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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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D. S. Thomas
Director

This is one of a series of reports - in preparation - by Saboda on conflict situations in Minidoka

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PICKLING PLANT CONFLICT

REPORT

by

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Evacuation and Resettlement Study

University of California

Hunt, Idaho
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Pickling Plant Conflict Report

1. Beginning of the Pickling Plant

Canning of surplus project vegetables had begun when 1500 segregated Tuleans arrived in the Minidoka Relocation Center in October, 1943. The cannery was then under the supervision of Dan Sheehan in the Engineering Division, which in turn was in the Operations Division, under Assistant Project Director Davidson. Both Davidson and Sheehan were reputed to be sympathetic toward evacuees and to have their confidence. As the supervisor of the cannery Davidson selected a newly-arrived Tulean, Richard Sato, with whom he had become acquainted while working in the San Francisco office of the WRA. Sato was a Nisei college graduate, 27 years of age, who had headed the agriculture technical staff at Tule Lake. Davidson was anxious to preserve surplus project vegetables through dehydration, and was anxious to gain Sato's assistance in this field, since Sato had written to him on this subject when he was in Tule Lake. Since a dehydration machine could not be obtained, he had placed Sato in the position of supervisor of the cannery. Sato chose a capable foreman, a certain Mr. Tsujukawa, an Issei, and as assistant his wife. All of the dozen workers were Issei men and women, some of them recently from Tule Lake. Work proceeded smoothly.

When canning ended in November, Davidson asked Sato to convert the plant to pickling to preserve surplus vegetables from the project farms. Sato gathered together the necessary equipment, conducted controlled experiments, supervised the workers, and got the pickling

plant underway. His foreman Tsujukawa transferred to another division, and he selected an Issei named Taniguchi to take his place. One reason for this selection was given by Sato as Taniguchi's willingness to help him in his work. Since Sato was not in the habit of being at the plant all of the time and did not care to run errands to the administration area, it was convenient for Sato to have a willing worker for a helper. This selection of foreman later proved to be unfortunate for Sato.

In December an Industry Section was set up by Administrative instruction in the Agricultural Division under Rawlings. He was a relatively recent arrival on the project and considered among the less sympathetic staff members by the evacuees. Working as his business manager was Seiichi Hara, who was disliked by evacuees as a stooge of the administration. Sato was made Supervisor of Industry, and assigned the additional task of supervising the manufacture of tofu, aside from continuing his work in the tsukemono plant. This extra task was not a great burden since he took the policy of allowing this plant, in another section of the project, to be autonomous as it had been in the past. He found it difficult to maintain smooth relationship with Rawlings, who interfered with his close collaboration with Davidson.

The conflict developed through January and February. Sato found that he had not only Rawlings to contend with, but that his own foreman, Tanuguchi, had sided with Rawlings in opposing him. Sato was desirous of expanding the Industry Section to include the manufacture of other

Japanese foods besides tsukemono and tofu, which Davidson had approved. In spite of opposition from Rawlings and Taniguchi Sato went ahead with his experiments with the production of koji and miso, which he placed in charge of two men--Kogita and Kano. The conflict came to a sharp focus when Rawlings gave Taniguchi, instead of Sato, the right to make the necessary employment out, and the workers protested against this by signing a petition to have Taniguchi resign.

2. Conditions leading to the outbreak of the conflict

Two factors which seem to have been important in leading to the outbreak of labor difficulty within the tsukemono plant were:

- a. Shifting the plant from Sheehan's department to that of Rawlings'.
- b. The employment of Taniguchi as a foreman.

Before the above two steps were taken the plant was functioning without an appreciable amount of friction. To understand why the above two changes would lead to a conflict, however, requires further investigation into the description of the participants in the conflict in terms of their relationship to one another and their personalities. Much of this is brought out in the controversy over the expansion of the plant to include the manufacture of miso and the method of carrying out an employment cut. In this section all available material which describes the conditions leading to the outbreak of the conflict will be included.

Personnel Relationship. As characteristic of a government agency or any large organization, the Caucasian personnel of the WRA is placed in a definite relationship to one another. At the top is the Project Director, Stafford, and below him three assistant Project Directors--Miller, Pomeroy and Davidson--each in charge of a large division. Below these three are various heads of sections, and below them are supervisors and foremen. At the very bottom are the workers, who are all evacuee residents of the project, who are sometimes made foremen and supervisors.

In the past there was a definite tendency for friction to develop among various persons as they rubbed shoulders against one another while working together. Whenever a conflict develops between any two individuals in the department, the tendency is for others closely involved in the work to align themselves with one person or the other. This alignment, however, does not take place haphazardly, for friendships and enmities have already been formed. It is the alignment of individuals which we desire to describe, since this seems to be an important condition governing labor conflicts. The development of the pickling plant conflict will also show how that alignment of forces changes.

Stafford. The project director has had the reputation of being both authoritarian and benevolent in his relations with both his staff and evacuee residents. When the pickling plant conflict broke out, he had left the project to attend a conference in Washington, D.C., and consequently did not have much to do with it. However, he left in charge as acting director Miller rather than Davidson. This seemed to indicate Stafford's preference for Miller, since Davidson was on the project longer than Miller and had been Acting Director when Stafford took his vacation in December, 1943. Davidson had been unable to handle the boilermen walkout in Stafford's absence, and since then Stafford had been in the habit of consulting Miller much more than Davidson.

Miller. The head of the Administrative Management Division was a relatively recent arrival, having arrived in the fall of 1943 to

replace Shaffer. He quickly earned the reputation of being unsympathetic to evacuees. His friends among the administrative personnel seemed to be those who thought in a similar vein as he, and who were willing to carry out his orders and to support him. In this regard it is not surprising that he upheld Rawlings' move to close down the plant rather than to give in to the demands of the workers. Miller did not get along well with either Pomeroy or Davidson. The latter, who had a reputation for being sympathetic to evacuees, was constantly being criticized by Miller for his actions. Miller was a "strong" personality, like Stafford and unlike Davidson, and was not afraid to carry out what he believed to be right. He was a transfer from the WPA in Idaho, and is reputed to have some backing from the people in the state. When the labor conflict developed in the pickling plant he was the highest authority on the project.

Davidson. The head of the Operations Division had arrived on the project on February 1, 1943, to take over the job of Chief of Agriculture. He earned a reputation for being sympathetic to evacuees and of being able to win their cooperation. When the boilermen walked out on their jobs because of the arrogant attitude of Green, a supervisor under him, Davidson was unable to settle the dispute, and found it necessary to call back Stafford from his vacation to settle the dispute for him. He was known to be much more timid than Miller or Stafford. On the whole, Davidson got along well with evacuees working in his division. He was desirous of setting up a dehydration plant, and for this purpose approached Richard Sato from Tule Lake to retain him as an assistant, since the ex-Tulean had shown knowledge of

dehydration processes. Davidson listened to Sato's demand for material to work with or extra clothing to give to his workers. He found it difficult, however, to control Rawlings who worked under him as Chief of Agriculture.

Rawlings. The Chief of Agriculture arrived on the project in August, 1943, and can be included among the more recent arrivals. He soon earned a reputation for himself of being arrogant toward evacuees, to lack understanding of their problems, and to be unsympathetic towards them. Working as his office manager was Seiichi Hara, one of the most disliked individuals on the project as an administrative "stooge." Not only Rawlings, but other Caucasians in the administration were said to rely on Seiichi Hara for advice from time to time. Rawlings' farm foreman was an Issei named Kamaya, whose status on the project prior to the outbreak of the labor conflict in the pickling plant is unknown.

From the beginning Rawlings' relationship with Sato, who was the supervisor of Industry, seemed to have been stormy. Sato resented any sign of arrogance on Rawlings' part, and chose to oppose or ignore him, rather than to attempt to appease him. Consequently, when Rawlings ordered Sato to sit at a desk in the Ad Area part of the day to carry out his work as supervisor he flatly refused to do so. Also, when Sato wanted anything for his plant and he felt that Rawlings would not give it to him, he first went to Davidson to have the matter o.k.'d before taking it to Rawlings.

Rawlings' relationship with Taniguchi, Sato's foreman, developed over a period of time. Sato, not caring to make trips from the hospital area, where the tsukemono plant was situated, to the Administration Area to take time sheets and requisition sheets, trusted this task to Taniguchi. Rawlings and Taniguchi agreed well in their ideas as to how the pickling plant should be operated, especially in regards to the conservation of material and following of administrative instructions.

Sato. One of the main participants in the labor conflict was Sato, Supervisor of Industry. His personality seems to be somewhat pertinent to an understanding of the conflict. He was born in the delta region near Sacramento, California, where he was required to attend a segregated school for Orientals. This experience, coupled with the fact that he was brought up in a large Japanese community surrounded by hostile Caucasians, seems to have been somewhat responsible for his antagonism toward Caucasians in general. According to his own confession, he could not meet a Caucasian without feeling a chip on his shoulders. This tendency was only increased with the development of a perverse personality. He was constantly complaining about things in general, criticizing others rather severely. Within his own block he was non-cooperative at times in such matters as volunteering along with others for work or abiding by regulations as when to get coal. He tended to disregard the acceptable ways of a community and to resort to infractions whenever it was convenient. He graduated from the University of California, and prided himself on the possession of a degree. He was married to a girl who agreed

with him in all matters.

Sato's attitude toward Caucasian workers on the project was extreme. He spoke of them with disrespect. He maintained that how much a person spent on the project did not matter, as long as he kept the people satisfied, since the budget of a little section was only a drop in the bucket of the total expense. Maintaining that Caucasians used WRA material for their own purpose, he did not see why evacuees alone should have to conserve material. He prided himself on having "guts" (dokyo) in getting the better of the administration for himself or for the evacuees.¹

Toward his workers Sato was lenient. He himself kept a flexible work schedule, coming to work late in the morning if he pleased, or leaving the plant before the other workers. For his workers he tried to get extra clothing. He allowed them to take home small quantities of vegetables which were supposed to be used for pickling purposes. When they came to work late or did not show up for work at all, he was not in favor of reducing their pay for that reason. He was in the habit of signing his time-sheet for a week in advance, although this was against regulations.

Sato's attitude toward his worker is illustrated by the following incident, when he attempted to get a C rating for his foreman, Taniguchi. This brings out, incidentally, Seiichi Hara's position.

Dick, according to his own account, wanted to get \$19 for his foreman, Taniguchi, because he worked hard. He tries to get as much as possible for his men from the WRA, he said. He talked the matter over with the Caucasian in charge (Rawlings), and finally drove the matter to a point where the other had agreed to give Dick's foreman a C rating. He was ready to resign his position, he said, if he couldn't get his own way about the matter. Just

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as the Caucasian was ready to sign the assignment papers, Hara, who was listening in, came over and said that it could not be done. Dick related. Dick turned around and asked him what he knew about the matter. Then he asked Hara to translate a paragraph written in English. Hara could not translate it, Dick said, and he told Hara to shut up. Dick was so "mad", he said, that he was ready to bust him on the mouth. Then he had to spend another hour or so explaining to the Hakujin that it was alright. He said that it had been done in Tule Lake, and there was no reason why it couldn't be done here.¹

Sato was in favor of getting for his workers the limit, which was still not very much. Hara was less desirous of expanding privileges of the evacuees, and for this reason he was considered a "stooge" of the administration by many persons.

