

Patrick Hayashi

*Patrick Hayashi: From Mail Carrier to Associate President to Artist*

Japanese American Intergenerational Narratives Oral History Project

Interviews conducted by  
Shanna Farrell  
in 2023

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Patrick Hayashi, 2020. Photo taken by Greg Linhares.

## Abstract

Patrick Hayashi is a Sansei who was born in 1944 in Topaz, Utah while his family was incarcerated in a World War II Japanese American prison camp. Prior to incarceration, his family lived in Hayward, California where they returned after Topaz closed. Hayashi went to grade and high school in Hayward before attending San Jose State University for college. He later transferred to the University of California, Berkeley. He took a hiatus from college but later returned to UC Berkeley, where he went on to earn with Bachelors, Masters, and Doctorate degrees. Hayashi also worked at UC Berkeley, starting as a mail carrier in 1966, working in the Special Programs Office, teaching in the Asian American Studies department, which he chaired from 1971-73, worked as an Analyst, Special Assistant to the Chancellor, and as Associate Vice Chancellor for Admissions and Enrollment where he became the highest ranking Asian Pacific Islander administrator in the UC system, and as the Associate President in the University of California, Office of the President before he retired in 2004. Since his retirement, Hayashi has become an artist and art collector, with a special interest in work inspired by Japanese American WWII incarceration. In this interview, Hayashi discusses his early life, family, family background, family's experience during WWII incarceration, their life leading up to incarceration, the impact it had on his family—particularly his mother, who died in 1955—and their life after returning to Hayward, family traditions and holidays, early education, involvement in tennis, attending San Jose State, transferring to UC Berkeley, beginning to work on campus as a mail carrier, returning as a student, tenure with the Asian American Studies department, pursuing his Masters and PhD, career at UC Berkeley, working with Chancellor Mike Heyman and UC President Richard Atkinson, debate over the SAT tests, National Merit Scholarship Program and efforts to exit the program, decision to retire, visiting Topaz and getting involved with the survivor and descendant community, becoming interested in collecting art, learning to paint, teaching summer workshops at the Topaz Museum, and reflections on his life and continued interest in art and the legacy of WWII Japanese American incarceration.

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## **Project History**

After the entrance of the United States into World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, which mandated the forced removal of Japanese Americans from their homes on the West Coast into incarceration camps inland for the duration of the war. This unjust incarceration uprooted families, disrupted businesses, and dispersed communities—impacting generations of Japanese Americans.

The Japanese American Intergenerational Narratives Oral History Project documents and disseminates the ways in which intergenerational trauma and healing occurred after the United States government's incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. These interviews examine and compare how private memory, creative expression, place, and public interpretation intersect at sites of incarceration.

Initial interviews in this project focus on the Manzanar and Topaz prison camps in California and Utah, respectively, and pose a comparison through the lens of place, popular culture, and collective memory. How does memory graft differently on different sites? What gets remembered about these sites, and by whom? How does memory differ across generations? Has interpretive work around these sites provided intergenerational catharsis for families of those incarcerated? Does geography and popular culture matter in the healing process?

Exploring narratives of healing as a through line, these interviews of descendants of World War II incarceration investigate the impact of different types of healing, how this informs collective memory, and how these narratives change across generations.

This oral history project began in 2021 with generous funding from the National Park Service's Japanese American Confinement Sites Grant. Most of the early interviews were conducted remotely via Zoom due to the global COVID-19 pandemic.



## Interview 1: March 10, 2023

01-00:00:07

Farrell:

Okay, this is Shanna Farrell with Patrick Hayashi on Friday, March 10, 2023. This is our first session for the Japanese American Intergenerational Narratives project and we are speaking over Zoom. Patrick, thank you so much for joining me today. It's a pleasure to speak with you. We're going to start in a way that I don't typically start, but I wanted to ask you about something recent in your life, which is your interest puppetry. How did you get interested in puppetry?

01-00:00:40

Hayashi:

This is my puppet Enrico. I was watching some on news clips about a puppet, Little Amal. She's a twelve-foot puppet and she represents a ten-year-old Syrian girl who's walking through Europe to try to find her mother. Almost everywhere she goes, she brings people to tears. Kids hold her hand, so she shook hands with the Pope. But then in Greece, the local school children had worked for weeks making puppets to greet her but when she went to their town, their village, some racist thugs started throwing rocks at her, and they end up not only hitting her but also some of the school children. I thought, jeez, puppets have a power when they're handled masterfully, and so that just got me started learning more and more about puppets and puppetry. I'm seventy-nine now, and so there's a question about how many years I have left, and I read somewhere that it's helpful to ask how many more Thanksgivings will you have. It puts a particular focus on the question. When I asked that, I immediately came up with an answer of, well, maybe two, maybe seven. Whatever the answer was, the number was not large, so the question is how do I spend the remaining years.

01-00:02:58

Puppetry seemed to be a good thing to explore because I do some speaking, and I do some of work in leadership development for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Sometimes I sing in the talks, and I thought, well, maybe I'd try to add a little puppetry to it too. The reason for that is if I do something that's unexpected it gives permission to the participants to do things that are unexpected. In this one program that I've participated in for over twenty-five years, the participants, they're all pretty high-ranking college administrators, they do amazing things when they do their final presentation about how they experienced the workshop. They'll do some drumming, they'll do dancing, they'll sing, and some people just talk, but they open up in a really remarkable way.

01-00:04:33

I remember this one man from Mt. San Antonio Community College in Los Angeles. He was from Vietnam and he talked about growing up in Vietnam and living in an apartment with thirty-six other people. And then he moved, and he moved to an apartment with only twenty-one other people and so it was better. When he finished high school, he came to the United States with

his family and he began at Laney College, and he was an honor student even though he was working full-time. He transferred to the Haas Business School, it's a very hard school to get in, and again, he won high honors there, but he was working full-time in a financial firm. I thought, well, this guy is amazing, but in his statement, he said that he and his siblings were working so hard just to keep the family afloat that he didn't notice when his father got cancer. His father didn't want to bother the kids because he saw how hard they were working, and so when they finally found out, his father was beyond help. When he is talking about this, he starts to cry, and I thought, wow. Anyway, I don't know what that has to do with puppetry but—

01-00:06:26

Farrell:

Does participating in puppetry made you think about storytelling or even how you want to tell your own story?

01-00:06:40

Hayashi:

About fifty years ago, Clark Kerr headed up something he called the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, and that Carnegie Commission commissioned several books, about I think maybe close to fifty books on different aspects of higher education. There was one Israeli scholar who was asked to write about the American college presidency. He studied American college presidents and he concluded that the most important function of an American college president was to be a storyteller, to tell the story of the institution in a way that people came to appreciate and support it financially and politically and emotionally. The more I read about leadership, the more I've become convinced that that really is the major function of storytelling of college presidents or college leaders of any kind.

01-00:08:22

Farrell:

So yeah, let's talk a little bit about your story. Can you tell me where and when you were born and a little bit about your early life?

01-00:08:32

Hayashi:

I was born in the Topaz, Utah, in 1944. I was born in a Japanese American concentration camp and I don't remember anything about that, but the Topaz has affected my entire life and it continues to affect my life. I've just been interested in understanding that more and more. My mother had a rheumatic heart and after the camp, she died when I was eleven. My father believed that Topaz had essentially killed my mother by wearing her down because it was a tough life, and he became very quiet. He was always very quiet, then he became almost completely shut in. That quietness contained a rage, sorrow, a whole range of emotions, and it's affected me deeply. I think many people who studied the Holocaust have studied the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Oftentimes it's transmitted through stories, but often times, through the absence of stories as well, and so storytelling has become a big interest of mine. Jerome Bruner, who was a cognitive psychologist at Harvard, wrote an essay that said that the story is the most important creation of humankind. It's what distinguishes us from other creatures. We have a propensity and an

ability to tell our own narratives and the narratives of our community, and that's what I've been doing.

01-00:11:14

Farrell:

Can you tell me your mother's name and some of your early memories of her?

