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Sept 2, 1942
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Use of Sakoda's Journal

I

June 15 - June 30, 1942

The Journal gives a continuing record of the experiences of the Sakoda family, from the time of their entrance into Tule Lake. This aspect requires little comment at present. If Ruby and George --and later May-- also keep diaries, a very good account of the experiences and reactions of a family group will be obtained. However, we need a rather detailed family history and a life history of each member of the group, to serve as background. These, J. S. Should prepare and, if possible, his records should be supplemented by autobiographical accounts.

The Journal for the first two weeks gives "leads" re several important aspects of community life. These should be supplemented and followed up.

First, and most important, is the problem of sectionalism. On p.3, you note that the camp population, at the time of your arrival, consisted mainly of persons from Clarksburg, Washington and Oregon. From what Assembly Center did these people come? Can you find out whether the political groupings of the Assembly Center were carried over into Tule Lake? Did the leaders there assume leadership here? Was there any evidence of the carry-over of a political machine? Did these people get and manage to hold the better jobs at Tule Lake? On p.9 you note that Jacoby says that group conflicts are already evident. The people from the North are anticipating trouble when large numbers of Californians arrive. What they fear most is apparently competition for the good jobs. How did this situation actually work out?

To what extent did other groupings eventually cut across the sectional grouping? For example, it is noted that the JACL was strong at Puyallup: when the Sacramento group came in, was there a merging of the JACL interests from the two Centers? Other "group conflicts" noted here are Issei versus Nisei, and Kibei versus Nisei.

By the time you get to pp 24-5, there are suggestions that the Sacramento group has got control. Follow through with a more detailed analysis. Question Eugene Okada and Fumio Nishida and others on this matter. Again on p. 31 and p. 41 you suggest conflict. On the basis of your own notes, by questioning other people, and by examining official records, document this situation as thoroughly as possible.

The second "lead" suggested by the Journal is in regard to recruiting and composition of the labor force ~~XXX~~ of the community. From your note on p.10, I gather that jobs were first filled by volunteers, but that the merit system was later to be developed. What was the composition of the volunteer forces? In what sorts of jobs did they achieve "vested interests" status? How did the composition of the work force change after the camp was filled up? (By composition, I mean particularly age, sex, previous residence, previous occupation, Issei, Nisei, Kibei status, etc.)

Specific questions re labor force and job-getting are suggested in your notes on p.21: what was Kallam's original method of recruiting workers? How did that change? On p.9, how were "police wardens" chosen? What was the original composition of the group? How did it change? What happened to the Kibei about whom Jacoby was worried?

Follow through other specific occupational groups in the same way.

The third "lead" is in regard to Political behavior. Trace through the regulations re Issei (p.10).

The fourth "lead" is in regard to the social welfare group. You have rather complete notes on this group on pp 17-18, 28-29, 40-41. These should be followed through in order to answer additional questions: How did the composition of the group Jacoby was trying to train change? Who wanted to become a social worker? Who was accepted? Who was refused? There should also, of course, be an analysis (perhaps not by you) of cases received by workers and methods of handling them. On p.19, you refer to Mr. Minra's

tactful way of handling cases at Tulare. Can you give more detail as to his procedure (check with Tulare notes).

Fifth, a brief follow-up of the point you made on ~~pt~~ p.7, re sorts of reading material that sell best and who buys them is called for.

Sixth, the regulations noted on pp 8-9 re Japanese language bulletins should be described and changes noted.

Seventh, American versus Japanese habits, as noted e.g. in talbe manners on p. 13 and p. 28 should be developed more and changes noted.

Eighth, the history of the scrap lumber conflict can readily be written up from your notes, on pp 17, 34, 40, 46, 47, 48. Trace through this conflict in terms of who get the lumber, extent of hoarding, and of "stealing"; restrictions and regulations. Describe uses of the lumber.

Ninth, There is a suggestion, on p. 13, that recreation groups were developing on a blockwise basis. What was the subsequent development? Also, re recreation, on p. 20 you suggest the beginning of a conflict between the recreation and education divisions in respect to a forum. What happened?

Tenth: Persons whose "case histories" should be followed up are Eugene Okada and Fumio Nishida.

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Proceeding now with the second two weeks (through July 14th), I note the following points in respect to the 10 categories back in the first two weeks:

1. Sectionalism: On p. 84, there is a suggestion that the Sacramento group controlled the talent show, and on p. 85, I find a suggestion of the North vs. South conflict in the dancehalls again. More documentation re persons concerned is called for; also, who complains about control? Some effort should be made to follow up the role played by the people from the "White Zone" (see p.113). Are they as well organized as those from the Assembly Centers? Do they obtain "prestige" positions as readily? (See Spencer's report on Gila).

2. Labor Force: I ~~NOTE~~ note only 2 slight references to what must be a very interesting struggle for prestige. Both are on p. 98 and refer to the efforts for higher classification on the part of firemen and of cooks, respectively.

3. Political Behavior: There is a brief reference to the action of the Council in respect to the censorship situation (p.78). Composition and functions of Council should be analyzed. Will Kase cooperate (e.g. prepare a document for a modest honorarium) and will he make the Council minutes available?

4. Social Welfare Group: There is a good follow up on pp 64-65, 74-75, but you weaken when you come to p. 106, and the notation there tells little.

5. Reading material: You did not follow up your original hunch; there is just a brief reference on p. 105 to "treaty magazines". Data easy to get if point is worth while.

6. Japanese language: You note on p. 63 that Ruby had destroyed some Japanese national songs and that the group felt this had been unwise. Are there any other instances of the destruction of items in the Japanese language? On p. 73, you note the difficulty of getting Issei to understand what is going on simply because of language difficulties. This should -- in light of subsequent

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developments -- be followed through in same detail.

7. American versus Japanese manners and customs: This will evidently become a major category. On p. 65, you note the "Japanesy" decorations for the 4th of July. On the same page, the Japanese custom of "arranged marriage" is referred to in connection with George's situation (Further developments and outcome?) On pp 76-77, use of a Japanese name symbolizing "good family" is indicated. Is this customary? On p. 93, interesting incident of dilemma of man having picture of emperor is brought up. The Festival of Bon Odori is well documented on p. 99. What was the composition of the group in Block 4 and 34, where the Festival started? The "Ondo" situation is noted on pp 104-106 (What exactly is ondo? Who wanted it? Who resisted it?)

8. Scrap Lumber Conflict: The incident has probably come to an end. Items on pp 61-62 and 91-92 are good follow-up. Summary and account could be written.

9. Recreation: On pp 80-81, contrast between Issei and Nisei forms is noted. This point should be followed up. Another item, on same subject, is contrast between Issei and Nisei behavior at Bon Odori festival (pp 99-100).

10. Case histories: You are getting scattered information on a number of people. Select from the following should be made for more intensive study:

Mrs. Akematsu (p.60)

Takashimas (p. 63)

Jyo (pp 76-77)

Tadao Yamashiro (p. 78)

Masoka Miyake (p. 82)

May Sato (p.83)

Aiko Kawashima (p. 85)

Austin Nawaka (p. 86)

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Toshi Yoshida (p. 86)

Hisako Narahara (p. 86)

Koso (p. 91)

Kiyo (pp 96-97)

Fumiko (p. 97, 101 ff)

Jobo (p. 106)

Now, in addition to these categories, which appear in both the first and the second periods, others are evident in the second period. Among these, the following may be briefly noted.

11. Censorship: The first episode in what may (alas!) be a series is noted on p. 67; followed up on pp 75-76, and p. ~~100~~ 98; the action of the Council in regard to this situation is discussed on p. 78; and the finale is written on p. 102.

12. Sex problems: appear first, I believe, on p. 72 in connection with the question of contraceptives; continue on p. 83 and p. 104. These, too, will represent a "series".

13. The U. C. Clique is mentioned on pp. 72-73. Is this group worth following up?

14. Attitudes: This is a large category and should be subdivided. Issei attitudes are noted on p. 81, 84, p. 106, pp 110-111; George's distrust of hakujin on p. 93 is interesting; attitudes towards work corps and fear of reprisals if work is refused, p. 107.

15. Religion: This category, again, is large. A detailed analysis of religious groups is called for. You have scattered notes on pp 87, 88, 89, 90. Can you give a more precise account of the Buddhist group (of which, I assume, you are a member)? Composition? Overlapping with Christians in various activities? Leadership?

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16. Cooperatives: Analysis of while development should be made. Your early reports are good (p. 92, pp 108-109) but weakening is apparent on p. 106.

17. Mess hall conflict: You have enough notes on pp 94-95, 101-102 to write up a short account of this conflict situation.

18. Urban versus rural: You have several "leads" but no follow-up.

19. Forum: Someone should analyze in detail.

20. Conflict re reorganization of interviewers: Your notes, pp 115-119 could be expanded into a pretty complete analysis of the incident.

III Summary:

Now we come to questions of future procedure. My survey of your journal shows that at least 20 categories have emerged in the course of a month. Follow-up of all would be impossible for any observer. A periodic summary of this sort will, however, be valuable both for you and for the study. You will be able to answer many of the questions I raise without additional work. You will see where you are "short-cutting" to the point where your journal is not proving useful to others. Furthermore, and most important, you will begin to concentrate on certain categories for special, detailed, continuous attention. On the basis of what you have already written, I should like to see you pay particular attention to categories 1, 2, 6, 7, 10, and 12 for future reference. You can also write up as "finished episodes" numbers 8, 11 (for the present), 17, and 20. In category 10, you will have to concentrate your efforts on a small number of cases.

At the same time that you are selecting a few categories for intensive analysis, you should, by all means, continue your informal journal. In a study of this sort, we cannot determine a priori, what the significant developments will be. Go on with the things that interest you and we will, as I promised, have a periodic check-up. Only by checking back can you see whether you are following through.

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Pfc. Higa's Visit

Period August 24, 1944

Participants Higa, residents

Summary Pfc. Higa was sponsored by the JACL and sent to Minidoka on August 24 to speak of his battle experiences. Higa was a Kibei, who drafted into the Army before the war. He spoke in two places on the project, and was fairly well received^{hear} by those who went to ~~xxx~~ him. Higa spoke in Japanese, and avoided saying anything that might hurt the feelings of the Issei. He also appealed to the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Isseis as parents. Many of the parents were crying as they heard him speak.

Significance The circumstance of Kuroki's visit and Higa's visit is different, and the difference in their reception by the residents cannot be blamed on their approach alone. Higa came at a time when Nisei were definitely committed to the American Army, and were in fact being wounded and killed on the battlefield. Added to that factor was the fact that he had employed the proper approach and had avoided irritating the Issei unnecessarily. ~~In~~ both visits were ~~xxxxxxxx~~ attempt to educate the residents in the center to what those on the outside or the JACL believed to be the right way of thinking. The comparison of Kuroki's visit and Higa's visit helps to prove the point that the approach to the residents is all-important.

Material Higa's speech is not available. Only a few comments on his speech ~~are~~ on hand.

Hospital Koenkai

Period January, 1944--December, 1944.

Participants Council, Block Commissioners, ex-Tulean, Doctors, Dentists, Nurses Aides, Caucasian doctors and administrator, Residents.

Summary Even before the Council was organized, there was discussion among block delegates concerning ways and means of preventing evacuee doctors from leaving the center. This discussion was steered toward the creation of a koenkai by the example set in Tule Lake. At a nomination convention meeting in January decision was made to select a committee to start this matter out by giving a party to the doctors. Because of misunderstanding and lack of coordination among those concerned, the party was never held, and it was not until June that the Council was able to set up a koenkai under the Health Committee. The creation of a body of representatives ~~fr~~ apart from the block commissioners caused some resentment among the latter, and later ~~the~~ certain members in the koenkai attempted to make the body entirely independently of the Council, but failed.

The koenkai had as its main function the collection monthly of five cents per person in each block throughout the project and the payment of a certain sum to doctors, dentists, and nurses aides to supplement the low wage scale and to encourage them to stay on their job. ~~REVENUE~~ This method of meeting the low wage scale problem was partially successful, ~~and~~ although it also created dissatisfaction on the part of certain other hospital workers. Because of the lack of response to the request for blood donors, it was decided to

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pay ten dollars to voluntary blood donors. (This was an indication of a lack of a strong community spirit.)

The hospital had a number of problems, ~~with~~ which marked it as one of the trouble spots on the project. Early in the history of the project residents complained about the poor service given by the hospital and about the antagonistic attitude of the senior medical officer, Dr. Neher. This source of complaint subsided later.

Another set of problems revolved around the dentists, who were generally understaffed. Several of them put little time into their regular duties, and started to carry on private enterprise with the use of WRA equipment, until the administration brought pressure to bear to stop it.

The hospital had difficulty in recruiting nurses' aides, and during the labor shortage during September and October, 1944, made a special effort to recruit workers. It was discovered that the strictness of the head nurse and the strict adherence to the eight hour work day were handicaps in the recruitment of workers. Discussion of the problem in the Manpower Commission resulted in the recommendation of some concessions to be given to hospital workers.

Significance The problems revolving around the hospital showed the difficulty in attempting to operate under project work conditions. There was a definite need for organized effort to work out problems. The hospital Koenkai served as an intermediary organization between the administration and the residents and the hospital workers to iron out difficulties.

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Material No complete report on the hospital available.

Material on hand only fair.

Kimball's Visit

March-~~23xx1944~~ April, 1944

August 23, 1944

December--January, 1945

Participants Washington Office, Administration, ~~Partici-~~
~~pants~~ Community Council, Liberal Clique.

