taken over the position of executive secretary, the difficulty he had in running ~~an~~ office has become clearer. He has a great deal of work to do, but take a great deal of time in getting it done. Fumi feels that if he could organize his work it would help. However, she has come to feel that Koso is in the wrong job. He was not cut out to be an executive. Elberson seems to feel this too. He cannot make the decisions quickly enough, and spends too much time going out and

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talking to people without getting very much done. His inability to organize work has resulted in a lot of work from committees and the wards to pile up on his desk without being cleared up. Instead of delegating work he has tried to give work indiscriminately to anyone who happened to be in the office. He would ask Fumi or Noboru to take minutes at a Board meeting, for instance. Then he would ask them to send out notices. He took this same sort of attitude toward his two secretaries, Hisako and Mike. Mike said that he took an attitude of an Issei who liked to order people around in the office. She attributes this to the fact that Koso is a Kibei. Whether this charge is true or not it is interesting that Koso is accused of having many traits and ideas typical of a Kibei, not only by Mike but also by Amy Hashimoto who has attended his class in political science. Because of this Fumi and Noboru have revolted and have refused to take work from Koso which did not belong to them. They resented the fact that Koso considers himself <sup>in</sup> a superior position to both of the others and feels that he can order them about. Mike has said that Koso should know that both of the others have as much power as he does. This lack of clarity in organizing and lack of authority have resulted in a strained relation in the co-op office.

Recently Koso has been reproached from various sources for not carrying out his duties. The Management Committee, about a week ago, brought out the fact that they had made over a dozen suggestions, but none of them had been carried out nor clarified as to how they were disposed. From Ward II came the same sort of charge, although it was directed at the Board and at the co-op administrative staff in general. Yesterday the Committee on Committees told Koso rather bluntly that he was taking on too much outside work, for one thing. They advised him also to get as many assistants as he desired in order to carry out the work of the office. Sometime back Koso asked Elberson and Fumi and Noboru for an assistant. He was told that he could have an assistant if he would organize his work and make it clear what work the assistant would be doing. They brought out the fact that if this was not done it would not

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help matters at all only to have an assistant around. Fumi feels, for instance, that Mr. Shinohara, who was put in as a translator, is not doing hardly any work at all. If things like that are going to happen, the three felt that there was no use in having an assistant.

Koso's excuse for his inability to carry out the work that he is supposed to be doing is that he has too much work and that others do not cooperate with him. He assigned Fumi and Noboru to take care of various committees, but he says that they have refused to cooperate with him. Noboru, of course, takes care of the Education Committee, but Fumi has not always attended the Committee on Committees, although she is at present instructing her successor to do so. He has delegated some work to his two secretaries, so that more is being done in that direction. Koso feels that if the others had cooperated and had given him the assistants that he needed he would have been able to do his work satisfactorily. He doesn't want to admit, evidently, that he is not capable of carrying out the work and that he would be happier in another job.

Matters came to a head at the staff meeting last Saturday, I believe it was. According to Fumi Mr. Elberson suggested to Koso that he and Noboru change jobs. Don felt that Noboru was essentially an executive and that Koso was a more academic person and that both of them would be happier if they changed jobs. What they failed to realize was that Koso considered the job of Executive Secretary higher than that of an Education Director and that he was beginning to get delusions of persecution. Koso said that he was a better executive than a research worker and thought that Don had no business trying to meddle with the office. Don felt that if Koso felt like that about the matter, there was nothing that could be done about the matter. He had talked to Koso directly instead of bringing the matter up at the Board because he wanted to save Koso embarrassment. He made the mistake of not being able to see the whole thing as Koso sees it which is probably slightly distorted.

Koso immediately called the Executive Committee together and handed in

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his resignation. According to Fumi he seems to have presented his case to the committee in such a way as to make it seem as though Noboru was after his job and that Don was trying to get him out. Fumi feels that Koso did not present the case fairly to the Executive Committee. The Committee assured him that he was carrying out his task well and that it was satisfied with his performances and did not accept his resignation. This has put Noboru in a rather awkward position. Koso now believes that if he gets some assistants everything will be solved.

It is becoming clear that under the strain of the work Koso is beginning to break down. Mike mentioned that he showed "all the earmarks of a nervous breakdown." She related that he was no longer able to relax and that on his nights off he would go around rounding up people for a bridge game. He has become very irritable in the office and the tension could be felt, Fumi said. I have noticed that he doesn't talk to me in a friendly manner any more. Evidently the whole thing has made him very insecure. Fumi said that he was no longer tactful with members of the Board when speaking to them, as he used to be. It seems that he is trying to cover up his inability to carry out his work well and has consequently set up mechanisms to do this. Part of this is based on his supposition that he is the "boss" in the office, which can be attributed to his Kibei background. But more than that, he is trying his best to keep from admitting that he is not as capable of keeping up his work as he thinks he is. This has resulted in an accusation that others are not cooperating, and now he feels that they are trying to snatch his job away from him. If he can organize his work sufficiently to avoid further attacks from committees and wards he may be able to continue in office. But if conditions do not improve, he is headed for a "nervous breakdown."

Fumi has asked whether Koso has as much ability as members of the Study including JS, F.M., T.S., and H.N. She seemed to think that Koso was not as capable as these persons. While she may be prejudiced against Koso, the case against

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Koso cannot rest on this alone because Don, Noboru and even the secretaries feel that Koso is not handling things adequately in the office. Only Mr. Shinohara who does not have much to do but likes to act "bossy," seems to side with Koso.

Co-op Board of Directors Meeting

Only eight are here tonight and the meeting does not start till 8:20.

Sales: Tax: Yoshimi: The sales tax is being paid at present, but we are looking into the matter to see whether we have to pay the tax or not. A protest was attached when the payment was made. A penalty of \$500 was paid on the old sales because Mr. Smith and the WRA both did not want to take the responsibility of paying the sales tax for the old sales.

Employer Relation Committees:

Noboru: A discussion group will be held from Tuesday to Friday in the morning from 8:30 to 9:30. The wage scale was discussed but no action taken. The canteen representatives will meet with the Employer Relation Committee on Tuesday afternoon.

Supplement to WRA Instruction 26 effective February 1. The scale of wages maintained by the WRA must be maintained by the cooperative enterprises.

We requested the WRA to put up a theater for the people. Mr. Coverley is asking whether other centers have had theaters put up by the WRA. It is possible that the WRA may buy the projector machine from us and loan it back to us very cheaply. Mr. Coverley said that he may be able to help us on the expenses if we were to put up a theater.

Elberson: We can get the lumber.

Noboru: A bulletin will be published in both Japanese and English to push the sales of scrip.

I would like to have someone chosen as the Personnel Director because my work is piling up.

Taketa: I think that Mr. Honda should be allowed to handle both jobs for the present and get an assistant.

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JS: I think it would be all right if those understood that if he proves capable he will be elevated to the position of head of one of the departments.

Fumi gives her report and tenders her resignation. She introduces Takeo Yoshihara, her successor.

General Manager's Report:

Yoshimi Shibata: When I first took over the job I felt that everyone was looking at us and expected us to command the employees around because we were co-op men. The job was immense, and so we wanted to get a picture of the whole structure. (He brings out a chart.)

Treasurer's Report:

Auditing Committee did not approve the financial report. They do not wish to make any comment on this report. They did not see this report. If the Board does not want to accept the report, it's all right with them. They brought up the whole history and said that they didn't like the whole approach.

Ikegami: The whole Auditing Committee came over this morning when we were busy and we couldn't even go to the bank.

Taketa: They were there just to check up on a few items for their own purpose. They brought up the matter of the inventory and said that they weren't responsible for this first audit report.

The audit report was accepted by all those present. The approval of other members will be gotten later.

Reserve:

Fifty per cent of paid up capital. Sales of scrip of one half cash and one half sales in scrip.

\$1,000	of sales for reserve
\$8,000	for liquidation reserve
<u>\$3,000</u>	for liquidation of equipment.

\$12,135.47 Total

(Based on 25 per cent loss in 2 years on merchandise. Depreciation of

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equipment in 2 years.)

Undeterminable expense, taxes added.

Total \$26,604.49  
11,416

The discussion becomes disorganized and several people start to leave. The agenda for the general assembly is rushed through.

Photographer: Photographer from Klamath Falls would come to take pictures. He would give 10 per cent to the Co-op and would pay one girl for keeping records. His price is pooled. He asks for a deposit. The most popular size is about \$10 a dozen.

Ikegami: Since Dick Reeder came the last time, we asked him for a bigger cut, since the last time the clerks did most of the work. On the first \$500 he would allow us 2 per cent more. Anything over \$5,000 he would allow us 15 per cent. He will be back on Friday.

JS: Why is Reeder being allowed to go on.

Yoshimi: We want to keep contact with him until we hear from our buyer. If we can get merchandise we don't have to fool around with Reeder.

Elberson: Watch out for that view because Reeder is our best friend in Klamath Falls.

Ikegami: Last Thursday they did \$100 business during the afternoon. Only \$400 order was in scrip.

Analysis: Tonight's business was a series of reports and not much business was conducted. I don't know why but a quorum wasn't present and members that were present lost interest in the procedure of the meeting. Mr. Horiuchi handed in his resignation on the ground that members were formerly signed up on the assumption that they were to give a share of past profit equally.

Wednesday, January 20, 1943

Fumi Sakamoto

Last night I went to the Little Theater with Fumi and I was able to get her to

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tell me something of her life. Fumi's folks have run a produce store from the time Fumi was small. Her father used to get drunk now and then and Fumi had the opportunity to make calls to Oakland for produce orders and run part of the business even when she was only about ten. Fumi feels that this accounts for her independence to a large extent. Her father mistreated her mother, too, and against this Fumi protested. Finally she could bear it at home no longer and left it. Fumi's aggressive pattern of adjustment seems to have been layed in her childhood because of the nature of her home. If her home had been well ordered she probably would have had more reason to be conforming or even submissive.

During school she went around mainly with Caucasians and only had incidental contacts with Japanese. She was in the Girls Reserve and also in the "Y," which gave her contact with Japanese. She was always aware that she was "different" and people considered her so, too. While she felt slightly insecure in a Japanese group, she did not feel a great deal of antagonism towards them. In this respect she is unlike Kazuko who built up resentment against the Japanese. However, until she was married, she did not feel that she was a Japanese -- she was not too conscious of her race. In San Francisco she worked on Grant Avenue with some Japanese as well as with Caucasian firms, so that she maintained some contact with Japanese all along.

She met and married a Caucasian living in Sacramento. They liked each other but were married secretly because Fumi did not want to disturb her family. Her mother threatened to commit suicide if she married a Caucasian. Her brothers, however, got along quite well with her husband's family. They had some difficulty, however, in maintaining mutual friends. "He worshipped the ground his mother walked on," and Fumi felt that she "could not stomach that." In contrast, Fumi was hardly domesticated to be able to take care of a home properly. Consequently she worked in San Francisco, while he stayed in Sacramento. He in his turn felt that she thought of her friends and her family before she did of him.

The most interesting aspect of Fumi's marriage is that it served as a "crisis

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experience" to make her race conscious. She says that as soon as she was married she became acutely aware that she was Japanese and that she resented any criticism of the Japanese. She felt that what they did reflected on each other. This probably helped to strain relations which were at best difficult to maintain. Her aggressive nature probably did not help too much either. When evacuation came along her family asked her to come along with them. She got a divorce and went along with her family, even though she considered it a sacrifice.

In Walerga she was generally restless. She had to live in a cramped corner with her family whom she had visited only once a week or so when she was on the outside. She did things in her own way, which made the family feel that she was unacceptable. She does very little work in the family even now, has her washing done by others, and orders her mother and sister around to run errands for her. She was working in the canteen and was kept quite busy. One fellow like herself became serious with her and consequently she had to stop seeing him. He's here in this Project now, but she has not seen him. She claimed that she wasn't unhappy in Walerga, but it was probably a period of adjustment for her.

In Tule Lake the physical conditions were improved. She still maintained her aggressive behavior and went about smoking cigarettes wherever she went, and probably gave many people the impression that she was not the right type of girl. Otherwise she herself feels that she is almost a Puritan in the matter of morals. She feels that one should do the best one is capable of and the right thing as far as one knows what that is. She points out Bob Ota and others as lacking in moral integrity.

My first impression of her at Don's lectures was that she was too talkative and acted as if she knew too much. At the first general meeting of representatives from various blocks she was the one who made the crowd angry by demanding to know whether one man meant that the Japanese could not be trusted to run a co-op of their own. She comes out with criticism rather bluntly even now. Even toward me she comes

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out at meetings and tells me what's wrong with my suggestions without even waiting to think very much about it. She has been somewhat tactful with the Isseis, however, and has done a good job consulting them during the earlier part of the organization of the co-op.

