

Social Disorganization in Tule Lake

"When the transition from one set of habituations to another is sudden and complete, maladjustment is apt to be particularly manifest. . . ."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, one would expect that some maladjustment should occur in a community in which 15,000 people, many of whom had never know each other, are dumped together. And so it is. Were there one word to describe the colony, it would probably be "Chaos." Truly the colony is beridden with conflict, misunderstanding, distrust, and suspicion. It is a rare occasion when one finds any department or group that functions smoothly.

The evacuation and relocation was indeed a crisis, a crisis such as most of the individuals involved had never dreamed would occur. Not only were they suddenly forced to sever all the associations to which they had become accustomed but they were suddenly placed in an environment almost totally different from any that they had experienced before. The former modes of living could not be continued unchanged because of the limitations placed by camp facilities. Former modes of thought were disturbed by the very fact of having to move. In the long months during which the evacuation was pending, many no doubt anticipated some change, but it is doubtful if the majority had pictured the life in camp as it actually turned out to be.

The study of social disorganization<sup>2</sup> in Tule Lake, however, in spite of the abundance of material, is a very difficult task. In the first place, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to isolate the instances of the breakdowns that occurred as a result of the evacuation crisis. Long before the attack on

---

1. R.I. MacIver, "Maladjustments," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. X, p. 61.

2. We shall define the term as the "decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon individual members of the group." W.I. Thomas & F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasants in Europe and America, N.Y., Knopf, 1927, II, p. 1128.



Pearl Harbor, the Japanese communities on the Pacific Coast were bubbling in turmoil. The process of social disorganization began among the Oriental immigrants long before, when the American-born Japanese began to come of age in large numbers.

Thus, the old family system of Japan, setting the group and group values above the desires of the individual, had begun to crumple. The Nisei, acquainted with the more individualistic view of American culture, had revolted against the dictates of their parents. Many Nisei no longer looked upon the norms of his parents' culture as imperative. Many of the rigid folkways of Japan, such as the use of the baishakunin to arrange marriages, were accepted only in form; and the real function of the cultural trait was almost non-existent. The communities lived under two value-systems--the Oriental and the Occidental. Many of the parents mended their ways to cater to the desires of their children; while many of the Nisei bent over backwards to conform as far as possible with the wishes of their parents. The process of social disorganization was well under way when the war began.

Two factors that caused the persistence of certain Japanese cultural traits were Buddhism and the Kibei population. Buddhism, because of the nature of the religion and because virtually all its ministers were trained in Japan, impeded the process of social change. The Kibei also brought back many of the ideals of the East. The former element, however, did not figure strongly in the disorganization in Tule Lake; for since Pearl Harbor, the entire organization has been forced to be conciliatory.<sup>3</sup> The Kibei, however, have become rather important, since they are able to deal both with Issei and Nisei and because the evacuation has given many of them an excellent excuse for the perpetuation of their modes of behavior and thought.<sup>4</sup> The Kibei element has

---

3. Buddhism itself, as an organization, did undergo some maladjustments.

4. It must be remembered that there are all kinds of Kibei; in fact, it would be difficult to define the term. We are referring here to those individuals who are influenced predominantly by Japanese ideals, who speak more Japanese than English, who are extremely pro-Japan.



very definitely retarded the process of change in the communities outside and have increased the influence of the Japanese value system in Tule Lake.

Another complicating factor in the study of social disorganization is the continuation of numerous breakdowns in the camp which began in the outside world. While some of these instances may provide valuable data for the study of social disorganization in general, one could hardly say that they are the direct result of the evacuation crisis.

Our problem thus becomes two-fold: (1) the study of the process of social disorganization that began long before the evacuees entered camp, and (2) the study of the process of disorganization that resulted from the changed environment. Except in a few instances in the treatment of individual disorganization and family disorganization, we shall concern ourselves mainly with the latter problem.

Many significant changes resulted from the evacuation. Individuals were forced into inconveniences in housing and sanitation facilities to which they had never been accustomed; they were limited in their possessions; they were confronted with a new type of control by the Caucasian personnel; they were forced to work for meagre salaries; they were subject to major occupational changes; they were exposed to a new form of self-government. However, it seems that the most significant changes for our purposes are:

- (1) The fact that an evacuee cannot leave the center at will,
- (2) The fact that everyone lives in close quarters and knows everything about his neighbors,
- (3) The fact that many families live in one room, often with in-laws and relatives,
- (4) The fact that subsistence is provided for everyone in the Center, and
- (5) The fact that jobs are available for anyone willing and able to work.

These factors probably had a great deal to do with the existence of difficulties in Tule Lake.

Before we can discuss breakdowns of the "accepted" patterns of behavior



we must determine what the colonists consider "accepted," for what is right and what is wrong depends largely upon the definition of the situation. Here, as one might expect because of the existence of two value systems, we have more than one definition.

Some, especially those who tend to lean heavily toward Japanese views, look upon the relocation center as a concentration camp in which the hated keto (Caucasian) is doing his best to deprive the Japanese of what is rightfully theirs. Others look upon the center as a place for protective custody where the Caucasians are kindly helping the Japanese adjust themselves to their new life for the duration of the war. Many look upon relocation as a "vacation" after which they can return to their "normal" life of the past; others feel that things can never be the same again.

Among the former group, as one might expect, there is a great distrust of the keto. The feeling is that the Caucasians had never given the Japanese an even break, that they had always discriminated against and mistreated the honest, hard-working Japanese, and that the evacuation proves their vicious motives. The keto wanted to deprive the Japanese of everything and therefore shoved them without reason into a camp like this. The government of the United States cannot be trusted; all keto are bad. Anyone who cooperates with white people is an inu (dog). There are fears and suspicions. The fear that the keto might starve the colonists in the winter probably led to the drying of food for winter consumption.<sup>5</sup> The conflict over the coal situation also revealed the distrust of all Caucasians.<sup>6</sup> The fact that the colonists are not paid on time, the fact that supplies are not coming in on schedule, the fact that the Japanese are not given much responsibility in the administration of the center or control over their future are all pointed out as evidence of

---

5. For a more detailed analysis of "Fears in Tule Lake" see the excellent treatment by Frank Miyamoto being distributed by the Documents Division of the War Relocation Authority.

6. Treated in more detail elsewhere in the report.



the belief that the keto are in camp to cheat the Japanese out of everything they deserve.<sup>7</sup> The inefficiency of the W.R.A. personnel unfortunately adds fuel to this fire. Those who have this suspicion generally feel furthermore that the Japanese Army will conquer California within a year or so and they would once more be free.<sup>8</sup>

Some typical expressions of this attitude are as follows:

- (1) "How do we know that we will be fed this winter? They say that they will always give us food, but Mr. S\_\_\_\_\_ says that there is only one day's supply left in the warehouse."
- (2) "The keto always comes with a smile, but what he really thinks is dirty."
- (3) "Any Nisei who licks the tail of the keto is an inu. Most Nisei are inu anyway. That's because they aren't old enough to know better."
- (4) "All keto are like Jews. They take everything you have and leave you to die."

On the other hand, there are many who feel otherwise. There are a large number of evacuees who wish to cooperate with the personnel to make the life in the camp as bearable as possible. Their explanations of the evacuation differ; some feeling that it was because of "military necessity," some blaming "pressure groups," most of them not bothering to think about the matter. At any rate, the feeling is that now that the Japanese are in camp, they might as well get along the best they can and make the most of it. Some typical expressions of this attitude are:

- (1) "This is a hell of a place, but there's no use yelling about it. I want to study and make the most of it. Hell, the government is going to support me and I'm going to take advantage of the whole thing."
- (2) "There's no use crying over spilt milk. We're here and we might as well learn something in classes so we won't go out as dumb as we came in."
- (3) "There's no use yelling around here. You may as well be reasonable and hope for the best. If there's anything that you can do to help out, we do it."

---

7. There is a fundamental contradiction in this attitude. The claim is that the government cannot be trusted and then on the other hand that the government is providing the Japanese with many things but the colony administrators are getting in on the graft and taking it all away from the people and from the government.

8. We must not draw hasty generalizations here. Not all people who distrust the W.R.A. personnel feel this way. Many are pro-America.



These new attitudes have caused many of the rules of behavior to be looked upon differently. For example, the stealing of lumber from the keto is perfectly justified to some. The basic distrust of the administration by the evacuees has led to a number of changed views. Many feel that they should get as much as possible from the W.R.A. regardless of how unreasonable their demands may be. Some go so far as to say that it is perfectly all right to do anything to a keto. Quite often, these new attitudes are combined with the old unchanged attitudes of acquisitiveness and "Yamato damashi" and lead to some very difficult situations. Many of the outspoken of the Japanese have been labelled "agitators".<sup>9</sup>

Thus we can see that the evacuation crisis has presented a new situation, which has been interpreted in more than one way. New attitudes have appeared and these new attitudes have caused the old standards to be viewed in a different manner. Many things which were taboo before are now tolerated or cheered. Under such circumstances, one can justifiably expect some maladjustment.

---

9. It must be pointed out that while the administration looks with disfavor on all "agitators," many of them are hard-working men who sincerely believe that their fellow Japanese are being mistreated and are trying to see that they get as decent a treatment as possible.



### DISORGANIZATION OF THE FAMILY

Long before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the process of family disorganization was well under way among the Japanese on the Pacific Coast. The norms of behavior which dictated the relations between members of the family were no longer considered imperative by everyone concerned. From the time that the Nisei began coming of age in considerable numbers, the old family system of Japan began to break down. In the American environment, the Nisei learned new values and often failed to comprehend the significance of the values under which their parents lived. Economically, the Nisei learned to be more individualistic, and the stress on hedonistic satisfaction in American culture was taken over. Nor were the Nisei alone in this transformation; many of the Issei changed their attitudes, although quite often it was a matter of emulating American ways rather than accepting the new values.

In Japan, during the early part of this century, the family was an end in itself and its honor was zealously guarded, its traditions and ancestors being looked upon with much reverence. The emphasis was placed in the group and its perpetuation and not upon the feelings of the individual members. It was a comprehensive unit, and its nature conditioned all other aspects of social organization.

Within the household, the master's word was law. All property was held collectively; items were conceived of as belonging to the family under the trusteeship of the master. Any breach of rules was considered an offense against the family gods. The individual was no more than the cell in the household.