Summary Solon Kimball, community organization advisor in Washington, visited Minidoka in March and August, and also in January, 1945. His most important work on the project level was done ~~in~~ during his first visit, when he requested Stafford to work with the Council on a "joint participation" plan. The Council got off to a fairly good start, especially in the warehouse conflict. When Kimball visited the project in August, he thought that Fujii had done a good job, and that the Council was also doing a good job, too. He helped the Council out by eliminating the block managers and replacing them with block clerks. At that time the community government in Minidoka seemed to be functioning smoothly ~~xxx~~ in Kimball's ~~ye~~ eyes. ~~When~~ During November and December when the Council had difficulty with the administration, it had hoped that Kimball would visit the project to rescue it from its difficulty caused by ~~the xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx~~ the deadlock with the administration. By the time Kimball arrived, the Council had lost several of its secretaries, and its reputation among the residents had declined greatly.

Significance ~~While most of the troubles originated with~~
~~instructions from Washington~~ If Stafford had his own way about the matter, Minidoka probably would not have had a Community Council. The idea of having a "self-governing" body on the project was upheld by the Washington office,

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and Kimball saw to it that there was a community Council on each project. He believed that some sort of organization was better than no organization at all. While the local administration feared organized resistance, Kimball believed that a community council would aid the administration of the center.

Actually the "self-governing" body had little authority outside of which the project director cared to give it. In Minidoka, where the project director believed in retaining most of the authority, the community council was placed in a predicament where the patronizing interest of the Washington office was needed ~~to maintain~~ for smooth operation. Given a strongly and militantly organized representative body, the council might have been able to hold its own against the administration. Where the administration discouraged the organization and frightened the leaders that were uncooperative, that organization could not ~~have been~~ expected. The relationship between the Washington office and the evacuee leaders was similar to the grandfather-grandson relationship. The descent of the "paratrooper," which often disturbed the administration, was often welcomed by the resident leaders.

Material Fairly good account of Kimball's philosophy of government, his reception by the Council.

Kuroki's Visit--

Period May 2-7, 1944

Participants Kuroki, Loyal leaders, administration, residents.

Summary Kuroki returned from Europe, the leading Nisei war hero of this war. He went to the Pacific Coast to make speeches to gain greater tolerance for Japanese in the United States. Wherever he went, he was given a big ovation. He was sent to several centers, including Minidoka, for the purpose of improving the morale of the residents in the centers. On the outside (e.g. by the JACL) the negative attitude of the people residing in the center in regards to the drafting of Nisei was greatly noticeable. ~~xxxx~~ The number of draft dodgers from the centers was deplored because it destroyed favorable public reaction to Japanese throughout the country.

In Heart Mountain Kuroki received a lukewarm welcome, but this was expected by some since the Fair Play Committee had been active in organizing a resistance to the drafting of Nisei. In Minidoka even before he made his appearance at the front gate the reaction of the residents generally was cold and even antagonistic. Ben Kuroki's statement to the effect that he desired to go to Tokyo on a Liberator bomber had been publicized. ~~xxxxxx~~ People suspected that he had been sent by the Army to encourage boys to enter the Army. Seiichi Hara and several other discredited/individuals accompanied Ben Kuroki on the project. The administration loudly welcomed the Nisei war hero. Kuroki spoke in English and referred to "our dishonorable ancestors," and was not able to improve

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his standing in the project while here. Probably the ones most favorably impressed by him were the girls and the small children who looked up to him as a war hero. Many Issei~~x~~ and called him such names as inu/ Chosenjin.

Significance Kuroki's visit illustrate the failure of an attempt to influence the people in the center by sending in someone from the outside. The sponsorship, in the first place, by the so-called "loyal" (chusei-gumi) leaders was probably a mistake. The fact that the administration played his visit up probably only served to aggravate the situation. The timing was also poor. Ben Kuroki said the wrong things.

Material Fairly good on the reaction of residents.

Employment Cut

Period February, 1944

Participants Workers

Summary In February a minor employment cut, involving about 300 workers, was announced and put into effect. The result was a series of minor strikes, the most serious of which was the mailmen strike which lasted several days. ~~The dentists also went on a strike~~ This strike was solved with the aid of the block managers. The dentists also went on a strike, and their strike was settled without the aid of the block managers or the Council. Messhall workers, who had recently organized, threatened to strike in case of an employment cut, but this was never done. The Pickling Plant conflict was also a partial result of the employment cut.

Significance The employment cut was the result of orders from Washington, and since there was no adequate explanation for it, many residents interpreted it as a means of forcing relocation. The most interesting fact about this employment cut is that it was accompanied by strikes, whereas the first and more drastic employment cut in July, 1943 did not involve an actual strike (Check). These strikes were overt protests against an act of the administration.

Material Scant. A complete report on the Pickling Plant conflict is available.

Law and Order

Period 1944

Participants Administration, Central Service boys, workers.

Summary During 1944 there were evidences of increase in the infraction of laws and regulations of the project. There was an increase in the ~~xxxxxx~~ number of juvenile delinquency records registered with the Internal Security. There were several cases of cars stolen and left in the sage brush, and cars of A.P. purposely damaged. For some time during the summer speeding by coal crew drivers was highly noticeable. Regulations against the construction of additions to the barrack was not observed, and awnings and even porches sprang up for the first time. The ~~supposedly~~ eight hour work day was generally closer to six, and in some cases much less, especially among the Issei. The office workers rode to and from the work on a convoy, but found time in between work to chat and to visit the canteen. The residents seemed to have gotten out of hand. The administration attempted to remedy part of the lawlessness by threatening with jail sentence,~~in~~ but it was not able to reduce the general violation of regulations. Attempt to have the Council prevent school children from riding on workers' convoy failed because the Council was in favor of children riding with the workers. The construction of the gymnasium was used an opportunity to tighten ~~the~~ down on the slack work habit, but it resulted in ^a ~~the~~ working ~~stoppage~~. A Joint ~~xxxxx~~ Safety Council made up of both A.P. and evacuees and a Police~~x~~ Commission under the Community Council were proposed

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by Kimball in August, but they were never put into practice. The residents were not overly concerned about this state of lawlessness because the infractions were mostly of a nature which did not harm them directly to any extent.

Significance During 1943 Minidoka was concerned the most orderly center of all. During 1944 the infractions of the project regulation would have placed it lower in the esteem of an impartial observer than other centers. A.P. ~~xxx~~ from Topaz, for instance, considered the working hours observed here in Minidoka to be very lax/ compared to Topaz. Kimball was surprised to see the amount of speeding within the project which went on unchecked. One question that might be asked is, was there a change from the close observation of rules to a general laxness, especially following the influx of Tuleans? (Check) Stafford's method of coping with this situation was to threaten punishment by using the outside courts and jails, a method which did not have too much effect. Some pressure could have been brought to bear through the Council on the parents of boys concerned, but this was not done. General ~~lawlessness~~ ^{laxness in the observation of regulations} therefore continued.

It should be noted that while this condition existed on the project in general, within the block the tendency was toward the elimination of conflicts and the integration of the block. Infraction of rules occurred outside of the block usually than within it. When this state of affairs is coupled with a general lack of friendship with the appointed personnel on the part of the workers, and intense antagonism toward some, one is lead to believe that the latter is a contributing

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factor to the former.

Material Scant. If this section is important more data
will have to be gathered to write it up.

Leave Clearance Hearings--

Period October, 1943--Spring, 1944

Participants ~~XXXXXX~~ Persons of doubtful loyalty,

Kibei

Summary Following the segregation program in the fall of 1943, leave clearance hearings were held for those of doubtful loyalty. Before the drafting of Nisei became effective the tendency was for persons who had hearings to declare that they would be loyal and to desire leave clearance. After reinstitution of selective service more persons declared a desire to go to Tule Lake as a "disloyal." They were likely to be individuals who were not quite sure which way they should answer the important questions concerning their loyalty. Included in this group were Kibeis who had not declared themselves to be disloyal to the United States, but who were under suspicion, nonetheless.

Significance The leave clearance hearing affected only a small percentage of the population and the marginal group--those who had not gone to Tule Lake, but who were none the less considered of questionable loyalty. The segregation program was discussed from the very beginning of the WRA's existence, and was finally carried out under pressure from outside groups. Extreme difficulty was experienced in attempting to determine loyalty or disloyalty of an individual. In many instances the hearing board had to accept the individual's word as to whether he was loyal or not. The marginal group was most likely to use the hearings as an expedient to gain other ends besides the determination of

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loyalty or disloyalty--such as the avoidance of the draft.

Material Scant. No copy of leave clearance hearings held here in Minidoka is available at present.

Light Case

Period May-July, 1944

Participants Light, Kleinkopf, Pomeroy, Folsom, Stafford, Brooks, Student Council, Resident, pro-Light teachers: anti-Light teachers.

Summary The Light Case¹⁵ deeply imbedded in the history of the educational system in Minidoka. When the school system was first started, most of the teachers were gathered from different parts of the country. Light himself was from California. The core system, advocated by a group of educational planners from Stanford University, ~~was~~ was instituted and maintained by Light, and supported by many teachers as the "progressive" method of teaching. Actually the core system did not function smoothly ~~under the handicaps of project conditions--~~ large classes, teachers not trained to teach the core ~~system~~ classes, lack of rapport between teacher and student, quick lack of class libraries. turnover in the teaching staff. The students reacted violently to the core ~~xx~~ classes, which were two hours long and which seemed to be conducted aimlessly. As new teachers were added to the staff, mostly from Idaho, the core system was criticized by the newcomers. This progressive v.s. conservative split in the educational system in Minidoka spread to other issues such as the sympathetic or unsympathetic attitude toward evacuees or the granting of some voice to the student body council. Light and his followers identified themselves as being progressive and close to the students. His opponents were denounced as conservative, strict authoritarians. Unfortunately for Light, his opponents

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~~where~~ included his superiors and the ruling clique of the administration--Kleinkopf, Pomeroy, Folsom, Stafford. Brooks, Personnel Officer from Washington, who came to investigate the matter treated it as a conflict in policy between a superior and a subordinate. According to Civil Service regulation the superior had the right to set the policy for his division.

The charges against Light were (it is thought) insubordination and laxness in administration. He was given a rating of unsatisfactory and asked to resign. Light, who was greatly upset by what he thought was a grossly unfair treatment, chose to fight the issue. On the project level he lost the fight, and was terminated. He took the matter to Washington, where he was finally able to have his unsatisfactory rating changed to fair, and was given a teaching post in Poston.

~~Significance~~ The student body council circulated a petition to have Light retained as the principal, and it was rumored that the majority of the teachers were willing to go on a strike in order to ~~retain Light~~ prevent Light's dismissal. The petition of the student body, however, was spurned by Stafford as "uncontemptible" and "unAmerican." The students also appealed to the Community Council, which in turn went on record favoring Light's retention. The Irrigator wrote a editorial again in favor of Light. These moves on the part of residents, however, did not affect ~~the~~ Light's position favorable to any great extent.

Significance The Light Case brings out the conflict

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between individuals and cliques in an organization. The dominant ~~xxx~~ ~~xx~~ clique sets the policy for the ~~xxx~~ organization, and opposition to it develops. Personal jealousy is present, as in the conflict between Mrs. Kleinkopf and Miss Fitzsimmon and between Mrs. Pomeroy and Mrs. Davidson. On any particular issue, such as the abolishing of the core system, individuals take sides. A situation develops in which the minority clique finds itself unable to operate within the existing order, and attempts to oppose it. The core system is an interesting case in point in that many neutral observers who claimed to be liberal in their thinking but who were not involved directly in the controversy believed that because of project conditions the core system should be abandoned. One of the major conflicts, however, developed over the issue of the attitude to be taken toward students. The dominating clique believed (as Stafford did) in a strictly institutional relationship. The opposing clique believed in a friendly relationship with the students. This attitude was maintained by such teachers as Amerman, who claimed to be progressive and liberal, but who found difficulty in winning the friendship of many students. Close relationship of one group of teachers with students was likely to inject an emotional element into the conflict which widened the gap ~~betweenxxxx~~ that existed between itself and the other group.

Material Incomplete on attitudes of teachers toward each other. Some material available on reaction of students to the core system and the Light Case. Only the general outline of the conflict can be given.

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Note The Civil Service system is essentially ~~xxxxxx~~
a system where the superior is in a position to give the
orders and where the subordinate must generally carry them
out. Those who believe that the majority should make the
decision, even if they are subordinates, are likely to
conflict with superiors who do have that philosophy. This
is especially true in the case of the struggle between a
subordinate who believes in listening to the evacuee point
of view and the superior who believes that the evacuee point
of view should be suppressed in favor of the administrative
point of view. The Civil Service favors the individual who
believes in authoritarianism. As long as such an individual
can carry out his work satisfactorily, he is fairly immune
to criticism from below.