Sato was popular with most of his 19 workers. By not insisting on their working hard or on following regulations closely, and by getting as much for them as possible from the WRA he placed himself on the side of the workers rather than on that of the administration. All but a few approved of him and his ways. The fact that many of the workers were from Tule Lake and were accustomed to thinking as he did might have accounted for much of his popularity. Several workers among the others who were to play somewhat leadership roles later on had attached themselves to Sato. These included Kogita, Kano, and Tsue.

Taniguchi's relation with Sato began with enthusiasm on his part to help the relatively young supervisor and ended in open conflict. As far as Sato was concerned he treated Taniguchi equally as well as

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other workers. He thought that Taniguchi was a good man to replace Tsujukawa as foreman because Taniguchi seemed so helpful. Since he did not want to go up to the Administrative Area himself, he found it convenient to employ Taniguchi to run these errands for him. More and more, however, Taniguchi began to oppose his plans, and to listen more to Rawlings.

Another difficult worker to deal with was a Mrs. Hara (unrelated to Seiichi Hara), a Minidokan. She was a busybody, and a former owner of a laundry. She had sons in the Army, and prided herself on her cooperative sentiments. For instance, when Sato was reading a book at the plant, she would come around to turn off the light, saying that it was unnecessary during the daytime. She would also tell other workers that they should not take any vegetable home with them. Her excuse for this behavior was that Sato was only a koso (kid) and did not know enough to run a plant. Sato considered her a nuisance, but did not take any step to get rid of her.

Taniguchi Sato's foreman was formerly a dye-work man by trade in Seattle. In Tule Lake he was living alone, his wife having passed away. He was a devout supporter of the Episcopalian Church. He does not seem to have distinguished himself in any way in Tule Lake. When coming to Minidoka he took charge of two Kibei orphans. By several individuals close to him he was described as a person with a "one-tracked mind." He was in the habit of following rules closely, it was said, and could be expected to carry out a task which was assigned to him, even if it meant getting up early in the morning before the others were up.

Taniguchi's friendship with Rawlings and the growing split with Sato was already mentioned. Only a few of the workers sided with him. One of these was Mrs. Hara, whose ideas would have pleased Rawlings very much. It was said by other workers that Mrs. Hara pushed Taniguchi into close collaboration with Rawlings against Sato. Another person who attached herself to Taniguchi was a Mrs. Kawasaki. She was married, but it was rumored by the workers that her relationship with her husband was an unhappy one. She painted herself up excessively, and the workers suspected that her attachment to Taniguchi was largely sexual. Except for one other worker whose position was doubtful, all of the other workers preferred Sato to Taniguchi and Mrs. Hara.

Hara. Seiichi Hara deserves special mention. Although he was involved in the present incident only as a background figure, he was considered an important influence. He was formerly an agent for the hotel owners in Seattle and was accused of buying out the hotel workers to keep them from organizing effectively. He was also talked of as one of the disliked men in Seattle, along with Hosokawa and Hasiguchi. As head of the block managers and personal advisor to Stafford, he had been for some time the most influential evacuee on the project. It was in this capacity that he earned the reputation for being highly pro-administration and not having proper regard for the welfare of the residents. He seemed to have under his influence, Kamaya, farm supervisor. He was also connected with Kano, one of the workers, who claimed to have once given him a loan of \$500, which was still unpaid.

Go-between. Certain individuals took part in the conflict behind the scene. One of these was Tsujukawa, Sato's former foreman, who was anxious to see the conflict settled without Sato being sacrificed. Another was Sakoda, Sato's neighbor, upon whom Sato called on for assistance. Sakoda was an ex-Tulean, too, and sympathized with Sato's struggle against Taniguchi and Rawlings. As a research worker for the Study, he was interested primarily in gathering material, and limited his support of Sato to what he could do behind the scene. Several times he discussed the matter with Kintaro Takeda, an ex-Tulean and a friend, and with Father Joe, Episcopalian minister. Father Joe was a minister but was interested in community problems outside of the church. He was able to participate in this conflict directly because of Taniguchi, his church member. Ken Hamada, liberal block commissioner, also supported Sato.

Council. The Community Council was formed early in February, but it was not until a month later that it was actually functioning. For the Council among the first problems to handle was to clarify their own position on the project. One of these relationships was that with the old leaders whom they were displacing. Within the block this meant their relation to the block manager. On a project-wide basis they were concerned about their relationship with such men as Seiichi Hara, who were unofficial advisors to the project director. They were also concerned with their relative status with the administration. Again, they were voted into office on an unwritten platform of being less pro-administration and more pro-resident than the old administration

and had yet to prove their stand to the residents.

Of the seven men who composed the Council the person who was most acutely aware of the necessity of the leaders considering the needs of the people more than they have in the past was probably Kintaro Takeda, the only ex-Tulean on the Council. Takeda was formerly a fish-dealer in Sacramento, but at the same time was interested in human relationships. In Tule Lake as a member of the Fair Practice Committee he was instrumental in arbitrating many petty labor troubles among messhall workers. He was primarily responsible for the success of the slow-up mess strike in Tule Lake, which resulted in the discharge of Pilcher, a Caucasian considered by the people unsympathetic to them. When Tuleans arrived in Minidoka and could not get adequate housing for themselves, Takeda landed a job on the Housing Adjustment Board, and obtained by skilful maneuvering separate apartments for each Tulean family. He was aware of the lack of unity here in Minidoka among the residents and the excessive amount of "stooging" to gain status, and was anxious to correct this condition. He was skilful in handling people, and did not antagonize them by looking down on them.

Another person on the Council who deserves mention is Yoshito Fujii, the Chairman of the Council. He was from Seattle, and one of the leaders of the project from the very beginning. He was considered among the more level-headed leaders on the project. He avoided the extremes of being considered an administrative "stooge" or an "agitator".

With this description of the participants and their relationship to one another completed, the two incidents leading to open conflict can now be described.

Miso Experiment. After the preservation of vegetables became a matter of routine, and the messhalls were furnished regularly with tsukemono Sato decided to experiment with the manufacture of miso. Miso was made of soy beans and wheat and used to make a popular Japanese soup--misoshiru--and for general cooking purposes. Many Niseis did not care for misoshiru, but Isseis in general welcomed the addition of miso to their menu. A small quantity was delivered to the messhall occasionally, but the quality was reputed to be poor and the cost to run up to 40 cents a pound. Sato himself wanted to experiment with mass production of miso for his own experience because he had specialized in the preservation of food in college and had ambitions of being a specialist in this field. In order to make miso, which was made by a process of fermentation, it was necessary to make koji, rice with the proper bacteria culture. Koji was also used to make sake, the popular Japanese liquor made from rice, and was a product which required close supervision. Sato consequently took the matter up to Davidson, who approved of a requisition of material to experiment upon. This requisition was signed by Rawlings, and when the material arrived, Sato was able to begin upon his experiment.

The seriousness with which this experiment was embarked upon can be seen from the fact that Sato wrote to the University of California for advice when his bacteria culture was not pure. The men in charge went at night to supervise the steaming of the koji, since it could not be left in the steamer more than a certain length of time. Two of the leaders of the workers, Kogita and Kano, were placed in charge of the experiment. Kogita was an honest man, a Minidokan, who was

anxious to do the right thing. At the same time he was a willing workers. On the other hand, Kano, an ex-Tulean, was a more crafty individual. He was a hotel owner in Tacoma, but was disliked by the community there as being underhanded in his ways. He had been a packing shed worker in Tule Lake, evidently had used his influence with Hara to get an appointment in advance as Packing Shed Foreman under Kamaya for the current year. Sato relegated the supervision of the work to these two men, and attempted to keep Taniguchi away from it.

Differences of opinion arose among those concerned as to the advisability of carrying on the experiment and making plans to expand the plant. Just where this conflict began is not known, but gradually individuals began to align themselves on one side or the other as the conflict developed. Sato was the main protagonist for the experiment, and he had on his side the approval of Davidson, the majority of the workers, and the tacit backing of most residents who heard of the conflict. Taniguchi opposed the experiment, claiming among other points, the fact that it was better to conserve the money spent in such experiments and allot it to other foods. It was more likely, however, that others influenced Taniguchi to take this stand. One of the strongest opposition to the experiment came from Mrs. Hara, who talked of conservation and seemed to believe in it firmly. Rawlings definitely opposed the expansion of the activities of the plant, and backed up Taniguchi on his stand. Another person who is said to have advised against the making miso on the grounds that Niseis did not enjoy it was Seiichi Hara.

One aspect of the conflict took the form of "informing" and making accusations. Taniguchi, it was later revealed, had been giving Rawlings reports on Sato's conduct as supervisor. He was suspected of having designs of either selling Koji or stealing the food of the WRA in some way in collaboration with the two men he placed in charge of the experimentation. Rumors went around that a Sato was selling koji in Block 12, and apparently without verifying whether this was Richard Sato or not, this was taken as evidence of Sato's incompetence. Coupled with the laxity allowed the workers in the matter of work hours and taking home vegetables and with Sato's habit of trying to get as much as possible for his workers, these accusations became strong. It was not true that Sato was selling koji--there was another Sato in the block who was distributing it--but the truth of the other accusations were not known. Kano, it was true, was the sort of individual who might do something underhanded, and it was not difficult to believe that Sato would condone it.

Rawlings issued a definite order against carrying out any further experimentation, but Sato continued to do so more or less secretly. He believed that if the miso were made, distributed to the messhalls, and mass production gotten underway, the project could not be stopped by Rawlings.

Employment Cut. About this time about every section was being required to take an employment cut to fit the project employment to the reduced quota set by Washington. The Pickling Plant face the prospect of a fairly drastic employment cut, since the supply of vegetables produced on the project had already been processed, and

getting vegetables from outside sources would entail extra expense which should be carried by the Steward Section and could not be depended upon. The expansion of the Plant to include other products besides tsukemono would have been a good reason for keeping the employment cut down to a minimum. Consequently, the employment cut was tied in closely with the argument on the manufacture of miso, and the job security of the workers at stake. Which group of workers would gain an advantage over the others in avoiding being discharged seemed to depend largely on who had the final decision in the matter-- Rawlings, Sato, or Taniguchi.

Both the expansion of the Plant and the employment cut was discussed at a conference attended by Rawlings, Hara, Kamaya, Taniguchi, and Sato. Evidently Sato had very little influence at this meeting, for the decision reached were all adverse for him. On February 19, 1944, following the conference, Rawlings issued a memo¹ in which he set down the following specifications:

1. The Industry section "will confine its activities to the manufacture of Tofu and the preservation of surplus project produced crops by pickling or canning... All work of an experimental nature be immediately discontinued..."
2. The number of workers in the pickling plant will be reduced from 19 to 12 for the period March 1 to June 1 "since the supply of project produced vegetables for pickling has now been processed and very little if any additional vegetables will be available until June 1."

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3. Retention of the workers will be on the following basis:
 - a. People doing work of an "experimental nature" should be laid off.
 - b. Retain head of family or one worker per family.
 - c. Consider experience in pickling and canning.
 - d. Consider length of employment.
4. Mr. Taniguchi will remain as foreman and should have full authority in cooperation with Mr. Hara to select workers to be retained."
5. Reduction to be made effective as of February 29.