All marriages were arranged by parents or relatives. Since the perpetuation of the family was the basic aim, the question of marriage could not be entrusted



to the young people themselves. The desires of the individuals could not be allowed to thwart the needs of the household. Marriage was an affair of the family, a pure and simple business arrangement.

By December 7, 1941, many changes had already been made in this system. The Nisei had revolted against autocratic family control. While the remnants of familial sentiments may have remained, the reverence for ancestors was virtually nonexistent. Property was no longer held in common, each individual quite often keeping a share as 'his own' or even starting a separate bank account.

In marriage, individual desires became the foremost consideration. Go-betweens were retained, but they played no real function and were brought in as a matter of formality. Usually, the individuals seek their own mates--sometimes with the aid of their parents--and the individual has the last word as to whether or not he or she wishes to marry. Even if a Nisei should refuse to marry someone that his parents had picked for him, his action would not have caused much disturbance.

As one might imagine, considerable maladjustment did occur. As the evacuees were relocated to Tule Lake, the process of family disorganization had already gone quite far.

We are concerned primarily with the effect of the changed circumstances on the Nisei and the Japanese family. As one might expect, the majority of the families did make a bearable adjustment to the new environment. There were some, however, that failed to make this adjustment. True, many of these individuals were having difficulties on the outside and the changed conditions provided the opportunity for making the breach more complete. We are concerned, then, with the factors that led to (1) the breakdown of the rules that governed the relationship between members of the family in Tule Lake for the first time, and (2) the intensifying of the breakdowns in the rules of behavior that occurred prior to entrance to the center.



"Change of conditions is a factor, but not a cause of social happenings; it ~~is~~ merely furnishes influences which will produce definite effects only when combined with definite preexisting attitudes and is a cause only together with the latter."<sup>1</sup> We must therefore seek new attitudes that have been brought forth by the changed conditions, which combining with the preexisting ones led to the breakdown.

A few cases of adultery were aired rather freely in Tule Lake. Ordinarily in a Japanese community such matters are not talked about in public, but these instances were rather widely known. True, adultery had been going on even in rural Japan where the primary-group controls were rather strong; however, it was never approved in spite of the relatively "low" moral standards among the working classes.<sup>2</sup>

Instances of suspected incest were also aired. Gossip made the rounds very rapidly in the ward where the deed had occurred. Incest, of course, is taboo among the Japanese as well as among virtually all peoples in the world. However, perhaps because the authority of the father is great in Japan, the objection was not as great as it was against other irregularities.

Several cases have gone to the Legal Aid Department asking for a divorce. Reasons and charges were varied. In Japan, the feeling was rather high against divorcees and grass widows; however, it was possible to get divorces if it seemed quite obvious that the couple could not get along. In such an instance, the bride simply left the household or the husband asked her to leave. It was relatively easy to separate in Japan, but there was some sentiment against it.

---

1. W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, New York, Knopf, 1927, vol. II, p. 1134.

2. All documents are omitted. Inasmuch as the files of the Community Welfare Department are very incomplete and inadequate, the scant data taken out had to be supplemented with interviews and examination of other records. At the date of writing, this investigation has just begun and more complete records on individual cases will not be ready for months. Besides being incomplete, there are many inaccurate statements that must be checked.



Among the Japanese on the West Coast, 'Handy-men' were in a sense an institution. They were rather common on small farms where one man would become attached to a family and was almost considered one of the group. The children referred to him as ojisan and treated him like an uncle or grandfather. In Tule Lake, some of the handy-men relationships became disturbed. Sometimes the woman of the family had had relations with the handy-man and trouble arose as a consequence. They were no longer needed and were sometimes treated harshly.

Discord arose in several families because of the fear on the part of the husband of competitors and also because of the distrust of the husband by the wife. Charges and counter-charges were made of infidelity and sometimes even neighbors took part in the quarrels. Some families ended in the divorce courts; some suffered physical violence; other quarrels died down naturally.

Perhaps the two things that occurred that would have shocked the Japanese society most were (1) the desertion of a baby, and (2) the mistreatment of an aged mother.

Desertion of a baby would be inconceivable in the old Japanese family with its powerful primary-group controls. Inasmuch as the baby is considered the means by which the family is perpetuated, it is cared for very carefully. Sometimes babies were abandoned if they were deformed or otherwise lacking, but to desert a healthy and perfectly normal baby was considered almost a crime.

Another aspect of the Japanese family system was the care and reverence shown to elders. When an elderly woman is thrown out of the household by the children, it is very definitely considered an unpius act. In this particular case, the community was upset but not sufficiently unified to take any action. Gossip and ugly rumors made the rounds, but nothing was said after a few months had passed.

It seems that the changed conditions of the center have been a factor in the disorganization of the family in Tule Lake. Some of the families that were



having difficulties on the outside found that the strain was too great and the final split occurred in Tule Lake. In many instances, the conditions in Tule Lake served to change the relationships that existed on the outside.

Among the new attitudes that were important were the feeling that one could be free to seek new experiences and the feeling that one should guard more carefully the possessions that he considered justly his. These attitudes of course worked with the attitudes that existed before. It seems that the new economic system in which women were given more security had much to do with the changes. Desires that they had long entertained finally were given an opportunity to materialize. On the other hand, in the close quarters, many felt the necessity of protecting his family name and perhaps became over-cautious to the point where they became unbearable. The acquisitive attitude, which the Japanese probably picked up after some time in America, figured in strongly in the picture.

Almost without question, the close housing quarters had much to do with the situation. The fact that people lived in such proximity made gossip fearfully effective. Those entertaining ideas of infidelity were given a better chance to perform their deed. This in turn meant that greater care had to be exercised in any illicit relations and also that the family members had to watch each other more closely. The fear of idle talk was very great.

As we might expect, the mixed marriage families experienced great difficulty. Quite often, the non-Japanese party came along with his spouse and lived in the center. Few of them seemed to have made a satisfactory adjustment to camp life, but most of them have left when the opportunity arose. Some have broken off their relationships.

In the close living quarters, in-laws presented a greater problem than they had before. Not only do they cause trouble by meddling in the children's affairs, but sometimes a fight among themselves has led to a separation or a strain in the family of the younger generation.

In a center where recreational facilities are restricted, one would expect



sex activities to be over-emphasized. And so it seems to be. The desire for mutual response is sometimes satisfied outside the accepted channels. Handy-men relationships which existed on the outside have been altered too. On the other hand, because of the close quarters the injured party raises more objection to the continuation of illicit relations; on the other hand, greater opportunities are provided for those who wish to seek pleasure outside the family.

The possibility for working in the best-fields seems to have brought some changes. Men who have been dissatisfied have left. On the other hand, women whose husbands are working in the fields away from the center have entertained other lovers.

One cannot help but emphasizing the importance of the changed economic system upon family disorganization. The fact that children are no longer necessarily dependent upon their parents and the fact that many women no longer have to look to their husbands for support have been important factors. The sense of temporary security along this line has made it possible for the emancipated individuals to go about in satisfying other desires that they have probably long entertained.

There have no doubt been many factors that brought about family disorganization in Tule Lake. Of these many factors, the changed conditions were no doubt one of the important ones.



## COMMUNITY DISORGANIZATION

### Introduction

#### The Background

The disorganization of the community is not a new phenomenon in the lives of the Japanese in America. With contact with western ways which made possible the realization of more hedonistic, individualistic desires, the primary-group controls of rural Japan began to weaken. From the late 1930's on, when the Nisei came of age in increasing numbers and as they began to take their place in the various communities, conflicts within the minority group became numerous. While the old generation struggled to maintain their own set of values, many Nisei lived by another set, conforming to some extent with the wishes of their parents but often not understanding what they were doing. Within the Nisei group itself, there were differences.

Forced by imagined external hostility to remain in their own group, the Japanese stayed in their own community and the physical proximity and continual communication reinforced the strength of their rules of behavior. Within this community, everyone knew about everyone else and gossip was common. To some extent, this arrangement served as a powerful factor in social control. Many Nisei were forced to conform.

Because of economic discrimination, however, the second-generation Japanese were unable to escape from this life in the manner that other children of immigrants have been able to do so. They have been forced to work within the nihon-machi or as migratory workers on the farms. Among them, there was constant conflict in views, differences in values, continual gang-fights, considerable demoralization.

Even after the outbreak of the war, when many defined the situation to be one



of conflict between the "whites" and the Japanese, the differences continued, and it was not until the very eve of evacuation itself that some semblance of unity was achieved. Once in the centers, however, the difficulties arose again.

The breakdown of the rules of behavior in the community, however, superficially did not seem as extensive as the weakening of the rules governing relationships within the family. In almost every family group there seemed to be some difficulty--someone had to compromise or back down. Outside the primary group, however, many Nisei restrained themselves--especially in the presence of other Japanese. Thus, open breaches were fewer.

As we have seen,<sup>1</sup> the evacuees in Tule Lake have gone through many difficulties to make their adjustment to camp life. Among the first group that arrived in May and June, there was a spirit of cooperation and a seeming desire to make the camp as desirable as possible. As the successive groups entered from the various assembly centers and the "white zone", however, this feeling disappeared, never to reappear again. Discontent was heaped upon discontent. At first there was much random activity, much milling about. People were disturbed but they had no goal and did not know what to do. By August, however, they did crystallize to some extent their antagonistic attitudes against Caucasians; definite goals--to get as much from the keto as possible--were set; and united action was taken to achieve these ends. This period of strife went on for months and finally as the wages began to be paid and as the cold weather set in, the tension began to die down. New ways of settling differences began to be accepted. The Council and the Planning Board were more frequently consulted. The judiciary committee was put to work. Issei expressed their views at the block meetings and issues were settled by vote. All this does not necessarily mean, of course, that a new social order--a new set of rules--will come to be. It may be a temporary adjustment to the situation.

---

1. See section on Social Changes



### The Problem

The term "community" has been variously defined in sociology. Ecologists speak of it in terms of competition, symbiosis and the division of labor by which sustenance is gained from the environment; others speak of a community in terms of common language, common usages, common mores, sentiments and feelings. We shall use the term "community" to refer to the evacuee group in Tule Lake excluding all Caucasians of the administrative staff. This simple definition considerably enhances our difficulties, since, because of the rural-urban differences, the Issei-Nisei differences, the sectional differences, it would be difficult to set up a control, a criterion for disorganization. We are here taking arbitrarily the ideal community or local group in which there is agreement in values and in which concerted, united action is possible as a standard.