In the co-op Fumi found the right atmosphere to work in. The fact that she worked for Elberson and not someone else probably helped a great deal in making her adjustment here. Elberson aligned himself with the people, he practiced democratic principles and tried not to force anything on the people; he listened to what others had to say. These were probably good examples which Fumi probably learned to follow to a great extent. Fumi herself, if left without such guides, might become rather dictatorial and arrogant towards the people because of her greater range of knowledge and her contacts with Caucasians. But as it was she was able to maintain contact with a Caucasian and still work in quite closely with the Japanese people, both Isseis and Niseis. The co-op staff, except for Koso, has been very pleasing to work with, and generally an intelligent group. Every one seems to consider that Miss Sakamoto was an efficient workers and that the organization of the co-op is largely due to her efforts. Even the Isseis respect her ability, even though she cannot speak Japanese well and, as one Issei put it, "kiryo ga amari yoku nai keredo" (even though she's not so good looking). Her shortcomings have been her bluntness, her impatience, and sometimes her aggressiveness in going after whatever she wants.

At the present time Fumi is definitely conscious of her being a Japanese. Her marriage pulled her out of any illusions she might have had in that matter. Emotionally she says she feels that she is a Japanese. Intellectually she is likely to consider herself an American. Among Japanese she is likely to feel slightly insecure and conscious that she wants them to like her. She says that she does not feel this way when she is with Caucasians. If they don't like her she feels that they don't have to. This compulsive concern for the Japanese people is indicative of a need to identify her with the Japanese, and at the same time a fear that she will not be

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accepted. I think she wants to associate with Harno and the rest of us but feels that she doesn't have the academic background to measure up to our standards.

Fumi says that she is glad that she is leaving for Rochdale. She is getting sloppy in here, she says, which she feels is bad for herself. She did not seem to agree with me when I said that getting sloppy was all right as long as we did not have to go out to live in a competing world. Although she has some intellectual interests, she does not identify herself with the "masses."

#### Co-op General Assembly

The meeting does not start on time. I was sitting by Mr. Nishida, but Fumi came in and I had to ask her about getting books through the co-op. She came and sat by me. Noboru, George Ikegami, and Mr. Taketa came to sit opposite us. We talked together and joked with each other especially Mr. Taketa with Fumi.

The meeting is opened by Mr. Kuramoto close to 8:30. He speaks in Japanese. The roll is called by Koso. Less than half are here tonight. Mr. Harry Mayeda has a few words to say.

#### Juvenile Delinquency Problem:

Mayeda: To combat the juvenile delinquency problem the council has made many recommendations. Among them is the need for recreation equipment. Halls are being opened up, but equipment will also be needed. The recreation department has requisitioned for equipment, but only a small amount of equipment was received and 75 per cent of them were turned over to the school. Recreation will help prevent juvenile delinquency. It will take some time to get the equipment that has been promised us by the new administration. The Council and the Planning Board feel that they should appeal to the co-op to make available some equipment for recreation. We would like to have made available a certain amount of money to the recreation fund. I don't have any exact figures but a fund of about \$10,000 is requested. Just how that fund is to be made available, I would like to leave it with this body.

XI: (An elderly man) (Yamashita) To combat juvenile delinquency it is

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necessary to keep people from doing bad things. It is not right to go ahead and make a jail alone. If we help the young people by offering them equipment they are sure to cooperate by being good. But the Planning Board and the Council do not have much money.

It is a general rule that the old people arrange for the fund of the activities of the young people in Japan. The Planning Board was approached on this matter by the Council, and see how older people feel that we should somehow arrange the money raising for the Council. Since you represent a finance organization we would like to have you help us. We would like about \$10,000. The WRA is in sympathy with us, and we can expect help, but we can't tell how long it will take for them to come through with equipment. This matter is urgent. It seems as though that there are a great deal of profits from the past, and we would like the \$10,000 from that fund. (There are some murmurs in the audience.) (He talks as if the money is already in his hands. He does not realize that there are finance problems in the co-op. Someone claps prematurely to shut him up.)

Chairman: The juvenile delinquency problem is very important, but we can't decide on it right away. I would like to have this matter discussed at the ward first.

Executive Secretary's Report by Koso :

He gives a review of the decisions of the co-op.

Agreement with the WRA. No agreement reached on this. Forty-five cents per square foot per year is asked by the WRA in an administrative instruction.

Joining the co-op wholesale.

Resignation of Mr. Miyamoto and appointment of Mr. Ikegami as general manager.

Mr. Smith left the Project and Mr. Elberson was appointed the supervisor in his place.

Termination of trust (enterprise handed over to co-op).

Financial statement delayed. Delivered on January 14. The financial state-

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ment approved on January 20 by the Board.

Employer Relations Committee created. Noboru Honda appointed personnel director.

Circulating library approved by the Board on December 28.

Donation policy is being studied by the Board and the Committee on Committees.

Future schedule:

Ward membership meeting on the last Saturday of January (January 30).

Election of new representatives. February 1-3.

Election of new officers.

General Manager's Report:

(George reads his report.) During December we had trouble getting supplied because we did not have our statement. Up till about a week ago they have been holding up an order because the order statement was not on hand. A few firms have continued to give us credit. We have received a letter from our buyers who went to St. Louis that supplies were hard to get. It was harder nearer the source. They are not allowing us to buy more than a month's supply at a time. Since we did not operate for 12 months last year our share is very small. I would like to stress the necessity of having capital and in using scrip in buying.

Treasurer's Report:

Mr. Sugimoto speaks in splended Japanese, mixing in an English word here and there. Fumi says that he is a "busybody," but that he is suitable to the Isseis. After going through the report he brings out the fact that there are various reserves that have to be considered. Also if the income tax is not going to be paid, profits must be divided according to the amount of purchase. He mentions that the sale of scrip is about 60 per cent at the present time. If half of the purchase is made in scrip then we shall be paying \$11,406.40 in income tax. He stresses the need for keeping a reserve.

Donao: How did they figure the fire loss. Wasn't it covered by insurance.

Tonomura: Where did the material for the Theater Project go to.

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Sugimoto: The material did not arrive.

Tonomura: It did arrive.

Koso: It was sold to the WRA.

By-Laws Committee Report (Sugimoto):

He concedes that Miss Sakamoto helped a great deal and says that it was due to her efforts that the by-laws were made. He also says that Mr. Elberson helped, too.

Committee on Committees (Tonomura):

He takes his time in giving his report. He is substituting for Mr. Matsumoto. He reads the report in both English and Japanese. His English is pretty good. His report is very complete, but rambles on into other fields. It's a regular oration. The Committee on Committees suggests the following:

There is much to be done. It takes considerable time for the Board to carry out activities. This is due to the complicatedness of the co-op. There is much to be done along the line of setting up of capital and buying goods. Elections of new officers should be carried out with full consideration. (10:30)

Management Committee Report (Ikeda): He lists the things the committee has done. Montgomery Ward, raising of wages, personal check, use of sales slip, endorsement of torn off scrip, locked money box for collection, Reeder's, traveller's check, selling of scrip on discount, laundry, building of own store.

He brought up a lot of things that were handled by other committees. It was as if he were trying to show off the large amount of work done by the Management Committee.

Auditing Committee (Tomita): He reads his report in English. But spot check the inventory was considered substantially correct. Program report from auditors received. Setting up of reserve and retail control system recommended. Since we recognize the greater task ahead of us we would like to have the greater cooperation of all those concerned.

Membership Committee (Koso Takemoto):

Five thousand four hundred and forty-eight members. Ten went out.

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Education and Employer Relation Committee (Noboru Honda):

The By-Laws Committee is dissolved. Meeting ends at 11:30.

Analysis: Tonight's meeting was remarkable because there was no heated discussion. Only about two questions were asked which were quickly answered. At the last meeting Sakuma had made a lot of fuss. At this meeting the finance statement was explained and there could have been a lot of questions asked. There aren't as much questions asked as there might have been because Mr. Sugimoto did a good job in giving the report. Still it is indicative of the fact that the more troublesome persons have either come to learn a little more about co-ops or have been eliminated.

Thursday, January 21, 1943

Kunitani's Disillusionment

For a number of years prior to evacuation Ann had made a good adjustment to Caucasians in the "I" House. She seemed to have been almost worshipped there as a wonderful girl by others who worked there. She was Dr. Blaisdell's private secretary. She came from Hanford, but doesn't seem to have mixed very much with the Japanese. She has often been heard to remark about the "curious" habits of the Japanese as if the Japanese people were entirely strange to her. She speaks very little Japanese, or perhaps none at all. She is very talkative and rather out-spoken, qualities which are more admired among Caucasians than among Japanese. She considers herself to be liberable and draws a fine distinction between liberal and "fellow travelers." Her way of life was as American as it could be. Her husband, Mich Kunitani was similar in nature to her except for the fact that he was more blunt than she was and more likely to antagonize people. He worked in the employment service in Oakland and had made his adjustment among Caucasians, too.

While it is not known when their connections with the Young Democrats in Oakland began, they were very active in it after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Perhaps it was the crisis which served to identify themselves more closely with the Japanese people. They felt that this was an opportunity for them to help the poor Japanese people who were blind to so many things. One thing that they deplored was the lack of

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contact with Caucasians and their narrow outlook. When it was heatedly being discussed whether the Japanese should evacuate voluntarily or not and what plans should be laid for evacuation, the two Kunitanis were in the thick of the discussion. The YD, which had been generally ostracized and ignored by the Japanese community was concerned for the welfare of the Japanese people, and were willing to cooperate in whatever way they could. They even offered to dissolve their organization if the local JACL would allow the members to join the JACL, but this plan was never taken up. Through the connection with the YD the Kunitanis were able to enter into negotiations with the JACL, and they attempted to guide the JACL into what they considered the right direction. They appeared on the stand at the Tolman Committee and acquitted themselves wonderfully, whereas the JACL leaders only antagonized the investigators by their answers.

When evacuation became imminent, people who knew Ann said that she was on the verge of a mental collapse. It was plain that she was meeting a crisis. She could have fled the Coast and left the Japanese people to their plight. But this she was not able to do. Both she and her husband preferred to go to one of the assembly centers to help and guide the Japanese people whom they had generally held in contempt. This identification with members of their own race at the time of the crisis is very interesting. This solidarity among the Japanese people created by the war and the evacuation was general. Isseis, for instance, drew much closer to Niseis as a result of the impending danger caused by the crisis.

This desire for leadership and need for identification led Ann and Mich to join other Japanese in the Bay Area at Tanforan. Here they attempted to guide the Japanese in the right direction -- to maintain their faith in American democracy. Mich, for instance, who worked in the Employment Department would not speak any Japanese and expected all applicants to speak in English even though they were Isseis. They could not adjust themselves to the Japanese way of thinking and found that they were not accepted as leaders. The poor physical conditions in the camp did not help them any to adjust themselves. Thus by the time Tanforan had moved to Topaz they had come

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to feel that their presence in the center was useless. As Ann herself put it, she felt as though she was on a sinking ship. It was no longer a matter of helping others but that of helping herself. She plans to leave the project for resettlement on the outside. They had neither been able to help the Japanese very much or lead them. They had not been accepted.

Charlie Kikuchi, who was in a smiliar position as the Kunitanis' hasmade a slightly better adjustment. He, too, chose not to speak Japanese or to learn it, but has had gradually come to feel that the Japanese were not entirely to blame for the behavior which was not entirely American. He was "shocked " that Ann and Mich were deserting the Japanese people. Charlie had been able to work up to a position of leadership in the community as head of the Social Welfare Department in Gila. All of this according to D.S. A more complete story of the Kunitanis would be of value. The activities of the YD's and the Writer Group would also have much to offer.

Friday, January 22, 1943

#### Fumi Sakamoto's Comments on People

As we drank coffee after going to the Little Theater, Fumi told me some of her impressions of personalities in the camp. She is very acute in her observation and is good in sizing up people.

Don Elberson: Fumi felt that I had written only the good side of Don in my first co-op report. Don has struck rather closely to the democratic principles that he believed in. He let Fumi plan things for herself instead of telling her how things ought to be done. He felt that she would get more out of her experience in that way. One weakness that Don had was that of not organizing or planning his work very much but of letting things develop. I suppose Fumi was referring also to the time when the co-op was just being organized and Don did not have a very good idea when the co-op would actually be set up, on what date the incorporation would be done, etc. His other weakness, if it can be called that, is his strict adherence to the Rochdale principles. As D. S. has pointed out, he has tried to force these principles on the

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Japanese people even though they did not really want them all. From the very beginning Don felt that the Rochdale principles should be carried out. It is true that he was sincere in his belief that it was going to be ultimately for the good of the Japanese people to be associated with the co-op wholesale and other co-ops, but at this point he had to sacrifice part of his democratic principles in order to see his Rochdale principles through. It was only because of Elberson and Fumi that the patronage dividend was maintained.

Harno: Disturbed, misses his friends. He is extremely honest.

Tad Tomita: Opportunist. An Issei with an American education. Not pleasant to work with. Koso is of this type too. Shirai and Katayama would also belong in this group, too, I think. All of them, I believe, have caused some trouble in their respective fields.

Bob Ota: Lacking in integrity. Does not maintain the highest ideals that he knows. Fumi believes that he is not worthy of a scholarship, but Don says that he has to go through with it since he has come this far.