Every condition in the memo served to favor Taniguchi and those who sided with him and to put Sato and those on his side in a disadvantageous position. In the first place, expansion of the Plant, as well as experimental work, was prohibited. The number of workers was drastically cut, with the cut definitely including workers close to Sato. Those taking part in experimental work were to be laid off first--meaning Kano and Kogita. Mrs. Kawasaki, who sided with Taniguchi, had all three in her family working, and according to general procedure following in other sections, she would have had to take the employment cut first. But she was excluded from definitely having to be discharged because this condition was not stated by Rawlings. Another condition, however, served to include Mrs. Sato in the cut, although she was in the same position as Mrs. Kawasaki. This condition stated that only one worker per family was to be retained. Finally Taniguchi's position as foreman was assured, and he was given "full authority in cooperation with Mr. Hara" to select the workers to be retained. Since Sato had been actively supervising the workers of the Pickling Plant, he should have received instructions

from Rawlings to carry out the employment cut. This bypassing was an infraction of general organizational procedure. That all of these conditions stacked up against Sato and in favor of Taniguchi can hardly be accidental.

3. Outbreak of the Conflict

Employment Cut Attempt. Evidently Sato and the workers were not aware of the seriousness of the result of the conference. Sato was under the impression that he and Taniguchi were to decide who were to be terminated. A few days before the end of the month, however, Taniguchi appeared at the Plant with the statement that he had been given authority by Rawlings to determine who was to be discharged. Relationship between Taniguchi and most of the workers had not been too smooth, and this announcement caused direct antagonism toward him. According to the instruction he received, his rivals, Kogita and Kano, were to be discharged first, since they were in charge of experimental work. Mrs. Sato was also on the list of ones to be discharged, while Mrs. Kawasaki was not placed on the list. The workers showed antagonism toward Taniguchi and fear that they would be discharged unfairly. Grounds for complaint included Taniguchi's usurpation of Sato's position, and signs of favoritism toward those who had sided with him--especially Mrs. Kawasaki, and enmity toward those close to Sato--Kogita, Kano, Mrs. Sato.

Workers' Petition. The workers, under the leadership of Kogita and Kano, appealed to Sato, their supervisor, for help. After discussion it was decided that a petition should be signed by the workers to ask Taniguchi to resign. It was felt necessary to carry out this plan before the employment cut was placed into effect. Sato sat up on the night of February 28 to write the petition, and called upon his neighbor, Sakoda, for help in the wording, since his own English was poor. The petition,¹ which was written in English, asked that Taniguchi resign for the following reasons:

1. Taniguchi has no technical knowledge or skill in Pickling vegetables.
2. He has little ability as foreman and antagonizes the workers. "He has also become very officious in his attitude toward us."
3. We are satisfied with Mr. Sato.
4. "We are not presenting this petition because one of us wish to replace Mr. Taniguchi as foreman--we do not wish that."
5. The petition is the will of the majority of the workers.

For some reason or other Sato chose not to mention the real issue involved in the workers asking for a resignation. Sakoda, also, did not know what sort of individual Taniguchi actually was, and in the petition had employed the word "officious" to describe him, having Mrs. Hara's behavior in mind. The statement that none of the workers wanted to replace Taniguchi was also an idea added by Sakoda, and it was not until a few days later that Kano disclosed a desire to become the foreman in Taniguchi's place. Sato, however, was satisfied not

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to have a foreman at all even if Taniguchi were displaced, and did not feel that Kano was the right man for the position.

The morning of the 29th, the day on which the employment cut was supposed to take place, was a busy one for the workers at the pickling plant. Mrs. Sato took the petition to the plant, and had each worker come in to the office there to sign the petition. The workers came in and signed the petition without even knowing what was on it--their understanding was that the petition would be worded properly for them to sign. All of the workers who were asked to sign the petition did so readily. There was no mistake that the majority of the workers were anxious to have Taniguchi removed. The workers who were not asked to sign the petition, for fear that Taniguchi would get wind of what they were attempting, were Mrs. Hara, Mrs. Kawasaki, and one other lady whose loyalties were not definitely known. The expectations of the workers at that time was that Taniguchi would resign as soon as such a petition was signed.

For several days, however, Rawlings was absent from the project, and no action was taken on either the employment cut or the petition. Kano was supposed to have met with S. Hara and to have used his influence to get Hara to support Sato. Kano is claimed to have assured Sato of Hara's support since he owed him some money. For this or other reasons he seems to have felt that he was entitled to the position of foreman. Taniguchi learned of the petition, and was greatly angered by it. He declared that the workers had signed the petition without reading it, pointing out to the line describing him as "officious." He called the workers who had signed the petition

together and asked each one whether he had read the petition before he signed it. He also declared that he was going to take the petition to Kenji Ito and sue each one who signed it. He was not "officious," he insisted. The women workers, especially, were in a state of fear. If each one had been attacked separately, as Kogita later explained, they might have confessed that they hadn't read the petition. One male worker, however, brushed aside Taniguchi's complaint by saying that as long as they signed the petition it was understood that they knew what was in it, and Taniguchi was successfully repulsed. However, in order to satisfy the workers, Sakoda was asked to prepare a hasty Japanese translation of the petition.

Both Davidson and Rawlings returned from a conference by the first of March, and discussion of the labor conflict in the Pickling Plant was taken up by the administration. On March 4 Sato presented the workers' case to Minnesang, the Personnel Officer. He is said to have declared that the petition was legitimate one and that under the circumstances, Taniguchi's resignation would have to be considered. The workers' advantage seemed to be their agreement that they did not want Taniguchi as their foreman.

Rawlings was not ready to give in so easily. He attacked Sato and refused to consider removing Taniguchi. He accused Sato of having instigated the signing of the petition. One basis for this belief was the fact that none of the workers were able to write such a petition in English. Another was Taniguchi's contention that the workers did not know what they had signed. Rawlings is said to have told Taniguchi to stay on the job because he would retain him even if he had to close down the plant and give him the right to hire whomever

he pleased. Consequently, Taniguchi refused to consider quitting his job, saying that he could not quit until he received permission from Rawlings.

On March 4, a meeting was held among Miller, Acting Project Director in Stafford's absence, Minnegang, Davidson, and Rawlings, to discuss the pickling plant trouble. What decision was reached at this meeting is not known, but judging from the results it was mostly against Sato. Rawlings insisted on maintaining Taniguchi, and Minnesang was willing to compromise by allowing him to remain in the Pickling Plant as an ordinary worker. Taniguchi's position, therefore, was strongly defended from the administration side. On the other hand, Sato's competence as a supervisor was greatly questioned, and a number of accusations made against him was later investigated. Also, nothing was done to prevent Rawlings from taking drastic measures such as closing down the plant, in order to force his will on the workers.

On March 7 Sato went to see Rawlings and was given the scare of his life. He was asked a number of embarrassing questions by Rawlings and accused of certain misdeeds. Probably the question which scared Sato the most was the one asking which country he wanted to win the war. Sato replied that since he was an American citizen he wanted America to win. Rawlings then came out and told him that he had heard that his talk in the Plant did not indicate this. Sato was also accused of getting someone to make use of his koji to make sake. He was asked why he continued to make miso when he had been prohibited to do so. Sato replied that he had to complete sufficient quantity to

send out some to all of the messhalls and to use up what material he had on hand. He also said that the experiment had been approved by both Davidson and Rawlings himself. Sato was also accused of taking food and material from the Plant, and Sato declared that he could show that all of the material that he requisitioned were still in the Plant.

Charges made against Sato were investigated by Minnegang and Rawlings. No direct evidence, however, was found which required Sato to give up his job. Rawlings evidently could not prove that Sato had instigated the workers to sign the petition, since the workers declared that Mrs. Sato had written the petition for them. Sato produced the requisition which allowed him material to experiment with miso. He also showed that weight by weight, he could not be accused of having stolen material to make miso. There was no proof that he had sold any koji, either. However, the administrative personnel concerned did not seem to be kindly disposed toward him.

Petition to the Community Council. In the meantime the workers carried on their dispute for a more equitable settlement of the employment cut than the one proposed by Taniguchi. Some reconsideration were won for the workers in this field.

In the meantime the workers were becoming anxious because Taniguchi refused to resign. After some consultation among themselves and with some leaders in the project they decided to appeal the matter to the Community Council. One person consulted in this matter was Kintaro Takeda, councilman, who sympathized with the workers against Taniguchi and who thought that the Community Council could be of help to them. The active work for the workers was being done by Kogita and Kano. They felt that the workers' position could be greatly strengthened

by appealing to the residents as a whole for support and by denouncing Taniguchi in front of them as a stooge of the administration. They felt that in this way it would be possible to bring so much pressure to bear on Taniguchi that he would be unable even to stay within the project. Presenting the matter to the community council for consideration was a step in this direction.

The petition to the council was written on March 7 by Kano and seemed to embody the views held by the workers on Sato's side. In it Taniguchi was denounced as having worked against the best interest of the people and praised Sato for having upheld their welfare. A rough translation of the petition follows:

This Pickling Plant was functioning smoothly with Mr. Sato as supervisor, and everyone was working happily. However, since Mr. Sato was also in charge of the Tofu plant, Mr. Taniguchi, who was selected as foreman, was sent daily to the administration building. There he gained opportunity to talk with Caucasian workers, especially Rawlings, and it natural that he gained some confidence from them. He took advantage of this opportunity, however, We had planned to expand the plant and the miso we had wanted had already passed its experimental stage and was about to enter its final stages of production. With material and some understanding it would have been a simple matter to start mass production. Miso, needless to say, is a food which is essential for our health and from the standpoint of cost is very economical. All of the residents had hoped to have this miso distributed to each messhall, when suddenly Taniguchi ordered the closing down of the miso manufacture.

Also, in regards to the employment reduction he did not consult Mr. Sato at all and used his own judgment to suit his own convenience. He did not consider the wishes of Mr. Sato or any of the other workers, and this resulted in dissatisfaction on the part of the majority of the workers. On February 29 they signed a petition and presented it to Mr. Rawlings and Mr. Sato and complained that Mr. Taniguchi did not have the qualifications of a foreman. We thought that Mr. Taniguchi would resign at this point, but he still comes to the Plant and remains with us. He also tried to make the petition ineffective by calling each worker out and asking him if he read it thoroughly and understood what was written on it before he signed it and

and threatened us ignorant workers by saying that he is taking steps to sue each one with the help of Mr. Ito, the lawyer. The women workers, especially, were frightened and could not do the work they were supposed to because of the confused state in which they were forced.

In spite of the opposition of the majority of the workers, Mr. Taniguchi has not given up his job, and the reason for this seems to come from Mr. Rawlings. Of course, Mr. Taniguchi is the sort of person who is glad to carry out any order of a Caucasian. On the other hand, Mr. Sato desired to comfort us Japanese who were suffering inside barbed-wire fences by providing us with delicious tsukemono and miso. For this purpose he opposed Mr. Rawlings and the relationship between Mr. Rawlings and Mr. Sato was not very friendly. Mr. Taniguchi, however, naturally received some confidence from Rawlings, but even though Mr. Sato was the supervisor from the very beginning, Mr. Taniguchi tried to take his position for himself. We cannot stand to watch such a mean act.