However, because of the peculiar nature of the situation in Tule Lake, we cannot ignore the Caucasian factor. Much of the formal means of control is held by the Caucasians. There are constant and daily contacts between the Caucasians and many of the evacuees. Therefore, the relationship of the administrative staff to the difficulties in the community will be treated separately.

While we shall deal primarily with the numerous conflicts that occurred, conflict and difficulties in adjustment are not to be conceived as synonymous to "disorganization." "Conflict within a group . . . is by no means always to be regarded simply as a manifestation of disorganization. . . .disorganization can be objectively defined or described only with reference to the possibility of effective and unified collective action."<sup>2</sup> Conflict is synonymous with disorganization when, and in so far as, it involves the exhaustion in internal struggle of the forces which might be used in concerted endeavor. When we speak of "community disorganization", therefore, we are referring to the breakdown of the generally

---

2. Floyd N. House, The Range of Social Theory, New York, Henry Holt Co., 1929, p. 330



accepted rules of behavior to the extent that collective action is rendered extremely difficult.

We are concerned in this section with the question: What was the nature of community disorganization in Tule Lake and what were the factors that led to these situations? No attempt has been made to arrive inductively at the conclusions presented solely from the documents presented herein. The documents and the instances described were not included to "illustrate" any particular thesis, but to show what actually happened in the center. The criterion used for the selection of data was relevance to the problem.

#### The Administration and the Evacuees

##### Introduction

During the course of the half-year spent in Tule Lake, a deep and widespread animosity against Caucasians developed in the colony. This is not to say that all colonists hated all Caucasians, but a large number of the Issei openly expressed their hatred in a manner such as they had probably never done before. The general feeling arose among the Japanese-speaking population that anything was all right as long as it was done against the keto, and that the keto were never to be trusted no matter what they said. Among the things cited for evidence for the claim that keto were bad were: slowness in making payments, not allowing the Japanese to conduct things for themselves, the inefficient personnel of the W.R.A., and the fact of evacuation itself (in which many lost all they owned).

Without question, the errors made by the W.R.A. officials had much to do with this feeling, but this alone does not explain the situation. There is a strong in-group feeling among those who consider themselves to be of the Japanese or *Yamato* "race" and a feeling of contempt for those of the out group. The



Japanese in the United States had in the past been forced to take a back seat to the hated Caucasians because of many discriminatory actions but had not had an opportunity to express themselves too freely. When in the evacuation many Issei lost things that they had worked for all their lives or for the past twenty or thirty years, many of them defined the situation in this manner: theketo has always hated me because he has not been able to produce as well as I--a Japanese--can do. He has always tried to rob me and he is doing it now. Once in a center where others felt that same way that he did and where opposition was absent many Issei (and Nisei too) expressed their feelings openly.

It would be difficult to say that <sup>at</sup> any time the residents of Tule Lake were united in their attitudes; however, perhaps the one feeling that was as widely accepted as any or more accepted ~~than~~ any other was the feeling of opposition to the Caucasian. Those who did not agree with this feeling of contempt and suspicion did not dare open their mouths. In some instances, the Issei presented almost a solid front against the administration. We shall discuss several of the situations that brought ~~out~~ these feelings rather clearly.<sup>3</sup>

#### Conflict Situations

1. Canteen profits: The discontent over the excessive profits of the canteen began early in July when only one of the five canteens was open. During the hot summer month, many of the children continuously asked for money for soda water and ice cream and made it exceedingly difficult for parents. At the same time, no one was certain that the W.R.A. was sincere about paying the meagre salaries that it had promised since no one had yet been paid for any work done. The general argument was that it was cruel to deny candy to children when it was in front of them and when all the neighbor's children were eating. Pity was expressed for parents of large families.

It was not long before the issue was tied up with the distrust of the sincerity of the W.R.A. The general feeling among the Issei was that the W.R.A. had purposely put up the canteen to take back the meagre sum that they paid the Japanese and to take away whatever funds the Japanese brought in with them.

---

3. The situations are not listed chronologically. The documents are not complete. Inasmuch as the material has not been systematized to date, a brief summary is all that is included. All material was taken directly from field notes (Ts)



On July 15, the Tulean Dispatch revealed that June store profits had been \$5,313, and on August 12, it was revealed that July sales had run to \$74,000. Naturally these announcements caused much discontent.

When on August 13, a fire destroyed thousands of dollars worth of goods, no one seemed upset. Many were actually happy that the store had burned down and began circulating petitions against rebuilding the store in the same vicinity. Very few people realized that the Community Enterprises belonged to the people; they all felt that a robber controlled by Caucasians had been destroyed.

In the fall, as the effort to begin a cooperative got under way, the misunderstanding that existed about the canteens served as one of the major obstacles. It was perhaps due to an unintentional error on the part of the director of Community Enterprises that the coops were accepted so easily.

2. The Coal Situation: It was late in August, when the community was considerably upset, that an unfortunate error on the part of Mr. Hayes led to a major crisis in Tule Lake. From the middle of August much difficulty had been experienced in the handling of coal. The men were inadequately supplied with tools and equipment and were forced to do all work by hand. Because of the nature of the work, the men naturally became very dark, and many in the community made fun of their "blackness." In spite of the heavy work and the criticisms, the men in the coal crew were paid only \$12 a month. Negotiations got them nowhere, and at the end of the month a majority of them resigned.

The resignation of the coal crew placed the administration in a difficult position, for the cars had to be unloaded within so many days. The railroad demanded payment of demurrage and threatened to haul away the cars--loaded or unloaded. It was at this point that the blunder was made. The Japanese in the colony were told very bluntly that either they volunteer and shovel coal or else they would have to do without in the freezing cold winter.

Each block was asked to contribute three workers per night. The reason why the work had to be done at night was that there was a shortage of trucks and the vehicles were busy during the day. The volunteers were to work from 7 p.m. to 4 a.m. with a meal at midnight. Offers on the part of older men to get a partner and work four hours each were turned down. Clothes were to be furnished by the W.R.A. and the volunteer worker was to be excused from his Work Corps duty on the following day (with full pay).

Although almost every block contributed volunteers, the feeling of indignation was high. Some objected that when the government had forced the people into the camp they had taken over the responsibility of feeding and providing shelter for the internees; since this was the case, the United States government was not keeping its good faith when they threatened to freeze the Japanese. Others felt that Caucasians should be hired to do the work. Others spoke of writing to the Spanish consulate. No one, however, seemed to be surprised at the fact that the keto "were dirty enough" to do something of this sort.

The feeling ran very high for several weeks. Finally, a permanent coal crew was recruited and the crisis died down. During this crisis, however, open feelings of hatred and suspicion of the W.R.A. (as well as all Caucasians) were expressed repeatedly.



3. Harada-Iki petition: During the month of August, Dr. Carson, (director of the Base Hospital) and Dr. Iki left the project to help organize the hospital in another center. During Dr. Carson's absence, Dr. Harada was acting director of the hospital. Upon Dr. Carson's return some conflict arose between the men, and rumors circulated within the camp that Dr. Harada was to be kicked out. During the middle of September, several petitions went about the camp and hundreds of signatures were obtained to protest the dismissal of Dr. Harada.

The colonists apparently sized up the situation in this manner: Dr. Iki (whom they disliked) had never liked Dr. Harada and had whispered into Dr. Carson's ears. Furthermore, Dr. Carson had always refused to order necessary supplies for the colonists and in his absence Dr. Harada had gotten the things. Therefore, Dr. Carson was angry and was dismissing Dr. Harada. The feeling was that Dr. Harada was working for the welfare of the Japanese while the keto and Dr. Iki--the politician--didn't care about the colonists at all.

When it was explained to the colonists that Dr. Carson had nothing to say about who was to remain and who was to leave and that a Dr. Thompson in the regional office was trying to balance the staffs in all the centers, the residents felt that the statement was probably not true. Official announcements mean very little in Tule Lake. The reaction was that even if it were true, Dr. Carson probably pulled strings anyway. The argument against Dr. Iki was that he bootlicked the keto (Keto no ketsu or name yagaru!).

4. Construction Crew difficulties: From early in August the entire construction crew had been restless, and on the 15th, when the farmers went on their strike, they joined in a sympathetic strike. Toward the end of August when the available supply of lumber began to run down, the administration suddenly fired about half of the crew of about 900 in the hopes that they might work in some other crew. This action caused considerable antagonism.

At first, the men thought that a committee could be sent to see Mr. Shirrell in the belief that he was always fair and square. When Mr. Shirrell bluntly told them, however, that "when a man's fired, he's fired", they were very much angered.

On September 3, a mass meeting was held in which several speakers appealed to the workers to return to work. Among the arguments used which proved effective were: we can do anything the keto can do--we should be ashamed if we couldn't; if the Japanese work, they, the keto will have to prove their points and we won't. Another reason why they wished to continue working was that part of the crew was installing sheet-rock insulation and their stopping would hurt the colonists and not the hated keto.

As the cold winter months began to come, wood for porches and for kindling came at a premium. The men in the construction crew made a regular habit of stealing the lumber from the place where they were working. They did not consider this practice stealing, however, since the lumber belonged to the keto and not to the Japanese. The argument was that as long as the keto was trying to rob the Japanese, the colonists had a right to do anything to them.<sup>4</sup>



5. The Farm Labor strike: Since the beginning of August there had been considerable grumbling on the farm for several justifiable reasons: the men were forced to eat their lunch in the hot sun with the dust blowing all over their food; wages had not been paid for months; work clothing had not been issued; gloves had not been issued. The administration (Mr. Hayes) had promised a mess hall on the farm but nothing was ever done about the promise. Men were working with their own clothing and their own gloves and these were wearing out. The W.R.A. neither issued work clothes nor paid wages so that the men could at least buy their own things. This discontent rose to a peak on August 15, on which the men were asked to work after a breakfast consisting of two slices of bread and a cup of tea!