JS: Has some moral integrity, but not as honest as Harno. He realizes the advantages and disadvantages of a situation and acts accordingly. He is not as bad as to be called an opportunist. (Perhaps he can be called a realist.) He seems to be well adjusted as any of the others on the Study in which Don seems to agree.

Walter Tsukamoto: Top caliber so far as leadership ability goes, but he has no sympathy for the people. He is only concerned about himself.

Tom Yego: He is not top caliber material.

Harry Mayeda: Not the very best leader but a good organizer.

Koso: A disappointment.

Yoshimi Shibata: Pretty good material.

Tom and Frank: Academic.

#### Tojo on Staying in Camp

There was a radio broadcast from Japan according to gossip that was going on

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in the shower room the otherday, that General Tojo spoke over the air. He addressed the Japanese people and asked them to stay within the camp instead of going out. He also told those who were outside already to return to the center. One reason he gave for this was that good jobs were not available for Japanese anyway. He did not seem to have promised that the Japanese would be awarded after the war for such behavior. Radio Tokyo's influence on the Japanese here must not be overlooked. One fellow, for instance, has been saying that to leave camp and work for the American government would be doing something against Japan and anyone who did such a thing may receive a poor welcome when they went back to Japan. Since so many Isseis say that they are returning to Japan, even if they do not, the news from Japan has a very great effect. If many Isseis do not leave camp for work on the outside, part of it must be attributed to this sort of broadcast from Japan.

May Sato, A Conservative

One of the most definite traits of a conservative person is his poor leadership and executive ability. He may be able to plan, but he finds it difficult to carry things out. He hesitates too much, is often afraid of asking favors of people, doesn't want to bother others, cannot do a thing unless everything is perfect. This hindrance is evident in the "Japanesy" sort of person. He is usually quiet and the Isseis consider him "good." However, they seem to have difficulty in getting things done.

May has gone to college and is very sociable. She is quiet like, but not too quiet. She has served on committees, often as chairman, and has had experience in leadership. In the Records Office she was the supervisor, and discharged her work fairly well, although she was always behind me in her work. She has always been a Buddhist, however, and attends the YBA services. On first glance one would not think that she was a Buddhist, but still she displays the qualities of a conservative person remarkably well. May was put in charge of higher education, but she was content to let things drift and so far has been successful in getting only two courses approved from San Francisco

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JC. She preferred to send me short notes rather than to call me or to call on me. I asked her to inquire whether we could get textbooks from some source, but she had only asked San Francisco JC which replied that it did not seem possible that they would be able to lend books. She had made no plans about coordinating the two classes that were going to be started, either in writing up the publicity for the Dispatch or arranging the hours. I had to make my own arrangements about getting workbooks for my course, which were available. I asked her to phone Mr. Flemming about getting textbooks through the school department, but she came back saying that she did not know whether Mr. Flemming really understood what she said or not.

This inability to organize seems to be characteristic of the "Japanesy" and submissive type of person. I have learned that they make very poor leaders. If there is some work to be done the more aggressive type of person should be chosen. In Berkeley when Hayaji Oda was chosen for the President of the Y.B.A. I thought that he would make a very good one. His family was very conservative, although Hayaji had taken dancing and dating after he left college. But he did practically nothing to keep club activities going and consequently the year was not very active. Another good example is George Ike, who was chosen President of the Block 25 Club. His family on the whole is very quiet, and is considered very "good," by the Isseis. George speaks a great deal of Japanese although his English is not poor. He is among the more intelligent young people in the block. He has no gross inhibition, but he too seems to lack thorough leadership ability. Last night there was a meeting and practically nothing was accepted. He called the meeting together and expected the members to decide anything they wanted to do. The members themselves would say very little. In contrast, Nancy Yagi, who is aggressive and not liked by a lot of people, gets things done right away when she is assigned to do it. Tad Ikemoto is another good example of a conservative leader. He is the supervisor in the Records Office, I believe, and seems to handle his work quite well. He, too, however, doesn't have the fearlessness with which to carry

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out things. For instance, he wants to learn to dance, but does not know how to go about it. He has only started to drop a lot of his inhibitions, but he still has too many of them to be able to make a good leader.

Kazuko Tanabe

All last week Kazuko was feeling low. Monday night she stayed up till late typing my personal adjustment section for me. The following night we went to see D.S. together and she wasn't feeling very well, although she did say that she enjoyed herself. On Friday night I asked her to go to Coverley's reception party and she refused because she wasn't feeling very well. I'm sure that she would have gone if she felt all right.

She said that she had taken some pills and she still wasn't feeling very well. When she came to my class on Saturday she was looking very queer. She said that she enjoyed my class, but was dizzy. Sunday she finally broke down with dizziness and had to be taken to the hospital. She was cared for by Dr. Akamatsu and was told that she had a nervous breakdown. She was advised not to think or read, but stay in bed the first week and rest the second. She has been reading, however, because she believes that it is good relaxation. People working in her office have been dropping in to see her. Slattery has been down to see her once, and the rest of the time has been sending notes to her. I advised her to knit, but she said that she thought it was a waste of time. She was irritated by noise, and listening to the radio too much bothered her. She tried to play cards the other day but became dizzy. Just offhand there seems to be nothing wrong with her. She herself, however, feels a tension inside of herself yet. She doesn't seem to be able to relax.

Two things that she said seemed very significant to me. One was that she was worried because Mr. Slattery did not come to see her any more. She wondered whether he liked her any more. Mr. S. has been trying to get another secretary from the stenographic pool and other places, but nobody seems to want to go to work for him. The other thing that she let slip was that she thought that those who did come to see

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her weren't really sympathetic, but only came out of curiosity. I asked her how she would know, and she said that she could tell whether a person was sympathetic or not. The trouble that Kazuko is faced with seems to be one of insecurity in regard to the Japanese people. She feels a definite resentment toward them and with so many of them around her she cannot help but feel insecure. To fight against this sense of insecurity she has taken to identifying herself with Caucasians in general, and Mr. Slattery in particular. She made a very poor choice, because this made her position with the Japanese more insecure, because nobody liked Mr. Slattery. She has put all of her eggs in one basket and even this basket seems rather fragile. Now she's begun to wonder whether Mr. Slattery really likes her and suspects the Japanese who come to see her of insincerity. She still doesn't have the confidence that she wants, and this breakdown seems to serve, for one thing, the purpose of keeping away from her work place. She says that she has been worrying quite a bit lately about the possibility of leaving camp, something which would solve her problem temporarily. It would be the most satisfactory solution as far as escaping the area of tension is concerned. I advised her to quit her work with Slattery, but this seems to be a hard step for her. She has come to put too much reliance on Slattery. The other day Slattery was approached by the Council, I think it was, about the possibility of releasing Kazuko to them. Slattery asked Kazuko about the matter, which she did not know about, Slattery asked her whether she wanted to leave him. Kazuko asked him whether he wanted her to go. This just goes to show that Kazuko has come to place a great deal of reliance on Slattery.

#### Rumors about Coming Back to Camp

Two rumors are rather prevalent these days, one is that Toko Fujii was drafted immediately when he left camp for school. The truth seems to be that he was merely reclassified to 1A, but that seems to lead to immediate drafting. Hattie Kurose says that many of her brother's friends are cancelling their leave for school because

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of such developments. A still more serious development which affects both Isseis and Niseis is the rumor to the effect that no one who goes out on indefinite leave will be allowed to come back in. The way the rumor goes, however, is that anyone who goes out will not be allowed to come back. May says that Kingo heard it from Miss Bogorad or somebody. Hattie also heard it from someone. None of us had any definite information on the matter but it all seemed very plausible. Kingo was applying for leave, but at present he says that perhaps it is best not to go out. He has applied for leave clearance since September, and it has not come yet, meaning that something has held him up, possibly. There was an inquiry about an aeronautical job, but Kingo seems to feel that his chance for getting out is not so good. At any rate, he seems to be considering staying in here for the duration. Since Hattie's mother has heard about the immediate drafting of Niseis on the outside and also about not being able to come back in, she has asked Hattie to tell her son to come back in. Which reminds me of Mrs. Kakiuchi who asked her son to wait till about fall before deciding to go out to school. The whole matter of leaving has been made very uninviting, and unless these rumors are dispelled, not many people can be expected to go out.

Hattie says that several months ago there was a farm worker who used to listen to the broadcast from Japan daily and every morning report to the farm workers what was broadcast from Japan. When he was told not to do that he carried his radio into bed with him, covered it with blankets, and listened under the bed covers taking notes from which he reported to fellow farm workers.

These are the ways in which rumors spread. May relates about Kingo. Hattie relates about what her father heard on the farm. We all have heard about Toko Fujii whom Hattie called Joe Fujii. It keeps going from mouth to mouth and is soon spread all over the camp.

Sunday, January 24, 1943

Block 25 Mess Trouble

For 7 months Block 25 had no mess trouble in spite of the fact that there

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were block people who were generally thought to be uncooperative (used instead of "agitator"). The good record was probably due mainly to the efforts of the chief cook, Mr. Kaya, an intelligent and honest man. He did not allow any dishonesty in the mess hall at all, and consequently was able to avoid the main source of dispute in many mess halls. He was fair to everyone and was not partial.

During the second week of January he announced that he would quit his job because he had worked a long time and was tired. The second cook protested, but he was prevailed upon to carry on after the chief cook left. Seemingly all arrangements were made for the second cook to take over although there seems to have been some dissatisfaction among the workers on this arrangement. The main cause of the trouble came at a barrack representatives' meeting in which the block manager suggested the block offer a letter of thanks to the chief cook for his service. Mr. Nagata immediately got up and said that such a letter of thanks was unnecessary. A few of the other supported him and very few stood up for giving a letter of thanks. The contention was that a letter of thanks should not be given indiscriminately. There was no reason why the chief cook alone should get such a letter of thanks, since everyone else was working for the good of the block.

When the cooking crew heard of this, they decided that if the block people were not satisfied with the work of the chief cook, then their work would not be appreciated either. If the Block was not going to show any sign of appreciation then they decided that they were not going to work. The chief cook heard of this and told them that he would call a meeting of the block people and get the matter settled for them. A block meeting was held in which the chief cook pointed out the problems that he had to face. The answer voiced in the meeting was that if the cooks did not want to work under the present arrangements they did not have to. The cooks then had a meeting of their own and decided to walk out together. The people evidently had thought that only two or three cooks and helpers would quit.

The interesting thing here is that the same people who seemed to be

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"agitating" against the administration were also the ones who were generally opposed to the co-op, who sometimes voiced nationalistic sentiments openly. Now these people were opposing the presentation of a letter of thanks to the chief cook and were telling the cooks that if they did not want to work they could get out. Nagata is from Sacramento and is isolated in this block among people from Isleton, Walnut Grove, and Stockton. He is reputed to go around stirring up trouble by complaining about things privately, instead of bringing them out openly. The others who are uncooperative and who seem to have spoken against the cooks were Nakamura, K. Ueda, Tanabe, Adachi. Kishiyama too spoke against the cooks. These are the people who do most of the talking at meetings and who are allowed to fill the leadership positions as they arise. Mr. Nishida, who has been selected as the membership committee for the block and Mr. Nakamura who has been elected as the Planning Board representative both have become more cooperative than before. K. Ueda still seems to be uncooperative, and Tanabe does not seem to have changed much either. So far, Adachi and Nagata have been the most neglected in the block as far as leadership positions go and they have been the most uncooperative, although not necessarily the most troublesome. Kishiyama has ceased to take interest in block affairs, but at the last meeting spoke against the cook. This aggressive and negativistic attitude can be looked upon as a carryover of childhood habits or a compensatory measure to assert the individual's firmness and independence. (See Shaffer, Psychology of Adjustment, p. 186.) It is a method of adjustment and points to an underlying sense of insecurity or need of asserting oneself.

The cooks and their helpers left on a week's notice. The services of two Kibei cooks were secured, but other helpers could not be found immediately. Consequently, the block people decided to take matters into their own hands and help out until sufficient help was found. Sady Yagi and Mot Nakamura both started to work in the kitchen. Tanabe and Nakamura also helped in the kitchen. The rest are probably

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those who had talked at the meeting or their wives. Mr. Sakamoto remarked that Tanabe and Nakamura did a lot of talking, but when it came to work they took the easiest ones and let others do the harder work. The meals have been as good as those prepared by the former chief cook, and everything seems to be running along smoothly enough. On both sides the attitude seems to have been one of defiance. The block people told the cooks to get out if they did not want to work. The cooks walked out, leaving the job in the hands of those who had complained most. The challenge was accepted, and everything seems to be coming along without too much trouble.