Fortunately, Mr. Davidson, who is in an important position here is a friend of Mr. Sato's from San Francisco, and when he was planning to move to Colorado, Mr. Davidson sent a telegram and asked him to come to this center to work in the cannery and the tsukemono plant, showing the trust he has in Mr. Sato. Hoping that Mr. Davidson will retain Mr. Sato in his present position and work for the best interest of the Japanese residents, we are presenting this petition and asking for your judgment on the matter.

Supporter of Mr. Sato

March 1, 1944
Community Council¹

4. Developments

March 8. Before presenting the petition to the Community Council, however, the workers thought it would be best to try once more to force Taniguchi to quit. A delegation of workers, probably lead by

1. J 3/7/44 #3

Kogita and Kano, visited Taniguchi and told him to quit. Taniguchi refused flatly.

After leaving Taniguchi, Kano is said to have thought up of a plan of his own, which he discussed with Kogita. Kogita did not like his plan, whatever it was, and was even ashamed of revealing it. This seemed to confirm a suspicion that was held by Sato, Sakoda, and Takeda that Kano was not the sort of man to be trusted, and that he wanted power for himself, and that he was not above-board in his dealings. A turn of events, however, made it unnecessary to carry out Kano's plan.

A delegation of workers went to see Kamaya and Hara, and accused them of meddling in this matter. They denied that they had anything to do with the conflict, and in turn were warned to watch their steps. They seemed to have been frightened by the antagonism of the workers, and urged them to oust Taniguchi. This was hailed as a victory by the workers, and gave them hope of winning the fight against their foreman. They were still waiting for word from the administration building for the final solution of the conflict, and they expressed determination to oppose the administration if its solution was not just.

Sakoda, who was being kept informed of the general proceedings of the conflict by Sato and Kogita, believed that it was best to settle the matter quietly. One reason for this, he thought, was that if the conflict were brought up in public Sato would be attacked by Rawlings, in which case he would stand the chance of endangering his position. He thought that the best way to get Taniguchi to resign was to have some influential person approach him, since this would help "save his face." When Sakoda heard that Taniguchi was an Episcopalian and a

member of Father Joe's church, he decided that Father Joe was the right person to go to. Sakoda had talked to Father Joe before and knew that he was anxious to change project conditions to improve the welfare of the residents. When Sakoda took this problem to Father Joe, the latter recognized the awkward position Taniguchi would be placed in if the petition were sent to the Council. He said that Taniguchi was not the sort of a person who would be an inu, but that he was a one-track minded individual and troublesome at times. He promised to see what he could do to have Taniguchi withdraw from the conflict, and if possible relocate him somewhere. On the other hand, he wanted to have Sakoda prevent the petition from reaching the Council.

Father Joe did not want to broach the matter to Taniguchi himself, and thought of a close friend of Taniguchi's who might be asked to approach him. This person, however, turned down Father Joe's request, and Father Joe then approached Taniguchi's son-in-law, who would be unnecessarily hurt if Taniguchi were denounced in public as an inu. He recognized that the son-in-law would not be very effective in bringing pressure to bear upon a stubborn father-in-law. Sato and Kogita were advised by Sakoda to contact Father Joe, and after talking with him, they agreed to withhold the petition for a little while.¹

March 9. As expected Taniguchi's son-in-law failed to persuade his father-in-law to quit his job. Father Joe then had an influential

1. J 3/8/44 #1

church member, Mr. Uchida and Dr. Shigaya, councilman, approach Taniguchi. It is not known two the two men said to the foreman, but it is thought that the matter was brought up in such a way as not to hurt his feelings. At any rate, he agreed to withdraw from the Pickling Plant. The workers, at least, were under this impression.

Rawlings in the meantime called Taniguchi and asked him, it is said, whether he would reopen the Plant as foreman, if he could close it down once. Taniguchi refused to do this. Rawlings then issued a memo closing down the plant until project vegetables were available.

The memo was addressed to Sato and read:

"Surplus project produced vegetables will not be available for pickling from now until 1944 crops are ready to harvest. It has been decided, therefore, to close the pickling plant until about June 30 and all workers including foreman and supervisor will be terminated and made available for transfer on or before March 11. All workers should be advised immediately so that they may look for other employment.

All unprocessed materials such as rice, soybeans, etc. will be returned to the Mess Division at once and properly credited to Industry on Form WRA-211. All miso, koji, etc. will also be delivered to Mess Division on the same schedule of three times a week as at present until all is delivered.

At the close of work on March 11 please give me an inventory of the pickles that may be still in process but not delivered to Mess Division and turn in all keys to the plant.

CC: Personnel Section
Davidson
Wilder
Taniguchi
Hara¹

1. J 3/9/44 #3

In other words, Taniguchi's resignation had come too late. Rawlings, in order to settle the problem in his own way, chose to stop the production of tsukemono. He was probably not unaware that this was a high-handed way of dealing with a problem and that the closing of the Plant ignored the best welfare of the residents. He had shown that he objected not so much to the workers and he did to Sato, and the workers seemed to be suffering the consequence. The workers were greatly infuriated by Taniguchi's having caused them so much trouble, and said to be determined to make Taniguchi pay for their losing their jobs. They discussed the possibility of circulating a petition within the project to gain the support of the public against Taniguchi. Sato, however, frowned upon such a step, since he knew that he would be accused of having started such a petition.

Mrs. Hara was reported as having been happy to hear that the Plant had been closed, and was quoted as having said that this was due to the Grace of God. The workers were indignant to hear this.

In the meantime the petition had been sent to the Council, and the subject was brought up for discussion at a Council meeting. Takeda championed the cause of the workers, and asked that as long as the Fair Labor Board had not been chosen as yet, he be allowed to handle the matter, since it had been brought to his attention already. Dr. Shigaya got up and said that the Plant was closed today, and that this matter should be considered closed. Takeda maintained that the matter could not be considered closed. The Council decided to have the matter clarified by the administration before they took any steps.¹

1. J 3/9/44 #1

March 10. This was the next to the last day of work for the workers of the Pickling Plant. Sato had been Folsom and Minnesang and had arranged for workers actually to be terminated after the 15th so that they would be able to get clothing allowance. This request was allowed him.

Taniguchi, who had promised to withdraw from the Pickling Plant had committed one final piece of treachery before he disappeared from the scene entirely. In the morning some time sheets, which Sato had signed in advance, were missing. Later Kamaya, representing Rawlings, came to tell Mrs. Sato that Rawlings didn't want Sato to sign time sheets in advance. Obviously some person had taken the time sheets from the desk and had taken them to the administration building. Taniguchi had done this, it was learned. Sato defended himself by saying that he wanted to give the workers full pay whether they worked full time or not--after all they were not receiving very much. He knew that according to regulations he should not sign time sheets in advance, but he did not think that he had committed a serious crime. The workers were infuriated with Taniguchi's inu conduct. The only good motive for Taniguchi's act seemed to be to furnish Rawlings with evidence with which to discharge Sato. Attempts were made later, at any rate, to return the workers to the Plant without their supervisor.

Sato consulted Father Joe to ask what step he should now take. The latter advised him to stay out of the Pickling Plant and to change to some other job, if possible. Takeda also expressed the opinion that Sato should not take any more steps to regain control of the pickling plant if he did not want to be placed on the black list.¹

1. J 3/10/44 #1

March 11. The Pickling Plant was to be closed at the end of the day. Taniguchi did not appear at the Plant any more. From the administration building Kamaya, farm supervisor, came to get the keys to the Plant. Several of the men were present, and Kamaya talked to them, as if in sympathy with them. Sato had gone out to the hospital to get a flask, and ran into Dr. Shigaya. He demanded why the doctor had made it difficult for him by saying that both he and Taniguchi were at fault. Dr. Shigaya defended himself, and divulged the information that it was Kamaya himself who had gone to the Administration Building with the time sheet. Sato came back and confronted Kamaya with this bit of intrigue. Kamaya admitted that he had taken the time sheets from Taniguchi and had taken it to the Caucasians, although he maintained strongly that it was not his fault, because he did it only at Taniguchi's request. He was attacked by workers and accused of being an inu. Kamaya finally broke down and apologized for what he had done. The workers said later that it felt good to hear him apologize. He was warned not to have anything further to do with the Pickling Plant, especially not to take it over. Kamaya stood around for a little while, telling the men how he pulled some fast ones on the ketos. This was probably his way of identifying himself with the workers and attempting to wipe out the stigma of being an inu.

Since Kamaya had been caught in an awkward position, Sato was still hopeful that the plant would not be closed. As he saw matters, Rawlings wanted some concrete evidence on the basis of which he could discharge Sato and the whole crew. Thus far he hadn't sufficient

evidence to do this. Taniguchi had told him a great many things about Sato and others, but could not bring in definite evidence to prove this. The time sheets were supposed to serve as evidence needed by Rawlings. Also, Kamaya had been asked by Rawlings to take over the pickling plant after it was closed, since there was a considerable volume of tsukemono which were being preserved which would have to be taken care of and distributed to the messhalls. Being caught in an awkward position, Kamaya had now found it difficult to take over the pickling plant without being considered an inu of the administration by the workers. He had also asked which barrel of tsukemono should go out first, and the workers would not tell him which barrels would be ready first, but told him that he'd have to figure that out for himself. This meant that it was necessary to rehire the same crew to do a decent job of even cleaning up what was left in the plant. Sato's only worry now was that the workers would go back to work without him.¹

March 13. March 12 was Sunday. On Monday evening Kamaya approached Tsujikawa and told him that all the workers were asked to return on the former basis. Taniguchi was not mentioned at all, and the workers presumed that he was not going to come back. The workers were worried, and consulted Takeda as to the advisability of returning to work, since they did not want to hinder the negotiations of the Council. Takeda told them that they should go back to work or they might lose their jobs entirely. Kogita and Kano came to Sato with this news, and they all rejoiced. The workers were glad to be able

1. J 3/11/44 #4

to go back to work. Some workers wondered whether Mrs. Hara would come back to work, and they said that if she did, they would snub her because she was a "bow-wow".

The workers differed in their surmise as to why they were asked to come back to work. Some thought that it was mainly due to Takeda's effort. He had been to see Davidson, and probably convinced him of the advisability of having the old crew take care of the remaining tsukemono. Sato, on the other hand, thought that his having caught Kamaya in the act of helping Taniguchi to "stooge" on him was responsible for the good turn of event. The idea of going back to work, however, was probably detrimental to the Sato workers unity, when it became known that Sato was not asked to return to work.¹

March 14. This was a day of confusion. The workers were anxious to go back to work, and did appear at the plant. Sato, however, maintained that he could not return to work without a definite memo from Rawlings asking him to come back to work. Kamaya came to the Plant and began to take down the names of the workers. The workers suspected that they were being transferred to Kamaya's section, and protested against it, saying that they did not want to go back to work unless Sato was their supervisor. They asked for a full clarification of their status before they returned to work. Nothing more was learned that day.