The men refused to go out to work on that morning. They stood around the 1200 block in clusters and mumbled to themselves. After much confusion it was decided that the representatives of the various work groups would meet in the afternoon to see what ought to be done. In the meantime, a general strike was called in the camp. The entire construction crew and all transportation except mess hall trucks and the hospital ambulance was stopped.

During the afternoon meeting, a committee was elected to negotiate with the administration after many threats had been hurled against the keto. On the following night, a general camp-wide meeting was held at which the results of the conferences with the administration were presented.

Much confusion existed on the night of August 16. Men were angrily milling about. Some were urging the others to charge the soldiers' barracks to fight against all keto; others were urging the men to charge the platform where a Christian group was holding up the strike meeting.

At the meeting, the workers found the results of the parley unsatisfactory. Finally, a man reputed to be a former soldier in the Japanese Imperial Army got up and demanded that the men "act like Japanese" and stop complaining about a few morsels of food. He told the crowd that they were acting worse than the keto. This appeal was the only one that seemed to affect the crowd and after a few more comments the group departed. On the following day, the majority of the men went to work.

6. Mess Hall difficulties: While the mess hall workers had their minor spats with the members of various blocks, it was not until the night of the mass meeting for the farm labor strike that they as a body expressed their complaints. On August 16, they demanded that Mr. Pilcher (a steward) be removed from the staff and that the Japanese be given complete control over the food situation. Their major objection was that food was being brought in day by day and that no reserves were being stored. They complained that when the winter snows came and the trains became stuck, they would have to starve. Apparently nothing was done to meet this demand.

Things went on as usual for one month. The mess hall workers knew that they could not quit because that would cause the Japanese, not the Caucasians, to suffer. Finally, toward the end of September, the storm began to break. Mr. Takeda, the representative of all mess workers, addressed the City Council and asked for action.



In the presence of Mr. Shirrell, Mr. Takeda disclosed that Mr. Pilcher had called him a "communist" and that he had refused to cooperate with the plans of the Japanese. He disclosed further that Mr. Pilcher had ordered all butchers to save the good loin meat for the Caucasian mess hall and to distribute what was left to the colony. Mr. Peck (chief steward), who had given Mr. Pilcher this order, was present at the meeting, but he simply called the statement a lie and refused to do anything. Mr. Shirrell, however, ordered an investigation.

In the meantime, a petition asking for the removal of Mr. Pilcher and asking that the Japanese be given control over the food situation went about the camp. It was finally presented to Mr. Shirrell with 9,000 signatures!

On October 8, a Caucasian committee headed by Mr. Fleming found Mr. Pilcher guilty of the various charges but concluded that Mr. Pilcher was nonetheless a good steward. Nothing was done by the administration in spite of the fact that the committee had found Pilcher guilty.

Finally, after all other means had been exhausted, the mess hall workers called a camp-wide strike on October 11. Breakfast was served at 8:30 to prevent others from going to work; lunch was served at an unannounced time so that people had to stay near home; and supper was served early so that the workers had to quit early if they did report to work. This continued for three days and finally an agreement was reached.

The mess workers had demanded (1) pay, (2) clothes, (3) food worth \$.45 a day per person, and (4) the dismissal of Pilcher. It seemed, however, that the dismissal of Pilcher was the major demand, and as soon as it was learned that Pilcher had resigned and that Mr. Shirrell (after much hesitation) had accepted the resignation, the tension quieted down. One by one, the other demands were met and the strife ended.

It was in connection with this incident that Mr. Shirrell lost respect in the eyes of the colonists. Up to this time, Mr. Shirrell seemed to be the one man that the colonists respected even though they may not have liked him. However, in connection with the mess incident rumors went about that Mr. Shirrell and Mr. Pilcher were "in the graft" together.

The colonists developed such a hatred of Mr. Pilcher that they still do not realize how much Mr. Peck had to do with the whole incident.

These six incidents reveal some of the crisis situations in which strong animosities were developed against Caucasians. Sometimes the administrative personnel did things in good faith, only to have their actions misinterpreted by the colonists. On the other hand, more often, stupid blunders on the part of certain individuals in the administration staff, notably Mr. Hayes, led to unusually difficult situations. Latent hatreds were called forth and conflict resulted.



Solidarity against Caucasians

7. The Ahodarakyo incident: On August 5, an Issei entertainment was held in which certain irresponsible Issei made remarks and sang songs that shocked even the Issei audience. The announcer remarked that since there were no keto present anything could be said. This remark was followed by a humorous dialogue making fun of Americans and to some extent glorifying the Japanese soldier in Manchuria.

Before the administrative staff even heard of the incident, rumors went about the camp that the men who had performed had been sent to prison for 20 years! When the Issei who was in charge of the program was relieved of his job, this was taken as proof that Mr. Waller, the Recreation director, had heard of what happened. (Actually the man was dismissed for another reason).

A hunt immediately began for the "stool-pigeon." According to Dr. Jacoby, Chief of Internal Security, no one "squealed." Mr. Waller insisted that he had learned of the matter accidentally. However, after many accusations (including Christian ministers), the blame was placed on a Mr. Kasabuchi, a block manager. Kasabuchi then received a note threatening his life and had to be protected by wardens. The feeling against him was very high although no one had proof that he was guilty. Even cool-headed individuals were sure that Kasabuchi was the man.

The feeling against any stool-pigeon grew. Everywhere people talked of killing the man who talked to the keto. Mr. Waller found it extremely difficult to get any information even from his own staff. Finally, a group of Issei, Nisei, and Kibei were called together and a plan was worked out to prevent the recurrence of the incident.

8. Gang fight of July 12: On Sunday evening a group of boys were playing a game of softball. During the course of the game some differences of opinion arose and the group retired to the corner of Block 25. Heated words were exchanged and a general melee ensued. Boys struck at each other; girls tore into the midst screaming; one boy kept striking his adversary with a baseball bat. Issei came running out of the nearby houses but were unable to stop the fight.

About five minutes after the fight began, Dr. Jacoby and several wardens arrived at the scene. Upon seeing a Caucasian, the crowd immediately dispersed. Everyone claimed that nothing had happened. No one "knew" who had started the fight or what the fight was about. Within a few minutes everyone was gone.

As the group departed, many of the Issei were scolding the participants--telling them it is "hagi" (disgrace) to the Japanese to let the Caucasians see any trouble. "Keto must never know that we do things like that."

9. Mess 4 trouble: In the Tulean Dispatch on July 26 appeared a letter complaining about the terrible food served in Mess No. 4. On the following evening a meeting was held to discuss the matter. Frank Tanabe, the editor of the paper came to the meeting. The Issei jumped upon Tanabe and threatened to kill him. Their objec-



tion against him was not so much the content of the letter but the fact that he had allowed a trivial matter such as differences of tastes in food to come to the attention of the keto by printing it in the newspaper. The only thing that kept Tanabe from having a serious "accident" was the fact that some Issei suggested that to beat up Tanabe would also be "hagi" (disgrace) for the block in the eyes of the keto.

These incidents show that no matter how the colonists may dislike each other they manage to unify when the Caucasian element is brought in. The in-group feeling is extremely strong--even among the Nisei.

#### Other incidents and situations

10. Relief grants: Prior to evacuation very few Japanese were on the relief roles. It seems that all Issei and Nisei alike felt that it was a disgrace to receive public relief. Many committed suicide rather than ask for help. If any relief were ever accepted, it was either from a relative or some other Japanese.

During the winter months, the Social Welfare Department was flooded with hundreds of applicants for public assistance grants. Some were hesitant in asking, but the majority of the men came in expecting the money and were very angered when they were refused because of ineligibility. The difference here seems to be that the Issei feel that anything is all right if done against the keto. As long as the W.R.A. is giving money to a certain class of persons, only a fool would not take advantage of it.

11. Fears: One noticeable thing about the colonists is their feeling of insecurity. There are fears that food will run short in the winter and that everyone is going to starve. There are fears that some "grafter" is going to get away with all the money. There are fears of informers; fears of moving to Arkansas. All of these fears reflect a basis suspicion and distrust of the Caucasians.

Thus we find illustrated the feeling that the colonists should get as much as possible from the Caucasians, while giving as little as possible themselves. There is a basic distrust of all Caucasians and a fear that something horrible might happen since they are at the mercy of hated "hairy barbarians." The desire for security is manifested somewhat in some of the struggles for the control of the food situation.

As we have stated, there were antagonistic feelings against Caucasians before. Lack of communication and the experience in camp did not help.

---

5. See also Frank Miyamoto's report on "Prevalent Fears in Tule Lake" being circulated by the Documents Division of the W.R.A.



Neither the Issei nor the administration understand each other, and both loudly proclaimed that the other was the source of all evil. Latent animosities and prejudices were marshalled forth. Perhaps one of the fundamental causes of the difficulties was the lack of communication; this led to mutual misunderstanding and distrust.

### Disorganization within the Community

#### The Decay of Social Opinion

Until late in August there seemed to be little interest in public matters, and the talk centered about the filthy details of gossip. Gossip, meddling, and rumors caused considerable trouble in Tule Lake. Even in September, when the Issei made a very definite bid for power in the colony, it was only the Issei men who made the effort and the Nisei groups were as apathetic as ever. Family problems and fights were aired freely. Gossip about illicit affairs and illegitimate children were common.

12. Tsukamoto-Iki rumors: When Dr. Iki, prominent Sacramento Nisei surgeon, came to Tule Lake, the boys handling his baggage kicked the boxes so much that the medical supplies that he brought for use in the Base Hospital were partially destroyed. He was so hated that he did not dare eat in his own mess hall and had to go two blocks away. Anything that Mr. Tsukamoto, prominent attorney and J.A.C.L. leader, did was opposed on the grounds that Tsukamoto was not to be trusted.

When the Sacramentans entered Wallerga, because of the work done by the J.A.C.L., Tsukamoto was given considerable power in running the camp. Dr. Iki was head of the medical work. Although it seems that the men did favor their friends with the "soft" jobs, it seems improbable that they could have alleviated in any way the poor conditions in Wallerga. However, they were blamed for all the difficulties.