01-00:11:20

Hayashi:

Her name was Alice or Aiko, A-I-K-O, and she was a gentle person and extremely hardworking. I remember once she's told me that my father, Henry, or Taro, had never told her that he loved her, but she always knew that he did. Now that was an unusual conversation but I never forgot it. When she died—she got progressively weaker as her heart got progressively weaker, she lived in a hospital bed in our living room. I remember one morning, early morning around seven o'clock, my father calling the family doctor saying that, "I think Alice has died." I remember going down and there she was lifeless in the bed. I also remember my brother, Gerald trying to shake her awake, and then my father saying to me after the ambulance came to take her away that he wished that she could've lived just a little while longer.

01-00:13:16

Now one of the things that my mother did during the summers was that she worked in Hunt's cannery, which was about five blocks away from where we grew up in Hayward. I think she got off around one o'clock, and she would stand next to a conveyor belt and pit peaches—she had a little specialty knife for that. My father would set the alarm and he would always go pick her up. She would've preferred to walk home, but he wouldn't think of that. I always saw these little gestures like that, well, she realized that he truly loved her. I remember one time about five or six years ago, my brother Norman—my oldest brother—asked me if I had ever seen Dad hit Mom. I said, "No, have you?" He said he wasn't sure because one time he got in the car and something had happened between the two of them, and my mother was just very quiet and might have been crying. That's a disturbing question but I thought about it when, in Monterey Park and in Half Moon Bay, there were these mass killings, and the murderers were older Asian men. I think we have two mass murders a day in the United States and so we've become numb to them, but the fact that the killers were old Asian men made me think of the conversation with Norman.

01-00:15:44

There is a Black psychotherapist named Resmaa Menakem who believes that poor people of color almost from birth, the violence of racism becomes embodied in us. I found that to be an interesting point of view because I could imagine those old, Asian men living really tough lives and being pushed down by racism, and that something triggers that, and they go fly into a murderous rage. Rage has always been a challenge of mine. I've always been an angry person, and sometimes, something could set me off, and I'd be crazed.

01-00:17:12

There was a time when I was appointed associate vice chancellor for admissions and enrollment [at the University of California, Berkeley] in 1988. That appointment resulted in me being the highest-ranking Asian American in the UC system at the time. I was appointed because in 1986 after years of steady growth, the Asian American enrollments at Berkeley dropped, and community leaders accused the campus correctly of using illegal means to try to suppress Asian American enrollments. The big concern was that white enrollments were dropping sharply as a result. I was Chancellor Heyman's assistant at the time, and Mike Heyman and I would meet every morning as soon as he got in, and we'd go over the days. He was feeling a lot of pressure because of the Asian American enrollment accusations and Asian American community leaders putting pressure on him that he eventually apologized in a legislative hearing in Sacramento. The community leaders thanked him for this apology, but they also said, "There are no Asian Americans in high-level positions on campus and if you mean what you say, you'll appoint at least one." Mike was a big man—six-four or something—and he would walk around. He was walking around in one of our meetings after that hearing and he was saying, "You know they're right, I should appoint an Asian American, but where in the hell could I find one?" That's how I got appointed associate vice chancellor. And the appointment was covered in *Newsweek*, it was covered in *Der Spiegel*, it was covered in the *Economist*, it was covered in the *Asian Wall Street Journal* and so it was a big deal.

01-00:20:09

But it was difficult for me because it was very, very clear that I was appointed because I'm Asian. One of the things that I had to do in this new position was I had to do a lot of public presentations about admissions, and everywhere I went, people would ask me about just how did I get this job. They were, of course, asking me how did I feel about being an affirmative action appointment, being appointed in substantial measure because of being Asian. I would try to handle those questions through joking around. I would say that "there was this admissions controversy over Asian American enrollments and the chancellor had to do something, and for me, it was a matter of being on the right race at the right time." Describing myself as the "Asian for the occasion" always made people smile and laugh except other Asian Americans. They looked sad and disappointed and so I didn't quite know what to do. It was a tough time.

01-00:22:04

But then I got invited to speak at the annual banquet of the Golden Gate Optimist Club. This was a service club that was by and run by Asian Americans, principally Japanese Americans. The most prestigious Japanese Americans in the Bay Area were members of the club, my family physician for example, and I was a guest of honor. After dinner, I was speaking, and for the first time, I was able to relax as I spoke because I was with my own people. I told them that what gave me the most pleasure and satisfaction about overseeing admissions was the work I was able to do in racially integrating

the campus, recruiting and enrolling larger numbers of Black students and Hispanics students.

01-00:23:20

Farrell: This is—oh, sorry, go ahead.

01-00:23:22

Hayashi: Oh, go ahead.

01-00:23:24

Farrell: I think you're getting at representation matters, and these things are really important, and we're definitely going to talk more in depth about this as we go. But I do want to back up a little bit and talk a little bit more about your early life and your family. I'm wondering if you could tell me a little bit about your mom's background, what generation she was—a little bit about her story?

01-00:23:52

Hayashi: She was a Nisei, second generation. She grew up in Los Angeles and my uncle put together a family history with a family tree, and he noted that she was adopted. Now, I didn't know what that meant and my uncle died before I was able to ask him, so I don't know what that meant. She trained as a seamstress and she was quite skilled at making clothes, and for Halloween, she used to make our own costumes. But to my everlasting shame, I wanted the store-bought costumes that all the other kids had and so I wasn't able to appreciate it. She loved crossword puzzles and she read I think romances. One of the wonderful things about my family is that we're all readers—all of us read constantly. That legacy came from my father because he was reading constantly, and he would take us, the kids, to the library every week without fail, and we would hang out for an hour in the library. I was blessed because the Hayward Library had an extraordinary children's librarian. We used to sit around not so much maybe watching TV, but just sitting around as a family with my mother, and that became our evening gathering and I think it pleased her. I know as a kid, I didn't really understand or appreciate all that she was going through, but I remember those moments, they were warm family moments.

01-00:26:29

She was also the person who connected us with the larger Japanese American community. My father was, as I said, very quiet. I suspect that he was also shy to a degree. The Japanese American community coalesced around one or two churches or temples, and we went to a church in Hayward that was built by a local minister and nurseryman, and so he built it on his land. I found out—it was a Holiness Church—and I found out much later that the Holiness Church is a kind of extreme branch of the Pentecostal church. In the South, in a lot of Holiness churches people speak in tongues and the spirit invades them and it possesses them, but in my Holiness Church, the tongue people spoke in was

Japanese. They had services in both English and Japanese. Our whole family, that was the community center of our family.

01-00:28:19

But when my mom died, we lost touch with the church because my father didn't have the kinds of inclinations and skills to continue that connection. I remember she died I think in early December and then for around Christmas time, the church in the early evening sent some carolers to our house, and they were caroling. I'm not sure but I think that the convention would for our family to go out and thank them but we didn't. We didn't even acknowledge that they were there and I remember that. It's so funny I've never talked about this before, about the deep separation that occurred between my family and the Japanese American community.

01-00:29:31

Farrell:

You didn't acknowledge them? Do you have a sense of that?

01-00:29:37

Hayashi:

I don't, other than I think that my father was pretty shy, and I think that their appearance may have embarrassed him—and I'm not sure, I'm just guessing. When I think about it, there may have been some anger too about how could any God allow this to happen, but I don't know. It's one of those occasions in our lives that form us, but we don't really understand them. I don't understand them.

01-00:30:32

Farrell:

Yeah.

01-00:30:34

Hayashi:

The interesting thing, now that I'm talking about it and this is the first time I've ever talked about it, is that the lack of resolution about what happened and why it happened. I think it's true of a lot of events in our lives and it's the indeterminacy that shapes us in a particular way.

01-00:31:03

Farrell:

What was it like for you to have that separation from the church after your mother passed away?

01-00:31:10

Hayashi:

I think like a lot of Japanese Americans—oh, Masako [Takahashi] talks about this—I remember growing up, I wished that I were not Japanese American. I wished that I was white and I would fantasize about it, and even to the extent of hoping that one day I would wake up being white. That's a strange way to grow up. Had we stayed connected with the church, then I would've made Japanese American friends, I would've played in Japanese American sports leagues. I wouldn't have danced because it was Pentecostal, and I heard that Pentecostals are opposed to premarital sex because that it could lead to dancing and—but—

01-00:32:32

Farrell: Like that town in *Footloose*?