The Pickling Plant Conflict was brought up once again in the Council Meeting. Sato and some of the workers were present. Sato

1. J 3/13/44 #1

asked Sakoda to come and explain the matter more fully to the Council, but he refused on the ground that he was not officially involved in the matter. He had feared all along that he would be mistaken for an agitator or a pressure group, and for this reason took care to keep out of sight as much as possible. Takeda explained that he had gone to see Davidson on the matter, and a memo from the Council was asked for. Evidently, Davidson did not want to touch the problem without having a good reason for doing so. Fujii and Takeda wrote a memo asking why the Pickling Plant was to be closed. Takeda said that he intended to pick faults with the reply sent by Davidson. When he learned that no official memo had been sent to the workers by either Davidson or Rawlings, he concluded that Rawlings had feared action on the part of the Council, and had gotten Kamaya to open the Plant again.

Most of the councilmen besides Fujii, Takeda, and Shigaya did not know much about the problem in which Sato was involved. Both Fujii and Takeda favored Sato's return to work as supervisor of the Pickling Plant. Dr. Shigaya was opposed to him. Sato attempted to explain why he could not go back to work without an official memo from the administration. He declared that he was not going to go crawling to Rawlings for a job. The Council decided that Sato should write a memo to Rawlings to have the matter of their return to work clarified. This Sato did. The Council was to wait for official word from Davidson before taking action. Fujii was scheduled to meet with Stafford as soon as he returned to the project from Washington.

In the evening Sato and Sakoda went to consult Takeda about future action, and Kogita came for the same purpose later. The four discussed the matter, and came to the conclusion that the matter

should be left up to the Council. Takeda seemed to have high hopes that he would be able to handle this matter successfully. One assumption that was made at this time was that the workers would not go back to work without Sato, and they seemed to be willing to support their supervisor. Takeda warned that Kano was the type of person who probably wanted to be the foreman and would require careful watching. Kogita, on the other hand, he said, was honest, and could be trusted.¹

March 15. As the result of the developments on this day Sato's status as supervisor took a downward plunge. The Council, on whom Sato had relied, received a memo from Davidson stating that he had turned the matter of the pickling plant over to Miller. Davidson, in other words, refused to support Sato actively. Miller sent a memo stating that the pickling plant was to be closed down for lack of vegetables. Miller chose to uphold Rawlings' drastic step of closing the plant to settle the conflict. Fujii and Takeda wrote a memo to Miller stating that if the plant were to be closed it should remain closed. If it were to be opened, the old crew should be employed again. Their protection of Sato and the workers, in other words, took the form of a negative request.

Rawlings clarified his stand to Sato by sending him a memo, in reply to a question that Sato had put to him that the pickling plant was to be closed on this day as announced before "until new crops are ready to process and all your workers will be terminated and made available for transfer today."¹

1. J 3/15/44 #6

Rawlings sent Kamaya to contact the workers. According to Kamaya the workers had the alternative of transferring to his section and returning to the Pickling Plant or of not having a job at all. If they transferred to his section, he would be in charge of the Pickling Plant until the tsukemono were all disposed of. If they refused to transfer to his section only three persons would be allowed to work in the Pickling Plant. In either case, he announced, the administration had decided not to retain Sato as supervisor. One reason for this step, as Kamaya explained it to the workers, was that it was necessary to save Taniguchi's face in some way. Rawlings had written out a termination for all of the workers, Kamaya said, and all workers who did not report to work by afternoon that day, would be terminated. In other words, the workers were asked to obey and transfer to Kamaya's section, which meant abandoning Sato as supervisor, or to be terminated.

The workers were asked to make a difficult decision. The two leaders, Kogita and Kano, at this point came to the parting of ways. Kano had employed his influence to get the job of Packing Shed Foreman from Kamaya for the coming year. Until this time/^{he} had been supporting Sato actively, but turned sharply against him at this juncture. What was not generally known at this time, but which became evident later, was that Kano had an understanding with Kamaya to be placed as unofficial supervisor of the Pickling Plant after the workers came back to work without Sato. This decision to turn against Sato was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that Sato had shown reluctance to employ Kano as foreman even if Taniguchi were ousted. Kano had been anxious to displace Taniguchi; now he worked to divorce the workers from Sato. He campaigned among the workers to return to work without Sato.

On the other hand, Kogita was more true to Sato than Kano. Kogita came to him to ask what should be done. Sato said that it was all up to the workers, but he hinted that the workers should sign a petition showing that they did not want to work under anybody else but him. He tried to point out to Kogita that the ketos were attempting to break the "strike" by "buying out" the workers. Kogita said that he wanted to ask the advice of the Council, too. Sakoda told him that this should be done because the matter affected the whole community and not just the workers. He said, however, the decision to go back to work or not had to be made by the workers. When Kogita consulted Takeda, the latter told him that the workers had to "make up their minds" (haraoo kimeru). Takeda could not assure him that if the workers did not go back to work all would be well later. He could neither promise the workers any definite result if they refused to go back to work, nor did he urge them not to return to work. Kogita's position, consequently, was made very difficult because ^{he} did not think it was right to go back to work without Sato, but still he did not have strong arguments to back up this stand.

In the afternoon all of the workers, except the three who were on Taniguchi's side, were rounded up for a meeting. The leaders seemed to be Kano, Kogita, and Tsujikawa. According to Kogita's account most of the workers were anxious to go back to work without Sato. Tsujikawa seemed to have expressed the majority opinion when he declared that if it were no longer possible to save Sato as the Supervisor, then the next best thing was for the workers to save themselves. Certain workers--probably including Kano--expressed outright antagonism. One of them stated that Sato should be thoughtful

enough to tell the workers not to think about him but to go back to work without him. Sato was considered as having endangered the security of the workers in order to save his own job. Kogita said that even if he had good arguments for the workers not to go back to work, he could have won over only half of the workers to Sato's side. He had very little to say, and three-fourths of the workers were influenced by Kano. He himself could not transfer because of what he owed Sato, he declared to the other workers. He was then told, probably by Kano, that it would do him little good to leave a record of having opposed the administration. It might have effect on his future employment on the project and his ability to leave the project. Because of this threat Kogita finally consented to have his name included among the nine to return to work. The only worker who was asked to return to work and refused was Mrs. Sato, who declared that she would not return to work without her husband and that she didn't want to work for Rawlings, anyway. She did not know how to tell the workers that they were doing the wrong thing by returning to work without her husband. That evening the names of the nine willing to transfer to Kamaya's section were relayed to him.

When Sato heard that the workers had gone back to work, he was indignant; they had let him down. He said that there wasn't a brain in the whole crew, and until now he had to tell them how matters stood and what they should do. They didn't see that the keto was trying to crush the Japanese by buying out the workers. The same thing, he said, had happened at the time of the boiermen strike. The workers, he said, had allowed themselves to be taken in by the

scheme of the keto and their Japanese stooges like Hara and Kamaya. Mrs. Sato said that if she knew what it was all about she would have told the workers not to return to work. Sato blamed Kogita for not conveying his point of view to the workers. Sato was especially indignant toward Kano whom he considered to have doublecrossed him. When Taniguchi was trying to discharge him and Kogita, Sato had helped them oust Taniguchi, but Kano used his influence against him.

The workers still retained their antagonism toward Taniguchi, their former foreman. Some of them were saying that he kept a strange sleeping arrangement with the two orphans. The girl, about 16, slept closer to him than the boy, who slept in the corner. They weren't surprised, they said, if Taniguchi made an "omocha" (plaything) of the girl. She had been raised in Japan and probably would not refuse a man to whom she owed her care. Some of the workers, including Tsuijika, were wondering how they could get back at Kamaya and Hara.¹

March 16. This was a day when Kogita made some attempt to correct the step taken by the workers. He came to see Sato to bring him Rawlings' memo of February 19 which ordered a reduction of the number of workers in the Pickling Plant until vegetable grown on the project were made available. In other words, Rawlings could be accused of having close the plant only to solve the labor difficulty. That this was true was somehow substantiated by a memo issued by the Steward Division to all the kitchens. It stated:

"Kindly use nappa for tsukemono. Tsukemono factory has been discontinued."²

Sato was glad to have Rawlings' memo because he had something with which to attack Rawlings.

1. J 3/15/44 #1
2. J 3/16/44 #6

Kogita apologized to Sato, saying that he really could not show his face to Sato, after what the workers had done. Kogita explained that the workers decided to go back to work because the Council had not given them the assurance that it was worthwhile to refuse to return to work. Sato shouted at Kogita. They were too ignorant to know what was really happening to them, he said. The workers would be transferred to Kamaya's section and then be made to work in the Pickling Plant, even though they didn't intend to touch it at this point. (Evidently the understanding of the workers was that they were to be transferred to the farm division and not work in the Pickling Plant.) They were promised work, Sato said, but the employment cut was going to take place regardless, and Kogita would be accused of falsely promising them work. He also demanded to know what the workers were fighting for in the first place. They were the ones who were to be discharged at that time, and not he. He himself could have played safe and let them be discharged if he wished. He declared that the workers were not in a position to talk about saving their own neck.

Kogita was bewildered. He could not make too much sense of the incoherent shouting done by Sato. He seemed to resent being called names, but he tried to attempt an explanation of his own position. He wanted to know why Sato hadn't come to him and told him how he felt about the whole matter, because he was sure that he could still move the workers if he told them that Sato felt the way he did. He said that it wasn't too late yet, and he would try to do what he could for Sato. He couldn't understand what the real problem was

and could only ask the opinion of important people. And yesterday Takeda had not given him much assurance that there was a chance for winning a fight against Rawlings.

Kogita wanted Sato or Sakoda to come with him to explain the real situation to the workers. Both refused to go with him, but attempted to clarify his thoughts for him. Attempts to explain the situation in abstract terms failed. He was finally made to understand that if the workers went back to work the fight of the Council would be lost. Also it was made clear that if the workers touched the Pickling Plant they were back-stabbing Sato. Kogita took Rawlings' memo and went to see Takeda. Takeda assured Kogita that the Rawlings memo made a great deal of difference. This gave Kogita more courage to carry on the fight. The workers were instructed not to report for work until matters were clarified through the Council.

Kogita met Kamaya and was asked whether all of the workers had reported to work. Kogita replied that he was so confused that he could not give him a clear answer right away, but he would be able to soon. Kamaya seemed anxious to have the workers transfer to his department. He mumbled that this was the best way because the matter of the koji was involved. This matter, according to Kogita, meant that Sato and the workers would be accused of having sold koji, after making it secretly. Kamaya undoubtedly was referring to the report that Sato in Block 12 was selling koji privately.

Sato in the meantime went to consult Ken Yamada, a former CIO organizer of the restaurant workers in Seattle. He was a young Issei, with a wife and two children. He was a block commissioner from his block, and one of the "new" leaders of the community and an active one. His interpretation of the Pickling Plant Conflict indicated

his general outlook of community problems. He was definitely against the "old" type of leadership represented by Seiichi Hara.