Many rumors went about concerning the men: (1) they plotted with the keto to steal the clothing allowances from the Japanese (Wallerga allowances for some unexplained reason were never paid); (2) one person died in the hospital because of inadequate attention; (3) the men and their friends always ate suki-yaki in the hospital while the others ate hash; (4) Tsukamoto works with the F.B.I.; and many others. None of the rumors seemed to have any basis, but they were widespread and believed. Rumors had it that Dr. Iki was to be sued for divorce by his wife! (not true) Another rumor was that Tsukamoto planned to give his daughter in marriage to a keto! (his daughters are small children)



The rumors made it extremely difficult for these capable men to do their work in Tula Lake. Dr. Iki was finally transferred to Gila River, but until the day of his departure many were complaining about him and threatening to kill him. In November when the City Charter came up for a vote, many non-Sacramentans voted against it merely because Tsukamoto had helped to frame it.

13.: The Ishimura case: Late in September, Mary Ishimura left her husband Bill to live with her mother. She took along her 2-year old baby and \$100. On the following day, Bill went over to see why his wife had left without an explanation and a big brawl resulted. Mary's mother was injured in the fighting. Bill apologized profusely and begged Mary to return to him. She refused, however, and for months nothing happened.

Mary heard the rumor that Bill did not miss her and was out having a good time. This naturally angered her. Bill heard a rumor that the reason why Mary left was that she had a new and better-looking boy friend. Bill's parents heard a rumor that the reason why Bill wanted his wife back was not that he loved her but that all his money was in the bank under her name. Mary heard that Bill was planning to kill her. Bill heard that Mary had not wanted to go but that her mother had forced her to leave.

Neither Mary nor Bill met to talk face-to-face. They heard of the activities of the other only through their "friends." Finally, when there was no prospect of the two getting together again, Bill sued for a divorce although he still loved Mary dearly.

14. Citizenship rally: On September 26, Walter Tsukamoto announced dramatically at a Council meeting that a bill had been passed in the House of Representatives depriving the Nisei of their citizenship. While no official announcement was made anywhere the news travelled throughout the camp within 24 hours. Many Nisei were very upset about the matter, and many were willing to do almost anything to regain their status--many who had never been interested in anything besides dates and dances. Within a few days, official word was received from Washington to the effect that Tsukamoto's statement was not true.

On October 4, one week after the excitement, a Nisei mass meeting was held to discuss ways and means of preserving citizenship. Mr. Fergusson, the W.R.A. regional attorney, and Mr. Shirrell were among the speakers. In spite of the fact that they had been so frightened six days before, in spite of the fact that Mr. Fergusson had come all the way from San Francisco to speak to them, in spite of the ideal weather, not more than 100 Nisei attended the meeting.

15. Tent Factory Meeting in Block 4: Early in December, the W.R.A. presented a proposal to the colonists about the building of a tent factory. With the usual stupidity, the factory building was put up first and permission was asked later. Although the major question that the administration wanted answered was whether the colonists could think of some manner of adjusting for the high salaries paid.

The block four group decided not to have a tent factory at all as did the majority of the blocks. When one Issei stated that the issue concerned Nisei and not Issei (since they cannot be employed in war works), the others replied that if the Nisei are not interested

enough to attend the meeting (no Nisei were present) which was open to them, others would have to make up their minds.



Thus, while the Issei are now interested in matters of community-wide importance, their extreme interest in private affairs and their gossip has led to extremely difficult situations in Tule Lake. This interest in private affairs is generally not accompanied by any desire to intervene and do anything to alleviate the difficulties. The people merely sit by and gossip.

Among the Nisei we have likewise an interest in private matters, but along with it a complete lack of interest in public matters. There is very little participation on the part of the Nisei in civic affairs. Even the councilmen (who are Nisei) are elected by the Issei. This apathy on the part of the Nisei may be due to the feeling on their part that they could not control the camp anyway. Furthermore, most Nisei are not mature enough to know what to do even if they did have power, as they did early in the summer. The major and for some the only interest seems to be the opposite sex. The apathy may be an outgrowth of the status that they held in the outside world.

#### Inability to take united action

One cannot say that there was any common definition of the situation--any situation--among the colonists in Tule Lake. Because of the differences in background, differences in outlook, differences in age and education, and personal animosities and prejudices--which loomed in importance over concern over the welfare of the community--there was very little unity among the Issei.

Even when the majority of the Issei seemed agreed, as in the case of the farm labor strike, there were enough in the opposition and too many who were only vaguely interested to carry the issue through to the end. During that period the feelings against the Caucasians was high--there seemed to be a common definition of the situation--but differences arose as to what was the best way to meet the problem. Arguments arose and finally the strike was abandoned.



### Disharmony of Attitudes

As we have just noted, there is considerable disagreement about almost everything in Tule Lake. Sometimes a small but vociferous minority creates more stir than the quiet but apathetic majority. Perhaps one of the major points on which a difference exists<sup>is</sup> in the attitude toward Caucasians.

It would be extremely difficult to determine the exact extent of the very strong animosities against all Caucasians, but there is no question that it exists in Tule Lake. However, there are many who feel kindly toward Caucasians, only the various situations will not permit them to openly state their feelings. To speak kindly of Caucasians may mean trouble.

There seem to be many individuals who have a complete distrust of all keto. This group includes Issei, Nisei, and Kibei. Most of the individuals are extremely bitter about the evacuation and seem to feel that all keto on the project came to bleed the Japanese dry or to watch the Japanese and rob them if they could. There are a few people in every block who will oppose anything proposed by the W.R.A. on the grounds that keto could never be trusted. Some seem to feel that in a few months Japan will win the war and everyone will be free.

A large number of persons who are more cooperative do not seem to have much love for the Caucasians, but they feel that since the situation is hopeless and since everyone is at the mercy of the Caucasian staff, everyone may as well cooperate and make the stay as least desirable as possible.

There are also those who have had numerous contacts with Caucasians and who feel extremely thankful to the administrative staff members. Many who have had desirable contacts before are very cooperative. However, with a few notable exceptions, the tendency among some Nisei to identify themselves with Caucasians and the "superior" Caucasian culture seems to have disappeared.<sup>6</sup> This group,

---

6. See statement by Robert E. Park in Introduction to Charles S. Johnson's Shadow of the Plantation, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1934, p. xvi.



however, rarely, if ever, challenges the statements made by the rabidly anti-keto element. Thus, bitter arguments are avoided, but the uncooperative elements quite often have their way.

Another question over which there is considerable differences is over the stand taken by the J.A.C.L. As might be expected, this split exists primarily among the Nisei. The ardent J.A.C.L. men stand by the policies set by the national body often with near-religious fervor. There are, however, many who oppose the work of the J.A.C.L.

On the one hand, there are many who disagree with the pro-American stand of the J.A.C.L. There are, on the other hand, a minority of Nisei who feel that the J.A.C.L. stand in fighting for civil liberties was too feeble and that the J.A.C.L. have licked the boots of "fascist" Americans too long. There are, finally, a fairly large body of Nisei who are disgusted with the inability of the J.A.C.L. to help them in time of need (these are the individuals who probably never helped the J.A.C.L. either). Some fight anything that the J.A.C.L. presents on the basis of rumors about the "politics" played by some of the leaders.

There are other incidents to illustrate some of the split opinions:

16: Nisei Volunteer Soldiers: When, late in November, a group of Nisei soldiers from Camp Savage, Minnesota, came to Tule Lake to recruit some colonists for translation work for the U. S. Army, much disagreement arose among some people.

No one spoke against the Nisei who were drafted into the Army prior to evacuation, however, many felt that only fools would volunteer to fight for the United States after being shoved into a center such as Tule Lake.

Many Nisei, however, wished to show their "loyalty" to the U. S. and wanted to volunteer. Many were simply so sick of the camp that they felt that any alternative was better. Many felt that if they waited for the draft, they would be given dirty Corp Area Duty to do (as all other Nisei are doing now in the Army). Tremendous opposition and pressure met the volunteers. Finally, only 28 left camp.

17: Broadcast Issue: During the hot summer months, a Mr. O'Brien of the O.W.I. visited the camp to see about possibilities of broadcasting to Japan statements that the colonists were being treated well in the camps here in the hopes that the Japanese government would then improve conditions in their concentration camps.



The men who came late in September appealed to the Nisei on the basis of proving their loyalty to the United States (paying little heed to the contradiction involved: if Nisei were Americans, why should the Japanese government care about their welfare?) On the basis of this appeal the City Council agreed to support this broadcast. However, when the Issei heard of this through their block representatives, they almost uniformly in every block raised a howling protest.

Some of the Issei felt that the broadcast would be all right if they would be allowed to describe truthfully some of the horrible experiences that they had gone through. Others felt that since keto could not be trusted the records would have to be played back to them for approval before broadcasting (for some reason this was rejected). Others opposed flatly.

Many of the Nisei were extremely upset because the O.I.W.I. men left the project disappointed. Many were fearful of the consequences. Many who wished to broadcast felt temporarily bitter against those who had opposed.

18: Theatre Issue: The Council had voted in favor of building a theatre. The Councilmen felt that the sacrifice of \$.50 a person was small when considering the tremendous enjoyment that could be had by seeing both American and Japanese films.

Many of the Issei, however, opposed the proposition, partly because of their dislike of Tsukamoto. The argument was that the theatre was another W.R.A. instrument to take money away from the hard-pressed colonists. Another argument was that the father of a number of small children would not have a chance. Finally, many felt that Kendall Smith's buying the equipment and the lumber without consulting the Japanese first (using Japanese money) was an indication of the danger in trusting keto.

The disharmony of attitudes was considerably greater than anything indicated here. There were so many differences of opinion that united action was simply impossible. Factions, groups, generations--all tore at each other and prevented the achievement of possible goals that may have helped all.

#### The Lack of Communal Solidarity

We cannot speak of the "decay" of communal solidarity, for it never existed in Tule Lake. From the very first some conflict existed between the various groups, even when almost everyone seemed to be willing to cooperate with the administration. The major difficulties began when the people began coming in from Wallergera.

19: Dispatch Struggle: The Tulean Dispatch under the editorship of Frank Tanabe was nothing more than an unreadable bulletin board. The Sacramento boys felt that they were much more capable and tried to take over the paper. Conflict resulted and for months Tanabe refused to speak to the Sacramento boys or to cooperate with them in any way.