#### Asako Higaki

Asako is my best example of a girl who has made a submissive type of adjustment at home. All of her tastes reflect this adjustment. The way she wore her hair, for instance, makes her look older and different from other Niseis. Ruby brought home an interesting account of her taste in color. Asako had bought a cloth for a dress which was brown with white stripes. Ruby felt that it was the sort of color which was not fit even to make into an apron. She bluntly told Asako that and she said that she liked it. She said that people asked her where she had gotten it. Ruby wanted to know if it were Isseis who asked her that and she said yes. She was the only Nisei in a sewing class of Isseis. Ruby then swung around and asked Asako's mother what she thought of the color. She admitted that it was the sort that she should be wearing. Ruby and Asako then were looking through some samples of cloth color and design. Finally they came to a red design which Asako seemed to like. She admitted that she had never had a red dress, and she was only twenty. Ruby felt that she should have at least one youthful looking dress and tried to get Asako's mother to let her buy one. Ruby said that Asako would feel sorry when she was older that she did not take the opportunity when she was young to wear youthful looking dresses. Asako expressed her preference for the design. Ruby appealed to her mother. But she disapproved of it, saying that if Asako were to stay in America all of the time it would be all right, but they intended to return to Japan! Ruby offered to make a dress of the same design with

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Asako, but she had already lost interest because her mother had disapproved. Here we clearly see the pattern of adjustment by submission and repression of desires. It is conceivable that such repressions will eventually lead to personal troubles.

#### Reeders and Rowdies

The term "rowdies" is a derogatory term applied indiscriminately by those who consider themselves socially on a friendly level to people whom they consider below them in social standards. It seems to be applicable to boys in their teens who go around in gangs, to boys working in the warehouse, in the mess hall, in unskilled labor, to Hawaiians, and to bachelors. While the stereotype of a "rowdy" cannot be applied generally to all of the people with whom this term is associated, it is a useful conception.

The boys who patronized Reeders seem to be conspicuously of this type. Reeders is a men's specialty store, was allowed to come in from Klamath Falls to sell expensive goods at outside prices. Florsheim shoes and Stetson hats, and Arrow shirts were the type of goods they carried. The first time they came in they brought their goods on a trailer. At this time it was rumored that a great deal of goods had been stolen by these boys. The second time they sold their goods at the canteen (No. 5) and sold over \$2,000 worth of goods. At great many shoes and shirts were sold. Last Friday they came in again, but this time sold only about \$1,500 worth of goods.

Since the store was too small to hold all of the patrons, a warden watched the door and let in only ten persons at a time, while over thirty waited at the door to get in. Some had to wait 15 or 20 minutes at the door before they came in. There were very few women and girls trying to get in. There were also very few men. Boys who were conspicuously whitecollar workers were hardly to be seen. The bulk of the crowd was made up of boys between eighteen and twenty-five years of age rather casually dressed.

Sport shirts were selling for \$3.95, \$5, \$7, and \$8 and they did not seem to be very good even then. Consequently not very many people were buying them. Shoes

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were being sold as well as some slacks. A few suits and overcoats were sold too. Some Arrow shirts were being sold, too. There was a rush at the counter where bright bow-ties were being sold. The boys seemed to be having a great deal of fun trying them on, and a great many of them were sold. It seemed that what most of the boys wanted was something not too expensive, but which would add color and smartness to their clothes. To a certain extent they wanted "good" things, but they could not afford to pay very much for them. Good sport shirts with good designs selling for about \$4 probably would have sold well. But the ones that were being sold at that price did not have a good design, and the rest of the shirts seemed to be worth far less than they cost. Flashy clothes as a means of maintaining status is indicated by the rush that these boys made on Reeders.

Caucasian-Japanese Relation: Smith and Huycke, Leaves

If it is true that most Japanese do not trust the Caucasian staff members it is also probably true that most of the Caucasians do not entirely trust the Japanese. The attitudes of Mr. Smith and Mr. Huycke reveal this very plainly when JS went to apply for clearance. The office was just being moved when he went into the Administration Building last Saturday morning. However, Mr. Smith and Mr. Huycke were in their cubby-hole and were carrying on their work normally. JS caught Mr. H going into the cubby-hole and he stopped him to ask him a question. Mr. H., however, brushed him aside brusquely, saying that he was busy at the moment, not even saying that he was sorry. JS then went in to see Mr. Smith who took the matter up for him. Mr. Smith turned the matter over to Mr. H. who was forced to consider it. He was trying to get someone on the phone, however, and could not take care of the matter immediately. In the meantime, JS talked to Mr. Smith about the recent rumor that those who left camp on indefinite leave would not be permitted to come back in. JS wanted to know whether the rumor was true. Mr. Smith did not commit himself very clearly on the matter. He said that they did not want people coming and going back and forth. Their policy

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was to relocate people on the outside. He also stated that people were coming back at the present time from the outside. Also, they could come back if there were anything urgent such as the illness of someone in the family. JS asked whether there was any truth to the rumor that people could not come back once they left on indefinite leave. Mr. Smith said that people were coming back and that if they really wanted to come back they would be allowed to do so. JS, however, was left with the feeling that Mr. Smith was holding some information back. He then asked about indefinite leaves to Denver and Salt Lake City being closed. Mr. Smith said that they could not say that it was because some people with definite jobs might be considered by Washington. He then let slip the fact that a telegram had arrived from Washington. When JS asked what the telegram had stated, he admitted that it said that indefinite leaves to the two places were not to be considered for the present. This lack of sincerity with the Japanese people is probably the source of a great many irritations. Mr. Smith then turned around and asked JS how old he was and then asked him whether he would be willing to enlist like the others in the Army. JS was flustered, but fortunately the telephone rang and he did not have to answer the question. He was going to ask Mr. Smith whether he would volunteer for the Army if he had a job that he was enjoying and whether he would serve when he was drafted. JS felt that Mr. Smith had asked an unfair question and that there was no reason why the Japanese should look on enlistments in the same way many other Americans look at at.

JS then turned to speak to Mr. Huycke. The latter asked him who had told him to apply for a clearance. He seemed to be irritated by having to handle this matter. When JS told him that it was his own idea he asked the same question over again. Then after explaining the new procedure he told JS to write to the Student Relocation Council. JS then asked him about how long it would take for the average clearance to come through. Mr. Huycke said that he did not know. JS then asked him what had been the longest and the shortest time that was required for a leave to come through. Mr. Huycke then said

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he didn't know. It depended on the type of leave. JS was finally told that it would take anywhere from a month to 6 months to get a leave clearance.

Then JS explained that he was working on Dr. Thomas's study. When the two Caucasians heard this, they changed their attitude immediately. Mr. Huycke said that he recognized my name as that of the person who wrote voluminous reports, each one a master's thesis, and laughed. He said that if I wanted to go out on a short-time leave it could be arranged right away. Mr. Smith put his arms around JS and laughingly said that he had never seen anyone ask so many pointed questions, such as what was the shortest and the longest time it took for a leave clearance to come through. This change of attitude is very interesting. Evidently these two Caucasians make a distinction between Japanese -- the ones they are friendly to and the ones they mistrust. At first they took JS for the latter sort until he told them that he was connected with Dr. Thomas' study.

Monday, January 25, 1943

#### Block 25 Co-op Membership Drive

The second membership drive, after some delay, was held last week. The financial statement was ready for those who were skeptical of the amount of profit made by the Co-op since the books showed a profit of \$38,000. On the other hand, patronage dividend would have to be paid according to the amount of purchase and the purchase would not be divided equally, as it was thought before. This meant that it was sufficient for each family to have only one member to get all of the monetary advantages possible. This made it difficult to get families to contribute more than one member.

In Block 25 the drive was begun on Saturday afternoon. There had been only about forty people who were made members, in the first membership drive, and consequently many of the families still had to be contacted. JS wasn't able to take part in the drive in the afternoon, but in the evening he went along to a few of the places. Mr. Nishida, the membership committee member, and Mr. Sakamoto worked on the drive, to get the support of the Planning Board Mr. Nakamura was asked to come along. The latter started to tell

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people that the co-op was going to contribute \$10,000 to the community. JS protested, explaining to him that the co-op really did not have a profit of \$38,000 and that what profit would be divided among the people still had to be kept in the co-op to increase the capital.

The Uedas were first contacted. The committee called on the oldest brother, Kazuo, first because the others would not join without his permission. K. Ueda had been interned and wasn't eligible to become a member himself. He was therefore asked if it were all right if his brothers joined, and he said that it was their business. Then he was asked whether he could let one of his children become a member. But this he refused outright. He did not seem to have any good reason for this refusal, either. He acted rather like a spoiled child, it seemed. The other brothers were prevailed upon to become members. One of them went to ask his brother to make sure that he would not object. However, they would not allow their wives to become members, feeling that one member from a family was sufficient. One of the Uedas hesitated to become a member because there was a rumor going around that if a person became a member he would not be allowed to claim any indemnity. This just goes to show that the Isseis are really expecting something if they <sup>stay</sup> here till the end of the war and if Japan wins. This gives the Isseis a personal stake in the outcome of the war.

Mr. Adachi was very stubborn, too. Mr. Sakamoto explained the financial condition and other things for almost an hour. Mr. Adachi objected on the ground that the profit made by the co-op and the membership fee made it hard on people who did not have money. He said that it wasn't fair, and that it was against the principle of the Seicho no Ie (Japanese version of Christian Science). He was rather stubborn, and his wife, who served tea to the committee, seemed irritated and hinted to her husband that these men were busy and he had better take out a membership. He was finally prevailed upon to do this, but he wasn't very pleased about it.

At the Katos they were asked to take out one membership. There were several

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children in the family who could have become members, but they weren't pressed because their father was dead.

Sunday morning JS approached the chief cook and asked him to become a member. He said that he would think it over. JS insisted that he become a member right away. The chief cook asked some questions which JS answered and explained. He was prevailed upon to become a member when he understood the nature of the co-op a little better. It was explained to him that the co-op belonged to the people and the people had to support it. His wife was also made a member. After a while he came to JS and told him that he did not want to become a member. He had talked to Mr. Nakayama who seems to have told him that the co-op was unnecessary. JS explained that if the people needed a canteen they had to take over the co-op. He also explained that the financial structure was rather sound as long as they took care to set up sufficient reserve. The chief cook, a Kibei of twenty-four then decided to remain a member.

Yukio Sasaki, twenty years old, living with his brother because his father was interned, was asked to become a member, but he said that he could not because his brother did not approve of it. Mr. Nishida prevailed upon his brother to become a member, and Yukio was approached once more. He went and asked his brother and was told not to become a member. This dependence of young people on their parents is very great. This accounts for the fact that when the Theater Project was voted upon many of the young people voted against it.

Mr. Nakamura put the three people in his family who were eligible for membership in the co-op. If he did not have his position as a representative of the Planning Board he certainly would not have done that. He was against the co-op in the first place and at best probably would have only allowed one member from his family. But when he was put in a position to support the co-op, he could not help but make his family members first.

Some families like the Yagis refused to become members because they were going out of the project to resettle. Jimmy Nishida is planning to go to school. Eddy Masui

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and a few others are planning to go out. This shows that despite the general reluctance of people to leave the Project, some are making plans for it.

Co-op Board of Directors' Meeting

Meeting opened at 8:00 P.M. Ten members present. Reading of the minutes takes some time. After the reading of the minutes Fumi points out that Koso was mentioned as being absent from the meeting but his name was signed to the minutes. Koso says that such things have been done elsewhere and that the secretary has the right to delegate the authority to someone else. This matter is left at that. Koso has shown that he believes in "authority."

The matter of a summary of the minutes, rather than the whole minutes, being sent out to Board members was brought up by Roy Kitade. He said that the summary and the minutes were not alike. Fumi said first that it took too much time, and then later admitted that the Board was being pampered by having whole minutes sent them. Koso brought up the fact that the employees should not know everything that goes into the minutes because they might misunderstand some of the things. Koso's charge is rather serious, it seemed to JS. The matter, however, was dropped.

Photographer: Don brought up the matter of the photographer. He asked that the matter be left up to the Executive Committee. The low-price picture is to be up to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches square and costs \$1 for the negative and the first picture, and 25 cents for each picture thereafter. JS says that he would like to see a cheap picture for about three for a \$1. Don asks again that the matter be left up to the Executive Committee. Roy says that the matter is too trivial for the Board to decide. JS asks whether the photographer is coming in to make the arrangements. Don says that JS does not trust him.

Policy on Donation: JS gives the report. The Committee on Committees recommends that this matter be presented to the wards first. A few think that it will be a bad precedent if matters are taken back to the ward. Dr. Jacoby thinks that the matter should not be taken back to the ward. He believes that the Board should adopt the report and then report back to the ward. Koso is against taking the matter back

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to the ward. Sato is also against taking the matter back to the ward. The chairman says that the matter should be approved by the Board and reported to the ward. JS moves that the matter be discussed at the ward before the Board passes on the matter. Mr. Taketa seconds the motion and the motion is passed unanimously.

Scholarship Loan:

Elberson: The block manager might finance Bob from their own pockets. If that happens then I'll feel very bad about it about the future of the co-op.

Koso is not sure what the result of the ward opinion was. He should have matters like that on hand.

Taketa: Some of ~~the~~ representatives were against the scholarship because the finance basis of the co-op was shaky. Others thought that a scholarship was all right. Still others thought that a scholarship would be all right if the person came back to work for the co-op in the camp for about 6 months at least.

Sato: Ward IV was for the scholarship, but thought that it was too early to consider.

Makino: Ward I <sup>was</sup> willing to underwrite a loan from the outside.