01-00:32:34

Hayashi: Yeah. I just had no connection and so I grew up with white friends and white activities. I played a lot of sports and I was a terrible student in high school. I think that in retrospect, one of the reasons I was such a terrible student was because of the void that my mother's death left in me. My oldest brother Norman, he took off and went to LA where he became a skin diver. He did a lot of diving, that was his community, and he worked in a printmaking shop. My other brother Gerald, as soon as he graduated from high school, he joined the marines, and so we just went our separate ways. My little sister Marilyn, she was sent to live with my uncle Warren and his wife and their children in Oakland where we grew up in the family home. My father would bring her home with the weekends, and finally she said that she couldn't stand the arrangement, so she lived with us as part of the family. I think she missed the family such as it was.

01-00:34:33

Farrell: Does birth order go Norman, Gerald, you, and then your sister?

01-00:34:37

Hayashi: Yes, and I didn't know about birth. Norman is four years older than me, Gerald is two years older than me, then me, and then my sister is four years younger. I had it worked out that babies appeared every two years except for my sister. I remember thinking for a while that something happened to the missing sibling.

01-00:35:12

Farrell: That's interesting, yeah. [laughs] I'm wondering then if you could tell me a little bit about your father Henry—and I won't be able to pronounce his Japanese name correctly, so I'll call him by his American name, Henry—what was his background and then some of your early memories of him?

01-00:35:36

Hayashi: Dad went to Berkeley. I actually have a wonderful picture of him sitting on the lawn outside of the Life Sciences Building and he has, on the ground next to him, a he pile of books that I think were tied together with a belt-like arrangement. I think that he was part of some Japanese American student club, and then he wanted to be an engineer. But after the camps, being the eldest son, I think he felt obligated to take over the running of the family nursery. It was trashed during the war.

01-00:36:48

One of the things about Japanese Americans is that there is a missing generation. That most Japanese Americans came expecting to make their fortune and returned to Japan, but like a lot of immigrant groups with that hope, they become part of the life and rather than return to Japan, they created their own lives here. At a relatively older age, they send for wives, their

relatives in Japan arranged marriages. The Issei, the first generation, and the Nisei, the second-generation, there is almost a missing generation between them because they didn't realize that they were hanging around in the United States. When they finally sent for their wives, rather than being in their mid-twenties, they were more likely to be closer to forty and so I think that missing generation affected a lot of things. Among other things, it affected communication between the Issei, the first generation and the Nisei. When we were put in into concentration camps, that generational divide became exacerbated because for—at least initially—meetings held in Japanese were prohibited. The Nisei took over, they became the leaders of the community, and they kind of inverted the traditional hierarchy in our community. And then Issei were not allowed to be citizens, and so the Nisei had that characteristic that the Issei did not have. I just think really a lot of stress developed between the generations.

01-00:39:24

Farrell: What generation was your father?

01-00:39:30

Hayashi: He was Issei.

01-00:39:33

Farrell: Issei, okay.

01-00:39:34

Hayashi: No, he was a Nisei, Nisei.

01-00:39:36

Farrell: Okay, yeah, because if his family had a nursery, that would make sense if he was Nisei, yeah, okay. Was he from the Bay Area or down South?

01-00:39:48

Hayashi: He was from the Bay Area. My grandfather had started a florist and a nursery in Alameda, and that's how that happened. I think that in the camps, my grandfather was in his mid-seventies and my father was still in his twenties, so there was that huge gap there. I remember my father rather proudly saying that my grandfather had gone to high school, and in that time period, going to high school was like going to college. My own older brother Norman thought that my grandfather was a pretty strict and demanding man with respect to his sons fulfilling their obligations for family and community.

01-00:41:04

I mentioned this earlier, one of the big things about my father was that he read and made us all readers and that was a blessing, and I think it was a blessing to him too. The other thing that that he did was that he—well, do you know how when you go to a florist or a grocery store and you buy flowers that they come in these little plastic sleeves? My grandfather invented that and he patented the process. What he did is he created the sleeves in paper and they're cone shaped so that they can nest in each other and there's a hole in the



bottom. These plastic sleeves would go over a stand and you put the potted plant on the top of the stand and then you pull up the innermost sleeve, and the plant is automatically wrapped. Growing up, I remember that we had the originals prototype of the stand that he developed. I don't know what happened to it, it's a regret, I wish I could have it. He sold the patent, but the guy didn't pay him, so he sued and he regained the patent, but he wasn't even able to mass-produce it.

01-00:43:00

But then my father also patented a clamp, I should have brought it, but it's way to clamp tubing together. I remember that he had my little sister Marilyn do the typing for the patent application. I asked her what the patent was for and she said, "I can't tell you. Dad made me promise not to tell anyone." When he died and we were cleaning out my dad's house, I got all of his stuff surrounding that patent, the prototype. I remember I have one thing where he had this back of the envelope calculations if I sell 10,000 of these at five dollars apiece. Anyway it was really interesting to see that.

01-00:44:07

One of the things we did is we used to get peat moss in big bales about the size of a bale of hay. My job was to break them up using a shovel because they were really compacted. But he kept trying to develop a machine that could do that, break up the peat moss, so the whole old nursery was littered with welded carcasses of peat moss breakers that didn't work. He also built a tractor, which would use a car engine for it. It was a miniature tractor, and so he was always inventing and creating.

01-00:45:09

Farrell:

Did you work in the nursery growing up?

01-00:45:12

Hayashi:

Oh yeah, I don't know how old I was when I started working there. All the kids worked in the nursery. I probably started working when I was around seven or eight, maybe a little older. I started working whenever the child labor laws permitted me to work and the family was scrupulous in adhering to the child labor laws, and I got paid. I think I started at seventy-five cents an hour, and I would get a check and then I'd deposit it. The nursery was a big deal in our family, it was. Everything revolved around the nursery. One of the things that happened is that my father and my uncle, but particularly my father, demanded that we work very, very hard and efficiently. Efficiency was a big value for him, and I grew up being compared with my older brother Norman and my brother Gerald who were both extremely hard workers and smart workers. I grew up thinking that I was just an awful worker because that was the message I was getting from my father. But it was only after I started working outside the nursery with the other people that I found that I worked harder than almost anyone else and smarter too. Now, I'm very interested in how people learn how to work. I think that having a work ethic, not only an ethic but also attention to how to work smart is a real gift in a person.

01-00:47:59

Farrell:

[I usually ask people about their early] life quite a bit but how do people learn how to work, I think that's a really interesting thing to think about. I wonder how much of that had to do with your age as well? You're younger than Norman and Gerald, so as you get older, it's easier for you to work harder, but age might play a role in that as well. But what were some of the jobs you had at the nursery when you were growing up?

01-00:48:32

Hayashi:

[laughs] One was to help load trucks. We grew azaleas and Easter lilies and cyclamen and rhododendrons. The azaleas were grown in peat moss, so the pots were very light, and so I was always tried to see how many pots I could carry in one load and I got up to seven. I would somehow hold two pots in each hand, have two in my elbows, and then I could hold a seventh one by pulling my hands together so I'd walk to the truck that way. I think my father thought I was insane and because it takes longer to do that than make two trips. I would the break up the peat moss, I would water. One of the things about growing up in agriculture is it's a seven-day job. There's no time off. We had a flood once and so we raised all the beds and put them on cinder blocks. One of my jobs was to crawl on my belly throughout the nursery painting a line of insecticide around the block to keep insects from getting up. Well, that was an awful job—it was wet in there. But to keep me from getting bored, I used to make these mazes that the smart insect could get through. My father would see these mazes on the cinderblocks and it confirmed his belief that I was a good-for-nothing guy. Those were the kinds of things I did.

01-00:50:47

Farrell:

Did you enjoy that work?

01-00:50:51

Hayashi:

No, it was all manual labor and because my father saw me as essentially lazy and not very smart about working, I got more manual labor, rote kinds of things to do. One of the things I did is that in order to raise the beds, I had to cut two-by-fours in eight-inch lengths. I'd take an eight-foot two-by-four and then saw it in eight-inch lengths. But I would do that all day and it's just very hard to keep sawing all day, but that was the kinds of things that I did. As a result, I got very strong, and that's one good thing about manual labor is that you get strong.

01-00:52:08

Farrell:

Were your father's parents around the nursery at all when you were growing up?