Mail Delivery Issue

Period February, ~~1944~~--July, 1944

Participants Mail carriers, Block managers, Council, Miller,

Summary When mail carriers were cut down from two to every four blocks to only one, the mail carriers went on a strike. No mail was delivered for several days, until the issue was solved with the aid of the block managers. Mail was delivered to the block manager's office once a day in the morning, and sorted into pigeonholes, one for each barrack. ~~Resident~~ Residents were requested to send one person from each barrack to come after the mail and distribute the mail for that particular barrack. While there were some complaints from residents, this system was utilized from March to July. On March 20 Miller issued a memorandum stating that first class mail must be delivered to the door of each apartment. On the following day at a meeting of the block commissioners and the council door to door delivery of mail was demanded by block commissioners. A memo was sent to Miller requesting immediate action on his order to mail-carriers, but the administration took no action for several weeks. It was not until the end of May that the Council was able to arrange a meeting with the mail-carriers, but the mail-carriers refused to deliver mail without extra men to aid them. The Council was able to persuade the mail carriers to deliver mail door to door in July. In October block managers and mail-carriers were replaced by one block clerk in each block, and ~~the~~ mail was again delivered twice a day.

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Significance The mail delivery issue illustrates an attempt on the part of the Council to gain better service for the residents. It was also a means of striking back at the block managers, since they would have to share part of the additional work involved in a door-to-door delivery. In this attempt the Council failed to gain satisfaction for the residents, first ~~because of the~~ due to the administration and second ~~because~~ to the mail carriers themselves. By means of persuasion, however, the Council was finally able to get the mail delivery started again.

Material Fair.

Messhall Workers Association

Period February--December, 1944

Participants Council, Administration, Messhall Workers' leaders.

Summary On the occasion of the employment cut in February, 1944, the messhall workers formed an organization to fight the cut. Only a feeble protest was made against the cut, which went into effect as planned, but the association continued to function. Early in its history it attempted to gain recognition from the administration, but the latter referred it to the Council. The Council agreed to recognize it only if it were advisory to the Food Committee. A working relationship was established between the association and Food Committee. ~~Ther~~ Wilder also recognized the association to the extent that it was given the responsibility of approving the assignment of cooks to all messhalls. From time to time it held meetings to discuss messhall problems. It has never achieved a prominent status on the project.

Significant It is interesting to note that the organization of the messhall workers took place after the arrival of the Tuheans and for the specific purpose of fighting an employment cut planned by the administration. An effort was also made to gain recognition apart from the Community Council, with whom the association evidently was not on good terms. Some people criticized the leaders of the association as being persons without leadership qualifications desiring to become leaders.

Material Scant.

Nisei Casualties

Period July--December, 1944

Participants Council, residents who are sympathetic and those who are unsympathetic.

Summary When the first casualty list for Minidoka volunteers arrived in the center in July, 1944, general resident concern over the draft issue was revived. The immediate families concerned were grief-stricken. Close friends were sympathetic. But even within the same block many were inclined to be unsympathetic and say, "He deserved it because he volunteered." The Community Council decided to have monthly memorial services, co-sponsored by the Parents-Soldiers Association, the administration and the Council. Criticisms were directed against the Council for having planned such services. One of Fujii's excuses for having the services on a project-wide basis was the existence of a conflict within the block as to the wisdom of having a block service for the deceased/ soldier. When the first memorial service was held, however, it was well-attended. Criticism against families which had casualties and against the memorial services gradually died down over the period of several months.

Significance While the existence of persons who were antagonistic toward those who volunteered~~for~~ for the armed forces is known, it is difficult to say why their criticisms declined with the passage of time. One possible explanation that there was an increased likelihood that their own son would be drafted and they would be placed in the same category as those being criticized.

Material Fair.

Segregation Program

Participants Minidokans in general, segregants, ex-Tuleans, Housing Adjustment Board.

Period July 15--Sept.

Significance For the first year of existence Minidoka possessed the reputation of being the quietest and the most loyal of all the centers. After the arrival of the segregated Tuleans, however, this reputation was gradually lost in the face of increasing conflict within the project. The segregation program affected Minidoka only slightly in the sense that the departure of less than 300 segregants was not accompanied by more than a minimum disturbance of life in the center. However, the same program effected the transfer of 1500 ex-Tuleans to Minidoka, and initiated a period of ~~growth~~ ~~xxx~~ increasing tension, which resulted in a series of explosions.

Summary The segregation program in Minidoka affected less than 300, who were segregated to Tule Lake. These individuals left without causing trouble and only little fanfare in identifying themselves with Japan. The majority of the residents did not show a great deal of interest in the program. Rumors were circulated concerning:

What types of individuals were to be ~~xxx~~ segregated.

Condition in Tule Lake.

Possibility of forced relocation.

Fear of incoming Californians.

Anticipation of action against the administration.

Of these rumors those concerning the incoming group seemed to be the most dominant. In order to make room for the

Segregation Program--2

incoming Tuleans, the Housing Section deemed it necessary to move families and individuals into smaller apartments than they occupied, and in a few cases threat of eviction was ~~announced by the Housing Section~~ employed.

Material Community Analysis Reports. Documentation poor. Highly general.

Plans were made to welcome Tuleans and to aid their adjustment here in Minidoka.

Fear of Inu

Period Following segregation, as revealed to Tuleans. Gradually died down except for accusations against certain individuals.

Participants Common residents. Dissatisfied residents. Minidoka leaders often considered to be inu. Told to ex-Tuleans.

Significance The fear of the inu shows the state of mind of the Minidoka residents at the time of segregation. It is a direct reflection of their relationship with the leaders on the project and with the administration. It is significant that with a change in leadership after a series of explosions, the general fear of inu died down. In contrast to the fear shown by Minidokans, the attitude of the ex-Tuleans stands out as being fearless and even defiant of the administration. In this intermingling of two groups ~~we~~ the forces for protest gain sudden momentum.

As long as the leaders were able to control the residents, even though they were feared, they could have maintained their status as effective leaders. However, ^{when} this fear of the inu was largely overcome, and the antagonism toward them came to the fore, they were already well-on in the process of becoming ineffective.

Summary When Tuleans arrived in Minidoka, some of the residents here--especially those who were dissatisfied with the status quo--complained about the abundance of inu in the project. Those in leadership positions, especially, were denounced as working against the best interests of the

Fear of Inu--2

people. The head of the block managers and some of the block managers were among those most heavily denounced. The fear of the inu is the fear of doing anything disapproved of by the administration for fear of being reported to the administration. This fear was especially expressed in connection with listening to shortwave broadcasts and discussing the war or Japan. It was expressed more generally on occasions when an opposition to the administration was contemplated. Connected with the fear of the inu was the fear of being investigated by the FBI or placed on a "blacklist."

During October, November, and December Minidokans in general ~~seemed to admit~~^{showed} that talk of war or of opposing the administration should be avoided for fear of the inu. During the boilerman issue Urakawa, Placement Officer, was unfairly branded as an inu. Block managers as a whole became the butt of denunciations. During the draft issue Roy Sakamoto was branded as an inu. Certain other individuals close to the administration continued to be branded as stooges of the keto. However, by April the ^{decline in the} general/fear of the inu was ~~ex~~ noticeable in the increased talk of broadcasts from Japan and of opposing the administration.

Material The material on hand here shows the sort of complaints against the Minidoka leaders registered with ex-Tuleans, and the stand taken by the Tuleans. It also reveals the names of certain individuals who were popularly discussed as stooges of the administration.

The Tulean ~~xxxix~~ stand on the inu was generally that they should not be tolerated.

Mail Carrier Strike

Period January 15, 1944--February 21

Participants Minidokan mail carriers, block managers, Tura Nakamura, Chairman of block managers.

Significance The strike of the mail-carriers occurred soon after the explosion of the boilermen issue, and can be considered to be an example of Minidokan protest against an administrative action. It can be contrasted with the employment cut made in July, 1943, when no strikes occurred.

Summary In January the second major employment cut (the first one occurred in July, 1943) was ordered. The administration decided to cut the number of mail-carriers (then caring for two blocks) to one half, and have each one distribute mail for four blocks. Because of talk among the mailcarriers that they would not work under the new terms, this employment cut was postponed for one month. On February 18 the mail carriers went on a strike, and all refused to ~~xxxxxxx~~ deliver mail to four blocks. For three days no mail was delivered to the residents. On February 21 a new system was announced whereby residents were to report to the block manager's office for the mail of a whole barrack. On this basis the mailcarriers who were retained went back to work. It was rumored that Tura Nakamura, chairman of the block managers, was responsible for this compromise solution.

Material Scant. Details not available.

Minidokan Attitude Toward Ex-Tuleans

Period Immediately following segregation. To some extent the difference between Minidokan and ex-Tulean is still mentioned.

Participants Minidoka and Tule Lake residents as a whole.

Significance The attitude of Minidokans in general is that of an in-group toward an incoming out-group. As long as Tuleans maintained their own ways, they were likely to be criticized. By those desiring to protest against the administration, however, Tuleans were welcome reinforcement.

Summary Even before the Tuleans arrived, fear was expressed by Minidokans that Californians might transfer to Minidoka. The majority of the ex-Tuleans were people from the Northwest, but this did not prevent a sectional feeling, which prevented complete integration of the ex-Tuleans into the society of Minidokans. Two different types of stereotypes developed around the incoming Tulean. The first pictured the Tulean as being rowdy, aggressive, sloppily dressed. ^{He was} ~~They were~~ considered to be a trouble-maker, or at ^{least} overly critical of the people and conditions in Minidoka. The other stereotype of the Tulean pictured him as being fearless, bold, willing to oppose the administration for the sake of the people.

The Minidoka administration viewed ex-Tuleans with disdain and suspicion. It pictured the Tulean as being uncooperative, ~~and~~ as trouble-makers, and possibly being pro-Japan. Most of the troubles that occurred on the project after the segregation program was often blamed on

Minidokan Attitude Toward "x-Tuleans--2

Tuleans. Some of the Minidokan leaders also were inclined to blame the Tuleans for the troubles on their hand.

Material The documentation for this section is scant. Some follow-up on the present attitude of Minidokans toward ex-Tuleans is desirable.

Tulean Adjustment

Period Immediately following segregation.

Participants Incoming Tuleans, Minidokans in general, Dissatisfied Minidokans, Minidoka leaders, Minidoka administration.

Significance Since the arrival of Tuleans coincides with a general change in Minidoka from a quiet center to a turbulent one, the adjustment of the Tulean is an important question. When they arrived they met hostility or coldness from the resident Minidokans and the administration, and they tended to form groups of their own rather than to associate with Minidokans. The loud criticisms by ex-Tuleans of conditions in Minidoka seems to have ~~served the same purpose as~~ aroused the residents to overt expressions of protest against the administration and the leaders. Since antagonism against the administration and leaders was already being expressed when Tuleans arrived in Minidoka, Tuleans cannot be blamed for "causing" all of the troubles in this project. However, it is probably true that they encouraged, hurried and intensified the overt expression of dissatisfaction on the part of the residents.

Summary When Tuleans arrived in Minidoka, they found a great many points to criticize. They generally admitted that the latrines and the food served in the messhall was better than in Tule Lake, but ^{otherwise} ~~beyond that~~ they generally criticized condition in this project quite severely. Their criticisms included the following:

1. People The people here were too quiet. They were spineless and always gave in to the administration. They

Tulean Adjustment--2

were unfriendly, individualistic. They dressed up too much.

2. Physical Setting The center was too sprawled out.

3. Activities There were hardly any activities going on at all both in C.A. and in Adult Education. It was a "dead" place.

4. Relationship with the Administration The people did not complain enough. They did not get clothes racks, they had to volunteer for road-building and coal hauling, they worked long hours, they tipped their hats to the keto too much. The leaders here, instead of working for the best interest of the residents, always carried out the wish of the administration. They were officious, and tried to limit the privilege of the people. In Tule Lake they had a way of dealing with men of that sort. In Tule Lake when the demands of the residents were not met, they held meetings and forced their demands on the administration by striking.

5. Administration The administration here was far inferior to that in Tule Lake. They were unfriendly and lacked understanding of the Japanese. There was no one like Dr. Jacoby here. It was no fun working with the A.P. here.

Tuleans found difficulty in accepting, or being accepted by, the Minidokan and his was. Within the block they tended not to associate intimately with other families, unless they were also from Tule Lake. In many instances, they went out of the block to seek the companionship of other ex-Tuleans. A number of Tulean get-togethers were held both by the young

Tulean Adjustment--3

people and also by Isseis.

Note The adjustment of the Tuleans, not only in Minidoka, but also in other centers ~~indicates~~ follow a common pattern. People who came from Sacramento, ~~and~~ lived in Ward II in Tule Lake, and then went to Topaz, acted somewhat like the Northwest person who lived in Ward VII in Tule Lake and then came to Minidoka. ^{Both} ~~They~~ upheld what they considered to be the pattern of life in Tule Lake, and criticized the people in other centers for not behaving similarly. This is understandable in ex-Tuleans who, when in Tule Lake, believed in such tactics as striking to force the residents' demands on the administration. For the quiet family from the Northwest who did not believe in opposition to the administration on many of the issues, the fact that they were newcomers in Minidoka seems to be ^{partial} ~~the~~ explanation for their criticism of people like themselves. They were placed in a position in which praise of Tule Lake and criticism of Minidoka was the most natural thing to do. Even if they had not been in a position to want to criticize, ^{some} criticism would have been justified on the basis of mere comparison of life in Tule Lake and here in Minidoka.

Material A fair amount of documentation.

Myer's Visit

Period October 25, 1948

Participants Block Delegates, Tulean Leaders, Myer, Administration.

Significance Myer's visit was the first occasion following the arrival of the ex-Tuleans for the residents of Minidoka to offer a written protest. The report was highly critical of the administration of the center. ~~It~~ It contained no ~~any~~ note of appreciation of the manner in which the administration operated the center. For the first time the block delegates, and especially those desiring to protest against the administration, aided by several ex-Tuleans, openly attacked the administration. This report was only an indication of the ~~growing~~ increasing trend among residents toward open protest against the administration.