Elberson: The co-op might be quite embarrassed by this matter. The co-op / school itself is a part of the cooperative movement. If it appears that there will be some jobs available

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and that they are doing everything they can to relocate evacuees, it doesn't look so good for us if we are not willing to finance students. If a group of people here on the Project has to dig into their own pockets to do a job which is the responsibility of another group, it also looks bad. I want to leave that for you to think about.

Ikegami: \$250 is not too much.

Roy: The people think that the coop is not on a sound financial basis.

Mr. Horiuchi's resignation: Mr. Horiuchi resigned because he felt that it was unfair to old members who joined the coop expecting an equal share of the old profit. Since the method of dividing the profit was changed to a patronage basis, he feels that it would be better to resign now and not have to allow members to drop out of membership if they so desired because the policy on patronage dividend has changed.

Makino: Toward the ward people he said that he was responsible for any misinformation that the coop passed out.

Roy: I think a Board member should clarify his stand before resigning.

Elberson: I agree with Roy. This makes the Board look very weak.

Fumi's resignation is accepted.

The accounting division is put under that Board and not under the general manager. The check cashier should be the treasurer rather than the general manager.

\$5,000 Reserve Fund

Sugimoto: I would like to set up a \$5,000 fund for this purpose, borrowing the amount from some colonists. There are colonists who are willing to lend money to the coop.

Stock Filing System

Cabinet will cost about \$150.

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Jacoby: This seems to be purely a management function.

Ikegami: Mr. Smith thought that it would be impossible to take an inventory of the stock, but I thought that it would be a good idea.

Chairman: There are some families in the next block who are canteen employees and who are not members. Shouldn't there be some restrictions?

JS: I think it's a good idea.

Elberson: I don't think it's a good idea.

Chairman: Well, maybe we'd better drop this matter. (It's dropped.)

Koso: I move that we get a donation of \$30 for Fumi.

Fumi: I would like to turn any such money to start a fund for needy people who want to become members but cannot.

#### Rationing

George Ikegami: How did you like to have the canned goods distributed when the rationing goes into effect, possibly on March 1?

#### Laundry

Ward I	Cascade Laundry	Block 14
II		Block 29
III		#5 Canteen
IV		
V		Block 47
VI		Block 58
VII		Block 70
	New City Laundry	#2 Canteen
		#1 Canteen
		#3 Canteen
		#4 Canteen

#### New City Laundry

Wants to raise \$35,000. Will pay 7 per cent and will give first mortgage.

The meeting closed at 11 p.m.

Tuesday, January 26, 1943

#### 1. Kazuko Tanabe

When JS went to see Kazuko on January 24, she seemed to be feeling fairly well, although she seemed slightly dazed. When she went to see the doctor on

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the 22nd, he had told her to rest at home for another two weeks. But Kazuko said that she was so bored staying at home that she had a mind to go to work earlier. She asked JS for some books she could read, because that was about the only thing she could find relaxation in. The doctor had ordered her not to read any books or do much thinking, but she felt that reading was good relaxation for her, and JS agreed with her on that point. The day before it was a warm and sunny day and she had gone walking and had felt very well. She felt that she was ready to go back to work. In the afternoon JS went on a walk with Kazuko to the sewer pond, and then loaned her some books from his own shelf and spent the afternoon with her.

Some girls from the office came to see her now and then, but Mr. Slattery came to see her once and only inquired about her from the girls. Kazuko felt that the girls were rather insincere when they came to see her. They either came out of politeness or of curiosity, she thought. She was also beginning to feel that Mr. Slattery did not like her because he did not come to see her at all. This suspicion toward the affection of other people and the desire for a demonstration of absolute affection before she felt she could consider a person friendly seemed to be one of the assumptions under which she labored. JS inquired about the journal which she was keeping and wanted to know if he could read a few pages of it to see what sort of journal she was keeping. She refused him. When she returned a couple of books that he had loaned her she thumbed through the books to see that she had left no papers in them. This feeling of suspicion seems to have started to become an obsession with her, although it is not too evident yet. She said that she could not sleep well at night and often had nightmares. Often she dreamed that she was being murdered, another manifestation of a fear of other people.

There seems to be two main sources of her insecurity. One is the insecurity she felt at home. She related that their folks were married for several

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years without having a child. Assuming that they would not have any children, they called a cousin from Japan, who was 17 or 18 years old. When, after 5 or 6 years of marriage, Kazuko was born, her aunt resented her very much. Whatever the cause of such resentment, she did not treat Kazuko very nicely and always preferred the younger sister, Kazue, to Kazuko. This comparison of the two sisters was made worse for Kazuko by the fact that Kazue was intelligent and did well in school. The fact that Kazuko was the elder daughter and was born first, probably resulted in her feeling very much left out when her younger sister was born. When asked whether she felt any resentment toward her younger sister, Kazuko said that she did not. When they were in competition she hoped that her sister would win. She seems to have taken a withdrawing martyr-like adjustment. Her nightmare of being murdered carries a similar hint at such adjustment.

Her other source of insecurity arose from the fact that the family had adjusted itself to Caucasians, and she was isolated socially from the Japanese people for that reason. It was unfortunate that she was forced to attend Japanese school, where she learned to resent the other Japanese children and to be by herself when other went out to play together. She indicated her dislike of Japanese people or people in general when she was looking at pictures with JS. She pointed out that she preferred scenery pictures to those containing people. Several pictures she pointed out, saying that if the people, however small, had not been in it, the picture would have looked better.

Toward her problems Kazuko has taken a sort of self-sufficient or isolating type of adjustment. She says that she likes to be by herself and likes to spend her time reading. She likes to read non-fiction books, and probably gets a sense of "getting some place" by reading such books. She does not like to go to parties particularly, although she has gone to them when she lived among Caucasians on the outside. She liked to attend concerts and the like and misses

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them here. She does not seem to be bothered about being popular with the opposite sex. She says that she is not bothered even when boys do not pay attention to her. In fact, she is continually turning down dates for dances. She feels sorry for boys who come to ask her several times without success.

Another type of adjustment that Kazuko has made is to identify herself with Caucasians and to hold a resentment against Japanese in general. She feels that she does not mind going to parties if among Caucasians. Even here on the Project she prefers to go to a party where there are a great many Caucasians if she is to go at all. She blames the evacuation not on the American public, but on pro-Axis sympathizers among the Japanese people. If it were not for them, she says, we would not have been evacuated. She believes that Caucasians in general are superior to Japanese, and does not seem to be able to distinguish between superior and inferior Caucasians and superior and inferior Japanese. She tends to think that the former are all superior and the latter all inferior.

Here in the camp she has attempted to adjust herself by assuming an air of superiority by keeping people at arm's length and by associating and identifying herself with Caucasians. But since there were so many Japanese and so few Caucasians this adjustment was never very satisfactory. The fact that Mr. Slattery was not liked by the Japanese in general, made her position with the Japanese people very insecure. Because she told Mr. Slattery shortcomings of the Japanese people which those about her felt that she should not have revealed to a Hakujuin, the hostility of the Japanese toward her was increased. She was advised by JS to attempt to mix in with the Japanese people more, but she did not seem to have succeeded very well at this. Although she was able to attend parties and enjoy them to a certain extent, she felt rather silly doing so. All the time she was trying to get her sister to locate a job for her on the outside

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so that she could leave camp for good. Her breakdown was probably the result of her inability to adjust herself to her surroundings. She shows all of the signs of neurasthenia -- being easily upset by noise, not being able to sleep at night, dizziness at times. Since she feels well when she goes out to take exercise, the source of the breakdown is not physical. She has a slight trace of suspicion towards other people which can grow into a regular delusion of persecution. JS has tried to point out some of the causes of her sense of insecurity, and the type of adjustment she is trying to make to her situation, and the nature of her conflicts. He hopes that in this way that she will be able to avoid making a poor sort of adjustment to her problems and face her problems more realistically.

2. James Otsuka

James is a good example of a maladjusted personality. He exemplifies a "drip" (a person without manners) and also a fellow with a "Japanesey" background who has tried to take up social ways without much training.

JS today talked to him casually about girls, and learned that he had a girl of his own in one of the other centers. He had met her in Santa Anita. She wasn't exactly what other people would consider exactly pretty, but she was intelligent. She was a college graduate and an art student. He thought that a lot of girls were pretty but dumb, and he dreaded being attached to anyone like that. There didn't seem to be any definite agreement between the two, except for the fact that he pressed her once, it seems, about marriage and was told that they would have to wait. JS told him the type of girl he thought he might admire, and told him that he would not have much luck with girls. James seemed pleased with himself, and kept up the impression that girls did not worry him.

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Thursday, January 28, 1943

1. George Ike

Of those in the block George is probably the most intelligent young person in the block. His family on the whole is rather quiet, and George has a trace of that himself. He was working in the hospital after coming back from the beet field, but he quit the job recently and has begun to work in the mess hall. He was going to study to become a doctor, but was required to stay at home and work and wasn't able to go on to college. It was for this reason that he chose the job of male nurse in the hospital because he felt that he could get some experience along that line. But he related to JS that all he did all day long was to change diapers and to clean up the awful mess made by the children. He got so sick of the work that he decided to work in the mess hall. Evidently he was conscious of the fact that the mess hall work did not carry very much prestige with it because he said, "It seems sort of silly, working in the mess hall doesn't it?" The interesting thing about his change of job is that he did not go out to look for something better, which he probably could have gotten if he tried hard enough. There happened to be an opening in the mess hall because the old crew walked out, and he probably took the job because it was the easiest thing to get.

George said that he was not going to run for coop representative because he was planning on going out. The other day he filed his application for leave, and also wrote to the man in the USES in Idaho to tell him that he wanted the best job available. However, he wanted to make sure that he was going to be able to come back, and said that he would                      any forms carefully before he signed them. He said that he wanted to come back because his family was here and he could not be stranded on the outside. Any other fellow with him said the same thing. They were willing to go out to work on a work contract, provided they were allowed to come back to the Project. Here we see the attachment of these Niseis to their

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families. The WRA is going to run into trouble if it does maintain the policy of keeping families together, whether inside or outside, because many people are going to prefer to keep together rather than to go out.

2. Miss Topping

Miss Topping came here as a teacher, but her real interest was in spreading Kagawa's cooperative plan. The efforts of the WRA has been to keep people who wanted to experiment with the people out of the Project and keep it as normal as possible. The Coop Movement, however, has been one movement which was sanctioned by the WRA and its principles have been spread quite openly. Miss Topping, for instance, carried on a discussion class in the evening, in which she hoped to develop leaders who would go out to work among cooperatives in the Middle West and take Dr. Kagawa's message along. How successful she has been on this matter should be looked into, to make the coop report complete.

As her regular task she has been put in charge of a Kibei class. As her assistant she has Tom Sakiyama, whom she found working in the mess hall. There seems to be some criticism of her work with the Kibei class, although the exact nature of the complaint is not known. At any rate, she was asked to resign from the teaching staff. At present, she is not teaching and is off on an indefinite sick leave. As Mrs. Van Buskirk put it, "It's difficult to fire anyone in Government Service." Miss Topping, however, has gotten the idea that she is being persecuted by those around her. She believes that there are people in here from the British Intelligence Service just to watch her. She related this sort of fear when JS met her soon after she arrived in the Project. Fumi Sakamoto says that she is very sensitive about things, and seems to be rather apologetic in her manners. She's exaggerated some story, such as that Dr. Jacoby had recommended her when coming here, when she was only introduced to Dr. Jacoby's father at the station some place and was given a little note of introduction to Dr. Jacoby. The

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picture of Miss Topping's position here in the Project is not clear, but it would be interesting to find out what relationship there was to her desire in being here and her conflict with the WRA policy and staff members.

3. Mrs. Van Buskirk

Mrs. Van Buskirk originally lived in Hawaii and has liberal friends there. She is probably in her middle 30's, and has at least two children. She came to the mainland before the bombing of Pearl Harbor, and applied for teaching work in this project probably because of the prospect of educating the children in real liberal thought. She believes that the coop movement, if anything, has the chance of saving the world. She does not seem to be as fanatic as Miss Topping who believes that the Movement is going to save the world.

Mrs. Van Buskirk at present is in charge of the eighth grade. At first she had two classes to take care of and only two inexperienced assistants to help her. She has another Caucasian teacher to help her now, and has more time to devote to her class. She has been laying a great deal of stress on coops in her class, and has gotten Noboru Honda, the Education Director, to come to talk to the class. She feels that she has implanted something in the children which will sprout out into something as they grow older. She feels that the best thing for the Japanese is for them to get out of the Project and into coop movements on the outside. In this regard, her aim is <sup>the</sup> same as those held by Mr. Elberson.

She feels that there hasn't been too much repercussion concerning her activity. If she were teaching in the high school, she believes, things might be made more difficult for her, but people don't pay as much attention to the grammar schools as they would to the high school. She says that even on the outside the NMA and the like are watching very carefully to see what sort of things are being taught in the schools, and she seems to feel a delight in being able "to get away" so far with what she has been doing. She's teaching the truth

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she said, but someone pointed out to her that that was something new and an experiment. She was accused of saying something at a dinner table which she did not say. A couple from the Personnel staff vouched for her and she was consequently relieved of the charge. It would be interesting to find out who the two persons who came to her rescue were, since in general the staff and the teachers do not get along. Also what she was accused of saying would be interesting. More interesting is the person who accused her. He had had some words with Mrs. V. before. In stead of reporting the matter to the Project Director, this man went over Mr. Coverley's head and reported Mrs. V. to the FBI and the Army. Later he was reprimanded for having done this. The accuracy of the details cannot be vouched for, but the interaction of different types of Caucasians on the Project is very interesting.