---

7. See J. Sakoda's treatment of the Broadcast Affair.



## Structural Report

### Disorganization and Reorganization, III

Page 18

Jobo Nakamura, the former editor of the Wallerger Wasp was given odd jobs to do and finally was made the head of the Tempo Magazine and not connected with the Dispatch. In September, two of the editors, including Tanabe, left the center to work and Howard Imazeki was given control over the paper. Imazeki did his best to be impartial, but the splits continued.

In December the newspapermen~~x~~ formed a club. Some disagreements arose again between the northwesterners and the Sacramentans and a separate branch of the club was formed for the people from Washington.

20: Potato planting: During the middle of June when the farmers were planting the \$80,000 worth of potato seeds purchased by the W.R.A., conflict arose between the farmers who had come from Washington and those who had farmed in California. Californians insisted that water had to be available or else the potato would die; whereas the northerners insisted that water would kill the crops. Since the irrigation ditches were not in, it did not make much difference anyway.

California farmers concluded that the people from the northwest knew nothing about farming. The feeling was mutual for a long time.

21: Jive vs. Sweet-and Soft: On the first weekend after the arrival of the Wallergans, conflict arose at the Saturday night dance. The northerners, who had been having dances, planned to have soft music for fox trot numbers as they had always done. The Sacramentans, however, insisted on jitterbugging. Since the music was provided by a nickelodeon, a conflict ensued over who was to put the nickel in the machine and thereby select the music.

Washingtonians argued that it was stupid to jive when the room was so crowded. They insisted that jive was all right "once in a while" but not for every dance. Sacramentans insisted that the northerners were "behind the times."

On the following week, half-time and fox trot numbers were played alternately. That has been the case ever since except in private parties where the tastes of the individuals attending were considered.

These three instances indicate to some extent the nature of the sectional strife that divided the colonists into factions. The older generation seemed either to get along with the strangers in some manner or other or else they simply ignored each other. Among the Nisei, however, the struggle continued on and on and appeared over and over in various situations in the camp.

22: Music Department Struggle: In August, when the Pinedale group began coming into the center in large numbers, a struggle for power and control over the music department ensued. A Mrs. Yoshimura, a Seattle woman who claimed that she knew of a "method" whereby she could teach 300 students a week on one piano, tried to take over the already established music department. Her husband went straight to Mr. Shirrell to ask that this be done.

Those who were already in the music department, many of whom had



taught music for years, had little respect for her method. Open conflict took place for that group did everything possible to keep Mrs. Yoshimura out.

It so happened that the Pinedale group had purchased three pianos in the Assembly Center and had brought the instruments along. Since the music department was so short of pianos, these three would have helped considerably. Mrs. Yoshimura, however, did everything she could to prevent the pianos from going to the music department as long as she was relegated to an inferior position.

This is but one of the numerous struggles that went on in Tule Lake. As we have already noted, a struggle for power went on between the J.A.C.L. elements and those who wished to have a more democratic control.<sup>8</sup> There was a political struggle between the clique of Walter Tsukamoto and a combination of the Issei, coop supporters, and anti-J.A.C.L. elements.

Ever since June there has been a struggle for the available scrap lumber. Those who came to Tule Lake late were left without anything with which to build furniture and fixtures, and had to either beg of their friends or else steal from someone's pile.<sup>9</sup>

23: In November, when the cold weather began to set in, people began to have fears about being frozen to death. Since a number of young high school boys were in the coal crew, they did not work too hard and apparently did not appreciate the heavy responsibility that rested on them. They delivered coal to whichever blocks they chose whenever they chose. As a consequence, the coal piles in some blocks became so small that people could not get all the coal they wanted or needed.

When the people felt that the coal was scarce, they began to hoard. Instead of keeping coal in the coalbox outside, they brought it inside where no one could see it. Then, whenever the coal truck came in, there was a mad scramble and within a few minutes the new pile left by the truck was reduced to nothing but coal powder. Soon many people jumped in after the coal and it was impossible to bring in a wheelbarrow. In some blocks so much coal disappeared that the boiler for the showerrooms had to stay cold.

Thus, we can see that many actions were motivated by personal aims; the dealings were subordinated to the principle of social solidarity. The cooperative spirit existed only in innocuous situations and disappeared when a crisis,

---

8. The "militant" and "passive" reactions so often noted in minority groups shows up here. Many opposed the "passive", bootlicking attitude of the J.A.C.L.: i.e., "be nice to the keto, and they'll treat you O.K."

9. See J. Sakoda's treatment of the Scrap Lumber Conflict for details.



seemed in the offing. Only vestiges of the old communal solidarity of the rural Japanese society were discernible in Tule Lake.

#### The General Breakdown of Control

24. Canteen #4 Robbery: The robbery of canteen No. 4, directly behind the Administration Building was reported yesterday morning when it was discovered that cash amounting to approximately \$95 and 20 cartons of cigarettes had been taken from the store by a marauder some time last Thursday night. The thief gained access to the store through a rear window facing the administration mess hall. The thief was an amateur, apparently, for finger prints were left on the broken glass. Also, foot prints by the window serve as an excellent clue, and other tell-tale evidences, will, it is thought, bring the thief speedily to trial. . . .<sup>10</sup>

25. Canteen #3 Robbery: Canteen No. 3 at #4108 was robbed Wednesday evening in the second major community store theft to occur, here it was discovered Thursday morning. Two possible entrants through which the thief may have gained access to the store are being considered. Hinges of a side door were jimmyed and the door found open by Arthur T. Ono, a store clerk, when arriving for work on Thursday morning. The other possibility considered is a side window. The glass was broken and by unlatching the lock the thief may have entered. Some of articles of value were removed, while other goods were ransacked and scattered. Investigations immediately have begun . . . by the Wardens' office. . . .<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps more significant for our purpose than the fact that the canteens were robbed was the fact that the community apparently had no desire to help in the apprehension of the criminal nor were there many regrets expressed over the fact that the robberies had taken place. Many felt that robbing was not a "good thing", but many had a tendency to sympathize with the thief, saying that under the circumstances the "poor man" probably was forced to do it. The feeling was that the canteen was robbing the people; so the people did not have any great desire to interfere with enemies of the canteen.

We have already discussed the matter of lumber thefts, which, as we have pointed out, were quite numerous. Innumerable thefts took place in mess halls, partly by those who worked in them and partly by outsiders. Meat, sausages,

---

10. Tulean Dispatch, August 29, 1942

11. Tulean Dispatch, September 18, 1942



and fruits were frequently stolen. The mess hall thefts did create some commotion, since it often meant that the residents in the block had that much less to eat, but no objections were raised about stealing lumber.

Gambling was very common in the colony. In November the wardens raided several homes where gambling was taking place, but it is well known that they did not touch the major activity in the camp. Old Issei, especially bachelors, have little else to do. In the recreation halls, in the boiler rooms, and next to the stove in the latrines, the men gather to play cards or go or shogi. One old applicant for a relief grant replied to a question, "The only income I have is what I win in gambling. I need more money now." Young boys with nothing to do often work a few hours a day to earn enough money to play cards.

26. Late in December, when the wardens found that they could not con-

trol the juvenile delinquency in the camp, they appealed to the community for help. In Block 4, a warden discussed the matter with a group of Issei and asked them to cut down their own Issei entertainment and turn over part of their funds for recreational facilities for their youngsters. While no one dared to speak up openly against the suggestion, there was much hemming and hawing and finally the whole idea was rejected.

Thus, it seems that the Issei realize and recognize the difficulties confronting the youth in the centers. Many parents are genuinely concerned but it is almost impossible to take any united concerted action.

Rumors were current in November and December, and even earlier, of house of prostitution in the center.<sup>12</sup> It was said that there were attractive young girls and some older women who sold themselves for \$.25 to \$.75. The old men were very pleased with the news as were the young. Although these rumors were very widespread, there was no action taken to do anything about prostitution.

---

12. None of the rumors have been confirmed. As might be expected, it is very difficult to check up upon such matters in a community like Tule Lake. However, there is some evidence that women who had formerly been prostitutes on the outside are now residing in camp under conditions conducive to an enterprising business. There is some evidence to indicate that there might have been some recruiting on the part of these "professionals."



27: The Imazeki incident: The newspaper workers ate in 1808 at night along with the others who had to work all night; i.e., firemen, wardens, coal crew, etc. The newspaper boys probably did not belong there but somehow they managed to eat daily. At first, the mess hall workers had no objection to serving them their midnight snack, but as they became very boisterous, the relations between the waiters and the reporters became progressively worse. Finally, the mess workers refused to serve anything but sandwiches.

Howard Imazeki, the editor, demanded to know why his group was getting sandwiches while the others received hot plates. After some argument, they agreed that sandwiches would be satisfactory. In spite of the agreement, however, the newspaper boys continued to get hot dishes. Finally, the group was wared by the Kibei mess crew. Imazeki apologized and agreed to take the responsibility for his group thereafter.

Within a few days, the young boys once more violated the agreement. On the following day, Imazeki was severely beaten by the mess crew even though he had done nothing objectionable himself, on the grounds that he was responsible.

28: The Tsukamoto-Shimoda incident: Mr. Tsukamoto was a butcher in the mess division. Mr. Shimoda was the steward of the work division. It so happened that some boloney and sausages were missing and rumors were current that cooks and butchers were stealing meat. Instead of checking up on the matter, Mr. Shimoda took the matter up to the Caucasian head. Mr. Tsukamoto and several other butchers were consequently fired.

When Tsukamoto and Shimoda met in their mess hall that evening Tsukamoto attacked the man with a knife. Shimoda also grabbed a knife and friends had to pull the men apart.

Both these incidents reveal that individuals no longer trusted the organized institutions for seeking redress and sought to get revenge by their own hands. The Imazeki case is also interesting in that it reveals that Japanese conception of responsibility. Imazeki was beaten up in spite of the fact that he himself had done nothing and had cooperated better than anyone else. In the Tsukamoto-Shimoda incident, one other factor, was involved. Community opinion was in favor of Tsukamoto because Shimoda had taken up the matter with a keto. The Issei, as we have already stated, have a desire to keep away from outsiders any information about Japanese that might reflect against them. Thus, to reveal that Japanese had stolen to a Caucasian was almost inexcusable.