Summary The report by representatives of the residents included the following points:

1. What is the basic policy of the WRA with regard to community self-government. What recourse is there when the appointed personnel adopt a dictatorial attitude.
2. Appoint evacuees to the administrative staff on civil service basis.
3. Request for school buildings.
4. Request for auditorium.
5. Complaint against "forced relocation."
6. Complaints about the hospital service.
7. Food complaints.
8. Complaints about clothing allowance.
9. Complaints about public assistance grants.

Myer's Visit--2

Myer, in his reply, stressed the fact that relocation was the major objective of the WRA. He gave evasive answers on most of the points brought up by the residents, but at the same time assured them that he was doing his best to rectify matters.

The final writing of the report was done by Kenji Ito, a lawyer from Tule Lake. (Check) Kintaro Takeda took part in the meetings, too. To write the report block delegates first called block meetings to gather together the complaints of the residents. (Check)

Material Only the report submitted to Myer and the minutes of Myer's reply to the residents are available.

Organization Commission

Period September, 1942--December, 1943

Participants Group of leaders or would-be leaders (excluding block managers). Block managers, Stafford, Washington office, administration.

Significance The move to provide for the election of political leaders on the project by the residents themselves sprang spontaneously in the early days of the project. Whether this movement was largely motivated by the reaction against the administration-appointed leadership experienced in Puyallup Assembly Center or whether it was largely a bid for status is not known. (Check) Early in the history of the Commission it met opposition from both the administration and the block managers to its effort to institute a system of representatives of the residents. The Washington office encouraged the establishment of a Council. When the first vote to ratify the charter for the proposed Council was taken, the charter was defeated. It was not until after the arrival of the Tuleans and rise in criticism of both the administration and the block managers that the Charter was finally passed. The effort of the Organization Commission to establish a Council brings out the political conflict which took place in Minidoka during the early stages.

Summary The effort to institute a representative political group sprang up from among the residents early in September, 1942. A meeting on September 22 of representatives of this group and Mr. Stafford resulted in a decision to select two representatives from each block (later known

Organization Commission--2

as block delegates), which in turn was to select the Organization Commission, ~~xxx~~ which was to be entrusted with the drawing up of a charter for a democratic form of self-government. Block delegates were elected on September 29, 1942, and the Organization Commission on October 6.

One of the first problems of the Organization Commission was the ~~restriction~~ stipulation in Ad. Instruction No. 34 that only citizens could hold elective offices. To overcome this, the Commission decided to form an Advisory Board to the Council, which had no voting power, but which was to sit in with the Council at its meetings. While the Council was to be made up of citizens only according to instructions, the Advisory Board was to ~~xxxxx~~ include aliens, also.

During October and November wires were sent to the regional and Washington officers to have certain details clarified, but no ^{satisfactory} replies were received. After the charter was reviewed by the Assistant Solicitor of the WRA, it was sent to the Washington office for approval, but no reply was ever received. The creation of the Council, therefore, was postponed beyond the contemplated date set around the end of the year.

In January the Commission, already impatient, inquired of the project director ~~xxxxx~~ the nature of the delay of the charter. His reply was that he did not believe self-government was wise because it might increase the conflict within the project, and suggested postponing the ~~xxxxxxx~~ creation of a self-governing body.

On March 5, 1943, pressure was brought to bear from

Organization Commission--3

Washington on the project director advising the adoption of evacuee government, since it was in line with WRA policy.

"To have adopted any other policy would have been a further and uncalled for negation of rather basic American principles of self-determination and choice over and above what was already negated by the evacuation itself." (Letter from Myer to Stafford, 3/5/42)

Stafford then asked for the written opinion of appointed personnel and members of the Organization Commission on the advisability of self-government. The administration was generally united in the opinion that it was best to maintain the status quo, at least until equal representation could be given to both Niseis and Isseis. Evacuees favored the establishment of an Advisory Board, and with participation of both Niseis and Isseis.

Soon after the Organization Commission deemed it wise to report to the block delegates the progress they had made in getting a charter approved. ~~xxxxxxisixxxixkx~~ The Commission decided that a revision of the charter ~~xx~~ desirable, and made changes.

In April word came from the Washington office that Ad. Instruction No. 34 had been amended to allow both Isseis and Niseis to hold elective offices. ~~The Commission deemed~~ An advisory council type of government ~~xxxxxxisixxxixkx~~ to be the best suited for Minidoka in that case, and presented such a charter to the project director. The project director deleted the Judicial Commission, but otherwise approved of the charter. Plans were then made to ~~xxxxxxisixxxixkx~~ refer the charter to the residents for a vote.

Organization Commission--4

The administrative personnel were generally skeptical of the value of a self-governing body. The block managers also opposed the creation of a elected group of representatives and campaigned actively against the passing of the charter. The residents were largely indifferent. Many felt that no change was necessary since the project was operating peacefully. On June 14th the charter was voted down by a vote of 2375 to 1568.

After the charter was turned down by the residents, the Organization Commission and the block delegates decided to ~~xxx~~ disband. Stafford, however, insisted that the Commission stay in office, and ~~suggested~~ work on a revision of the charter. (Why? check) He also suggested the reelection of the block delegates, limiting them to one from each block. When the reelection took place in July, 25 of the 35 block delegates were newly elected, and practically all of the Niseis were eliminated.

While revisions of the charter were being considered, the block delegates selected a Segregation Information Committee to disseminate information concerning the segregation program. (Who took care of the meeting with Myer and the meeting with the Spanish Consul?)

In October a revised charter was presented to the project director. On November 2 the charter, slightly revised was submitted to the block delegates for approval. The block delegates added revisions of their own, reestablishing the Judicial Commission which had been eliminated earlier. In December the charter was presented to the residents for

Organization Commission--5

approval, and passed by a vote of 2657 to 686. With the passing of the charter the Organization Commission automatically faded/out of the political picture.

Material Self-Government at Minidoka Relocation Center,
by Dick Kanaya, April, 1944. This review of the work of the Organization Commission fails to bring out clearly the attitude of the various participants. It is difficult, for instance, to recover the attitude of the residents when they turned down the charter in June and passed it in December. (Check with DeYoung) The voting^{down}/of the charter in June and its ratification in December should be treated separately.

Note The effort of the Organization Commission to establish a representative form of government meets obstacles from two source. First the administration, and second the block managers. The residents tend to be indifferent, and even the Organization Commission lacks enthusiasm for a self-governing body. By the time the charter is put to a vote a second time, at least among the block delegates some enthusiasm is shown for the establishment of a body opposing the administration. Among the residents x there is increasing vocalization of resentment toward the administration and the block managers.

Spanish Consul Visit

Period December 22, 1943

Participants Issei representatives, Tulean leaders, Spanish Consul.

Significance The comparison of attitudes of residents toward the Spanish Consul on his various visits to the project shows a decline in the degree of hope placed in the representative of the Japanese Government. For the political history, however, the visit on December 22, 1943 is significant because it shows the strong protest of the residents registered with the Consul for the first time in the history of the project (~~xxx~~ check). It also brings out the way in which some Tulean leaders ~~xxxxxxx~~ participated in drawing up the protest report.

Summary For the purpose of selecting a committee to meet with the Spanish Consul Issei block managers, Issei block delegates, and the committee that met with the Spanish Consul previously gathered together and selected a committee of 16. ~~xxxxxxxwiththexSpanix~~ In the committee was K. Takeda, an ex-Tulean, and x Kenji Ito, who was not on the committee, was instrumental in writing up the final draft of the report. While the former could not have been responsible for more than a section of the report, the latter was able to slant the report to make the administration seem merciless. The rest of the committee was made up largely of leading block delegates.

The report raised protest on the following points:

1. anti-Japanese prejudice on the outside and inside.
- 2/ Forced relocation through employment cut and

Spanish Consult Visit--2

discharging persons who refused to resettle, with a notation that the project director recently abolished this rule, abolishment of unemployment compensation for those unable to find a job, adoption of an unpleasant attitude towards evacuees.

3. Discrimination against Nisei.

4. Housing facilities.

5. Wages and Clothing Grants.

6. Hospital services.

7. Recreation.

8. Food

The report reveals a high degree of dissatisfaction experienced by the residents at the hand of the administration.

Note While the vitriolic ~~twist~~ barb and the twisting of half-truths in the report can be largely attributed to the personality of the final drafter, the report nonetheless stands as a concrete example of the overt expression of dissatisfaction with the status quo.

Material Report submitted by the committee. Also journal notes of the meeting with the Spanish Consul.

The Spanish Consul made it clear that he could handle only question having international implication, and that he could not answer questions in behalf of the Japanese Government. This meeting was undoubtedly a letdown for those who expected some concrete result from it.

Tulean Leaders

Period Post-segregation on.

Participation Takeda, ~~Ex~~ Ito, Sakoda, Minidoka leaders,

Tuleans, Administration, Katsuyama, Nakayama, Minnie Nakano.
Stogie Toki, Richard Sato, Dr. Kuki,

Significance While it is difficult to trace the attitude of the rank and file ~~Ex~~-Tulean ~~ask~~ he rubbed shoulders with Minidokans, except in a general sort of way, it is easier to record the fate of certain Tulean leaders as they attempted to influence Minidokans and the Minidoka administration to ~~his~~ ^{their} way of thinking. For ~~he~~ some of the Tuleans carried with them a way of thinking, of sizing up a situation, which was totally different from that of ~~the~~ most of the Minidokans. The careers of all of the so-called leaders among the ex-Tuleans can be generally described by the one word "discouragement." While this is also true of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxMinidokan~~ leadership in Minidoka as a whole, it is more true of the group who believed in protesting against the administration. The dissatisfaction of the Tulean leader was not necessarily that of not being accepted as a leader in Minidoka. ~~He~~ Even when he was in a ~~leader's~~ formal leadership position, he was often discouraged by the manner in which both the administration and the other leaders behaved.

Summary By the dissatisfied element in the Minidoka population, Tuleans were welcomed as possible saviors. Kenji Ito, who was sent from Puyallup to Tule Lake, presumably by the JACL group in power, was welcomed as ~~the~~ one of the rightful leaders of Minidoka. He participated in the meeting with Myer and with the Spanish Consul, sounding an anti-administration note. He accepted the job as the Executive

Tulean Leaders--2

Secretary of the Fair Labor Board, collided with the Administration, and lost his job. When he was called upon by the newly-formed Community Council to work as the Executive Secretary, Stafford opposed his appointment. On one occasion Stafford reprimanded Ito quite severely, and thereafter Ito kept out of politics, and remained in the background as a worker in the Legal Aid Section.

Kintaro Takeda won leadership over the Tuleans on the occasion of the Tulean Housing Conflict. He participated as a representative of the Tulean group in the meetings with Myer and the Spanish Consul. When the Community Council was elected, Takeda barely won a seat, which he could never had gotten had not so many Minidokans ~~xxx~~ declined their nomination. During the first term Takeda was active in the Food Committee. ~~During~~ ^{On} ~~the Warehouse~~ ^{and other} conflict, however, he collided with Fujii, the chairman, and thereafter lost interest in his political job. The second term he ~~xxx~~ ^{was} not reelected, and began to work for the Co-op.

Sakoda's political connections began during the second term of the Community Council when he accepted the position of Labor Relations Advisor. He differed with Y. Fujii on the method of dealing with the administration and the residents, and rather than become identified with ~~xxxxx~~ him, ~~withx~~ resigned from his job.

Other ex-Tuleans have gotten jobs as foremen, but the tendency for some of them was to avoid jobs which brought them in contact with the A.P. Katsuyama ~~xxx~~ quarreled with Thorsen, whom he believed to be too strict, and quit his

Tulean Leaders--3

job as draftsman. Minnie Nakano worked as Stafford's secretary for a whole year, but never expressed a like for him or most of the A.P.'s on the project. She quit her job when Mrs. Niver was added as Stafford's secretary, and was on poor relationship with her former boss when she left the project. Hiroshi Nakayama never found his work in the Statistics Office as satisfactory as it had been in Tule Lake, and left his position as a supervisor there for one as truck-driver. No generalization can be made about the nature of the adjustment of the Tulean leaders since some of them have accepted the situation ~~in the same~~ in the same way as most ~~Minidokans~~ Minidokans have done. Stogie Toki was well received in the Recreation Department. Hideo Hoshida maintained peace with Acree, the Reports Officer. Taniguchi and Kano played up to Rawlings in order to maintain their positions against Richard Sato.

Material ^{Fair.} ~~Secret.~~ But the careers of Takeda and Ito can be reconstructed from what is already known about them.

Tulean Housing Conflict

Period October 1--10, 1943

Participants Tuleans, Tulean Leader, Housing Adjustment Board, Housing supervisor.

Summary When 1500 Tuleans arrived in Minidoka by October 1, 1943 small families were put in recreation halls ~~in~~ due to a lack of rooms for couples and for families of three. The only facilities available in the recreation hall was a couple of stoves, some crude partitions, and cots. Otherwise these families were ^{to} double~~d~~ up into larger apartments, of which there were enough to spare. At least 27 families moved into recreation halls rather than to double up with another family. These ex-Tuleans complained loudly to the Housing Adjustment Board for individual rooms, and began to organize for action.