Elberson, according to Fumi, doesn't think too highly of Mrs. V.'s intelligence. However, she seems to be very sincere about her work. Evidently she has been keeping in close touch with colonists because she had also invited Elaine and another Hawaiian girl to dinner along with JS, Fumi, and HN. She did not seem to suspect that other members on the Caucasian staff would raise their eyebrows to see her invite so many colonists.

#### 4. Fumi Sakamoto

Fumi doesn't seem to have built up a resentment against the Japanese people as a whole, but her aggressive nature has never been acceptable generally to them. In her own family, she admits, that they consider her just impossible. Thus she has gotten the feeling among Japanese that she is rather undesirable. This has made her rather wary when among Japanese not to say things that would make her disliked. But still her blunt and aggressive ways have generally persisted in spite of herself.

JS teased her that she wasn't able to describe HN to other people accurately because she was in such a daze when she thought of him. She solemnly repeated that

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she did not have illusions about such matters. She felt that when she did marry someone who would marry someone about 40 years of age and with several children. She seems to have this fear rather sincerely. JS told her that her chances of marrying anyone so old was very slim statistically. It was more likely, he said, that she would marry someone younger than herself. She wanted to know what sort of person she would be most likely to marry, since people considered her so impossible. JS explained that her nature would be considered suitable in a Caucasian group. This she admitted as being true. Among Caucasians she seemed to be considered acceptable. He then went on to say that a person who had adjusted himself to Caucasian would probably also find her qualities admirable and would be able to get along with her.

Fumi seems to find herself in a dilemma. She wants to be accepted by Japanese, but her nature better fits her to live among Caucasians as she has done in the past. She does not mind staying with her family since they asked her to join them when evacuating, but they consider her impossible to get along with.

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Interview with Fumi Sakamoto on Coop Report

Since Fumi Sakamoto did a great deal of the work in organizing the Coop in Tule Lake and since she was not working full time and was preparing to leave the Project for Rochdale Institute, J. S. spent an afternoon with her. He had made notations on his preliminary report as to the things that he wanted clarified, and Fumi answered to the best of her knowledge, being quite frank and as honest as possible. The questions were asked directly and answered directly. These notes are shorthand notes typed out. The page numbers refer to the pages of the original preliminary report.

- Page 1: Was a Coop compulsory? There may be documentary evidence to show that it was, but evidence of the approval of the people was necessary before a

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coop even before the colonists came in. Don believes that a coop was encouraged.

1. The Government was already swamped with agencies so that a coop carried by the Japanese would eliminate one agency to be handled by the WRA.

2. Coops were being encouraged through the FSA program, and fostering in the relocation centers was a carry-over.

JACL opposition to a Coop. The following persons connected with the JACL were in opposition to the coop being set up:

Tom Yego  
Jun Miyagawa  
K. Hamatani  
Calvin Sakamoto  
Walter Tsukamoto (was in favor of the Council controlling)  
Henry Taketa

Besides these people, some of the canteen workers opposed the coop strongly.

Sumio Miyamoto was as cooperative as he could be.

Page 3. Coop being democratic. In setting up a coop, the people were at least given a chance to say whether they desired a coop or not. It is true, however, that Don did insist on the Rochdale principles even when the people were opposed to some of them. His reasons for insisting on the Rochdale principles were: The people didn't know enough about the Coop to know what they wanted. He felt that he knew what the people should have. The people were trying to get as much from the WRA as possible. This idea had to be combatted. The Coop had to be made a self-sustaining unit. He also felt that plans other than the Rochdale one were not successful.

The difference of opinion between Don and the people arose because Don considered the Coop a permanent thing, and took a long-range view of the Coop. The people felt that it was only temporary. (Note that in this regard Don's view is not necessarily those of the WRA. The question arises, of course, to what extent Don can be separated from the WRA.)

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There was some strain on democratic procedure on the matter of patronage dividend and the price policy.

Most of the decisions in organizing the Coop were made by a select group of people. They were not made by the people at large. Part of the reason for this was that neither the representatives nor the people could be depended upon to make decisions intelligently. The Advisory Council also was not well informed on coops. Fumi made many of the decisions herself, but she always did things in the name of the Advisory Council or other committees, but she consulted the so-called discussion leaders before making a major decision.

Discussion leaders

Sumio Miyamoto: Helped during the early phases.

Masao Kawate: Was very faithful. Welded Ward IV together.

Harno Najima: Did a great deal.

Tad Tomita: Helped with knowledge of Japanese. Got Ward V together.

C. Taketa: Was helpful more recently with constructive business plans and policies.

J. S.: Did constructive work.

Equal representation. It is true that having an equal number of Isseis and Niseis is not democratic, but both Don and Fumi pushed this. Reasons for this: People who showed interest in the coop movement here were mostly Isseis who didn't know anything, but were interested in changing the existing canteen. Also, they were making a personal assault on Mr. Smith. Thus, they could not be expected to make constructive moves. On the other hand, while there were some Niseis who were opposed to the canteen and also were not in favor of a coop, there were a small group of Niseis very much interested in coops. To get this group of Niseis in it was necessary to have equal representation. Also, Don and Fumi felt that the young people should have the business experience in preparation for resettlement.

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Also, there would have been the language difficulty if everything had been carried on in Japanese since most of the leaders doing the actual work were Niseis.

Issei domination. In business matters it could be said that Isseis dominated. In working for the Coop, in organizing things, Isseis did not dominate. In most wards the chairman was Issei, the secretary Nisei, and the conversation was dominated by Isseis and carried on in Japanese. In Ward IV and VII, however, Niseis dominated.

Domination of Committees.

By-laws: Dominated by Fumi. Kawate, a Nisei, played an active part.

Committee on Committees: Handled by Koso. It was not a committee that could stand on its own feet. It was composed entirely of Isseis.

Management Committee: Dominated by Ikeda, an Issei. Otherwise, the committee was a poor one -- poorly attended.

Membership Committee: Handled by Koso.

Auditing Committee: Composed of both Isseis and Niseis. The chairman was Tad Tomita, a discussion leader, an Issei with American education, young enough to be a Nisei or a Kibei. It was <sup>a</sup> closely hand-picked group, but was overburdened with a fear of its responsibilities. It was a committee which met seven strong when they did meet. Teraoka was Kibeish, and Ken Takemoto a Nisei.

On the whole it can be said that the ward is dominated by Isseis, while the committees are not. Criticisms come from Isseis, while the actual work is done by Niseis.

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Don Elberson. About 32 (actually he's only 30). Cooperative specialist in the Farm Security Administration. Taught at Stanford and California. Was on the Pacific Coast Labor \_\_\_\_\_. Wrote thesis on strikes. Represented the Government and settled a labor strike in Seattle. Had experience as labor relation man. He didn't believe in shoving anything down anybody's throat. He believes in individuals making out their own program, and his stepping in when something went wrong. (Except for Rochdale principles.) To do this he sacrificed a lot of time. He was very thoughtful. He got to know Japanese psychology quite well. He thought that he could talk about coop principles on a long-range point of view, but he came to see that that could not be done. Fumi did practically all of the work. Don was only working in an administrative capacity. Don didn't believe in Ted Waller's type of leadership. But Don was consulted on everything that Fumi did.

Page 9. Isseis interested in Coop. These people called on Don several times. They were mostly businessmen. They were not interested in coops. Don suggested coops as a solution. Taketa (Henry's father), Dr. Sato, were in this group.

Page 11. Unclear WRA policies. Rents, light, tax, profits -- none of these things were clear even to Coop leaders. It was only when Instructions #26 came out that the WRA policy became somewhat clear.

Page 14. Don's relationship with Smith. Don believed that the ultimate decision should come from the people. Mr. Smith felt that the less you told people the less they can quote you. The fundamental outlook of the two persons were different and could not be expected to be on good terms. Don was in a precarious position because he worked under Smith (he was under the Community Enterprise payroll) and did not dare antagonize Mr. Smith.

Page 15. Opposition to a Coop. Opposition from Tom Yego and Jun Miyagawa. There was definite opposition in the block, but just who opposed the Coop or why

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is difficult to say. It cannot be said that businessmen opposed it in general. There was some opposition from canteen employers -- Hamai, for instance.

Page 16. Advisory Council. The only thing that the A. C. did was to push the Coop, which it was rather brave in doing. Most of the work was done by Fumi.

Page 17. Opposition to Mr. Smith. The A. C. did not have anything against Mr. Smith until he started to ridicule the A. C. It can be said that it was Mr. Smith, by his antagonism, that pushed the Coop. Mr. Smith said that the A. C. couldn't do anything until the Coop was organized. Some of the things that the A. C. was protesting about were differences in price, for instance, which was caused by the fact that buyers were buying separately. Mr. Smith is said to have remarked that the A. C. would not be able to run a large business at all.

Page 16. Jurisdiction of A. C. According to Fumi's minutes "further action (on the Coop) was left to this proposed Council."

Page 29. Post-war relocation value. The value of the Coop Movement here is to enable Japanese to join the Coop Movement on the outside.

Fumi Sakamoto thought alike with Elberson. She insisted on practical approach. Learned to be diplomatic with the Japanese people. Past work has all been individual work. Believes that she is not so good on cooperative group work. But she did discuss matters with Nisei and Issei leaders. In this regard she was more fortunate than Koso, who did not consult very many people.

Koso Takemoto. He has no conception of the picture as a whole. His secretaries were kept busy with voluminous amounts of typing, much of which Fumi felt was not so important. He did not know when to let details go -- his memos were usually too long. He was, however, tactful with the Japanese. People come to see Noboru more than Koso at the present time. Koso did fairly good work in field work and committee work. But he has no conception of business. He believes in all for one and one for all. He steps on other people's toes. He doesn't consult people very much.

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Kendall Smith. He had to follow certain administrative rulings. He did not think that the Japanese people had ever cooperated in business and that they never would, and they couldn't do it here. He didn't believe in the judgment of the people. He thought that their minds should be made up for them. He was very efficient, very capable. He did not beat about the bush. He was fair. He did not meddle in the Coop work. What he said to the Coop employees I don't know. From the opposition that came from some of the employees it seems that he must have said something against the Coop to them. He was very blunt, but he had personal courage.

Fumi and Fagan. When Fumi first went to the Placement Office, she had a cigarette hanging from her mouth. Mr. Fagan told her that if she were blase enough to smoke in public, she could certainly handle things. Fumi replied that she'd been around if that's what he wanted to know.

Interview with Elberson on Coop Report

JS made arrangements with Don Elberson to interview him concerning JS's Coop Report, which required revision and addition. Since Fumi Sakemoto was working on a report for Don, she was invited at the same time. The meeting was set for Sunday afternoon, January 31, 1943. The three sat in the living room of the Elberson apartment, while Mrs. Elberson looked on. JS asked the questions, while Don did most of the talking. The following are transcriptions from shorthand notes with slight changes and additions from memory.

Page 1. Was the Coop compulsory? Don does not say that the Coop was compulsory. It's a difficult question to answer. Coops were encouraged as a policy, <sup>and</sup> therefore no other alternative was planned for. A Coop was to be formed when the majority of the people felt that they wanted one. Richardson, the head in Washington, couldn't answer this question. The FSA has a Coop program, too, and hence this encouraging of the Coop is not a novel thing.

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Although this was not mentioned during the campaigning for a Coop here, the alternative would probably have been the handling of a store by the WRA, in which case the profits would have gone into the miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury. Of this Don is definite. (The curious part is that this fact was not brought out. In fact, it was mentioned, especially by Sumio, that the WRA was not allowed to run a canteen. Now it seems that there was no room made for it because a Coop was being encouraged. What would have happened if the people refused to accept a Coop is difficult to say.) Therefore, it would have been foolish for the people not to have a Coop if they wanted the profit. If it were handled by the WRA, the profit would have been taken away.

The possibility of the third party coming in to run the canteen was not discussed. The only other alternative considered was a post-exchange. There was some discussion as to whether a Coop or a post-exchange should be encouraged.

Page 2. Why and when did Coop become a WRA policy? Within the WRA there was a great struggle on this matter. Among those who were for the Coop were the following:

Coverley (Farm Security Administration)  
Eisenhower (Department of Agriculture)  
Provinse (FSA)  
Richardson (FSA)  
Collins (FSA)

The FSA encouraged coops, but tended to force it on to the people. Don and Collins realized that this was not good, and were against the Government shoving the Coop down the people's throat. Those against coops included Fryer, the Regional Director and Conner.

Don came on May 15. At that time he was still in the dark as to whether a coop would actually be set up or not. Soon after it was clarified by a tentative policy laid down by Eisenhower, which said that the coop program would be put into effect. This policy was definitely set down in Instruction #26.