Thus we can wsee that to some extent the former mechanisms of social control were breaking down in the community. In spite of the increased tempo of the gossip, people managed to go against the former taboos--and no one did anything about it.



### Analysis and Tentative Conclusions

#### The Nature of Community Disorganization

Social opinion in the community in Tule Lake had degenerated into gossip and rumors. People seemed to be interested in private matters and talked incessantly about the nefarious affairs of their acquaintances, but they rarely were interested in doing anything to alleviate the situation. The Nisei were on the whole apathetic to public matters, and only the Issei men carried on after the month of August.

There was considerable disharmony of attitudes among those in the colony. There were differences between Issei, Kibei, and Nisei, and there were some items over which the split did not follow the ordinarily expected lines. There were different attitudes, conflicting attitudes about Caucasians and their desirability, about the J.A.C.L., about volunteering into the Army and numerous other things. Every issue involving in some manner Caucasian-Japanese relationships or the war between Japan and the United States brought out these discrepancies. This disharmony made it extremely difficult for anyone to cooperate on any program.

Partly because of the discrepancies in points of view the community was unable to pass from a common definition of the situation to a common solution to a problem. For one thing, it was rare that a common definition existed, but on such occasions, as in the farm labor strike, when the prevalent feeling was against Caucasians and when those who did not agree did not dare express themselves, the community was still so disunited that no action was taken.

Communal solidarity, usually found in rural or in the ethnic community in urban areas, was not to be found in Tule Lake. This is not to say that a cooperative feeling did not exist in Tule Lake. The Japanese did help each other to some extent and an in-group feeling did exist when situations arose in which Caucasians were involved. For one thing, the sectional differences created difficulties in the beginning that made cooperation difficult later on. There



were continual struggles for power, for lumber, for coal. Each individual or each family seemed to be looking out for himself first and for his neighbors next. The Issei managed to camouflage their feelings behind masks of politeness, but their individualistic feelings were quite apparent from their actions.

Finally, there was a general breakdown of control. The Judicial Committee for handling difficulties, the Planning Board, the Fair Practices Committee, the Merit Board, the Caucasian supervisor were all present to settle disputes. However, none of these organizations or individuals was apparently trusted or accepted in the community. Individuals sought revenge by their own hands; self-redress was an individual matter. Stealing, prostitution, gambling, and other things generally considered undesirable were talked about but no one did anything to prevent them. Parents stood in the way of their own children, but only gossiped about others.

Thus, it seems that the initial adjustment of the Japanese evacuees to the life in Tule Lake was not a happy one.

#### New and Old Attitudes

Perhaps the attitudes that were formed against Caucasians proved to be the most potent factors in the disorganization of the Tule Lake community. We must consider, however, the definition of the situation on the part of many Issei and Nisei residents of the community. Many of the residents looked upon Tule Lake as a concentration camp and considered themselves prisoners of war. They felt that within a few months or perhaps a year Japan would win the war and they would all be free.

Since many felt, therefore, that they would not remain in the camp for a long time, since they felt that they would either return to their homes in California or Washington or to Japan and would soon sever the unpleasant associations made in Tule Lake, there was no effort to take pride in their work or their



behavior in Tule Lake. Since there was no feeling of belonging to the community-- of having a part-ownership in the camp, no one seemed to care what happened to the community. The block pride that existed early in June soon disappeared and never reappeared again except in minor instances. There was no community pride.

The antagonistic attitude toward the Caucasian personnel and the Caucasian world as a whole cannot be said to be entirely new. It was for some of the younger elements, but it certainly existed in latent if not open form among the majority of the Issei. However, due to the camp conditions, many of these latent antipathies were called forth and openly expressed. Caucasians were not trusted and those who worked with them were looked upon with suspicion. The feeling arose that anything was all right if it were done against the keto. The feeling was that since no one wanted to come to Tule Lake and all were forced to come, the people should try to get as much as possible from the Caucasians.

The attitude of acquisitiveness was a powerful factor in disorganization. It is difficult to state where the attitude arose. Some psychologists claim it to be innate. Many Issei openly admit that the reason why they came to America was to make money. Others may have come for other reasons, but certainly the capitalistic climate of opinion under which they lived for the past twenty or thirty years gave them plenty of opportunity to learn to view things in the light of individual gain rather than social gain. The desire to get things for one's self first and then to worry about the neighbor no doubt existed before, and it showed itself very strongly in Tule Lake.

Finally, we must consider for a moment the concept of yamato damashi. To those who conceive of themselves as members of the Yamato Race--descendants of the Emperor--this factor cannot be ignored. For the sake of "racial" pride, extreme sacrifices will be made and the Japanese may prove to be extremely, even stupidly, obstinate on some issues. Perhaps this may have been one of the attitudes which helped the Japanese unify to some extent in their opposition to the



Caucasian personnel and their suggestions.

### Factors in Formation of Attitudes

What were the factors that led to the rise of the attitudes that led to community disorganization in Tule Lake? It is difficult for us to trace these factors inasmuch as we do not even have a clear picture of the attitudes that led to the disorganization. However, we shall consider a few of the probable factors.

It seems that the anti-Caucasian sentiment arose in several ways. We must frankly admit that some pro-Japanese sentiment and sympathy existed before the war. With the spectacular victories of the Japanese armed forces after Pearl Harbor the view arose that the war would soon be over. No one seemed to take at full value the reports in the American newspaper--American news is labelled "propaganda."

With this sentiment existing it is easy to see how the evacuation itself brought about animosities against Caucasians. Many lost everything that they ever earned. Many who had toiled for years had to sell out cheaply. Even those whose personal sacrifice was not great knew of others who had lost their possessions. Nisei who had had pro-American sentiments and who had argued with their parents found it no longer possible to answer the statement: "You look like a Japanese; you are treated like a Japanese; and you will always be one." Many Nisei were forced to accept the statement to be true; they could no longer argue.

Once in the center, the Japanese might have cooperated had the W.R.A. acted more wisely. In spite of the animosity against Caucasians, it was still possible for the W.R.A. to point out that there were all kinds of Caucasians and that the W.R.A. personnel consisted of "good" Caucasians. However, very stupidly communication were severed between the Issei and the administration by the fact



that a Japanese language press was prohibited by regulations. Programs of "Americanization" began and irritated the Issei. The poor conditions of the camp and the inefficiency of many of the W.R.A. personnel made it extremely difficult for many to adjust to the new conditions. Promises were made and not kept. Stupid blunders were made in approaching people. Finally, even the Nisei seemed disgusted with the W.R.A.

Under the new economic system where everyone was housed, clothed, and fed regardless of whether they worked or not; where people had to do work they had never done before under new conditions; where it did not make much difference to the individual worker whether he worked hard or loafed, the individuals lost the pride that they ordinarily took in their efforts. There was no particular concrete incentive for working or cooperating. There was no feeling of belonging to something and wanting to achieve something collectively.

When the discontent arose, the housing conditions, the close living quarters and the common mess halls and the latrines provide ample medium for exchange of ideas. Rumors went about rapidly. News travelled at incredible speed.

Among the numerous factors in community disorganization were: the errors of the W.R.A., the old attitudes of the Issei, and the very nature of the project itself. War conditions also proved to be significant.

#### Concluding Remarks

The W.R.A. operates on a very altruistic philosophy, but it is indeed unfortunate that their personnel was not filled with more competent individuals. Perhaps no one could have foreseen the problems that were to arise but certainly some of them should have been anticipated.

Considerable social distance has developed between various factions in the center. It seems that the old primary group controls no longer serve. Perhaps until a new social order, with new means of social control, arises, Tule Lake will necessarily face disorganization.



DST Jan 11, 1943

## COMMENTS ON COMMUNITY DISORGANIZATION

---

General I agree that the topics covered in this section represent your field and that you should spend your time in building up documentation. In fact, I think this whole section is really swell and that you are on your way towards a first rate thesis.

On pages 3 and 4, however, it seems to me that you get yourself into some difficulty in your attempt to differentiate between "conflict" and "disorganization." And this difficulty persists later in (a) the selection of documents and (b) your comments on the documents. I agree that the documents should be used "to show what happened in the community," but I don't think you have defined your problem with enough precision to permit you to dismiss the question of "selection" merely with the remark that the "criterion used...was relevant to the problem." Relevant in what respects? Let us assume that you are going to analyze all conflicts involving group action and reaching a definite crisis. that called for collective action. That would include all situations of what sorts? Strikes? What else?

Specific Doc. 1. Wasn't the conflict revealed in resolutions against establishing a new canteen in a certain ward? Didn't the fire come later? (Maybe I haven't got the facts straight). What was the "unintentional error" of the director of Community Enterprises? Shouldn't the resistance to the coop. be described further? And wasn't the overcoming of this resistance a good example of "reorganization"?



Doc. 2. "Negotiation" in regard to what? Higher wages? Was "no one" surprised that the keto behaved in this way?

Doc. 3. In many of these conflict situations there are roots that go back to the pre-evacuation days. This aspect should be explored wherever possible.

Doc. 4. Background of the construction crew's "restlessness"? Wasn't there another element in the situation, i.e. that, after the crew was fired, Caucasians were employed at "prevailing wages" to do the work? Was a strike in progress when the mass meeting of September 3 was held?

Doc. 5. Again , more of the background will be needed. Page 11.- Your comment that "no matter how the colonists may dislike each other, they manage to unify when the Caucasian element is brought in" suggests that, according to your own definition, you are not studying "disorganization."

Doc. 10. More details, to back up generalizations.

Doc. 11. Too indefinite to have a place here - does not add anything to your specific documentation.

Doc. 12. Pre-evacuation background needed. Why were the "non-Sacramentans" opposed to Tsukamoto? It seems that the conflict originated in Wallerga.

Doc. 13. Seems to me to be "irrelevant." Justification for inclusion?

Pages 15 and 16.- Your analysis of "disharmony" of attitudes" is excellent.

Doc. 16. Surely not "all" Nisei in the army are given



"dirty corps area duty." In further documentation, can you get details about the 28 who left? (Incidentally, this figure does not check with the one in your "Chronology of Events" section.)

Doc. 18. Not clear (unless, as we will later) we get a detailed document re the "Theatre Project."

Doc. 20. From the point of view of scientific agriculture who was right?