01-00:52:15

Hayashi:

No, when the nursery was in the back of our family home in Oakland, yes, but then when it moved to Union City, they wouldn't come. They were too old, basically.

01-00:52:36

Farrell:

Okay, did you spend any time with them growing up?

01-00:52:41

Hayashi:

Only when we lived in Oakland. My grandfather preferred to speak in Japanese and I didn't speak Japanese. I remember him; I remember every night he would have a half shot of whiskey. I think it was hard on my mother because it fell to her to do all the cooking and cleaning, and she was weak. She had, at that time, three kids, my father, my grandmother, grandfather, and my uncle all lived under one roof, so she would have to do all the cooking and cleaning for all of us. It wasn't that my father was on extraordinarily demanding about it, it's just that at that time, that's how the rules shook out. He would work all day. After the war, he and my uncle became gardeners, yeah, so that they could get an income stream. They'd have a gardening route. I think that was hard on my father and my uncle because you're essentially a servant, and they're both very proud people. After they worked all day, they would come home and work in the nursery trying to repair it and build it up and on weekends, that's all they did.

01-00:54:38

Farrell:

Yeah, I wanted to ask also if you have a sense of how your parents met?

01-00:54:46

Hayashi:

I think it was an arranged meeting. After the introduction, I don't think they would have been compelled to marry each other. I think they genuinely fell in love with each other. My mother had a capacity to really appreciate how my father expressed his love for his family, which is through supporting everyone. I think my father was able to appreciate my mother's warmth and also the fact that she worked very hard on behalf of all of us. I think that her heart failure saddened him in a deep way. She had open heart surgery in the late '50s, and that was when open heart surgery hadn't been as fully developed as it is now, and she could hear the doctors operating on her.

01-00:56:24

Farrell:

Wow.

01-00:56:25

Hayashi:

She said that she heard them say, "Wow, I think she's gone," and they said, "Well, let's try this one last thing." They were able to save her. But I don't know exactly what was wrong with her. Probably today, you could do a lot more.

01-00:56:49

Farrell:

Yeah, yeah, I'm also wondering too as you're growing up if there were any special holidays? In general, were there any holidays that were special in your family that you always looked forward to every year or were a part of your annual ritual?

01-00:57:10

Hayashi:

Christmas was a big deal because our parents gave us very nice presents at Christmas, and so that was a big deal. We would usually hold it with just our immediate family, and that was pretty much it.

01-00:57:39

Farrell:

Well, so for Christmas, were there any foods or were there any things that you looked forward to eating every year at Christmas?

t 01-00:57:39

Hayashi:

I don't remember that. I don't think that food was an important ritual for us. But as I say that, I think about that one tradition with us, we would have a family dinner on Sundays, Sunday afternoon. That was when my parents would have steak, and I didn't like steak and so they would make me a hamburger, which was just fine with them, but we all sat around. I don't remember family conversations. I think conversation, I don't know how developed it was. We were a quiet family. I read about other families, and they were pretty boisterous and convivial, that wasn't our family.

01-00:58:56

Farrell:

Yeah, I'm wondering if you feel like now might be a good time to talk about your family's experience at Topaz? Or is there anything else in this part of the conversation that we left out that you want to discuss?

01-00:59:11

Hayashi:

No, one of the things that happened at Topaz is that my father and uncle worked as harvesting beets. One of the reasons that the camp was located in Utah is that some politicians lobbied for the camp to be there because they could use the men as a source of labor in agriculture. Somewhere mid camp, my uncle and father went to Chicago. The men were allowed to leave and go to Chicago or in the Midwest away from the coast, and they worked there. I never talked to my father about that, or my uncle. My brother said during the Q&A—I gave a talk about the Topaz Museum at the California Historical Society—and during the Q&A, my brother Norman described how my father came back from Chicago, and my grandfather and grandmother took him and Gerald and said, "Let's go outside." My father went in to see my mother and then Norman said, "And then nine months later, Pat was born." That's pretty much what I know about the camps in my family there.

01-01:01:22

I visited it, Topaz, and I went to where my family's barracks were. It was interesting. There's hardly anything there then. I got to know Jane Beckwith who started the Topaz Museum. She would teach a class for Utah teachers on Topaz, and I got to know her, and then I would help her teach that workshop. It was, I think, a two-day workshop or something like that, and I used to enjoy it. There were usually thirty people in each workshop and they were there by choice, and so they were very, very interested in the camps. I'm not sure about this, but I think that some Mormons have a particular interest in the local history, and so, and they were exceedingly polite. Jane is not a Mormon, but

she grew up with Mormons, and she would say that of the thirty people, at least twenty-nine were Mormon. I said, "How can you know?" She says she just knew, and she said some of the men wore a particular underwear under their shorts, and you could see them. It was kind of like tights.

01-01:03:25

One year, when I was talking, I actually opened the program. I said that a team of religious anthropologists at BYU [Brigham Young University] had made a wonderful discovery that they had found strong archaeological evidence corroborated by biblical verses that Jesus Christ was Japanese, and [laughs] they were stunned. They're all white, and they were stunned, and I said that, "No, they had strong evidence that Jesus loves miso." It was really funny. People in the front the, men who were really polite, they start wadding up paper and throwing it at me, little paper balls, but I enjoyed them. I enjoyed working with Jane, and I enjoyed talking about Topaz. It gave me an opportunity to reflect on it, and I could say whatever I wanted. It wasn't my job to tell the history.

01-01:05:02

I remember one time, I shared with them a poem by Sylvia Plath called "Sheep in Fog." Part of it says that, "The hills step off into whiteness, people or stars regard me sadly, I disappoint them. The far fields melt my heart." I said that one of the reasons I love that poem is because it gave me a sense of how my father must have felt. That he had this incredible burden put on him. That he had to turn away from his own interests and just work to keep the family together and supported. One of my brothers asked or maybe my sister asked, "Were we poor growing up?" I said, "I don't know. We never wanted for anything, but we didn't have stuff that other families had." My brother said, "We were extremely poor." Gerald said this day, yeah, and he gave examples. So I think it was tough on my uncle and father.

01-01:06:43

Farrell:

I've heard some of the interviews you've done or some of the talks that you've given and had heard you say that not a lot was discussed about your family's time at Topaz. I want to talk about that in a second, but did your brothers ever talk about it?

01-01:07:02

Hayashi:

Only Norman. There's this organization called J-Sei in Emeryville. It's a community center, a beautiful place, and I think he took a class. It might have been run by Ruth Sasaki and he wrote there. He told me that Topaz really affected him in a negative way. That he was bullied and he was afraid of my father, and so it made him, I think, vigilant and fearful. Now, I would never have guessed that from Norman.

01-01:08:04

Farrell:

So he would've been around four?

01-01:08:09

Hayashi: Yeah, he was born probably in '40.

01-01:08:11

Farrell: Those are probably some of his earliest memories.

01-01:08:14

Hayashi: Yeah.

01-01:08:15

Farrell: Yeah, yeah.

01-01:08:19

Hayashi: There was a woman who somehow came upon a box of children's paintings from a woman who taught a children's art class at Topaz. She was presenting at J-Sei and she said that they were able to identify all of the children except one, Makoto Hayashi, and my brother Norman said, "That's me," because that's his Japanese name. He was able to see the picture he had painted as a kid.

01-01:09:00

Farrell: Hmm, yeah, I also had heard in some of those talks that your family didn't talk about Topaz very often, but your mom did talk about James Wakasa.

01-01:09:15

Hayashi: Yes.

01-01:09:15

Farrell: I am interested in what your takeaway—I've heard you mention it—was her warning you to be wary of white people. But I'm wondering if you could share what the story you heard about James Wakasa was from your mom?

01-01:09:32

Hayashi: My mom told me that an old deaf man, Mr. Wakasa, who was walking his adopted stray dog around the perimeter of the camp, and he would do that every afternoon. His dog got caught in the barbed wire fence and Mr. Wakasa went to save him and release him. The sentry ordered him to back away from the fence, but because he was deaf, he couldn't do it, and so the sentry shot and killed him. That was one story she told me. The other story was about her uncle, who was really I think her second cousin, who was picked up right after Pearl Harbor and he was a doctor and taught kendo and he was a community leader. I think the FBI had a long-established list of community leaders and swept through the community and arrested him. They took him away and then a week later contacted his wife and said that she could claim his body because he had died of complications related to his diabetes, but he wasn't diabetic. Those two stories were the two stories that she told me. I think the moral of the stories was don't trust white people, it's a dangerous world.