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Why Coop? One of the main reasons for instituting a coop policy was to carry out the democratic ideal of self-determinism. The theory of the Project before resettlement became the main issue was that it should run itself as much as possible. Eventually it was expected that the evacuees would be trained to run the place themselves, and only a skeleton Caucasian staff be maintained. In this line of reasoning there was a fear of post-war bureaucracy and cost to the people. For this reason the coop movement was adopted in many cases in other Government fields. Also, it was felt that the Coop would be an education which would help the people to meet the post-war conditions. The FSA had generally dealt with the "lower third" in economic status, and had come to look upon the Coop as a means of rehabilitation. The philosophy was that the individual was no longer able to cope with present-day problems (New Deal philosophy). Also, Coverley and others believed that the Coop, because of its policy of non-discrimination, would aid in the racial assimilation of the Japanese people.

Page 4. Equal representation. The fear of having all Isseis was the main reason for insisting on one Issei and one Nisei representative. However, this fear may not have been warranted because in the Council representative election in Ward One, when Isseis were still allowed to hold elective positions, six out of the nine representatives were Niseis. Isseis do dominate in the ward assemblies, although the actual work is being done by a small group of Niseis. Why do Niseis keep still in the ward assemblies.

Page 5. Preliminary discussions on Coops. In the early days of setting up of the Project, Elberson, Jacoby, Waller and Gaba got together and talked about things because they agreed in their thoughts. They constituted the liberal elements or the "left wing" of the WRA, and were shocked at the superior and dominating attitude that other staff members took toward the Japanese people. Thus a bond of friendship was formed, and they helped each other in their work. Thus, when there

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was anyone interested in the Coop, they were sent to Don.

Kendall Smith was placed in the warehouse by an appointment from Shirrell. Mortimer Cooke was the head of the Community Enterprises. Don was placed on the Community Enterprise payroll, but was slipped into the Placement Office because Fagan didn't seem to be able to handle matters there. Then Fryer came along and made a major change in staff positions. Joe Hayes was made Assistant Director. Cooke went into Hayes' job (Should we thank Fryer for this). Smith went into Cooke's job. Hayes' appointment caused some resentment within the staff and also some resignations.

The forum group of the Recreation Department was interested in the Coop only from its own standpoint of view. The Coop in their program would be one part of the recreational program. Rev. Tanabe and Kuroda were interested in the Coop. Don talked one night to a fellowship meeting on Coops. However, the church was never an integral part of the Coop educational program. Certain church people were interested in Coops, but they did not take an active part in it. The meeting held at Imazeki's apartment was the basis for Don's first lecture series. (Include an account of Don's lecture in the report.)

Page 7. Don Elberson was a normal fellow in high school. He took part in athletics and was a "bigshot" in school. He went to the university and was caught up with too much social life. An unfortunate incident and the passing away of his father caused a complete reversal in attitude. Up to his second year in college he had never read a serious book. The shock and the influence of liberal professors made him become interested in labor economics. He became interested in coops later on. He graduated from the University of Washington and took out his Masters in 1937 in labor relations. Then he went to Cal and taught sections in economics as assistant for one semester, and then did research work in the Department of Economics for eight months. The summer before he did negotiation work with

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the Pacific Labor Bureau. Then <sup>he</sup> taught at Stanford off and on for three years.

In the summer of 1939 Don was in need of money, and with Ruth went to the AFS committee work camp and lived with the Oakies. They were interested in such social problems at that time. Of his experience at that time Don said: "It did something to you. You can't live with them without becoming a part of them." From a WPA man he learned of a labor relation job in Tulare and took that, and worked at it till January, 1940. He went back to Stanford as teaching assistant in sociology. The following year <sup>he</sup> was instructor in social problems.

The leader of the group at Shafter was John Way, a left-wing member of the Friends. He took this group of people to the annual coö্প conference. The two coö্প wholesales on the Pacific Coast met. Of this conference Don said: "The experience at a coö্প conference is very unique. It's dynamic. People are continually discussing important problems in coöperation. I don't think that I'll ever forget the finality and sincerity of the people. They did something with their problems." When Don returned to Stanford, he joined the Coö্প there and was quite active. He served on a number of committees. He became interested in more than local cooperation and got into the Coö্প wholesale. He served on the board of the Coö্প wholesale and was active in this field. He took a job with the FSA for one year as Coö্প specialist, where he worked with Larry Collins.

Don has had no experience with racial minority groups, but he has worked with minority groups such as trade unions, Oakies, and Coöps. He believes that his understanding of present day social structure makes it easy for him to understand problems here.

Don was born in a middle-class family. His father was an intelligent accountant with a \$250 level income. He was a Republican, and Don's present views would have clashed with his. His mother was an ordinary pretty girl, brought up in a strict Pennsylvania Dutch family. Don was pampered in the family because he

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was born a number of years behind his brother and sister.

Don and Ruth's attitude toward the Japanese people is very sympathetic. Of her first reaction toward the Japanese she related: "I almost cried because the Japanese were so quietly brave. They were so gentle and mild, and held back all of the disappointment they must feel." Don elaborated on this point: "If you know what a people must have gone through, uprooted from home, and then bring them around to a room 25 feet square with a little dumpy stove and a few cots, and then to hear them say, 'What a nice room.' You can't help but feel rather deeply after that."

Don's reaction to the Japanese is a reaction to a group of people. Certainly there is no racial hatred. Conner hates the Japanese, but even he said something the other day which Don has felt all along: "Well, when you have them around long enough you become oblivious to them." As Don put it: "You work hard with people and you don't notice the race." And as Ruth explained: "You see them as people." She said that in the school room she caught herself trying to identify the children into different races, until she realized that they were all Japanese. (Her Jewish identity probably enters in here.) Don feels that the Japanese have very few racial characteristics and could pass for any number of other races. (Ruth's mention of the inability of the Japanese to carry responsibility as a possible racial trait, which we agreed was more a social trait, was very interesting.)

Don's attitude toward the attitude of the Japanese people here he said: "I feel that one of the greatest struggles, one in which the people have made any progress at all, is one of self-reliance -- building something for oneself. The Council couldn't do it; the other departments haven't done it. When people demand things, I don't hate them because they are like some of the other Caucasians. However, I get impatient with people who don't do things for themselves. That's the problem of the people. The WRA has never gone all of the way in letting the people

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handle their own affairs. I don't know what they're going to do out on the farm this year because the people aren't given enough incentive to work. Most of the strikes were the fault of the WRA. There are parallels with labor relation on the outside. The loyalty of the Japanese are the same as those Americans on the outside. There are Japanese who maintain ties with Japan, but those ties are primarily cultural in nature.

Conflict between Community Enterprise and Coöp. Smith opposed the Coöp quite a bit, according to Don. (It might have been only a little.) When the San Francisco officials came around, he gave it lip service. As Fumi quoted Smith himself: "He was a good soldier. He did what he was told." Smith is a clever merchant type. He isn't smooth or subtle. He is a businessman type. He handled his employees in a paternalistic fashion, in the manner of an intelligent employer. And as Fumi remarked, the Japanese were used to that sort of treatment. Some of the employees were against the Coöp, and Mr. Smith is suspected of instilling this feeling to a certain extent. Mr. Smith looked down on the ability of the Japanese to handle a big business, and ridiculed the Advisory Council, and felt that the Board of Directors needed a "break," in order to get along. He was willing to bet Don that we would not get a Board. He told the Advisory Board that there was no one in here who could run a chain of stores. However, when some of the employees who were against the Coöp were going to quit when the Coöp took over, Smith prevailed upon them to stay. This shows their attachment to Smith, and the degree to which their association with Smith had alienated them from the Japanese people in general.

Interview with Don on Coop Report.

Because the first interview was not sufficient to cover the preliminary report, a second interview was scheduled for the evening of February 2, 1943 at Elberson's home. Both Fumi and JS were again invited, this time to dinner. After

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dinner, they sat around the living room as before, and continued from where they left off the last time.

Kendall Smith. Smith claims to be a Socialist and to have worked with Upton Sinclair. He believes, however, that the time is not ripe for socialism. He comes from a southern family in Texas. His brother is a "black reactionary" and works for the Indian Service at Poston, one of the most reactionary persons Don has ever seen. His brother's wife said: "The best thing for these Japs is to put them all together in a corral and drop a bomb on them to solve their problem." On the Negro problem his brother said, "We are just better than they are." Kendall has revolted against this tradition and class structure. Don believes that he is sincere in this. He believes that people should marry with whom they choose. He does not like the Japanese traditions, either. Because of this feeling, there is a little sympathy for the downtrodden in Kendall. But his experience as a businessman is too strong to bring him all of the way. He has fought his way up, no holds barred. He is clever and fast like a cat. He knows all of the angles.

In Texas he had a store, probably in the dry-goods line. In Los Angeles he was in partnership in the milk distribution business. They were doing fairly well, but he saw signs of impending difficulties ahead with the war coming on, and he got out and into the WRA. He knew some of the bigshots in business with whom the Enterprise did business when he was salesman on the road for a leather dry-goods company. Many of the Enterprise creditors were personal contacts.

Kendall Smith is a peculiar man. Larry Collins said that he reminded him of Jiminy Crickets. He is frank with the people on his side, but fights people on the other side hard. Here in the Project he associated mainly with businessmen and salesmen. He also got along with Frank Smith. He doesn't mix in with Joe Hayes' crowd. This is his first Government job, and he hates red tape.

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With the Enterprise employees he stood pretty well, although there might have been some friction with the buyers because of restrictions that he placed on them. He associated with the employees quite a bit, had Ito and Miyamoto to dinner sometimes. He seemed to like the Japanese as business associates.

When Don first came to the Project, he was moved around. First he was under Cooke, who wasn't in favor of a coö"p. He was in favor of reserving the power in the WRA, although he saw some of the advantages of the Coö"p. He has the outlook of the English who believe in the white man's burden. Cooke, having been in the Far East, has a sense of class. Smith doesn't have that feeling so much -- his attitude is similar, but more American. Don wrote a memo to Shirrell recommending coöps, and Cooke got mad. Don had to apologize for it. When the shift in personnel was made, Don went to the Placement Office. It was at this time when Smith was made chief of Community Enterprises that Don's contact with him began. They never had very much to do with each other, and their closest contacts did not begin until the Advisory Council started rolling. In general Don's relationship with Smith was negligible. There was only a surface rapport carried on, which meant nothing. Smith was willing to have a coö"p because it was a WRA policy, but he thought that the coö"p was a poor business policy. He might have figured that the coö"p would never become a formal policy of the WRA, and Instruction #26 caught him "with his pants down."

Don has <sup>been</sup> on the payroll of the Community Enterprises ever since he was here. When Morton Gaba left, a man was needed to take care of the block managers. Ted Waller was also considered, but Fleming chose Don. Don wasn't able to push the Coö"p very hard because of his lack of authority. But this was more fortunate than not, it seems. As Don says: "You can't have a good Coö"p unless you fight hard for it. I learned that in the FSA program. It was fortunate that I wasn't identified with the Community Enterprises, because we didn't have an office, etc., we did have a sense of fighting for something, which may not be true on a lot of projects.

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At Manzanar the Community Enterprise fought against the people for a coö্প. I probably had a wider acquaintance with the people through the work with the block managers, the Council, than any other person on the Staff. Up to the very end the block managers would have done anything for me if I wanted it." Don was chosen labor relation man by Shirrell because Frank Smith wasn't handling the job efficiently. It was after the farm strike and when the packing shed strike, the furniture factory strike, and one other strike was going on. This was in line with Shirrell's policy of not firing people.

Smith is not Jewish, although the people think so. As a matter of fact, he made anti-Jewish (Semitic) remarks in the company of evacuees. Don was going to tell Mr. Shirrell about it. He said that the Jewish people taught him all he knew about business.

Page 19. Profits. Mr. Shirrell remarked rather loosely that the profit would go to some organized group, and since the Council was the only organized group, it was mentioned. But if the Coö্প were organized, then it would be the problem of the Coö্প, Mr. Shirrell is said to have said. This was when the Advisory Council was in operation.

Sumio Miyamoto. One characteristic remark about Sumio which characterized his behavior is that he associated with Mr. Smith too long. He got Smith's peculiar qualities toward the end. Smith asked Shirrell that Miyamoto be transferred to the Coö্প because he was a Coö্প man. He did attend the coö্প lectures, as a matter of fact. Smith was grooming him for the position as General Manager, although under Smith he did not have any special title. In the Council meetings Sumio was the spokesman for the Community Enterprise. In the forum he felt that he did not want to seem as though he had an axe to grind in favor of the Coö্প, and have people think that he was doing so for his own benefit.

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Sumio was against the Council handling the Coöp. His basic reason was that he didn't have confidence in the Council's being able to handle such business matters, or perhaps he could not trust Walter Tsukamoto and his henchmen. In Sacramento, however, he was a pretty good friend of Walter. At Walerga both Iki and Sumio were advisors in the hospital. Walter was working for the administration. Both Walter and Iki were fighting for favoritism from the Project Director, and Sumio was on the other side of the fence from Walter at that time.