Kintaro Takeda, the most prominent of the Tulean leaders, was asked to take a ~~vacant~~ vacancy in the Housing Adjustment Board. He called a meeting of Tuleans interested in the housing problem, and ~~they~~ discussed the possibility of unified action. First of all, he asked ~~the~~ ex-Tuleans not to approach the Housing Adjustment Board with individual requests. Then the group decided that they should ask for individual apartments, since Takeda learned that there were a large number of large apartments vacant. The Housing Adjustment Board declared that large apartments could not be given to a small family because regulation required that small families double up into large apartments. They offered ~~the~~ families in recreation halls priority in moving into smaller apartments if they cooperated and doubled up into

Tulean Housing Conflict--2

larger apartments first. Pressure was brought to bear on the Welfare Counselor, who agreed with the ex-Tuleans that if apartments were vacant families in recreation halls should be allowed to occupy them regardless of size. The administration stipulated, however, that families which doubled up would be given the opportunity to move into smaller apartments first. Takeda handled this predicament skillfully by requesting that families which have doubled up be asked whether they wanted to move out immediately or not. Takeda himself put the question to those who doubled up in such a way as to gain a negative answer. In this way, he succeeded in getting every family in the recreation hall into individual apartments.

Taking advantage of the meeting to discuss the housing problem, two other problems were brought up. The first was the matter of volunteering to go after the baggages of Tuleans. This was immediately decided upon, and Tuleans worked for several days voluntarily and helped to bring in their own baggages from the spur. The second ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ problem proposed by Takeda was one of organizing ex-Tuleans into one group. This idea was discouraged ^{by some} in favor of integration with the Minidokans.

Significance The Housing Conflict was the first incident after the arrival of the exx Tuleans, and ~~was inaugurated~~ served to introduce Tuleans to Minidoka. This incident brings out clearly some of the attitudes of the Tuleans towards the Minidokans as "spineless," which crystallized quite early. It also brings out the way in which Tuleans organized for

Tulean Housing Conflict--3

strength, and protested against the Minidoka leaders and the administration. This pattern of protesting an injustice can be considered one which was ^{developed} ~~acquired~~ in Tule Lake, just as the Minidokans developed one of avoiding open conflicts with the administration. The attempt of the Tulean leader to organize the Tuleans on a more permanent basis might be considered a means of organizing support for the leadership. The attitude of the Housing Adjustment Board brings out some of the prevailing attitudes of leaders in Minidoka. Especially interesting is the way in which they upheld WRA regulations which worked a hardship on evacuees. The fact that Tuleans succeeded in breaking down the opposition from the Administration and the Housing Adjustment Board, served ^{an} as additional reason for the Tulean to declare that his method of dealing with the administration was better than that of the Minidokan.

Material A fairly good journal account of the conflict is available. Some check on the reaction within the administration is desirable.

Acree-Irrigator Conflict

Period May to July, 1944

Participant, Acree, a new arrival, Irrigator staff, Miller, Brooks, Stafford.

Acree

Summary / Arrived ~~xxx~~ on the project the first part of April ~~xxx~~ to replace Bigelow as Reports Officer. He was a rather aged man, had stomach ulcers, and was inclined to be difficult to get along with. From the very beginning he differed with Bigelow in the manner of how the paper should be run. While Bigelow maintained very satisfactory relationship with the Irrigator staff, Acree did not. Acree's attitude toward evacuees was undoubtedly influenced by his Alabama and Hearst background.

Acree's major conflict with the Irrigator staff occurred a month after he arrived on the project. ~~xxxxx~~ On the occasion of Ben Kuroki's visit to the center early in May, Acree was anxious to do all he could for the Nisei war hero. He ordered special cuts and issued a special Kuroki Issue, in which every page was filled with pictures and articles about the visit. The staff was indignant because it believed that the Reports Officer was only the advisor, and had no right to say how the paper was to be made up. After considerable hard feeling had been aroused on both sides, Acree admitted that he had not been aware of ~~xx~~ ~~xxx~~ the nature of his duties. However, he retaliated by giving the paper the minimum attention, and sending a truck instead of a passenger car to bring in the workers from Jerome. Also, he had Miller, Assistant Project Director in charge of Administrative Management, issue an order to the effect that no supplies would be

Acree-Irrigator Conflict--2

issued to the Irrigator office as had been the practice in the past (a precedent set by Shafer), since there was no provision ~~for it~~ in the Administrative Instructions for other than the payment of wages and clothing allowance of the staff members. (Check to see how this matter was solved)

In July the printing company in Jerome asked for a 25 per cent increase in the cost of printing the Irrigator due to a general rise in cost. The Co-op did not want to assume this additional financial burden, especially in view of the fact that the WRA was not cooperating by furnishing supplies. Acree took the stand that this was none of his business, and refused to intercede in behalf of the Irrigator. Among the staff there was talk of letting the WRA shoulder the burden of mimeographing the center paper. Acree finally offered his resignation, was hospitalized before he could leave the project, and died ~~in~~ several months later in a hospital in Salt Lake City. The administration made arrangements with the Irrigator to furnish the office supplies as it had done in the past, and the Co-op accepted the 25 per cent increase in cost. (Check)

Significance This incident is a good example of a satisfactory supervisor-worker relationship established over a period of time becoming disrupted by the change in supervisor. The fact that Acree was new on the project in itself was a source of misunderstanding. Added to that was his lack of understanding of the problems of evacuees. His disgruntled personality and his southern

Acree-Irrigator Conflict--3

background did not help matters. One might say that Acree should not have come to a relocation center in the first place, although he seems to have come with the best of intentions.

It is interesting to note that Miller had already ~~resigned~~ handed in his resignation when he cut off the office supplies of the Irrigator. Miller and Acree probably agreed on many of their views, their likes and dislikes. Brooks, personnel officer from Washington, defended Acree as a good newspaper man, while Stafford laid the blame for the incident on Miller. An interesting contrast occurs in the Irrigator staff. Kimi Tambara, the hotheaded editor, protested loudly on all occasions. Hideo Hoshida, while protesting against the ordering of the cuts, was inclined to maintain peace with Acree and side with him on his not ^{furnishing} ~~supplying~~ the office with supplies.

Acree-Smith Conflict--

Period July, 1943

Participants Acree, Smith, Stafford, Beeson, Rawlings, Nichols, Kbeinkopf.

Summary The relationship between Acree and Smith had never ~~been~~ caused particular attention until the outbreak of an open conflict toward the latter party of June, a conflict which continued throughout July. There were a series of incidents in labor camps surrounding Hunt between evacuees and Caucasians. Acree and Smith both wrote reports on this matter and disagreed on some of the details. Smith wrote the version that he had heard from evacuees, and Acree kept to the Caucasian version. In one of his reports Smith made some reference to the Reports Officer, which angered Acree when he saw it. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ A memo was written to Washington stating that Smith did not represent the administration fully in a particular report. This was signed by Stafford, Acree, Nichols, Beeson, Rawlings, and Kbeinkopf. The conflict was dissolved when Acree resigned and left the project.

Significance This conflict serves to bring out the petty conflict that often takes place among the appointed personnel. It should be noted that in this case, as in many others, the object of the conflict ^{involves} ~~is~~ the evacuee--especially sympathy or lack of sympathy for the evacuee point of view.

Material Scanty. Get copies of reports concerned.

ds
Block 12 Organization

Period December, 1943--1944

Participants Block Manager, Block Commissioner, Block Council, Boilermen and Janitors, Chief Cook, Head Waitress, Messhall workers, Co-op Delegates, Block Residents.

Significance Block 12 was early known as a troublesome and uncooperative block. Factionalism, conflicts, uncooperativeness were common, and unified action under a ~~respected~~ leader was rare. During 1944 there was a gradual change in the leadership within the block, and the popularity of the block commissioner rose as the popularity of the block manager declined. A similar change occurred in the messhall and also the co-op delegates. During the year the more moderate and less troublesome element gained leadership and achieved a block unity greater than which existed in the past. Since the Council operated through the block commissioner, its power and prestige to a great extent depended on the influence of the block commissioner with ⁱⁿ the block. When it is considered that the influence of the block commissioner among block residents has increased only recently, it is understandable why the Council could not be very strong. The history of the Block 12 organization serves to show how the block functioned in conjunction with problems unique to the block and other problems relegated to it by the Community Council.

Summary The block was originally organized under the block manager, generally appointed by the administration. In Block 12 a Nisei was the block manager, but he was later replaced by Sakumoto/ by popular election. Sakumoto was

Block 12-Organization--2

a businessman from Hawaii, and generally held himself aloof from the rest of the block resident. He proved to be selfish, too, and as time passed became rather unpopular. The block also had a block council elected in February for a year's term. Most of the decisions of the block were made by the block manager and the block council. Block meetings were never well attended, and rarely held. Sakumoto also held the position of co-op delegate from the block. He was made the candidate for the Board of Directors, but was never elected. The block delegate to organize self-government was a Fujitomi, who was generally disliked by the people and considered to be a braggart.

When the Community Council was formed in the spring of 1944, Hata, a parolee, was selected as the block commissioner from the block. Hata was a quiet man, who disliked politics, but who considered the welfare of the people before his own personal gain. He had the support of Shibata, a boilerman who was also concerned for the welfare of the block, Sakoda (Nisei), and Hara (Nisei), who were members of the block council and who might be considered "moderates." Sakoda was selected as co-op delegate from the block, and later took charge of the welfare of the young people.

For the first six months the block manager tended to lead block affairs. He was constantly any idea presented by Hata. The block manager, however, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ gradually lost influence in the block, and when block managers were ~~xxxxxxxx~~ terminated, he lost his position in the block council, too. Hata, with help from others, refused to

Block 12 Organization--3

consider Sakumoto for the position of Block Clerk. No one else, however, would take the job, and finally he was forced to accept it himself. This/ served to strengthen his position within the block.

When trouble occurred in the messhall and the chief cook ~~was~~ resigned, Hata supported Nakano, a quiet man, instead of Terada, a potential troublemaker. Nakano was made chief cook, and since then there has been no obvious trouble in the messhall, which was formerly a hotbed of dissent.

When Yamamoto dropped out as co-op delegate because he had served two terms, he was replaced by a quiet man.

After the elimination of the block ~~work~~ manager, Hata proceeded to organize the block by having ~~xxxxxxx~~ barrack representatives selected from each barrack. The meeting with the representatives was to take the place of the more cumbersome block meetings. Thus far, however, only one meeting of this group has been held.

The Fujinkai was organized early and still holds a meeting every month. A young people's club was organized before under Grant Beppu, a Nisei member of the block council, but was dissolved because of ~~the~~ loss of members and leadership. More recently Sakoda has made an effort to organize the young people still in school to provide recreation for themselves.

Block Manager-Block Commissioner Relationship

Period March-April, 1944

Participants Block Managers, Block Commissioners, Council, Washington Office, Administration,

Summary One of the first problems that ^{block commissioners} ~~they~~ brought up after they were elected was the problem of their relationship with the block manager. Although there was only one block manager to every two block, a situation of dual leadership ~~was~~ existed. In some blocks this became a three-cornered struggle with the addition of a separate chairman of the block. Both ~~the~~ the commissioners and the councilmen were inclined to believe that since they were the officially elected representatives of the residents they should be the head of the block.

The matter of clearly defining the relationship between ^{leaders} the two ~~managers~~ of the block might have dragged on for some time if it had not been for the clarification offered by Solon Kimball from Washington. Since he was anxious to see the Council given recognition by the administration and the residents, he persuaded the project director to issue an official statement, drawing a sharp demarcation between the function of a block manger and a block commissioner. According to this announcement, block managers were to be expected to handle matters pertaining to maintenance of equipment in the block. Block commissioners were to be the leaders in the block and to take care of all social and political matters.

In many blocks, however, the struggle between the block manager and the block commissioner continued.

Block Manager-Block Commissioner Relationship--2

Significance In this one episode it is possible to see the decline in one faction and the rise in the other. Also, the fact that the Washington office is sponsoring the rising Council and Block Commissioners is brought out clearly.

Material Official notice, also minutes of joint meeting. Documentation fair.

Freethinkers "Bishop's" Bullsession Crowd An informal pressure group.
Period March, 1944 on.

Participants "Bishop," Oyama, Sakoda, high school student leaders, Chikata, Takeda, the more liberal-minded A.P.'s, some outside visitors, Elmer Smith.

Summary "Bishop" is an Episcopalian minister with a high degree of interest in the welfare of the residents in general and in the political development on the project. Early in 1944 he and Oyama, with whom he had been interned, formed the nucleus of a discussion group of what they termed "Free-thinkers." Since Oyama accepted the job of Executive Secretary of the Community Council, he was a means of directly putting into practice some of the discussions. Added to the nucleus were Sakoda, research worker, and Elmer Smith, Community Analyst. By summer bullsessions were being held regularly by "Bishop," and to them were invited his group of high school students and other young people, a few other evacuee leaders, a few of the more liberal-minded A.P.'s, and occasionally visitors from the outside.

The bullsessions served a number of purposes. First of all, it was a clearinghouse for happenings in the center. Secondly, problems were discussed thoroughly, generally from the standpoint of the welfare of the residents. Occasionally members of the group acted as a pressure group, attempting to influence evacuee leaders and appointed personnel to their way of thinking. ^{was high} The prestige of the group with officials from Washington/ and they were called into these sessions when they visited the project. The group also became a somewhat tightly knit social group, with definite choice

"Bishop's" Bullsession Crowd--2

in membership.