Pages 22 to 27.- Very good analysis (except for the "moral judgments"!)



### Principles of Future Procedure

1. Cut out some of the topics of early outline - or include as part of other sections. As suggested in my revision of November 3, IV C and D can be treated in various sections.

2. Concentrate on a few topics - building up background where necessary and continuing to get records. (Records from other centers will be made available also).

<u>Miyamoto</u>	<u>Shibutani</u>	<u>Sakoda</u>	<u>Billigmeir</u>
Social Structure	Social disorganiza-	Co-ops.	Pop.
Political	tion and reorganiza-	Personal	Education
Recreational	tion	Roles	Administration

### All: Chronology of Events

3. Plan how to fill in gaps - What can we consider "finished"?

So far, I think,

IV B.3 only (Let Spencer, who has a special interest develop this in more detail at Gila and get additional data here if he wishes).

But a large job of IV B.6 is also complete.

What gaps can be filled in by special reports from other people - how can we go about getting these reports and from whom?

For example:

IV B.2

a, c, d, e, f, g, h

IV B.4 - shall we shift that mainly to Spencer and Kikuchi?



IV B.9. We need a section on "Shelter" comparable to that on "Food," which is pretty well completed.

4. Interchange of documents from various centers.

Conference in February in Salt Lake City.



#### SOCIAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT

---

This is a good socio-psychological analysis - but tells nothing of (1) the administrative organization, (2) policies developed, (3) types of cases handled, (4) general functions in Tule Lake.

#### LEGAL AID DEPARTMENT

---

What is its defined function? What sorts of difficulties develop in the cases handled (n.b. Joe Omachi will be able to handle this section in Gila and give us the whole story).



SOCIAL REORGANIZATION IN TULE LAKE

Introduction

We have seen that the Japanese in the United States have gone through a long period of social disorganization and that additional problems have arisen after coming to the center. We have seen that the old primary-group controls of rural Japan are no longer able to keep in check the individualistic and hedonistic desires of the Nisei. Under such circumstances a new type of social organization leading to new patterns of behavior better adapted to the changed demands of the individual might be expected to arise. Unless there is to be complete anarchy some type of social control is necessary; men cannot live in peace without common understandings and expectations.

In a large urban society such as we have it seems that some sort of organized control is necessary. It is difficult to say whether such organized control will grow out of the life in Tule Lake. True, in some respects, by the very nature of the W.R.A. undertaking there will be some sort of organization, but whether or not the colonists will accept the organization or reject it is another matter. It may be that the organizational pattern of Tule Lake may be taken as a patch-work scheme to last during the temporary stay in camp. It may be that the new organization will not be a permanent one to be accepted after the end of the war.

We are not concerned in this paper with the major problem of social reorganization in the Nisei world which has rejected the primary group controls of their parents. We are concerned only with the rise of a new social order in Tule Lake, be it temporary or be it an organization that will leave its permanent marks upon the lives of the residents. We shall concern ourselves with conscious efforts at reconstruction, with leadership, with efforts to curb delinquency and Nisei apathy.



### Leadership

It seems that the type of leadership taking over Tule Lake has changed considerably since May. In the Issei world it seems that there was no real leadership until August. Many of the recognized leaders had been apprehended by the F.B.I. and even when they returned to camp they quietly went about in their own way and did not assume any responsibility. The terms of their parole may have had something to do with their attitudes.

In August, the agitators managed to get the attention of the Issei. They focused the attention of the Issei upon certain ills over which the people had been brooding anyway. These individuals were able to oppose many of the moves of the administration.

It was not until the middle of October that some of the more level-headed Issei decided that things were not going too well and that they ought to take a hand in redirecting the efforts of the colonists. About this time the coops got under way under a carefully selected group of men. Some of the men who had been recognized as leaders but who had hitherto not been heard by the Japanese were also called forth. By this time, most of the blocks had settled down and each of the Councilmen and block managers had Issei advisors who managed to get the cooperation of the people.

Among the Nisei--the few Nisei who were interested--there was a struggle for leadership between the Tsukamoto-J.A.C.L. group and the opponents, who were a motley mixture. It was much more than a hangover of an old political struggle, however. It was a struggle between two definite philosophies of leadership.

The general feeling among most J.A.C.L. leaders--openly expressed in Tule Lake by Thomas Yego and Walter Tsukamoto--seems to be that the majority of the Nisei are too stupid to know what is good for them. Therefore, the "enlightened" should lead the "masses" to glory. The feeling is that there is a great danger of "Bolsheviks" swaying the "stupid masses" and thus cause the "great keto" to look with disfavor upon the Japanese minority and then withdraw



certain "privileges" such as civil liberties.

Actually it seems that these men were struggling to maintain their status in the community. Most of the J.A.C.L. leaders had enjoyed considerable prestige in their respective communities on the outside. Their opponents had not dared to speak out against them. These resentments were aired in Tule Lake and the big-wigs were forced to defend their position. Their leadership probably would have meant the continuation of the political graft and patronage that went on in the Assembly Centers such as Puyallup and Wallerger where the J.A.C.L. was given the power by the W.C.C.A. It would probably have meant witch-hunts, red-baiting, resentment, and discontent.

The colonists who had come from Wallerger, however, seemed almost to the man opposed to Tsukamoto and his clique. Liberals on the administrative staff opposed his tactics. Nisei with more militant attitudes toward race-relations also opposed. Perhaps the most powerful element opposing the J.A.C.L., strangely enough, were the Issei who distrusted Tsukamoto because of his close connections with Caucasians! All of these forces joined hands and in the second Councilman's election defeated all J.A.C.L. men with the exception of Thomas Yego.

The new Council was much more democratic in its approach to their problems. Sometimes it was painstakingly slow and never seemed to get anything done. However, the colony as a whole seemed well pleased with the results of the election.

Gradually, it seems that men with axes to grind were dropped by the wayside. Nisei with more democratic views, Issei more concerned with the welfare of the people began to take over the leadership. Thus the leadership changed from the time when common discontent led to a new type of solution--the strike--to the more rational and deliberative type of solution--negotiation. Certain channels for expression began to be accepted.



Conscious Efforts at Reconstruction

The Planning Board of Issei is gradually gaining recognition as a medium for complaints and readjustments. It has a long and twisting history.

Early in July, realizing that discontent was rising in camp, Frank miyamoto proposed the formation of a Personnel Board to iron out difficulties and to hear complaints. Mr. Shirrell agreed that the suggestion was a good one but did not act upon it. Finally in September when it became obvious to the administrators that all was not well, Mr. Shirrell began asking the Council for an Advisory Committee of some sort. Tsukamoto's group felt that "it should be studied" and tabled the suggestion. Finally, at the suggestion of Mr. Elberson, Yoshimi Shibata drew up the plans for such a Personnel Board. By the time the plans were accepted by the Council, however, it became an all-Issei Planning Board. Elections were held and an impressive array of prominent Issei became members.

Complaints have been heard by the Planning Board and efforts have been made to forestall any trouble. It still remains to be seen whether or not it can become an effective institution for keeping order.

The schools have also tried to take a hand in reconstruction. Many of the classes are oriented around problems of adjustment to camp life. Every effort is being made to integrate the program of the school into the activities of the community. With so many different points of view among the teachers it is difficult to see that the schools would succeed in the effort to form new attitudes suitable for organized control.

Another conscious effort at reconstruction was made by the Cooperatives and their leaders. As might be expected the economic system under which the colonists had lived was no more. True, the medium of exchange was the same, but there were many significant changes. On the economic side, the cooperatives have tried to meet the changed needs of the people.



However, in discussing the coops we must consider one other aim. Some of the leaders envisage a coop-minded Japanese group in the post-war world.

They can see no other salvation for a hard-pressed people after the war. With this in mind, they are doing whatever they can to convert enough people to the philosophy of the cooperatives so ~~that~~ they may be able to take the leadership in the hard days to come.

#### Efforts to Curb Delinquency

One of the first outbursts about juvenile delinquency occurred in Block four early in the history of Tule Lake. The women whose daughters were coming home from dances at all hours in the morning became distressed when they heard rumors that the hospital had hundreds of cases of girls asking for abortions. A rousing meeting was held and it was decided that dances would thereafter be held in the blocks and other be allowed to come by invitation only. This proposal seemed impractical and nothing more was done.

Then, the City Council formed a Judiciary Committee to investigate and to try offenders. Several offenders of various kinds came before the committee but nothing seemed to have been done. Heavy punishments could not be meted out.

Concern over crime grew in the colony and in the fall, the Community Forum held an open door discussion on the subject of crime. Various means for dealing with misdemeanors were discussed and the Tulean Dispatch gave the views wide publicity.

Very little was done, however, until December, when the Wardens, the Planning Board, the City Council, the ministers and other public-minded individuals joined forces and decided that something had to be done. Meetings were held in every block; the Issei became aroused. To date nothing has been done.



#### Efforts to Combat Nisei Apathy

Nisei apathy to public matters has long been the center of concern among the leaders. It seems that the vast majority of the Nisei, as is the case with the American public as a whole, are ill-informed and disinterested in anything other than the opposite sex, fashions in dress, new dance steps, and new songs. Conversation never rises above the level of the above topics, sports, gossip, and petty talk about friends they knew.

The Tulean Dispatch made some effort to arouse Nisei interest through feature articles, editorials, new items. However, since such articles were skipped or did not register when read, they did not have much effect.

The University of California Club--another "intellectual" group to lead the "masses"--made a feeble attempt to arouse the interest in the citizenship and sponsored a mass meeting. The Rally was a dismal failure.

#### Concluding Remarks

It is difficult to speak of social reorganization when the Tule Lake colony is yet in its period of initial adjustment. Many of the old and inefficient rules of behavior still prevail although it is recognized that they are ineffective. Many efforts have been made to meet the new situation. It seems, however, that the solutions improvised to meet the new problems have not yet been generally accepted. Various channels new to the Japanese--Councilmen, Planning Board, social welfare work--are being accepted but only as a last resort.

What we have discussed may turn out to be the embryo of new mechanisms of control, but we cannot be too certain. Will the changes necessitated by the camp conditions lead to a permanent social order? Will the life end in total dissolution? Will a temporary adjustment be made only to be discarded at the end of the war? It is difficult to say at present.