At the time of the forum Sumio took a neutral stand. On the theater project he was trying to explain Smith's stand. He himself claimed that he did not know anything about the theater project. Don believes that Sumio did know about it. Smith was trying to get him to take the responsibility for the project, but Sumio did not give him any support. Smith also tried to blame members of the Advisory Board, saying that he had consulted several of them individually, but Fumi declared that she asked the A. B. members and all of them denied that they were consulted on the matter. Since Sumio was elected the General Manager, he has been following Smith's ways rather closely. There was a close tie between Smith and Sumio. On the Montgomery Ward deal Smith did not oppose it. Sumio, however, was doing his best to try to keep Montgomery Ward out, even when he saw that the B. D. was against him. He tried to leave the matter up to the Management Committee, which he could handle more easily. There was a very close tie between Smith and the agent from Sears. Smith used to get gifts and special concessions from this fellow. His wife got a 40 per cent discount on a fur coat through Sears and was showing it off to people. It is reasonable to suppose that Smith influenced Sumio a great deal on the Ward deal.

Page 27. Large membership fee. Don at first proposed a membership fee of \$5, but this was to include the past profit. The actual cash payment was to be about a dollar. The complication because of the income tax and the desire of the people for a straight one dollar membership fee, made the first plan unfeasible.

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Page 29. Postwar relocation. Don believes that the value of a coöps here lies in its long-range value, and he would not want to fool around with it if all it was going to mean was a means of serving the community here with goods. The postwar value of coöps he sees for one thing as aiding in individual relocation through jobs in outside coöps. Secondly, he believes that the coöps is important as a way of life after the war, when the Coöps might become increasingly important. Cooperation, he believes, gives people strength. He believes that there is need for the people's moving away from the JACL type of view to that of the ACLU.

Mr. Koizumi was for a coöps from the very beginning. He has taken an interest in it all along. What makes him different from others is an interesting question.

WRA Resettlement Policy. Both Holland and Myer were in favor of a policy of resettlement on the outside. There was a conflict between the employment division and the manufacturing and agricultural division from Washington down to the projects.

Elberson believes that getting people out is a good thing for the people. He is beginning to believe that it's best not to build this place up too much. After the war soldiers are going to be coming back, and it will be harder for the people to assimilate themselves into the American community.

When Shirrell came back from San Francisco with the resettlement policy, there were adverse comments from the agricultural division. Don himself was perturbed because he was interested in building up an ideal community here, which presented a great opportunity. The arguments presented against the resettlement policy at the present time is not so much an argument against the policy itself, but a matter of pointing out the difficulties in attempting to carry out such a policy.

Don believes that general dispersal is good for the Japanese people, but he also realizes that some concentration, preferably in small groups, is necessary.

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He also sees that there is some conflict between the dispersal policy and the coö্প policy of cooperation, although he believes that cooperation with coö্প people on the outside will solve the dilemma. He points out that the jobs and wages offered at the present time to colonists to make it impossible for the married man with a family to support them. He believes that the people should not be shoved out without adequate opportunities being offered them for establishing themselves on the outside.

WRA Dispersal Policy. The policy of dispersal being pursued by the WRA may conflict with the coö্প principle of cooperation, which signifies banding together. This dilemma can be reconciled to a certain extent by insisting on cooperation with people on the outside. The idea of a branch office and manufacturing establishment on the outside run wholly by Japanese runs counter to the WRA dispersal policy. If this sort of thing is done on a small scale or done in connection with people of other races, it may be harmful. Here, however, the conflict between the two policies become rather evident. There is a possibility that the WRA may oppose the coö্প movement here because it runs counter to the resettlement policy. This can be prevented by acquainting the people with coö্পs on the outside and encouraging them to associate with them, rather than among themselves.

Language. Because of the fact that there were many Isseis in the Coö্প, language was a problem. Koso was selected because of his academic training and also because he seemed to be interested in coö্পs. His strongest qualification, however, was the fact that he could speak Japanese well and handle the Isseis. Don has gotten to a point where language difficulties do not bother him so much.

Koso Takemoto. Koso is accused of having pampered the committees by telling them what to do and how to do it. Consequently, even today, they are not able to conduct their own business properly. This may be due to the fact that he

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has an academic background and is used to taking the attitude of a teacher rather than that of an administrator. Koso was brought into the office to contact Isseis and do field work. Also, he was expected to organize things.

In this respect there was some conflict with Fumi, who was already in the Coöp office, doing most of the work by herself in consultation with Don. Fumi claims, however, that there was no conflict over prestige, which did not interest her. She had always tried to get things done in the name of committees rather than under her own name. Koso, however, did bother her because of his academic leanings, his concern for trifling details, and his inability to grasp things whole and to get things done. One definite source of conflict between Fumi and Koso was his inability to make a sharp demarcation on matters of jurisdiction of work and lines of authority. He was always stepping over from his work into that of others without being concerned about how Fumi felt about the matter. He would ask Fumi to do a certain job, and when someone came to see Fumi about it, he would take over the task himself without saying anything to her. This sort of thing led to a definite conflict between Fumi and Koso about the end of November and Fumi took a sick leave for ten days. Koso does not understand organizational and administrative principles.

Don believes that Koso's preoccupation with Japanese culture is detrimental to a coöp movement here in America. In this regard, both Koso and Shinohara are in the same boat. They are not Americanized enough. As Don says: "There's a good side and a bad side of this culture business. We are trying to develop a sense of American cooperative, and not Japanese cooperative. The sort of people that Koso picks up is of a definite type. He's paternalistic, even though he lays claim to having democratic ideals."

Yoshimi Shibata According to B. B., Shibata swallowed pretty hard on the labor relation policy of allowing the employees or organize. But he is willing to

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learn. But in Don's opinion, in Koso the sense of culture is so deep that he doubts that he will ever be able to overcome it. Shibata is more American. In a coöp, according to Don, you can't afford a lecturer or a teacher. You have to administer and organize.

Noboru Honda. Don believes that Noboru is so perfect that you can't say anything against him. He never went beyond high school, and at 16 he was supporting his family. He was a life insurance salesman prior to evacuation, and probably worked on a farm before that. He also seems to have had other business experiences. He got organizational experience with the JAACL and with church groups. He picked up the secret of administrative and executive work. There's no end to the amount of work that he can absorb.

He came to the project with a community feeling, which he picked up in his community work on the outside. He is one of the few JAACL leaders who has maintained this feeling, without sacrificing it for personal glory. He is smooth and knows all of the tricks, but he is not selfish.

He got along with everyone except with Koso. The break with him is not as great as that between Koso and Fumi because he is reasonable. He knows how to train people, and is a good leader for this reason. He knows how to let people do their own work. He was an outstanding ward chairman of the block managers. He makes plans for the day, but also has a longer range program in mind.

Shinohara came into the office as a translator. Was hired by Koso. He is under suspicion because he applied for repatriation. He was requested by the Japanese Government, but was not allowed to go the first time. He takes a superior air in the office. You can't ask him to do anything. Koso asked him to attend a meeting and he said he would rather resign. Koso can't order him around. Fumi related that he talked to her once like a servant, ordering her to go after the key to the office. She told him that she wasn't the janitor. Others felt sorry for her

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because he talked to her in that manner. Don feels that he may be responsible for the way in which the Auditing Committee acted.

Coöp Business Office. Structural changes are being introduced by the Coöp, changes which are worth noting. The audit report, retail control system, stock inventory files are parts of this change. This shows increasing responsibility of employees toward the members. Yoshimi is a fellow with ideas. He understands organization pretty well, although he is not too well organized himself. George Ikegami has not really developed yet.

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1. Elberson on Scholarship

Elberson has been rather insistent that the Board pass this matter about the scholarship. Most of the Board did not seem to be in favor of it when it was brought up the second time. It had been discussed in some wards already and many people were found to be against the setting up of a scholarship fund just at this time. The main reason against the scholarship fund was that the people felt it was too early yet to be thinking about such things when the work of the Coöp was not being carried out properly. The financial status of the Coöp was still very unsettled and this should be taken care of before matters like scholarship. Don was insistent that this matter should be considered and because the Board did not want to take the responsibility, it was presented to the ward, where it was generally disapproved. Don still thought that he was right, and wanted the Board to finance Bob Ota to Rochdale Institute because he thought that the block managers were going to finance him.

The problem here is whether Don is not trying to push something on the people which they definitely do not like. Fumi believes that Don lately has become less tactful than he has been in the past. He is saying things that he formerly would not have said. She feels that on this matter of scholarship he is

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not seeing it in the same way as the people. Mrs. Van Buskirk also stated that she felt that the Co"op should not require to use the people's money to start a scholarship loan. Thus, while many Board members and others are in favor of a scholarship loan, they don't agree with Don that this is an opportune moment to carry out this idea.

2. Rumors About Leaving

The most interesting situation worth watching at the present time is that of resettlement. The WRA, the Japanese and the American public are all involved, while the Army stands on the sideline. The WRA, since Myer has come into office, has made it a policy to get as many Japanese out on the outside as possible. The American public want to use Japanese labor, deprive them of their citizenship rights and the right to own land. Congressmen are demanding that the control of the projects be taken out from the hands of the WRA and put in those of the Army because the Japanese are being pampered. For this reason the WRA is desirous of seeing the Japanese prove their loyalty and cooperativeness by going out to work and serving in the Army, etc. Whether the Japanese will leave the project or not will depend on a great many factors, among the important ones being the reception given them by the public, which would include the assurance of a decent living on the outside, with decent jobs and living conditions. The attitude of the WRA will also affect the Japanese people. If all the WRA does is to try to get people out regardless of jobs and living conditions on the outside, then the Japanese are going to think twice before volunteering to go out.

At present it would seem to most Japanese that the public on the outside are rather hostile to the Japanese people. This is in spite of the fact that many young people who have gone out already have written back to say that they were receiving very good treatment. There is also a feeling that the WRA is trying to force them out of the Project, regardless of a good chance of establishing themselves on the outside. Rumors that have been going around recently seem to bear this out.

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One of the rumors passed on most often is that once you go out you cannot get back in. One version says that if you go out as a family unit you are not allowed to come back in. Immediately on hearing such a rumor somebody mentions that a family is trying to get in but cannot, and they find that they can not make a living on the outside. Another rumor says that if you are out for more than two weeks, you are not allowed to come back in. Another says that if you go out on indefinite leave, you cannot come back. Another says that it depends on the type of papers you sign -- the warning being that you should read everything thoroughly before signing, because you may not be able to come back, otherwise. The matter was brought up in the Planning Board, and the words were passed on to representatives that parties going out should be warned that they may not be able to come back in.

### 3. Sakuma, "Agitator"

Sakuma is a good example of an "agitator." "Agitator" may be the wrong word to use, but it is the most descriptive. It is useful to use because people recognize what you mean when you use the word, although at times it is stretched too broadly to include too many different kinds of people. One farm foreman used the word yagiuma (hecklers) and another man used the word sendosha ("agitator") in a conversation recently referring to people who caused trouble. Another word that has been used is kyokoha (unyielding, obstinate faction).

Sakuma is a bachelor and seems to have lead a rather roguish life. He was chosen as the membership committee member from his block and raised a great deal of opposition to the Coöp. He has finally become a member, but according to Mr. Ikeda, he is out to get his one dollar's worth of say.

### 4. Bachelors

Concerning the second membership drive, several persons expressed the opinion that there were only a few wligivle persons in the block who did not become members. They said that bachelors were most difficult to make a Coöp member. This

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uncooperativeness of the unmarried man seems to be accepted by others as being natural. It is only when they marry and settle down that they begin to conform to the ways of the community. When they marry too late they are likely to find it difficult to conform to family ways, thus making it rather unhappy for the wife.

5. Kihei Ikeda

Mr. Ikeda is one of the most active men on the Project. He is on the Planning Board and he is considered the most active man on the Board. In the Coöp, he could not sit on the Board because he was a blocked alien. Mr. Matsumoto steered him into the Management Committee, and there he has dominated a rather weak committee. He seems to make most of the decisions of the committee himself. Fumi feels that he used to be a man with a good judgment, but lately he has been making snap judgments which were not always wise.

In the last meeting of the Management Committee he made two suggestions which were contradictory to each other. He suggested that the use of scrip be made compulsory in order to avoid paying any income tax at all. This was an idea which did not originate with him, but several people thought about it at the same time. He also stated that since scrip cost too much, cash register receipts should be used instead of scrip. For this purpose he suggested that 15 or 16 cash registers should be bought as soon as possible. If scrip is used it is possible to make its use compulsory. On the other hand, if cash register receipts are used, then this cannot be done. Evidently he does not see that there is a contradiction in what he suggested on the same evening.

6. Mitsutome

Mr. Mitsutome was asked to make the treasurer's report for the coming membership meeting. Mr. Sakamoto, Mr. Matsumoto, and Mr. Ikeda all seemed to feel that Mr. M. was not capable of making a proper report, unless he did a lot of preparation. Last night he was asked to make a short report at the ward meeting just to see if he was prepared. Mr. Ikeda pointed out mistakes that he made in his report and seemed to be trying to guide him along in a condescending manner.