01-01:11:32

Farrell:

A couple of follow-up questions on that is when did you put that together that that was the moral of the story?

01-01:11:42

Hayashi:

I didn't like the stories because I didn't like the message and so I just forgot about them. But then in I think in—I forgot—in the late '80s, there was an art exhibit called *The View From Within* of art that was produced in the camps. I had zero interest in art, but I went there, and I was looking at the paintings and drawings. I felt really uncomfortable in museums because I hadn't grown up going to museums other than an occasional field trip from school, so I didn't know how to behave there. I didn't know if there was a dress code or I didn't know which way to walk. But as soon as I went in there and I started looking at the paintings, I started to choke up. It was the astonishing because I'd never responded to any art, and something was happening internally. I choked up with more and more and then the fourth painting I saw was Chiura Obata's Sumi sketch of James Wakasa falling over after he was shot, and I started to sob. It was terribly embarrassing, but everyone around me, was mainly Nisei, they were crying too. That's when I started revisiting the camps in a systematic way.

01-01:13:56

When I taught Asian American studies at Berkeley, I taught freshman reading and composition. At the time, there wasn't much Asian American literature, so we taught mainly Black literature but there was one book, *No-No Boy*, that had been written by John Okada. It was in the camps, there was a questionnaire administered, and two of the questions were especially problematic. One question was: Do you swear or do you repudiate any allegiance to the Emperor of Japan? The other question was: Are you willing to fight in combat in the armed forces? A lot of Japanese Americans thought that the first question was will you repudiate allegiance to the Emperor was a trick question. Because I don't think any Nisei had any allegiance to the Emperor, and they felt if they repudiate it, it was an indication that they had allegiance. The Issei, who were not citizens and were unable to be citizens because of racist laws, if they repudiated allegiance to the Emperor, they would become stateless people without a country and would have no rights whatsoever. And then: Will you serve in the armed forces? That was a tricky question because the JACL—Japanese American Citizens League—were encouraging people to say, “Yes,” and to volunteer to fight. But a lot of people felt, “I'm in a prison camp and you want me to fight?”

01-01:16:25

I gave that book to my father for Christmas and he opened it up, unwrapped it, and he said, "*No-No Boy*, I was a no-no boy." Because the people who said, “No,” and, “No,” were called no-no boys, and they were ostracized by the Japanese American community. That astonished me because I had seen my father as pretty passive and I couldn't imagine him taking a stand, a principled

stand. He didn't know the consequences because some of the people who said, "No," and "No," were sent to Tule Lake.

01-01:17:10

Farrell: Yeah, and he wasn't sent to Tule Lake.

01-01:17:12

Hayashi: No. I asked Jane [Beckwith] about that, and she said not everyone who said, "No," and, "No," was sent to Tule Lake, and so, but I don't know, I wasn't able to talk to my father. When my dad died, we had a new minister at our church who didn't know him, so he convened a family get-together in our family house. We were talking about Dad so that he could get information for his eulogy. I remember my brother Norman saying that he made readers out of all of us, yeah, which was true, and my sister Marilyn remembered him brushing his false teeth. He would keep them in a jelly jar and in the morning take a toothbrush—and they used Ivory soap to brush their teeth—and she said that he sang "You are My Sunshine." Imagining my father singing was unheard of, yeah, and then I said, "Well, Dad was a no-no boy." My uncle Warren said, "Henry was a no-no boy. Are you sure?" I explained to him about the gift and he said, "I was a no-no boy too." I had thought to myself, well, that pretty much says it all about communication in our family, no one said anything to anyone.

01-01:19:04

Farrell: They didn't communicate that to each other. I mean being a no-no boy, there's a lot there, and so I have to imagine there were reasons that they didn't share that with each other. But it is interesting that it comes out for both of them later in life.

01-01:19:25

Hayashi: Well, they were very, very close, and my mother said that they had never had an argument. They had worked nearly every day of their life together. But there was ten-year difference between them and Warren was my dad's half-brother because my dad's mother had died and so my grandfather remarried. I've always wondered about how you could spend your life with someone and make a decision like that with unforeseen consequences and not talk to your brother about it. I think they made principled decisions, decisions that could have had major consequences for them and their families, but that they kept it to themselves because they saw it as personal matter. I think it was a matter of their own dignity and own courage. It was interesting to see that, my uncle's reaction to learning that Dad was a no-no boy too.

01-01:21:03

Farrell: I find that really interesting because the literature on no-no boys is that they were mostly sent to Tule Lake, and it was more of a public thing. It's interesting to hear this was a private matter for them and, as you mentioned, one of personal dignity.



01-01:21:20

Hayashi:

Yeah. That's the problem of having these questions too late. Now, a friend of mine is a top executive in the Japanese American Citizens League, the JACL, and she said, "Why don't you join?" I said, "My family hates the JACL." JACL was referred to as the Jackals, and a lot of it is because of their position of appeasement and encouraging people to go to war and die.

01-01:22:11

Farrell:

[How did your family express their feelings about the] JACL?

01-01:22:16

Hayashi:

Just silently. There was just contempt and it wasn't discussed. Things were so rarely discussed, yeah, and I think on a continuum, more on the quiet side of Japanese American families. But from what I gathered from a lot of my friends is that the camps were rarely discussed. One of my close friends Judy Sakaki, she grew up thinking that the camps were kind of summer camps. I think that's true of a lot of people.

01-01:22:58

Farrell:

You know, what you just mentioned are things that we've been hearing from people that we've been interviewing. A lot of people thought they were summer camps because it's just referred to as camps. When you don't have a sense of it and there's a lot of silence around it and it's not discussed, as a little kid hearing that, your mind is going to go to the positive version of that instead of the negative one.

01-01:23:21

Hayashi:

Yeah, but I think that in my case, we did not discuss the camps, but the message that was sent from my father and my mother and my uncle was that the camps were an awful, unjust experience, and unforgivable. When I was teaching Asian American studies, freshman reading and composition, I read a lot of James Baldwin. There's one essay in particular, "Notes of a Native Son" where Baldwin's father had died, and there were race riots in Harlem right at the time his father died. There was broken glass and people who he described as "race men" standing on corners feeling angry. There were the groups of church people just trying to keep the community together and not hurt itself by trashing the community.

01-01:25:00

He's drunk and he goes to the father's funeral, and someone—the minister—starts a eulogy about his father. He describes his father as an upright, responsible person who was generous to his family and his church, and Baldwin is astonished because he didn't see his father that way at all. I guess his father was suffering from some mental illness and he saw his father as a menacing, stern, emotionally crippled person, spiritually crippled. But then as he's hearing this other description of his father, he starts to think that maybe his father was like this, that he was generous and responsible. He remembers a biblical verse, "Thou knowest this man's fall, but thou knowest not his wrassling." He focused on his father's failures, but he didn't know anything

about how hard he had tried, so that made me reconsider my own father. I knew all of his failures and particularly his emotional remoteness, but I didn't know how hard he tried. Then there's this is a reassessment that constantly goes on in our lives if we're lucky. That had a big impact on me.

01-01:27:09

The other thing that Baldwin did is he helped me understand my rage. And how if you've been suppressed constantly by racism, that goes somewhere and then it explodes. That was my pattern, and then it made me realize that it must have been my father's experience as well. He was a proud man, he was smart, but it was clear, the injustice was clear to him and so it must have gone somewhere.

01-01:27:59

Farrell:

Mm-hmm, the internalization of all that I think is also where it becomes embodied as you were talking about at the beginning as well. When you internalize it, it becomes part of your body and can be a physical thing.

01-01:28:15

Hayashi:

Yes.

01-01:28:15

Farrell:

I really appreciate you sharing all that. These are really interesting points, and I'm wondering at what point you came to be aware of these things? Was this later in life or was this as it was happening, halfway?