Significance "Bishop's" Bullsession Crowd is an informal group which has taken part in ~~political~~ camp politics from time to time. It has consistently been pro-evacuee in its stands. It has been highly critical of the administration and of Stafford's dictatorial methods. It opposed~~the~~ the old leadership represented by such individuals as S. Hara. It never respected the Council, and opposed~~it~~ it whenever its action was deemed unwise. Fujii and his pro-administration and pro-Stafford stands have always been criticized by the group. Of the appointed personnel, only Elmer Smith has been found to be wholly acceptable to the group.

Material Journal notes on stands taken, problems, discussed, participants.

Canal Fire Incident

Period May 14--19, 1944

Participants Council, residents, boilermen crowd, C.T. Takahashi, Stafford.

Summary Very soon after the settlement of the Warehouse Conflict about 1800 feet of riprap, made of sagebrush, was found damaged ^{by fire} on the Twin Falls-North Side Canal about three miles below the project. The canal company declared that its ditch rider had seen four Japanese set fire to the riprap and disappear into the darkness, and threatened to sue the project for damages unless the damage was repaired immediately. The Project Director appealed to the Community Council for volunteer workers to repair the canal for the following reasons:

1. If government fund were used to repair the damage, he would be placed in an embarrassing position.
2. If government fund were used, he would have to prevent evacuees from approaching more than 30 feet of the canal, since the regulation calls for this. This would mean that residents would be deprived of the privilege of fishing and playing on the banks of the canal.

The Community Council, lead by Fujii and Mihara, responded favorably to Stafford's suggestion on both counts. Three voluntary workers from each block until the work was completed for an estimated week of work was requested of each block. No block refused to cooperate. The work was completed in three days, and the Canal company reported satisfaction with the job done.

The majority of the evacuees continued to believe that

Canal Fire Incident--2

the fire was set by a Caucasian, and not an evacuee. The more vocal element among the residents criticized the Council for accepting the task of repairing the canal when it was not known that evacuees were responsible for the damage. Several weeks later an evacuee confessed to Fujii, Chairman of the Community Council, that he had purposely burned the riprap to facilitate fishing. The matter was hushed up, and many residents continued to believe that evacuees were not to blame for the damage.

Significance Coming immediately after the Warehouse Conflict, in which Stafford collaborated with the Council/ to eliminate ~~the~~ Miller and his group, this incident shows the good relationship between the Council and Stafford. It should be noted, however, that this act of friendship caused criticism against the Council among the more vocal group among the residents. It should be noted that the volunteer work for the cemetery created no such criticism against the Council.

Material Fair. ~~See~~ Joint meeting minutes, reaction in one block, reaction of volunteer workers.

Note Although the call was for volunteer workers, arrangements were made whereby those reporting for the canal repair work were paid through their regular job.

DeYoung, Community Analyst

Period May, 1943-February, 1944

Participants DeYoung, his staff, Stafford, Administration, residents.

Summary and Significance The Community Analysis Section was set up in each project to furnish the Washington office with objective information of happenings on the projects. (No information available on Washington policy.) The analyst, however, had the problem of being caught between the thinking and interpretation of events of the residents on the one hand and of the administration on the other. DeYoung, on many occasions sided with the administration point of view. He did this on the boilermen issue and the Nisei draft issue. While being criticized occasionally by some A.P.'s as a "rumor-monger," DeYoung was reputed to ~~have~~ be on a "personal" relationship with Stafford. In his reports deYoung tended to protect Stafford, as he did when reporting the reason for the failure of the charter for self-government to be accepted by the residents. DeYoung himself declared that he desired and was never highly critical of the administration, to avoid trouble on the project. His reports on the attitude of the residents were superficial, often to the degree of not being too useful. He did not win the personal confidence of many evacuees, as did his successor, Elmer Smith.

DeYoung undoubtedly helped perpetuate the legend that the administration at Minidoka was "benevolent" as well as dictatorial. Through his reports it is not possible to predict the explosion that occurred at the time of the boilermen issue and the conflicts that occurred thereafter.

Material Skimpy. Also scattered.

Smith, Community Analyst

Period April--December, 1944

Participants Smith, his staff, Stafford, Administration, Residents, Bullsession Crowd.

Summary and Significance From the moment that he arrived on the project, Smith was welcomed by evacuees who already knew of him as a person who would aid them. He was immediately welcomed into the Bullsession Crowd. He did not disappoint the evacuees either, for in his reports he consistently criticized the Administration and presented the evacuee point of view. He made intimate contacts with evacuees, and was able to explain their thinking much better than deYoung had ever been able to do. On the other hand, however, he had difficulty getting along with the A.P.'s, except for a small group of the so-called "liberal" elements within the Administration.

Smith was a serious obstacle to the Administration on many occasions. This was true in the ~~matters of the~~ Administration's struggle with the Community Council, which was being protected by men like Kimball in the Washington office, since Smith criticized the Administration on many of these occasions.

Material Written from memory. His reports should bring out the stand that he took on various occasions.

Connor Newspaper Expose

Period July--August, 1944

Participants Connor, Stafford, Folsom, Davidson, Light, "Liberal" group, Community Council, C.T. Takahashi.

Summary In May, 1943 (?) the ratings of a number of appointed personnel was lowered, and a wave of dissatisfaction swept through this particular group of A.P.'s. Among those whose rating was greatly lowered was Connor, Superintendent of Motor Transport and Maintenance, who was also placed on "acting" status. He decided to resign from his position, but at the same time contemplated giving evidence against Stafford and Folsom, ^{to the press.} Matters were brought to a head suddenly when his resignation on August 1 was countered on the following day by an order of dismissal, charging unsatisfactory service. On August 3 Connor's charges against Stafford and Folsom appeared in the Twin Falls Times. The charges included:

1. Violation of WRA regulations
2. Mistreatment of evacuees
3. Unfair treatment of "uncooperative" personnel
4. General incompetence

There was a flurry of excitement among the A.P.'s who were sympathetic to Connor's predicament, since some of them were also treated in a similar manner. The Council was approached by Connor for support in denouncing Stafford and Folsom, but it decided to remain neutral in the matter. Evacuees who heard about this incident rejoiced to see the Administration criticized. The flareup of excitement, however, soon died down. Connor left the project, and nothing was

Connor Newspaper Expose--2

done to Stafford and Folsom.

Significance What the boilermen conflict was to the residents the revolt among the more liberal element within the A.P.'s was to the ~~re~~ administration. The revolt against the ruling clique within the administration by Davidson, Light, and Connor and others indicated that an injustice exercised by the ruling clique was resented by the latter. Up until these open revolts occurred, the administration maintained a semblance of unity, at least on the surface. After the revolt the administration was not the same as before. This change was aided~~by~~ by the high rate of turnover among the appointed personnel. There was a complete turnover, for instance, in all of the assistant project directors. Thereafter the liberal clique was strengthened by persons hired in Washington, and Stafford never regained full control over his staff. (Check)

It is interesting to note the lack of cooperation between the Council and the liberal elements in the administration, who were inclined to be pro-evacuee. Up until this time Stafford had insisted upon limiting the association between appointed personnel and evacuees to "institutional behavior." Also, he insisted that all matters pertaining to Council-Administration coordination pass ~~through~~ over his desk. In this way he kept the "colusion" between A.P.'s ~~and~~ evacuees to a minimum.

Material Only fair. Ratings of various individuals are not available.

Community Council Charter Passed

Period July, 1943-December 28, 1943

Participants New block delegates, residents, Administration, block managers.

Summary When the Community Council Charter was defeated, the block delegates disbanded, and the Organization Commission tendered its resignation. Stafford, however, asked the Organization Commission to continue with its effort to institute a representative body of evacuees, and at the same time made arrangements for the reelection of block delegates-- this time one from each block instead of two. The result ^{was} ~~of~~ the election of 31 Isseis and 3 Niseis. (First group of block delegates consisted of 42 Isseis, 23 Niseis, 4 Kibeis, 1 Sansei.) Out of 35 blocks only ten blocks reelected an old block delegate, and two other blocks replaced their own block delegates with former block delegates from some other block. Out of a total of 70 former block delegates, only 12 were reelected. This seems to indicate clear/^{resident} dissatisfaction with the block delegates as a whole. The Nisei element, especially, was replaced by the reelection, ^{were} as ~~xxx~~ the more obvious pro-administration individuals. The individuals who were reelected and elected for the first time ~~xxxxx~~ tended to be persons who were likely to agree with the majority of the Isseis in their thinking. These delegates were called upon to form a Segregation Information Committee, meet with ~~the~~ Myer, and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to play the leading role in meeting with the Spanish Consul.

During September, October, and November the block delegates and the Organization Commission revised the proposed charter.

Community Council Charter Passed--2

October

Some additions and corrections made in ~~November~~ were deleted by Stafford as out of place (Why? check). On November 2, however, when the final revision was made, the following changes were incorporated in the new charter:

1. The title "Community Advisory Council" was changed to "Community Council." (Check to see if Stafford went on record favoring a purely advisory body.)
2. The Judicial Commission which was rejected by Stafford (?) was reinstated.
3. The following sentence was added: "No person may hold an elective or appointive office who has not obtained leave clearance." (Why this was inserted should be investigated. Was it aimed at the parolee or any particular group?)

Late in ~~November~~ November the charter was approved by the Washington office without any further alterations. Plans were ~~made to~~ laid carefully to carry out the referendum so that misunderstanding would be avoided. The voting was carried out under the direction of the block delegates. While there was a general lack of interest in the referendum/ on the part of the ~~xxxxxx~~ residents, there were no wholesale opposition to it. On December 28, 1943 the charter was ratified by a vote of 2657 to 686. Only in one block the charter was rejected.

Significance The passing of the charter was a sharp contrast to the defeat of a similar charter six months previously. It is possible that the lack of ~~xxxxxxx~~ opposition from the block managers was primarily responsible for the passing of the charter. However, the large

Community Council Charter Passed--3

turnover ~~xxxxxx~~ among the block delegates at the time of the reelection leads one to suspect that the unpopularity of the block delegates influenced the defeat of the charter.

Material Sufficient material on attitudes of block delegates and residents is not available to write a detailed account of the passing of the Charter.

Community Council Election I

Period February 7, 1944

Participants Administration, Leaders--block delegates, block managers, would-be leaders, people's choice, parolees, ex-Tuleans,--residents.

Summary The nomination and election of seven councilmen and the election of block commissioners (one from each block) were of some interest to most ^{Issei}/residents, and of more than average interest to the leaders on the project and to the administration. The most disgruntled and anti-administration group (the so-called boilermen crowd) was inclined to believe that the Council was useless because it would become the tool of the administration. The general mass of residents discussed their choice of candidates, men who were inclined to be willing to fight against the administration and who were for the people. Kenji Ito, especially, was hailed as the leader of the people. C. T. Takahashi was also discussed as a man with "guts" to stand up against the administration, but others denounced him as a pro-administration man.

At the nomination meeting 38 candidates were nominated. Most of them were Isseis, married, and with an average age of 44. The older leaders--men like S. Hara, the block managers, and the ~~xxxxxx~~ first set of block delegates--were definitely unpopular at this nomination meeting. 21 of the 38 ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ were block delegates, who dominated the meeting. Three ex-Tuleans and five parolees were included in the nomination, showing their relative popularity. Much to the dismay of the administration, however, 22 of the nominees declined their nomination. Included in this

Community Council Election I--2

group were those on whom the people counted to oppose the administration. It also included ^{quieter} / more experienced leaders who preferred to remain in the background. This tended to leave in the race those who desired leadership positions sufficiently not to decline their nomination, / and who were not necessarily the choice of the mass of people. The impression that many people received was that the first-rate leaders dropped out of the race.

Yoshito Fujii emerged out of the election as the most popular candidate. In both the nomination and the general election he polled the highest number of votes. K. Takeda, ex-Tulean, barely managed to be elected on the second ballot. This is surprising when the Portland group was not able to elect a candidate of its own. ~~xxxx~~ When the Council was inaugurated a ceremony was arranged, but because of poor preparation hardly anyone came to witness it.

Stafford, who was originally wary of ~~xxx~~ allowing self-government, expressed the opinion privately that he would keep the Council under his control. At the inauguration service he gave a speech in which he forewarned the Council of the necessity of dealing with the "rigorous war time economy with its attendant hysteria out side the compound and diffident attitude feeding upon a persecution complex inside the compound" and the "increased pressure for economy of operation." Stafford was angered to hear that so many of the candidates declined their nomination, and warned some of them of behind-the-scene activity.

Community Council Election I--3

Significance By the time the election of councilmen and block commissioners occurred, the older leaders were fairly well discredited. The launching of a new set of leaders, however, were met with serious setbacks. In the first place, those who could have retained the respect and the trust of the residents declined their nomination, leaving largely second rate persons to take up the burden of facing the administration. The Council, however, was starting out with a clean slate. Yoshito Fujii, for instance, received the highest number of votes at both the nomination and the general election. His later reputation as an inu can be attributed to his behavior while in office. The prospect of the Council was made difficult from the very beginning by Stafford's attitude that the Council should be responsible for desirable reforms within the project.

Material Analysis of Community Council Election. Journal material. Fair.

Council Leaders

Period April-August, 1944

Participants C. T. Takahashi, Fujii, Mihara, Ogawa, Takeda.