Ken looked at the Rawlings' memo. He thought that Dick had a good case, and thought that he should fight it out by all means. For this purpose he thought that the workers should not go back to work at present. He did not see how Rawlings could close down the Plant without more definite word from above or a conference with those concerned. He recognized the danger in letting him do as he wished in this situation. He also saw the fight as one against Hara. He said that Davidson and others still relied a great deal on Hara. They were still thinking in terms of having a figurehead council and of getting Hara to run things. Although Hara was only in a minor position, he thought that Hara still retained a great deal of his former power. This problem was a fight between the Council and Hara, he thought. He said that he did not want to see Hara run things the way he wanted around here. He pointed out that in the memo Hara had been asked to see who would be terminated along with Taniguchi, and thought that it would be a good idea to ask why Hara was involved in the Pickling Plant, when he was only the accountant.¹

This seems to have cleared up Sato's thinking to some extent.

Kogita heard the latter part of the conversation, and seemed to be assured that he was going the right thing by staying with Sato. He reported that Fujii had gone to see Stafford in the morning and that Takeda would stop in to report what had happened. Kogita, however, did not show up. In the afternoon Kogita and Takeda were still waiting for Fujii to come back with some sort of report from Stafford, but by supertime they had not returned. In the evening Kogita decided to visit Fujii to hear the decision handed down from Stafford. He wanted to take Sato or Sakoda along, but both refused to do so. Sakoda declined on the ground that he was not directly involved in

1. J 3/16/44 #1

the matter. Sakoda suggested Tsujikawa, but Kogita said that he could not very well ignore Kano now. Sato ordered him to go alone, and he finally did.

Late at night Sato was seen rushing out of his apartment, saying that he had news from a "reliable source" that all workers were terminated with the exception of Kogita and Kano. He must have found out that he was mistaken, for he came back and said little about it. However, he felt that he could trust Kogita, but not Kano.¹

March 17. The transfer of the workers was halted temporarily to give the Council an opportunity to carry out its negotiations with the administration. Sato's fate hung in balance: could he be separated from his workers and from his position as supervisor of the Pickling Plant without sufficient evidence to discharge him through proper channels? Was the Council sufficiently powerful to reach a favorable settlement for Sato? This was the first major problem that the Council had to deal with. Takeda was confident that the Council was favorable to Sato but negotiations with the administration had to be left up to Fujii and G. Mihara. On this day it was learned that as the result of negotiations with Stafford, a conference of the Japanese involved would be held to settle the matter.

What had actually transpired between the representatives of the Council and Stafford was not known. As a result of this conference, however, a decision was reached for the Japanese concerned to meet on March 18 to iron out difficulties. It was as if Stafford had thrown back the problem to the Council and instructed it to settle the matter among themselves. In the meantime the workers postponed their decision to go back to work.

Takeda stopped in to inform Sakoda and Sato of the result of the negotiations. He warned that Kano had to be watched carefully. He was going around asking the workers to go back to work. Kogita, he said, was an honest sucker, taking everything seriously.

Kamaya is said to have claimed that he did not want to be mixed up in this affair in the first place, and seemed to fear becoming involved in the final showdown. He was scheduled to attend the conference.

Sato and Kogita went to see Fujii. The latter urged Sato to transfer to Kamaya's section along with the rest of the workers. Fujii did not swerve from this basic stand, and it is possible that he had reached an agreement with Stafford on this point already. Sato's report of Fujii was unfavorable. Sato's desire was to hold out against Rawlings until the whole crew were allowed to return to the Pickling Plant under former conditions. When Sato protested against Fujii's request, the latter said, according to Sato, that he didn't have enough evidence to carry on the fight to that point and that he had to think of his own position, too. Sato was in favor of continuing a protest, while Fujii desired a compromise.¹

March 18. Conference. The meeting of the Pickling Plant workers, representatives of the Farm Division, and the Community Council was held on March 18 in the Council chamber. Those attending the conference were:

Councilmen: Y. Fujii, K. Takeda

Workers: S. Kano, Y. Kogita, T. Tsue, C. Kosai, T. Tsujikawa.

Farm Division; S. Hara, G. Kamaya

1. J 3/17/44 #1

Taniguchi and Sato failed to appear. S. Hara and G. Kamaya were at great disadvantage even in terms of sheer number, since both the councilmen and workers were united against them. The latter would have been relatively weak against a Caucasian like Rawlings, but had the support of the community against a Japanese who favored the administration more than the residents. S. Hara was one of the most hated men on the project and generally considered a "stooge" and Kamaya had put himself into an awkward position by having tried to take over the Pickling Plant and to eliminate Sato. The attack of the workers was hurled in all directions. Takeda, on the other hand, attacked the vulnerable spot in Hara and Kamaya's defense. Fujii acted as secretary and did not say very much. Through this conference an opportunity was made for Sato to return to the Pickling Plant.

Tsujikawa and Tsue launched the workers' point of view by stressing the major attack, however, was made by Takeda. that tsukemono was a food in great demand by the residents./ He stated that there was some "misunderstanding" about the position of the farm division representatives in the issue, which he believed was unfortunate for them both. Representing the voice of the people, he wanted to ask a few questions to clear up these misunderstandings, since this was the purpose of the meeting. He asked that the following points be clarified:

- A. What is Mr. Hara's position?
- B. What was the condition of the agreement made on February 19?
- C. What was the general situation at the time the plant was to be closed?

Hara's reply was that he was not connected with policy-making in any way, but was only the office manager. He said:

Since my name was mentioned, I feel that I should clarify my position at this time. My position is merely an office manager, and it is my duty to take care of all office documents. However, I am not connected in any way with Policy making.

He also explained that his name appeared on all documents because one copy was always sent to him for filing.

Kamaya's explanation was more involved. He said:

I also would like to clarify my position, and explain how I have been connected with this matter. I understand that the main reason for the closing of the plant was shortage of vegetables. I was asked by Mr. Rawlings if I would manage my crew to dispose of 'Tsukemono'. In view of the fact that 'tsukemono' is a food demanded by the residents, it should not be wasted in any way. For this reason I simply accepted the proposition of such disposal. When the agreement was made on February 19, 1944, it was decided that the plant operation should be continued on the new basis--that workers cut from twelve be effective March first till June 1, 1944. Furthermore, I was not sure if this supply of material was available to keep all workers busy in the plant. However, I felt that I could make some adjustment among the workers so that if there should be a shortage of material, workers may be transferred to the farm in order to keep them.

It should be noted that nothing was said of Sato's incompetence.

Takeda then asked whether there was any understanding with Rawlings to the effect that when the plant was reopened the workers would be transferred to their former position. Kamaya answered that there wasn't and that this was up to Rawlings. Tsue then followed up Takeda's lead and stated that the reasons for closing the plant were the shortage of materials and labor disputes, according to Miller's memorandum (not Sato's incompetence). Until the tsukemono is all disposed of experienced workers would be needed to take care of it. He recommended strongly for Sato, since he had experience. He also referred to a misunderstanding between Mr. Sato and Mr. Rawlings.

To this attack both Kamaya and Hara gave in by saying that they were requesting Sato's transfer along with the rest of the workers.

Kamaya conceded that experienced men should be employed, and that all the workers, including Sato, were being asked to return to work. He stated that he had no illwill toward anyone. He was expecting that Mr. Sato would be included in the list of the workers. Hara said:

I also asked that all workers be included in the list to be presented, and after noticing that Mr. Sato was not included in the list, I asked that the list include all the workers in order to make the list complete.

This was clearly a victory for Sato, since the idea of terminating him alone had to be abandoned. It is also possible that Hara desired that the three who sided with Taniguchi and were not asked to return to work be included along with the others.

The matter of employment cut was next taken up. Both Tsujikawa and Takeda asked questions on two points:

- a. On what basis was the employment cut to take place?
- b. Why was Taniguchi, rather than Sato, given the authority to make the cut.

Tsujikawa also pointed out that Taniguchi had stated that the employment cut was made only after consulting himself and Mr. Hara, but that he was not so consulted. He thought that the labor dispute had been caused by Mr. Taniguchi's unfair choice of workers to be discharged. Hara replied that he had not been consulted by Taniguchi as to whom were to be included in the employment cut, but that he had only gone to the employment office to get a list of the families to check up on their family status. Why Sato had not been given the authority to make the employment cut was not answered. Neither was a question as to why Mrs. Sato was always placed on the list of those to take the cut, when a family of three of whom all were working (Mrs. Kawasaki's) was not listed.

Tsue then made a speech in favor of Sato and recommended that he

be reinstated. Takeda, however, changed this to a resolution to the effect that in the event the plant was reopened all workers would be reinstated in the plant. To understand this move on Takeda's part it is necessary to know what went on behind the scene. According to Takeda's account later, Fujii had talked to Davidson. He was unwilling to attack Rawlings, but neither was he against Sato. In his conference in Gila he had learned how much Japanese desired Tsukemono and had made arrangements with the Washington representative at the conference to transfer the Industry Section to the Steward Division. He expected a confirmation of this arrangement soon from Washington, and when that arrived, he was willing to make the transfer immediately. Takeda felt that it was best for Sato to go back to work on Kamaya's term as an ordinary worker, and then be in a position to take over as supervisor when the Plant was reopened. There was no opposition to Takeda's suggestion, and the group went on record with the following resolution:

"Whereas it has been proved that experience, knowledge, and ability are needed to make the pickling plant a successful enterprise, we recommend that Mr. Sato be reinstated as supervisor of the pickling plant, and all workers who have been transferred to the farm division be reinstated at such time when the pickling plant reopens."

Hara and Kamaya were then asked to contact Rawlings and make arrangements to reinstate Sato along with other workers.

The following understanding, then was reached at the conference.

1. That all of the workers would transfer to the farm division under Kamaya.
2. That Kamaya would be recognized as the supervisor of the Pickling Plant to dispose of the remaining tsukemono.
3. That even though only five workers were to be retained in the Pickling Plant according to orders from Rawling, Kamaya would make arrangements so that all old workers of the Pickling Plant could work there.
4. That when the Plant was reopened the old crew including Sato, would be reinstated.
5. That no prejudice would be shown Sato.
6. That Hara and Kamaya would use their influence to have Sato returned to the plant.

This, at least, was Takeda's version of the results of the conference. The most controversial question was whether Hara and Kamaya would use their influence to have Sato reinstated. Another was Sato's position in the Plant should he return to work. He would be an ordinary worker, but the workers would have to work under someone's direction. Kamaya indicated that he would be too busy as a farm supervisory to have anything to do with the plant. Kano, it seemed, had already assumed a somewhat superior air over the rest of the workers and perhaps had an understanding with Kamaya that he would be the unofficial head of the plant if the workers returned to work. If Sato returned to work, however he would be supported by the workers as their supervisor. In fact, Takeda's understanding was that if Sato returned to work he would, in effect, be the supervisor. In effect, the agreement reached was

that through devious means Rawlings' orders to close the plant and terminate the workers would be sidestepped and all the workers returned to their former positions until the remaining tsukemono was disposed of. The only difficulty at this point was Kano's behavior. And what of the three women whom none of the other workers desired to have in their midst?