01-01:28:42

Hayashi:

I think it started when I got involved in Asian American studies and then started reading and teaching *No-No Boy* and "Notes of a Native Son," and understanding that being a person of color in the United States and what that meant. But I think with me and a lot of other Japanese Americans, maybe particularly Japanese American men, that our initial stance is I never would've gone into a camp, I would've resisted, I would've gone to a federal prison instead. As you get older, you start realizing that imagined, hypothetical valor is a form of deep cowardice, and then you say would I have really done that? The answer is probably no. I had to work through my own chagrin and realization that a lot of my judgments about my father were not fair, were not textured, and so that that's been interesting too.

01-01:30:28

Farrell:

Yeah, and we're going to, I think, in our next session, talk more about your career and your work in the Asian American studies department and being head and things like that. We'll talk more about that next time. But I am just backing up a little bit. One thing you mentioned this, and I've also heard you talk about how your family's nursery was basically stripped bare, before they went to Tanforan, before Topaz, in about twenty-four hours it was stripped bare. What was it like for your family to come back to the Bay Area?

01-01:31:10

Hayashi:

I can only imagine it. It was my uncle who told me about how everything had been vandalized and trashed, and things were stolen, and I guess it was a real mess and it was painful for him to describe it. My father never said a word about it and that's all I know. It was one of those things. It was an event that I know was momentous, extraordinarily important in my family's life and in my life, but it was unspoken. But somehow, the enormity and the root meaning of the enormity is "great evil," so the enormity of the event was transmitted to me but how, I don't know. I just don't know. But the message was clear, forceful, and it has always stuck with me.

01-01:32:36

Farrell:

When you and your family came back, you mentioned Oakland, but I also knew you went to school in Hayward. Did your family come back to Oakland or was it Hayward?

01-01:32:49

Hayashi:

We came back to Oakland, and I went to school down the street. I thought that I was the only Asian in my class, but a woman who was in my class stayed in touch with me and she now lives in Nevada. She sent me our class photo and there were four or five Asians in my class.

01-01:33:23

Farrell:

Oh, interesting.

01-01:33:25

Hayashi:

Yeah, and I remember the first time I went to kindergarten there, my mom asked me how it was and I said, "The teacher is really nice but people smell." She explained to me that white people smell. I later figured out that what I was detecting was a body odor that was a result of what people ate, and white people ate stuff that was different than we ate and so they smell differently. Years later you figure this stuff out.

01-01:34:19

I remember one time, the teacher, this one teacher would have us recite The Lord's Prayer, which I liked because I think even at that time—I was attracted to language, beautiful language. But when I told my mother that, she didn't like it at all and for clear reasons, but they would never say anything about it.

01-01:35:05

The family nursery was all important. It was behind our house in Oakland on 73rd Avenue. Next to it, one of my uncles, my father's brother his own nursery. I knew that and I grew up in the nursery, and I read this short story by the writer Toshio Mori and it's called "The Chessmen." He describes two people working in a nursery, one younger and the other older, Japanese Americans, and they knew that someone was to going to be laid off, so they were competing against each other silently. I thought to myself, well, he knows everything about nurseries. He has everything exactly right, what they look like, how they feel, what the environment looked like. Well, he wrote

this anthology called *Yokohama, California*, and the Yokohama, California, was a name for what is now Oakland, Chinatown. We found a copy of that anthology, and it was out of print, so we xeroxed it, and we used that in the freshman reading and composition class.

01-01:36:50

I had heard that Toshio lived in the Bay Area, so I called directory assistance, that was when you could do that, and they gave me his phone number. I called him up. It was about 7:00 in the evening and I told him about how we found his anthology and how much I admired it. I said, "If it's ever possible, I would love to meet you." He said, "Well, tonight is not good, but how about tomorrow?" So I went over to his house. I took my daughter because I was so nervous. It's like going to see a god, and he was just the warmest, nicest man. He had just suffered a stroke, so his left arm was paralyzed a little bit. He brought out this whole scrapbook of his career and he said that his goal was to publish by age twenty-six when Hemingway had published his first work. He admired Hemingway and he used to copy Hemingway, he'd learn by copying. We had this wonderful conversation and it turned out that he lived across the street from us on 73rd Avenue and he worked in my family's nursery. That's why he described it so beautifully is because it was our nursery.

01-01:38:31

Farrell:

Wow, that's pretty remarkable.

01-01:38:35

Hayashi:

Yeah, it was amazing, and he remembered me. He said that I used to run around yelling a lot.

01-01:38:43

Farrell:

Wow, that's pretty cool.

01-01:38:45

Hayashi:

Yeah, it's very cool, I know. But what's especially cool is that because of Asian American studies, his book was republished, and you can get it now, and he was acknowledged. Before he died, people were able to express their appreciation and admiration, so it was a nice outcome.

01-01:39:13

Farrell:

Yeah, actually, I just made a note to look it up because that sounds really interesting and especially given there's the connection to your family. That's cool.

01-01:39:25

Hayashi:

Yeah.

01-01:39:28

Farrell:

I'm thinking that this might actually be a good place to leave it for today and then next time, pick up with your education and we'll move into your career from there. And then, of course, we'll talk about art and things like that, but does that seem okay to you?

01-01:39:48  
Hayashi:

It sounds fine.

01-01:39:49  
Farrell:

Okay. Do you have anything that you want to add for this part of the conversation anything that we didn't discuss? It may come to you later, and we can always add it in next time too. I don't want to put you on the spot. I just want to give you the opportunity if something does come to mind.

01-01:40:11  
Hayashi:

Well, the part that I think about but there are all these blank spaces. My sister, who is much more perceptive than I am especially about our family, said that my father built this platform so that my mother could take the laundry and put it on the platform and hang out our clothes to dry, and that was yet another expression of his care for my mother. That's an area that I don't know much about. I actually should talk to my sister because I guess that she was more attentive and perceptive about things like that.

01-01:41:30

We're having a family get-together next year, I think organized by my sister. I think she knows that we don't have many years left and so while we're all alive, maybe we can get together and talk about it, we'll see.

01-01:41:50  
Farrell:

Yeah. Well, here's to many more Thanksgivings. [laughter] Well, thank you so much, it's been a real pleasure to talk with you, and I really appreciate you sharing all of this. We're just really thrilled to have your perspective as part of this, and again just really appreciate you taking the time in sharing all this.

01-01:42:19  
Hayashi:

I don't know if we can discuss this, but I got a sense initially that one of the questions that animates this project is what was it like to be Japanese American at Berkeley? I've have been thinking about that. I got to know Clark Kerr pretty well, and he used to come over to my office twice a year to be briefed on admissions. It was interesting because I would always offer to go to his office, which was on Channing but he would never accept that. He always preferred to come see me, and I think it was a matter of courtesy and humility. He would come to my freshman seminar and the students would read *The Uses of the University*. He would talk about growing up Quaker and he said that he grew up in a low Quaker community, and I think he went to Oberlin, and he said that was a high Quaker college. I'm thinking, there's a low Quaker and a high Quaker? [laughs] I had no concept of that. He began his career as a labor organizer in Salinas, in Central California. He said that he saw real violence in people trying to break up demonstrations, and he said that once he saw real violence, he became a dedicated pacifist. My students are hearing this, this person who created the university in his image and they were just astonished by his openness. After the class—he would come twice in each term—they would line up and have him autograph his book.

01-01:45:17

Farrell: Oh, interesting.

01-01:45:18

Hayashi: Yeah, and I was like, jeez. But my point there is that I have been thinking about Japanese Americans and me at Berkeley. I think that the Clark's vision of the multiversity is a huge sprawling, complicated enterprise and with internal parts that contradict each other.

01-01:45:49

Farrell: Yeah.

01-01:45:52

Hayashi: You can find your way and you can be many different people over the course of your career, and that's been true for me.

01-01:45:58

Farrell: Yeah, and we're going to talk a lot more about that next time. I think that question—you're probably getting what was it like to be Japanese American at Berkeley is from your outline, which is one of the things we want to know what it's like to be you, but, yeah, especially given your work with merit-based test—the SAT score, standardized testing, we'll go into that kind of thing. We'll talk about that a lot more in-depth next time.

01-01:46:30

Hayashi: Okay.

01-01:46:31

Farrell: But, yeah, I think that this one, we're laying a lot of the groundwork for that as well.

01-01:46:39

Hayashi: Thank you, I enjoyed it.

01-01:46:39

Farrell: Oh good, good, I'm glad, I this is okay. I'm going to pause the recording and we'll talk about the next one.