Summary A number of individuals have declared~~xxx~~ that the leadership material in the Council is not high. The charge is also made that the Council is not functioning as it should. C.T. Takahashi is not a councilman, but as Stafford's personal aide has worked closely with the Council on some occasions. He has been criticized as being Stafford's stooge. Fujii, the chairman of the Council, has been criticized by those who is close enough to him to know how he behaves for seeing Stafford alone and trying to protect him. He has been called a "middle of the roader." Mihara has been criticized by Takeda, who believes that Mihara does not act in the best interest of the residents, although he does a lot of talking. Ogawa was disgusted with the way in which Fujii behaved, and declared that he wanted to get out of the Council. Takeda said the same thing, declaring that it was a waste of time to try to do anything.

Significance A set of criticism of the old Minidoka leadership is available, and this set on the first Community Council members serves as a good contrast. One fact that is brought out is that the Council is a divided one--or perhaps a balanced one. The tendency is for the pro-evacuee element to want to leave for fear of becoming identified with the pro-administration element.

Material Journal account. Fair.

Consumer's Cooperative

Period 1943, 1944

Participants Protest leaders.

Summary and Significance The co-op by and large is an autonomous organization on the project, and affects the political situation on the project hardly at all. It has very little contacts with the administration and with the residents directly. The latter takes little interest in the co-op, and are generally satisfied to receive the customary 10 per cent dividend.

One interesting phenomenon is that protest leaders who do not care to work with Caucasians or with the Council find an outlet in the work of the co-op. The three top-notch leaders in the Co-op--Hatate, Urakawa, and Takeda--are men of this type. It is not strange that the Co-op was very cool toward the domestic service issue, and did not do anything to encourage the members to vote for the idea.

Material Scant.

Davidson Case

Period May-July, 1944

Participants Davidson, Miller, Stafford, Church people, residents.

Summary Soon after the warehouse conflict Davidson's rating was given the rating of "Fair," and plans were made to transfer him to another center. The charges against him were of insubordination and of lax administration. He was (some believe) charged with an unfair distribution of passenger cars, of promising the evacuees a swimming pool without consulting the project director, of writing a memo in favor of Light, of being too friendly to evacuees. Some of the church people in the project wrote a petition in favor of Davidson and sent it to Washington, and a reply came back saying that Myer himself would look into the matter personally. The residents, too, circulated a petition to have Davidson retained, but it is not known what became of it. Davidson was transferred in spite of protest, and when he was in Washington complained to the authorities there of his predicament. It is not known what became of him.

Significance Davidson's case is a good example of the conflict taking place within the administration in the summer of 1944. It brings out some of the charges used to eliminate an appointed personnel who is not considered desirable. The charge of lax administration in the center is not very serious because most of the regulations of the WRA are usually not applied strictly. In a Civil Service setup evidently the charge of insubordination can be very serious. This means that the Project Director is able to eliminate

Davidson Case--2

those A.P.'s who does not keep in line with his policies.

At the time when the project director was preaching increasing economy and adherence to regulations and upholding "institutional behavior," Davidson's friendly and lax attitude toward evacuees was undoubtedly a thorn in Stafford's side. This situation makes it difficult for an appointed personnel to be friendly to an evacuee and a hazard to speak up for their interest against the ruling clique in the administration.

Material Only secondhand information available.

Nisei Draft

Period January 21, - March, 1944

Participants Washington Office, Army, Administration, Leaders, Residents, Parents, Sons.

Summary With the announcement of the reinstitution of Selective Service for Nisei, the feeling of indignation and fear swept through the center, and reached its height about the first part of February. By about the middle of the month the intensity of the emotions expressed subsided somewhat. But the reactions set in motion continued to develop nonetheless. This period was characterized by a great deal of dilemma, indecision, and conflict. It was a period in which individuals were groping for a solution to an unpleasant problem. Expressions of willingness or even resignation were in the minority, and only increased toward the end. Many people, especially the Isseis, hoped for a protest movement, and petitions were circulated expressing dissatisfaction with the unequal treatment Nisei were receiving. The support for the petition for Issei women was overwhelming; the Nisei failed to give support to their petition. Within the family, Issei pressed their sons to protest against the draft, but such advice tended to be ineffective. Within the project, leaders ignored the pressure from residents to organize a meeting to discuss the draft and to formulate a petition. Small groups of Nisei declared their intention of contesting the righteousness of the draft by not reporting for their physical, but when the first groups reported for their examination only two failed to take it. The resistance movement had failed. As a reaction to the draft situation a number

Nisei Draft--2

of Nisei took out expatriation papers.

As Nisei reported for their physical when their turn came around, the Issei-Nisei conflict dissolved of its own accord. There was nothing that Isseis could do but accept the inevitable. At the same time a large number of boys left for nearby farms and applied for deferment as agricultural workers. The parents no longer discouraged this step and many of them encouraged it. Only a few now hesitated in deciding what they should do under the circumstances, but some Isseis continued to urge Nisei to protest against the draft. As if they had been under pressure not to speak, the more loyal ones began to express their sentiments.

On March 18, the second group of 224 boys were given their physical examination in the project hospital, and not one failed to appear. The feeling of resignation prevailed. Toward the end of March, nine Nisei from Hunt were inducted, but this caused very little excitement. By the first of April discussion of the draft was reduced to individual cases by close friends and relatives. This concern over draft status continued to be a major issue with those directly involved, but no longer presented a community problem.

Significance The draft issue was of major concern to the residents, and their clamor for a protest movement could have placed the administration and the leaders in an embarrassing position. However, the block manager leadership had become discredited to a point of being useless to the administration in controlling the residents on a matter of this intensity, and the new leadership centering around the newly formed Community Council had yet to be established.

Nisei Draft--3

In other words, the issue came up at a time when the project did not have a set of leaders to rely upon. On the part of the residents, therefore, the protest was organized largely on a block basis, and inter-block organization was not achieved. The administration merely took negative steps, and warned certain leaders not to organize a resistance and was prepared to deal strictly with any draft evaders. For the new leaders it was fortunate that this issue was largely over before ^{they} ~~it~~ ~~they~~ began their work.

The reaction at the time of the draft issue offers a sharp contrast to the results of the registration issue of 1943.

Material Good material on reaction of residents. Hardly any on individual leaders and the administration.

Boilermen Walkout

Period January 4-10, 1944

Participants Boilermen and Janitors, Green, Davidson, Stafford, Residents, Central Service Rowdies, Block Delegates, Block managers, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~, ex-Tuleans, Washington Office.

Summary On July 15, 1943 the janitorial staff within the block was cut down from 11 to 4. With the approach of cold weather Green, Superintendent of Construction and Maintenance, issued a sharp order to boilermen to start the six stoves in the latrines and the laundry room and for the janitor to keep them going. This demand was ignored by the workers. Before this issue was settled an order was issued for a 24-hour service by the four maintenance workers to keep all stoves and the boiler going. Representatives of the workers gathered together and asked for two additional workers per block. Green, on December 28, issued an ultimatum, asking for the names of the maintenance workers who cared to work under the new conditions. At ~~an~~ meeting of janitorial workers, only 3 janitress showed willingness to work under the 24-hour schedule.

Representatives of the community went to the administration to avert stoppage of hot water on January 1, since the maintenance workers had declared their intention not to continue work under the 24 hour schedule. Since Stafford was out of the Project, they met with Davidson. Arrangements were made for boilers to be kept going until January 4, when a meeting would be held. At the meeting on January 4 Davidson insisted that because of budget limitation no

Boilermen Walkout-2

increase in maintenance worker was possible. The majority of the workers, swayed by the dominant reaction to defy the administration, thereupon refused to return to work.

Thereafter for a full week the boilerroom in each block was locked up, and the residents were inconvenienced by a lack of hot water. The majority of the residents were behind the boilermen in their protest against the administration, and expressed resentment against the administration. Some of the Central Service workers went on a sympathy strike, and also went around putting out fires in stoves in the hope of settling the issue in favor of the residents. Women stormed the Ad Building to clamor for hot water.

In the meantime the administration called in the block managers to find a solution to the problem. They suggested ~~that the boilermen be requested to return to work on the old schedule~~ The administration suggestion to recruit new workers was considered out of the question by the block managers. The administration approved of the compromise whereby the workers would go back to work on the old schedule, but the block managers did not feel that they cared to take this suggestion back to the workers. The block managers then met with the block delegates, who insisted upon negotiating for an increase of workers rather than accepting a compromise. A Mediation Committee of block delegates only was selected to proceed with the negotiation, and the block managers dropped out of the picture. The Mediation Committee met with Stafford, who had returned to the project. The request for one extra worker per block

Boilermen Walkout--3

was submitted to Washington, and the reply was that no increase was considered necessary. Water shortage developed in one part of the project, and residents began to complain against the unnecessary suffering they had to undergo. The administration was still willing to have the boilermen go back to work on the old schedule, and the Mediation Committee proposed this as their solution to the deadlock. The maintenance workers accepted this proposal on the condition that they were not expected to tend the stoves, and went back to work. The matter of tending the stoves was left to the block residents to iron out for themselves, and the ~~block delegates~~ Mediation Committee disbanded. Ex-Tuleans criticized Minidokans for having handled the issue so poorly, and charged the boilermen with selfishness since they returned ~~xxx~~ to their job without having won some concession for the block residents, which desired to have someone to tend the stoves. Soon after Green was relieved of his duties.

Significance The Boilermen Walkout was Minidoka's first large explosion. In intensity it did not compare at all with the Poston and Manzanar Incidents and the Registration Crisis in Tule Lake, but for Minidoka it was a conflict of major proportion. The resentment against the administration which had been accumulated over a period of time found its first outlet in this explosion. The particular tension which set off the explosion was built up by the highhanded method employed by Green. Attempt to employ the block managers to patch up the situation met with resentment from the maintenance workers and the block delegates. In attempting to

Boilermen Walkout--4

settle the issue, the block delegates ~~disseminated~~ arrived at the same solution suggested by the block managers. Even though the Mediation Committee did not settle the problem of tending the stoves, they were not overly criticized for the solution.

The shift in leadership from the block managers to the block delegates is indicative that the leadership of the block managers was not considered satisfactory.

Material Good on reaction of residents. Poor on reaction of ~~ad~~ the administration.

Family Problems

Period All periods

Participants Family members, block residents

Summary and Significance Family problems such as marriage is constantly discussed within the block, but they seem to have little effect on the political happenings in the center. Family pressure, of course, is brought to bear on leaders, especially to warn him to be careful of his reputation or to withdraw from political activity on the project.

In the discussion of the segregation, draft, relocation problems the interaction of family members can be brought out to some extent.

Material Scant

Farm

Period 1944

Participants Farm Section, S. Hara, Kamaya, Council,
Steward Section, Stafford.

Summary Stafford was formerly an AAA employee, and took more than average interest in the farm. When the Council was first formed, one of the first things that he did was to take the councilmen to inspect the farm. For 1944 in spite of the reduction in the number of workers, the number of acres planted was greatly increased. Although interest in the farm on the part of residents was low, consistent effort was made to keep the farm program in the eyes of the public through the Irrigator.

The Farm Section often had clashes with the Steward Section, which declared that the farm program interfered with proper feeding of the residents since its crop was often poor, was not evenly distributed, ~~and~~ and was not ~~distributed~~ delivered as scheduled. The ambitious farm program affected the quality of the food eaten by evacuees adversely. Some time during the summer a method of having a committee pass on the quality and price of the farm produce was adopted.

The Farm Section was the stronghold of the "old" Minidoka leadership with S. Hara the office manager and Kamaya the farm supervisor. In the discussion of the manpower problem certain members of the Council collided with those upholding the farm on the ground that the farm was really not an essential part of project operations. Nothing came of this conflict since it was learned late in the year that there would be no farm program in Minidoka.

Farm--2

Significance The clash between the Steward Section and the Council with Stafford and the Farm Section was never very serious, but it illustrates the sort of conflicts that occur on the project. On the one hand, there is a strong consideration of one point only--the welfare of the residents. On the other hand, interest in a farm program for outside publicity, for the purpose of showing a good record, results in a desire for a large crop sold at a profit to the Steward Section.

Material Scant

Food Problems

Period Spring-Summer, 1944

Participants, Takeda, Mihara, Council, Spanish Consul.

Summary When Tuleans arrived in Minidoka, they found that the quality of the food was not too bad. One story that they were told, however, was about salted Columbian smelts, which was bought by the carload lot, which ~~were~~ ^{had} been served week after week. When Myer visited the center, a strong protest was registered about the quality of the food served, especially the fish.

When the Council was organized in February, K. Takeda, the organizer of the mess slow-up strike in Tule Lake, was made chairman of the Food Committee. In this capacity he was more active than any of the other chairmen, with the possible exception of the Welfare Committee. Through the work of this committee the food on the project was noticeably improved.

In his attempt to improve the food situation, Takeda clashed with Mihara, ration clerk in the Mess ~~Management~~ Operations Section. Mihara was a former Nihonjinkai official in Seattle, boasted loudly of all he was doing for the Japanese, whereas he was doing very little. When Takeda asked how milk and sugar were being distributed, Mihara refused to give him this information. Thereafter Takeda complained that Mihara was not the sort of person who should be on the Council.

Because of the improvement of the food, when the Spanish Consul visited the center in the middle of the year, no complaint was registered against the quality of the food.