Takeda's advice to Sato was that he should go back to work on the terms agreed with Kamaya. If he did not do this, the Council would find it difficult to recommend him for supervisor when the time came to reorganize the Plant under the Steward Division. He also thought that Sato should refrain from experimental work while the Plant was under Rawlings' division.¹

March 20. Everything had been ironed out, presumably, for all of the former workers of the Pickling Plant to go back to work under Kamaya. On March 20, Monday, the workers who had signed up to return to work reported at the Pickling Plant for work. Kano gave directions and took over the functions of a supervisor. Kogita thought that Kano had secretly gotten the privilege of being unofficial boss of the Pickling Plant from Kamaya, although he already had the title of Packing Shed foreman. When asked what Kano would do if Sato returned to work, Kogita said that he thought Kano would withdraw as the head.

Mrs. Hara never showed up for work, but Mrs. Kawasaki and the other lady who sided with Taniguchi came to the plant and begged to be taken in with others. They even got into a quarrel with some of the workers, but nobody paid much attention to them. Kano is said

1. J 3/18/44 #1, #9

to have told them that they could not be employed in the Pickling Plant because there were too many workers there already, but that if they wished they could work in the farm division. They went to the Ad Building to get an assignment, but failed, and after a few days transferred to the Farm Division.

Two other persons who did not return to work were Sato and his wife. Fujii and Takeda were anxious to have Sato return to work, Takeda called on Sakoda to urge his neighbor to return to the Plant along with the others. Kogita also came and urged his supervisor to come back to work. Sato did show up at the Pickling Plant for a short time, but came home and stated that he would not return to work unless someone arranged his transfer for him. He was not opposed to the idea of returning to work under the terms arranged by the conference. But as he and his wife put it, they were not going to go crawling to Rawlings for a job. Kamaya is said to have declared that Sato would be placed on the payroll as soon as he reported for work. Kano, who was in charge of signing up workers who returned to work, did not seem anxious to take steps to reinstate Sato, even as an ordinary worker.¹

5. Aftermath. March 21. It seemed definite that Kano was blocking Sato's reinstatement. According to Kogita he told Kano that he should get an assignment for Sato, but Kano was reluctant to act on this immediately. Kogita suspected that Kano had some sort of arrangement

1. J 3/20/44 #1

with Kamaya and Hara whereby he was to refuse to reinstate Sato. Kogita said that he could attack Kano, but had to watch out for his own neck. He didn't care for his own neck, he said, but that if he didn't watch out and lost his job, he would not be able to see that justice was done Sato. Kogita reported that all but one worker were more for Sato than Kano.

By those who dislike Kano the following story was told about him. He came from the country to Tacoma, where he bought one of the better hotels. Although he had some money, he chose not to fulfill community duties, such as making donations, and the Japanese in Tacoma were thinking of throwing him out of the hotel owners' association. Also, he was accused of depriving a widower of his hotel.

At a joint meeting of the Council and block commissioners the Pickling Plant labor dispute was brought up for discussion. Fujii, as chairman of the Council, reported the dispute in the following manner:

Because of a labor dispute the administration threatened to close the plant. There was a demand for a continuation of making of tsukemono. An official memo was sent to Davidson. A reply came from Miller saying that the main reason for closing the plant was vegetable shortage, and that the plant would be closed until June. The original plan was to cut the workers down to about 5 workers, but because of difficulty in making the cut it was decided to close the plant down entirely. The farm division could not buy vegetables anymore, but the Steward Division could continue the pickling. The workers complained that it would be unfair for the administration to close the plant only to solve the labor trouble. Kamaya suggested that the workers transfer to his division, and work in the pickling plant until the tsukemono was all disposed of. This was decided upon, and nine men returned to work. There has been personal misunderstandings, but as a result of the joint meeting that has been solved, too.

At this same meeting Ken Yamada, block commissioner, attacked Hara by getting up and saying:

"In a memo of the Pickling Plant it is stated that S. Hara and Kamaya have the power in selecting the personnel of the plant. I don't know them well, but they may show bias in their choice."

Roy Akiyama, councilman, brought up the conflict of the old and new leadership at the same time when he said:

"The council and another group seem to be conflicting. That is, the Council and the administrative advisors may collide in the future. What should be done about this situation?"

Fujii dropped the discussion by saying:

"That can be handled at that time. There seems to have been a great deal of misunderstanding on what Yamada-san brought up. Stafford is determined to handle all matters through the Council."

Takeda, councilman, and chairman of the Food Committee, took up the matter of getting recommendation for the production of miso, which Rawlings had prevented. He said:

"I'm the youngest of the councilmen, but have been asked to take over the chairmanship of an important committee. In regards to the Pickling Plant, Mr. Davidson and Mr. Rawlings went to Gila and recommended the increased production of tsukemono. There's some miso being made in the Plant, and its manufacture has been stopped with the closing down of the tsukemono plant. If the people are in favor of miso production, I would like to have the Council go on record and send a recommendation to Washington."

Enthusiasm was expressed by most of those present for the production of Japanese foods. Twice Ken Yamada put in a plug for Sato to be recommended as supervisor. The Council went on record approving the manufacture of as many varieties of Japanese foods as possible.¹

1. J 3/21/44 #1, #2

March 22. Sato went to the Plant today, but nothing happened. Kano acted in a friendly manner toward him and said that he was thinking of going to the Ad Building to get Sato's assignment. Sato did not seem too anxious to go back to work.¹

March 23-24. Three carloads of Nappa came in, and Kano went to Miller to get hold of them for the tsukemono plant. It seems definite that excess vegetable was available for preservation in the tsukemono factory. Miller told him, however, that he was only a packing shed foreman and had nothing to do with the pickling Plant, which had been closed. Kano then tried to get Kogita to go around to the messhalls to tell the cooks that they should refuse to make their own tsukemono. Kano, it seems, was attempting to reopen the tsukemono plant, with himself as the head. Takeda advised against Kogita's telling the cooks what to do because he could be sent to jail as an agitator. He also stated that the Council would not allow the administration to reopen the pickling plant now.

Sakoda discussed situation with Takeda. Takeda felt that Kano had no right to boss the workers around. Also, he felt that the Council could not attack Kano without some sort of action from the workers first. He thought that Kamaya and Hara should be held responsible for Sato's not being reinstated, and that the Council should ledge a complaint against these two men. As far as it is known no action was taken, however, and Sato complained that the Council had double-crossed him.²

1. J 3/22/44 #1
2/2 J 3/24/44 #6

Aftermath. Work in the Pickling Plant lasted through April, after which the workers transferred to the farm division. Sato and his wife finally never joined the workers in the Pickling Plant, and Sato found another job teaching in Adult Education Department. With the help of Father Joe Taniguchi left his two orphans and re-located to Chicago,¹ Takeda proceeded to lay the groundwork for gaining administrative approval for the manufacture of Japanese foods such as miso, movashi (bean sprouts), tsukemono, age-tofu (fried bean cakes), by sending a request to Washington.²

1. J 3/25/44 #2
2/ J 4/4/44 #3

PICKLING PLANT CONFLICT
ANALYSIS

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Pickling Plant Conflict Analysis

Complete analysis of the pickling plant conflict report will not be made at this time, and the analysis confined to certain aspects only. A complete analysis should include the analysis of the technique used in gathering the data, reliability and completeness of the data, the method of organizing the material. Here a somewhat sketchy review will be made of the social structure as indicated by the incident.

Social Structure

When the relationship among the participants of the pickling plant conflict is considered, two different types of cleavages are noticeable. The first one is determined by the institutional nature of the project and one that cannot be changed by the whim of the individual. This first type of cleavage places individuals in a superordinate-subordinate relationship, such as the relationship of the foreman to the workers and indicates rank. The second type of cleavage is not predetermined by a formal ruling of any sort, but exists primarily in the minds of the individuals.

Formal Cleavage

The more formal superordinate-subordinate cleavage is largely predetermined by the nature of the project. Being a federal government project orders are issued to the local project administration from Washington. The resident evacuees are charges of the government, and as such are under the care of government representative and workers, who are all Caucasians. The project, however, is administered with

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the help of evacuees, who are usually workers or foremen, but who sometimes rise to the position of supervisor. The highest positions, however, are always maintained by Caucasians, and in no cases do Caucasians work under evacuees.

The participants of the Pickling Plant conflict can be graded into the following hierarchy of rank, beginning with the highest and extending to the lowest.

	<u>Participants</u>	
<u>Rank</u>	<u>Official</u>	<u>Unofficial</u>
Project Director....	Stafford	
Assistants and Division Heads		
Advisors to P.D.....	Miller Davidson Community Council	Personal Advisors
Division Heads.....	Rawlings	
Evacuee Leaders.....		Father Joe, Sakoda,
Supervisors.....	Hara Kamaya Sato	
Foreman.....	Taniguchi	
Leader of Workers.....		Kogita Kano Mrs. Hara
Workers.....	Workers	

Pickling Plant Conflict Analysis--3

The position of the Community Council has not been definitely determined. Its function is largely advisory, but because it can appeal to Stafford directly, its influence is sometimes just as great as that of an assistant project director. The position of such individuals as Father Joe and Sakoda has not been determined formally, but they have some influence over the mass of workers, and can be placed on a level with supervisors and foremen. Their influence does not extend outside of evacuee circles. As personal advisor to Stafford it is possible that Hara has even more influence than Rawlings, but since the creation of the Community Council and the relegation of the block managers, of which Hara was formerly the head, to a minor position, his power as an informal advisor to the project director has been steadily declining.

It should be noted that enmities and friendships are not entirely unrelated to this hierarchy of rank difference. The tendency for an individual to be antagonistic to the one just above or below the one toward whom he is antagonistic, is especially noticeable. For instance, Miller and Davidson, on the same plane, are antagonistic toward each other. Davidson dislikes Rawlings, whereas Miller in a different division seems to have befriended him. Sato is antagonistic toward both Rawlings and Kamaya and Hara, but is on good terms with Davidson. Taniguchi becomes friendly with Rawlings and attacks Sato. The workers sided with Sato against their foreman, Taniguchi. Kano, one of the workers, at first sides

Should
be based

Because
of "rabbing
shoulders"

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with Sato to attack Taniguchi, and then when the latter is out of the way, sides with Rawlings to deprive Sato of his job.

*Direct relation
not indicated*

Psychological Cleavage While the more formal rank difference serves to accentuate the gap between the Caucasian administrators and the evacuee residents, the psychological cleavage which cuts across both groups and rank difference in general is more difficult to describe. It may not be possible to explain the reason for the existence of such a difference in attitude, but some attempt can be made to show its nature as revealed in the Pickling Plant Conflict report. The first step in this direction is to place the participants on a continuum based on enmities and friendships and differences in attitude toward the Pickling Plant conflict.

Several individuals have indicated their attitude plainly enough to be employed as standards whereby to judge the others. At one extreme we can place Sato. He has been in favor of expanding the plant to manufacture Japanese food for the residents. He has been lenient toward his workers about the number of hours they worked or the taking home of vegetables. He has shown reluctance to compromise with the administration in reaching a settlement of the dispute. He has spoken of Caucasians in a derogatory way and has shown dislike for them. Sato's attitude is generally evacuee-centered and is anti-administration. Some of the workers and residents undoubtedly feel as Sato does, especially those generally considered "radical", "unstable," or dissatisfied.