01-01:46:46

Hayashi: Okay.

## Interview 2: March 17, 2023

02-00:00:09

Farrell:

This is Shanna Farrell back with Patrick Hayashi on Friday, March 17, 2023. This is our second interview for the Japanese American Intergenerational Narratives project and we are speaking again over Zoom. Pat, welcome back. When we left off last time, we had talked a lot about your early life, a little bit but your career, but we didn't talk a ton about your education. I wanted to start there today and I'm wondering if you could tell me a little bit about your experience in grade school? I know you were in kindergarten in Oakland and moved to Hayward around that time, but do you remember when you were in school in Hayward, what your experience was like in grammar school?

02-00:00:58

Hayashi:

I started Cherryland Elementary School in I think the third grade, it might've been the fourth grade, and I remember liking it. I think my brothers and me were the only Japanese in the school, but I'm not absolutely sure about that. No, that couldn't have been right, there were probably two or three others in there, but I didn't feel any racial animus or anything like that. There probably was some, but I probably hadn't thought about it in those terms at that point. I think the teachers were good and kind, and there was a nice balance of playing and studying. I tended to do well in school, and I think that was largely because I mentioned before that I grew up as a reader. All my family were readers, and so if you read a lot, school tends to be, I think, easier rather than harder.

02-00:02:15

Farrell:

Were there any books that you found yourself most drawn to or any genres that you liked most?

02-00:02:22

Hayashi:

I'm not sure, but I think I mentioned this earlier, but I grew up with this great children's library, and I had read all of Sherlock Holmes and Grimms' Fairy Tales and most of the Book of Knowledge, the child's encyclopedia, before I was seven and furnished my mind. I liked everything and I went through phases. I went through a science-fiction phase and others. We had an outstanding children's librarian, I forgot her name, Miss Conklin, and she was very kind and very, very smart. It turned out later that I learned that she had written books on insects for kids, so she had a little terrarium in the children's library. She knew I like to read, and she liked to help people develop their reading interests, and so she would steer me in different directions. I read not only a lot, I read quickly, and my dad took the kids to the library once a week, so there were always these books there. One of those things was that if I ever wanted a book, my parents would buy it for me and so I just read a lot.

02-00:04:00

Farrell:

Yeah, yeah, something I can definitely relate to. Outside of school, were there any interests or hobbies that you had?

02-00:04:17

Hayashi:

I mainly just played sports. Yeah, I was pretty coordinated, and I liked playing sports, and I had friends who played sports, so mainly we just played whatever sport was in season. It was a time when there was Little League, but I didn't play Little League. Most of the sports done when I was growing up were done in the local school. Now, people travel and it's pretty well organized, but that wasn't the case when I was growing up.

02-00:04:54

Farrell:

When did you start playing tennis?

02-00:04:58

Hayashi:

I started playing tennis in junior high school. I saw a tennis match and it appealed to me. I had a close friend Phil Gratton, and he and I borrowed my uncle's tennis rackets and tennis balls and we went up to a basketball court in the junior high we were going to, and we would just hit the ball on the courts. At some point after a few months, we went and got our courage up and played on regular tennis courts. I practiced a lot, and by practicing, I mean I hit balls against the wall and then I had created this setup where I had a tennis ball on an innertube tire actually, cut thin, and I just used to hit and way into the night. It worried my father I was hitting so much and then I read as much as I could about tennis. That was when the great Australian players were playing Lew Hoad and Ken Rosewall and Rod Laver, and I admired them and learned from them.

02-00:06:25

In high school, I got very lucky. There was this tennis coach, Mr. Beal, and he volunteered to teach our high school tennis team, and he was an amazing guy. His son was high ranked and actually had beaten Pancho Gonzales. Mr. Beal taught himself to play tennis, so he could work out with his son, and he was a terrific athlete. He approached tennis as kind of a conceptual challenge, and so he figured things out. He was a great teacher and he paid attention to the mental side too. He would say, "You have to anticipate that when you go into competition, your game will drop 20 to 25 percent just because of the stress, and so you have to prepare yourself to win with your game 20 to 25 percent lower than its top level." He gave little lectures like that. I ended up winning the league championship twice and so in Hayward and that section, I was pretty good. But when I went to college, I realized that I wasn't that good.

02-00:08:13

Farrell:

You went to Hayward High School. You may have mentioned this last time, but I've also heard you say that you graduated exactly halfway, like 250 out of 500 kids. Were there any significant classes or teachers or even mentors that you had during your time in high school?

02-00:08:38

Hayashi:

I didn't have many mentors. I guess my tennis coach was a mentor but my social studies teacher, Mrs. Baron had a deep influence on me. One of the things that she would do—I had her for four years. That was the way it



worked, she was my homeroom teacher, and I don't know much about her. In retrospect, I think she was Jewish and on Fridays, she would read. One year she read from *Hiroshima* by John Hersey and it kind of embarrassed me because it was about the atomic bomb and Japanese, and I was preferring not to be Japanese at the time. I listened, and she was a good reader. One time, there was one Friday, there was this one guy who was not a student. I think he was Mexican, as we called them at the time, and he was a low-income guy and not a particularly academic guy. He went up before the class and asked her if she could read that day. I thought, wow, that's really something, this book is having an effect on him. I thought, maybe I should let it have an effect on me, and so I paid a different kind of attention at the time.

02-00:10:33

Afterwards, my wife Sandy became a substitute teacher, and she substituted at Hayward High School and met Mrs. Baron. She then invited us to her house in Walnut Creek so Sandy and I went out there for coffee, and I met her in and her husband. Her husband was an English teacher at a local community college, and we're talking and he said that I should plan on getting my master's. I thought master's, yeah, I barely scraped through my bachelor's degree and it just was unheard of. Then I lost touch with them. For about ten or fifteen years ago, I tried to track her down, but I think she had gone to Arizona or Phoenix, and I wasn't able to contact her. I tried pretty hard actually because I wanted to thank her. That was a shame.

02-00:11:48

There was another woman at Hayward High. I think her name is Eleanor Gerard, and it turned out that she taught school at Topaz. She may have taught me there, but I'm not sure. She ended up marrying the principal of the school and she was well known as being an incredibly sympathetic and effective teacher, and apparently, the quality of teachers there really varied. But I did a little research on her and she volunteered to go and teach at Topaz and I think out of a sense of social mission. But, of course, I wouldn't have talked to her at Hayward, and if she had mentioned it, I probably would've been embarrassed by it. But that's another example of missed opportunity in a sense.

02-00:12:53

Farrell:

You had mentioned somebody planting the seeds for you for graduate school, getting your master's, and then you said you barely scraped by in undergrad. But you started at San Jose State and I know you played tennis on their team, and you had also mentioned that for a minute. But I'm wondering if you could tell me a little bit about your decision to go to San Jose State and what you were majoring in then?

02-00:13:29

Hayashi:

My decision was made by my friends and me, Mitch West and Roger Boyle, and we're all trying figure out what to do. They said that they were thinking of going to San Jose State and I said, "Well, that sounds like something." I really

hadn't thought about it and I looked into it, and you had to have a certain number of Bs or above to get in, in college prep courses. I did the calculation and I think I had to get all Bs or above in the time remaining to get in, and so I studied and I got in. I wanted to commute with my friends, and that's how most of my friends went to college, but my dad said, "No, you have to stay there." I found a room with kitchen privileges and I moved in there. I moved in and had a roommate named Tom [Watts]. He was a good guy and it was mainly athletes but not all, and it was a nice place.

02-00:14:55

One of the things that happened to me is that I met this girl, Linda, and she took an interest in me, which was surprising. She was very interested in things like foreign films and things like that and so she would take me to see Ingmar Bergman and things like that, things I barely understood but if you get into that, exposed to it, things start to change. Because of my test scores, I was eligible to be in a special track. I remember a writing teacher who was very skilled and good, and she was an actor, and that interested me but everything was sort of removed. I didn't see myself as a student; I saw myself as an athlete. I didn't know what I was going to do; I thought vaguely I might be a lawyer. At the time, a 2.6 [grade point average] would get you into law school in Hastings, for example, but I didn't even know what a lawyer did. I didn't know lawyers, my family ran a nursery. There was a family lawyer, but that was something else, so mainly, I just screwed around.