Food Problems--2 (Takeda-Mihara Conflict)

Significance The gradual decline in the prestige of the Council among the residents is due, among other factors, to the sort of individuals on the Council. If the majority of the council members thought and acted as Takeda did, the reputation of the Council could have been maintained at a much higher plane than it was. The general charges against the Council/ could be directed toward individuals like Mihara. He expressed a pro-evacuee and even a pro-Japan sentiment in front of evacuees, but actually he did little for them. When he went before Caucasians, he was totally unable to speak against them. Many people thought that he was only interested in hanging on to his position in the Council because it gave him prestige.

Material Fair. Scattered throughout minutes of the Council meeting. Occasional journal item.

J 9/2/44 Saturday

1. Irrigator Cross Reference

"Block Manager System Abolished"

I. 9/2/44 p 1

Council "Block Commissioners, Councilmen Ready to Study New Problems"

List of newly elected Council and commissioners.

I. 9/2/44 p 1

Labor "Labor Shortage Hits Camp; 400 Positions Left Open"

I. 9/2/44 p 1

Administration "Nine Members Added to Ad Staff"

I. 9/2/44 p 2

J 9/¹⁶~~2~~/44

10. Irrigator Cross Reference

Anniversary Edition

Stafford "Stafford Sends Message On Second Anniversary"

Reviews the problems of the administration.

I. 9/16/44 p 1

Canada "Canadian Evacuees in Six Camps"

I. 9/16/44 p 1

Draft "Reviewing the Army Program"

I. 9/16/44 p 1

Internal Security "Minidoka Proves Peaceful for I. S."

I. 9/16/44 p 4

~~Draft~~ Volunteer "A Volunteer's Opinion"

I. 9/16/44 p 4

C. A. "C. A. Offices Hum With Activity"

A review of C. A. activities.

I. 9/16/44 p 5

Project Farm

A review

I. 9/16/44 p 1 Part II

Community Government: A Review

I. 9/16/.44 p 2 Part II.

Churches A Review

I. 9/16/44 Part II p 3

Education A Review

I. 9/16/44 Part II p 5

Relocation Office A Review

I. 9/16/44 Part II p 6

J 9/16/44 #10-2

Irrigator Anniversary Edition Cross Reference

Engineering Unit A Review

I. 9/16/44 Part II p 6

Huberman and Nichols Backgrounds

I. 9/16/44 Part II p 6

Co-op A Review

I. 9/16/44 Part II p 7

Ordnance Depot "Army Ordnance Depot To Recruit Workers Here"

I. 9/16/44 Part III p 1

Memorial Service "Memorial Services Held"

I. 9/16/44 Part III p 1

Draft "Six Men Convicted At Bhise Trial"

I. 9/16/44 Part III p 1

Hospital A Review

m I. 9/16/44 Part III p 4

Minidoka Calendar of Events

I. 9/16/44 Part III p 2-3

Legal Aid A Review

I. 9/16.44 Part III p 4

Post Office A Review

I. 9/16/44 Part III p 4

J 9/23/44 #5

5. Irrigator Cross Reference

Gym "Build That Gym Week Proclaimed"

I. 9/23/44 p 1

Ordinance Depot "Public Meetings on Army Dept Jobs to be
Held All Next Week"

I. 9/23/44 p 1

Return "First Nisei Girl Returns to Enroll At Pasadena JC"

I. 9/23/44 p 1

J 9/30/44 #4

4. Irrigator Cross Reference

Council "Public Meets to Be Held"

I. 9/30/44 p 1

Spanish Consul "State Dept. Answers Sp. Consulate"

I. 9/30/44 p 1

~~XXXXX~~

Hospital Koenkai "Secretary Added to Koen-kai"

I. 9/30/44 p 1

Labor "Manpower Commission Formed to Study Acute Labor Shortage"

I. 9/30/44 p 1

Labor "Two Graphs Show Cause of Project Labor Problem"

I 9/30/44 p 1

Ad "Beeson Leaves WRA for New Post in Boise"

I. 9/30/44 p 1

Block Clerks "Responsibilities, Duties of Block Clerks Released"

I. 9/30/44 p 1

Labor "On Labor Shortage" An Editorial

I. 9/30/44 p 1

J 10/7/44 #4

4. Irrigator Cross "eference

Draft "Judge Clark Issues Varied Sentences"

I. 10.7/44 p 1

Labor "Hospital Now Has 43½ Nurses' Aides"

I. 10/7/44 p 1

Ordinance Depot "15 Families Sign Up for Sioux Dept."

I. 10/7/44 p 1

Block Ckerks "Blk. Clerks Picked: Replace Managers"

I. 10/7/44 p 1

Ad "Two Resign from Appointed Staff"

I. 10/7/44 p 3

J 10/¹⁴/44 Saturday

1. Irrigator Cross Reference

Closing "Project Directors Confer in Denver to Discuss Problems" No center to be closed

I. 10/14/44 p 1

Acree "Former Reports Officer Passes"

I. 10/14/44 p 1

J 10/21/44 Saturday

1. Irrigator Cross Reference

C. A. "Community Activities Suspended October 31"

I. 10/21/44 p 1

Gym "Finish of Gym Requires Six Months Work"

I. 10/21/44 p 1

Ordinance "29 Sign up for Sioux Ordnance Depot Work"

I. 10/21/44 p 1

Graham "Graham Named Reports Officer"

I. 10/21/44 p 1

J 10/28/44 #4

4. Irrigator Cross Reference

Gym "Deadline for Gym Work Set for December 30"

I. 10/28/44 p 1

"Citizen Denationalization Clarified by Attorney Biddle"

I. 10/28/44 p 1

Relocation "Trial Leave Rule Revised"

I. 10/28/44 p 1

Council "Responsibilities of Residents, Ad Stated by Director"

I. 10/28/44 p 1

Ordinance "41 Families Sign Up for Ordinance Work at Sydney"

I. 10/28/44 p 1

Ad "Personnel Adds Two Members"

J 11/4/44 #5

5. Irrigator Cross Reference

C. A. "Plans for Recreational Activities Being Studied"

I. 11/4/44 p 1

Gym "20 Workers on Gym Recruited "

I. 11/4/44 p 1

Ordinance "2 Families Leave for Sioux Ord."

I. 11/4/44 p 1

Council "Legal Committee Organized to Aid Com. Council"

I. 11/4/44 p 1

C. A. "C.A. Suspension Clarified by Project Director"

I. 11/4/44 p 1

Draft "Number called and volunteering since 1/20/44"

I. 11/4/44 p 1

J 11/11/44 #4

4. Irrigator Cross Reference

Gym "Work on Gym Halted Thurs."

I. 11/11/44 p 1

Draft "5 Killed, 15 Wounded in Southern France Action"

I. 11/11/44 p 1

Co-op "Fish Market At Station 2 Closed"

I. 11/11/44 p 4

Domestic Service "Members Oppose Co-op Handling Domestic Service"

I. 11/11/44 p 4

J 11/18/44 #6

6. Irrigator Cross Reference

"Manpower Commission Passes 4-Point Measure"

I. 11/18/44 p 1

Draft "Those Who Fell In Line of Duty"

I. 11/18/44 p 1

J 11/25/44 #10

10. Irrigator Cross Reference

Casualty "Former Beaverton Athlete Killed in Action;
Nine Wounded in France"

I. 11/25/44 p 1

Relocation "Relocateses Resettle In 47 States"

I. 11/25/44 p 1

Gym "New Employment Procedure For Evacuees Put Into Effect"

I. 11/25/44 p 1

C.A. "Memo Clarifies C.A. Terminations" I. 11/25/44 p 1

Co-op "Congress of Delegates Holds Election Nov. 14"

I. 11/25/44 p 1

Graham "From Kansas"

A picture of two cadet nurses.

I. 11/25/44 p 1

J 12/2/44 #2

2. Irrigator Cross Reference

Return "President Favors Release of Evacuees From Centers"

I. 12/2/44 p 1

Return "Restrictions Against Mass Coast Return Still in Force"

I. 12/2/44 p 1

C.A. "Johnston Arrives to Take C.A. Supervisor Job"

I. 12/2/44 p 1

Connor Expose "Stafford, Folsom Cleared by WRA"

I. 12/2/44 p 1

J 12/9/44 #6

6. Irrigator Cross "eference

Gym "Dillon Myer Sends Reply on Gym Setup"

I. 12/9/44 p 1

J 12/16/44 #2

2. Irrigator Cross Reference

Gym "Gym Workers May Get Other Jobs"

I. 12/16/44 p 1

Return "Nakano Family Returns to Port Townsend"

I. 12/16/44 p 1

J 12/23/44 #14

14. Irrigator Cross Reference

Stafford "Project Director Extends Greetings"

I. 12/13/44 p 1

Council "Council Extends Seasonal Greetings"

I. 12/13/44 p 1

Return "Myer Chrifies Policy for Residents on Stop Order"

I. 12/13/44 p 1

Return "Miscellaneous Information on West Coast Return
Given"

I. 12/13/44 p 1

J 12/30/44 #7

7. Irrigator Cross Reference

Gym "3rd Memorial Services Honor 10 War Dead"

I. 12/30/44 p 1

Return "9 Families Apply for Return to West Coast"

I. 12/30/44 p 1

Fujii "Fujii Expresses Hope for Fair Attitude on Return"

I. 12/30/44 p 1

School "High School Core System Clarified"

I. 12/30/44 p 1

Smith v.s. Graham "Pipedreaming...One of the nicest fellows
on the project is Elmer Smith."

I. 12/30/44 p 1

J 1/6/45 #9

9. Irrigator Cross-Reference

Closing "Solon Kimball Studies Center Situation Here"

I. 1/6/45 p 1

Closing "Evacuee Resegregation Process Being Planned"

I. 1/6/45 p 1

Return "Ore. Licenses Available for Business"

I. 1/6/45 p 1

Return "Short Terms Issued Only in Emergency"

I. 1/6/45 p 1

Return "Prior Approval Needed for Assistance Grants"

I. 1/6/45 p 1

Relocation "28 Families Leave for Sioux Depot"

Closing "Visitors Must Notify Relocation Office Before Visit"

I. 1/6/45 p 1

Return "M. Nakano Writes of Port Townsend Welcome to Family"

I. 1/6/45 p 1

20
J 1/22/45 #5

5. Irrigator Cross Reference

Return "Friends Committee Promotes Newberg, Ore. for Re-
locatees"

I. 1/20/45 p 1

Contrabands "Contrabands Returned to Japanese"

I. 1/20/45 p 1

Council "Nominating Convention for Community Council Tuesday"

I. 1/20/45 p 1

Gym "Board Permission Needed for Using Gymnasium"

I. 1/20/45 p 1

Return "Friends Committee will Assist Evacuee Return"

I. 1/20/45 p 1

Closing "Rep. Dworshak Introduces Bill on Center Closure"

I. 1/20/45 p 1

J 1/27/45 #4

4. Irrigator Cross Reference

Return "Gov. Wallgren Opposes Coast Return"

I. 1/27/45 p 1

Return "FSA Loans Available to Eligible Evacuees--WRA"

I. 1/27/45 p1

Closing "Request Center be Made Branch Of Prisoner Camp"

I. 1/27/45 p 1

Return "Murakami Family Returns to Coast"

I. 1/27/45 p 1

Council "Candidates Named at Convention"

I. 1/27/45 p 1

Return "Dynamite Placed Under Evacuee Home in Calif."

I. 1/27/45 p 1

Return "Trio Leaving for Active Duty Beaten at Caldwell"

I. 1/27/45 p 1

Return "3 Japanese Shot in Nevada Cafe; Gunman Captured"

I. 1/27/45 p 1

All-Center Conference "Hunt Requests All-Center Confab be
Held at Later Date."

I. 1/27/45 p 1

Abolishing Block Managers

Period August-October, 1944

Revitalized Adult Education

Period October, -1944--

ACLU Test Cases

Period September, 1944

Central Service Conflict

Period October-December, 1944

Closing of the Center

December, 1944--

Community Activities Reorganization

Period September-December, 1944

Community Council II

August, -1944-February, 1945

Community Fund

September, 1944

Consolidation of Blocks

Period Sept-December, 1944

Council Public Meetings

Period October, 1944

Domestic Service Issue

Period September, 1944

Fair Employment Practice Board

Period September--November, 1944

Farm Labor Proposal

September, 1944

Gate Clerk Conflict

Period August-September, 1944

Gymnasium ^{Completion} ~~Construction~~ Issue

Period September-December, 1944

Hikida Arrest

November, 1944

Hospital Koenkai Bid for Power

September, 1944

Huberman

Period August--December, 1944

Irrigator-Graham Conflict

Period December, 1944-January, 1945

Jiraux Incident

Period September, 1944

Law and Order

September, 1944

Manpower Shortage Problem

September--December, 1944

Munition Depot Offer

Period September-October, 1944

Private Enterprise

September--December, 1944

Return to the Coast

December, 1944--

Roosevelt's Election

November, 1944

Shiga Case

September, 1944

Spanish Consul Visit

Period August, 1944

Straw-Hauling Incident

Period September, 1944

Students Riding Convoy

September, 1944

Switchboard Operator Conflict

Period September, 1944

Tahara Case

Period September, 1944

Pickling Plant Conflict (Closing)

Period February-March, 1944

Participants Administration, supervisor, workers, Council,
pro-administration and pro-evacuee split.

Summary

Pickling Plant Conflict (Reopening)

Period June-July, 1944

Resettlement

Period 1943-1944

Restricted Seasonal Leave

Period 1944

Student-Teacher Relationship

(See Jiraux Incident, Light Case)

Period 1942-3-4

International Situation

Period 1942-44

Warehouse Conflict

Period April-May, 1944