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At the other extreme we can place Rawlings, even though his attitude is not too well known. From what is known of him it can be said that his attitude toward evacuees is one which permits him to consider himself superior to those working for him. This is indicated by his attempt to retain Taniguchi in total disregard of the supervisor and the feeling of the workers. He also showed lack of sympathy and understanding of evacuee needs when he refused experimentation on miso and ordered the closing of the tsukemono plant. Miller took the same stand that Rawlings did, and can be classed with him. Stafford's position in the matter is not known, although he seems to have been somewhat more sympathetic to Sato's cause than either Miller or Rawlings.

The evacuee counterpart to Rawlings is well-illustrated by Mrs. Hara. She was opposed to the expansion of evacuee privileges, such as the manufacture of miso or the taking home of vegetables, although she was not against reserving the latter privilege for herself. She was even opposed to the excessive use of electric lights in the Plant. When the Plant was closed down to solve the conflict, she expressed delight. She has favored the restriction of evacuee privileges and the upholding of administrative regulations. S. Hara (unrelated to Mrs. Hara) has indicated the same attitudes as Mrs. Hara. He favored both the restriction of the manufacture of miso and the elimination of Sato as supervisor. A person who has come to be associated with Rawlings and Mrs. Hara is Taniguchi. He opposed the expansion of the

Pickling Plant Conflict Analysis--6

plant, and helped the administration by informing it of Sato's habits, an act open to serious charges within the center among the residents.

Others have been less extreme in their attitude. Individuals like Father Joe, Sakoda, and Yamada sided with Sato in his struggle against Taniguchi. They indicated that they were against moves which reduced the privileges of the evacuees. They were opposed to such individuals as Rawlings, but not necessarily anti-administration, one point which differentiated them from Sato. They desired settling matters in the evacuees' favor, but they also desired a peaceful settlement, if possible. In this group could also be placed Takeda, councilman, who believed in eliminating the administration-dominated set up in Minidoka, to the more evacuee-centered one that he had witnessed in Tule Lake.

The Council as a group has had less sympathy for Sato's cause and an unwillingness to protest against Rawlings than the group just mentioned. The Council did not question Rawlings and Miller's closing down of the plant in order to settle the labor dispute, and instead chose to iron out difficulties without upsetting the administrative stand. Consequently, the solution they worked out was a middle stand between the two extremes. However, if it had not been for individuals like Takeda, there is reason to believe that the outcome might have been much worse for Sato than it was.

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Dr. Shigaya, for instance, felt that the incident should be considered a "closed " one when Rawlings announced that the workers were terminated and the plant was closed. However, as a group, the Council was far from sympathizing with individuals like Taniguchi or Hara. In fact, ^{Hara}/~~who~~ was formerly Stafford's personal advisor, was openly attacked by councilmen in their discussions. The Council also had not made any definite alliance with any Caucasian on the project.

Somewhat more compromising in attitude than Miller, Rawlings, S. Hara, Taniguchi, and Mrs. Hara are Davidson and Kamaya. Davidson was in disagreement with Miller and somewhat in sympathy with Sato. He has been willing to give in to demands made on him by Sato, when Rawlings would have refused them. Davidson, however, was not willing to start an open conflict with Miller in order to support Sato. He showed willingness to correct matters, however, by transferring the Industry Section to the Steward Division, where there would be no interference from Rawlings. Kamaya, who ~~would~~ was required to take orders from Rawlings and listen to Hara, aligned himself closely with these two. However, he showed some willingness to do what he could for Sato's cause. When he was accused of having aided Taniguchi and Rawlings in obtaining time sheets pre-signed by Sato, he showed great embarrassment. At the conference he offered to sidestep Rawlings order to reduce the number of workers

2 1

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in the Pickling Plant by allowing all of the workers to return to work under special arrangements that he himself would make.

One individual difficult to place on the continuum is Kano. At first he sided with Sato and the majority of the workers, and actively attacked Taniguchi. This behavior seems to place him close to Sato's end of the scale. After Taniguchi was ousted, he aligned himself with Hara and Kamaya, and prevented Sato's return to work. This behavior places him close to the opposite extreme. Kano's attitude, in other words, has changed with the change of circumstances, and seems to be more a matter of expediency than of conviction. In contrast, Kogita showed a desire to remain true to Sato even at the expense of his job. Attitudes, evidently, are subject to change.

*Underlying
motive saw*

Most of the workers supported Sato, but when their jobs were at stake, they decided to abandon him. The workers were not willing to oppose Rawlings' solution to the bitter end. However, they showed antagonism toward such individuals as Hara and Taniguchi, and later toward Kano. Three workers were influenced by Taniguchi and one by Kano and were alienated from the rest of the workers. The workers, then, were strung along a wide range of the continuum.

The following chart according to attitudinal and rank difference can now be made.

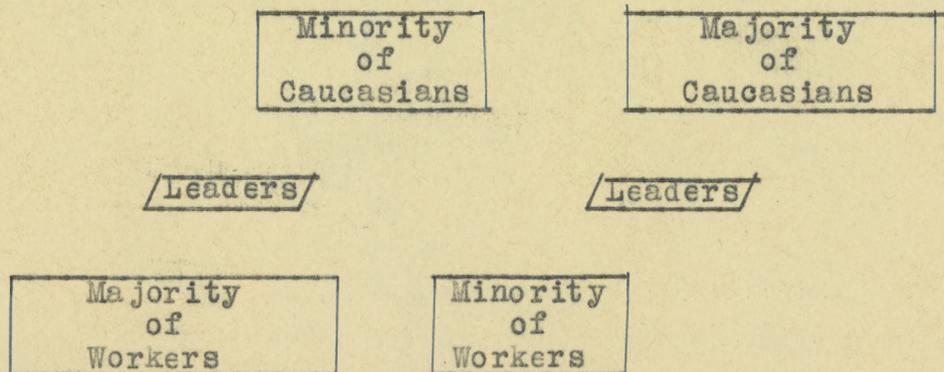
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	<u>PRO-EVACUEE</u>	<u>ATTITUDE</u>	<u>PRO-ADMINISTRATION</u>
	<u>Extreme</u>	<u>Compromising</u>	<u>Extreme</u>
<u>HIGH</u>			<u>Stafford</u> ?
	<u>Council</u>	<u>Council</u>	<u>Davidson</u>
	<u>Go-Betweens</u>		<u>Miller</u>
<u>RANK</u>	<u>Sato</u>	<u>Kamaya</u>	<u>Rawlings</u>
			<u>Taniguchi</u>
	<u>Kogita</u>	<u>Kano</u>	<u>Kano</u>
			<u>Mrs. Hara</u>
<u>LOW</u>	<u>Workers</u>	<u>Workers</u>	<u>Workers</u>
		<u>Wkers</u>	<u>Wker</u>

*How about
Mrs. Shigaya*

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Comparison of cleavages The attitudinal or psychological cleavage in this incident has been the important factor in placing an individual on one side or the other of the conflict. Neither rank difference nor administration-evacuee difference have been as important in the conflict as this psychological difference. What then has happened to the administration-evacuee opposition which has always been considered an important factor in any labor conflict on the project? The majority of the Caucasians involved kept together, and so did the majority of the evacuees. Within the administration only Davidson seemed to be sympathetic toward Sato. Of the evacuees who sided with Rawlings and Taniguchi most of them have been persons in key positions (Hara, Kamaya, Taniguchi) or persons who were striving for leadership positions (Kano, Mrs. Hara) or persons who attached themselves to these individuals (two workers attached themselves to Taniguchi and one to Kano). The vast majority of the workers favored Sato and opposed Taniguchi. There was also a group of leaders who opposed the Hara-Kamaya group and sided Sato and his workers. This analysis gives us the following general groupings:



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This split within the administration, the evacuee leadership and among the workers and residents has been found in other conflict situations. The balance of power between the two factions has not always been the same. In the Pickling Plant conflict Miller and Rawlings greatly overpowered Davidson. Stafford seems to have remained largely neutral in the matter. The fact that Rawlings was able to settle the trouble by closing down the plant is an indication of the power he had.

The struggle between the two factions of evacuees was much more involved. One group of leaders received hardly any support from the workers, but were given strong support by the administration. The other group of leaders were strongly supported by the workers, but had hardly no support from the administration. If the workers' leaders had been weak, Sato would not have had a chance of returning to work and the Plant probably would have been reopened by a supervisor chosen by Rawlings. On the other hand, if the workers' leaders had possessed more power than they did have, they would have prevented Rawlings from closing down the tsukemono plant in the first place. By attacking the opposition leadership--Hara and Kamaya--and getting rid of Taniguchi the workers' leaders were able to achieve a compromise solution whereby much of Rawlings' restriction of evacuee privileges was undone.

It is a general observation that the new leadership represented by the pro-evacuee elements is gaining in power

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and that the old leadership represented by the pro-administration group is rapidly losing power. While the solution the pro-evacuee group was able to affect was only a compromise, it represented a great increase in power when compared to former days when the administration was able to govern the evacuees much as they liked. Pro-administration individuals like Taniguchi and Mrs. Hara were effectively suppressed by pro-evacuee elements, which had not been done before. Pro-administration leaders like Kamaya and Hara were attacked and placed on the defensive, where formerly they had been criticized only in private.

The increase in power of the pro-evacuee group over the pro-administration group does not take into consideration the power of the administration. When that power is taken into consideration, the balance of power still rests with the administration. Other groups which might have taken part in the conflict to lend support to one side or the other, but which were not involved indirectly in the conflict, were the Washington office, the general public, workers in other departments and residents in general.

The rise in power of the pro-evacuee group and the existence of conflicts is often associated, especially by the pro-administration group, with the advent of Tuleans on the the project last fall as the result of the segregation program. This impression may be increased by the Pickling Plant conflict because many of the workers in that Plant were Tuleans. An analysis of the sympathy of the partici-

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pants, however, will quickly show that Tuleans were also divided on the issue. Both Sato and Taniguchi, the centers of the conflict, were ex-Tuleans. Kano, who switched sides was also an ex-Tulean. On the other hand, Minidokans such as Kogita, Yamada, and Father Joe were active in the pro-evacuee group. Here again one is impressed with the fact that the separation into two opposing factions cuts across all other groups.

This, however, does not mean that Tuleans did not affect the situation at all. The majority of Tuleans were aware of the stigma attached to being called as an administrative "stooge." Tuleans like Tsujikawa, Sato, Sakoda, and Takeda were aware all through the struggle that the main issue at stake was whether the evacuees were going to receive consideration of needs or not. Their desire was to remove from key positions, evacuees who worked against the best interest of the residents, and to attack administrative personnel members who imposed excessive restrictions on evacuees. They did much to guide the struggle along this channel. As Takeda expressed it, the Minidoka people needed "education." They seemed to be getting it, too.

The struggle then is not between Tuleans and Minidokans, but rather between ways maintained in Tule Lake and the ways which dominated Minidoka. The former held evacuee interest in high regard and was highly democratic. The latter tended to uphold administrative orders and to be authoritarian in nature. In Tule Lake the concept of a leader was one who

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attempted to gain advantages for the egacuees. In Minidoka the leaders tended to show authority by restricting the privileges of the residents. That more Tuleans should hold the Tuleans ideal and work actively to put it into effect is to be expected. This fact, however, does not exclude the Minidokans who desire to correct what they believe to be flaws in their own project.