02-00:16:43

At the time, a 2.5 would be seen as really good, and that's where I hovered around. For some reason one semester, I ended up getting a 4.0. I hadn't studied harder or anything, it was just a series of circumstances. That changed my sense of who I was. I used to play a lot of tennis with guys who went to Berkeley, and so I decided that I would go to Berkeley. I had a tennis-playing friend who wanted to go to the University of Virginia and I said, "Why do you want to go there?" I didn't know anything about it and he said, "Well, because that the men get to wear coats and ties." I said, "Well, that sounds cool." I applied to the University of Virginia and they accepted me, and so I told my dad that I wanted to go to the University of Virginia. He said, "We can't afford that," so I went to Berkeley. And there, oh, boy, that was culture shock.

02-00:18:04

At San Jose in the group I hung out with, we would start studying about two weeks before finals and then we just crammed. The first night at Berkeley, I stayed in the dorm with a tennis-playing friend. First night, I said, "Well, what should we do? Should we go shoot some hoops or what?" They all went to the library and I just was astonished. The whole culture of studying, seriousness, and thinking way ahead in terms of their own academic and career development, I have never encountered. I think I told you that I majored and decided I was going to become premed, and that was because I half read a book by Tom Dooley who went and the sort of medical evangelist in I think

Thailand or Vietnam and that sounded romantic. I took Chemistry 1A and Physics 1A and science courses, and I was just annihilated in the courses, and just after two or three weeks, I had no idea what I was doing. Came the first physics course, and the night before, I was talking to a friend who is a good student and was premed. There were physics formulas that you have to apply for certain things and he said, "You know you really need to know the formulas, you have to have them memorized." I said, "You do? That made no sense to me." He says, "You could always look them up." That night, I tried to memorize a bunch of formulas and did very, very poorly. I didn't fail the test, but I came close to failing, and the same thing happened in chemistry. It was just a disaster.

02-00:20:22

After that semester, I don't know what I did. I think I continued and then I was doing so poorly and was so uncertain about what to do, I dropped out. I dropped out with a very low GPA, but I hadn't been put on probation and so I left in good standing. That's when I went to work for Western Electric as a mail carrier.

02-00:20:51

Farrell: Roughly what year was this? Do you remember?

02-00:20:56

Hayashi: About '64 I think.

02-00:20:57

Farrell: Okay, okay, all right, so you must have been at San Jose State early, like '60—

02-00:21:05

Hayashi: '61 through '63.

02-00:21:08

Farrell: Okay, and you were at Cal from '63 to '64?

02-00:21:13

Hayashi: Yeah.

02-00:21:13

Farrell: Okay, great, thank you. I think when we start talking about Asian American studies, that actually helps ground things.

02-00:21:20

Hayashi: Oh yeah.

02-00:21:21

Farrell: Can you tell me a little bit about your experience as a mail carrier, I guess also why you decided to be a mail carrier at that point?

02-00:21:35

Hayashi: I don't know, I must have been looking through the newspapers and found an advertisement. I lived in Hayward and it was in Burlingame so I had to cross

the San Mateo Bridge to go to work. I took a test and apparently I did very, very well in the test. I remember parts of it is that if you're carrying someone on a stretcher and you're going upstairs, which is the best way to hold it and which person carries the most weight and so forth. Apparently, the head of the mail room saw how well I had done and so they offered me the job. I think I mentioned you that my father taught me how to work and so I was a very, very good worker wherever I went. I got along with people. I like people generally. I liked the job, I enjoyed it quite a lot and met friends. In the mail room, there were a lot of people my age, very diverse, and we used to make little musicals and sing musicals in the mail room, and it was just fun.

02-00:23:03

Farrell: Did you work for the postal Service?

02-00:23:07

Hayashi: No, no, it's—

02-00:23:09

Farrell: It was just sort of arbitrary?

02-00:23:10

Hayashi: Yeah.

02-00:23:11

Farrell: Yeah, and how long did you do that for before you went back to Cal?

02-00:23:18

Hayashi: It was either nine months or a year.

02-00:23:20

Farrell: Okay, and did you enjoy working versus being in school?

02-00:23:27

Hayashi: Yeah, quite a lot actually, I liked working.

02-00:23:30

Farrell: What was it about it that you liked?

02-00:23:32

Hayashi: I think having the responsibility, having friends, working in a pretty social environment, and then playing hearts at lunch.

02-00:23:53

Farrell: And then you returned to Cal as an English major. What was the impetus for going back?

02-00:24:03

Hayashi: I realized that I should get a degree and I thought that the only thing I really like to do was to read, and so I said that means that I should be an English major. I applied to San Francisco State, which at the time, in English was more selective than Berkeley. I mean it was right after the beat revolution and

they had a strong faculty, and they turned me down. But I could return to Berkeley automatically because I had left in standing and so I returned and then I declared English as my major. I was returning I think the second semester of my junior year and so I had a lot of ground to make up. I would take two or three English courses a semester. I don't know if we were on the semester or quarter system at the time, but in any event, I had a lot of reading to do and a lot of writing. I always think that for me, I would be a good English major now because I know how to read and I know how to write. But there, it just went over my head, not all of it but a lot of it went over my head. It was too bad, and I did poorly. A B would, it was like a big deal, I got a couple of A's but not many.

02-00:25:55

Farrell:

I can certainly relate to that, I look back at my time in college and was like, right now I'd be a great English major, but then probably not. [laughs]

02-00:26:04

Hayashi:

Yeah.

02-00:26:06

Farrell:

But you did end up graduating from Cal. Did you graduate in '65 or '66?

02-00:26:12

Hayashi:

I don't remember.

02-00:26:13

Farrell:

Okay, okay. From there, I know you started working as a mail carrier on campus in 1966. What were your career aspirations, or were you hoping to do that? Or were you hoping to do something else?

02-00:26:31

Hayashi:

I didn't have career aspirations and partly because I grew up in a family where career was not discussed. I remember my brother asking me if Dad had ever talked to me about college and I said, "No, and how about you?" He said, "No." My dad once suggested that I think about becoming a plumber and I think he saw me as not very disciplined and not much of a hard worker and kind of a goof-off in a way and hoped that I would get a trade that would keep me alive.

02-00:27:23

But then, I was a mail carrier and a neighbor worked in personnel. He said, "We're starting this management intern program, you should think of applying." The program was aimed at developing a cadre of mid-level managers who could take on higher-level positions. In my class, there were two people and we would rotate through the basic departments like accounting, budget, and planning, and purchasing, and space sciences lab, and six or seven different programs for a few weeks at a time just to get oriented and get a sense of it. At the end of six weeks or six months, we would be placed in a permanent position. So I applied for it, and it was very, very

competitive but they chose me along with another guy, George Dea. Maybe there was a third guy too, but I'm not sure. It was good, it was terrific. I rotated through the contracts and grants office, which I think is now Sponsored Projects, and they offered me a job. They weren't supposed to, but they did. I took it—I wasn't supposed to, but I did. It was near the end of the program.

02-00:29:21

I started as a contract grant administrator, which pretty much was a clerical task where you check for the proper overhead rates and things like that and then you process a proposal and then you wait for the award. But I started to read the proposals, and that was a real education. I remember reading a proposal for someone to study petrified scats in South America, I think it was in Peru. I didn't know what a scat was, and so I look it up, petrified feces. The guy comes in and I said, "I don't mean to be rude, but why would someone want to study petrified feces?" He said, "Oh, by studying the petrified feces, we can understand what they ate. If you understand what they ate, you understand a huge amount. You understand if they were hunters or gatherers or if they farmed, if they were nomads. You understand if they cooked their food or not, and if they cooked their food, what kind what kind of vessels they used to cook their food in. Once you start unpacking that, you learn a huge amount about their social structure." That enchanted me and I thought, wow. I started reading all of them carefully.

02-00:31:23

Farrell:

Did other people in the Sponsored Project office read the grants, or did they just process them?

02-00:31:28

Hayashi:

They just processed them.

02-00:31:30

Farrell:

Okay, so as you were reading these grants, did you learn anything from reading them? I mean you just described what you learn content-wise, but in terms of your career later, did you take anything with you from that experience?

02-00:31:46

Hayashi:

No, no, I never had anything like a career plan. I know that some people develop them and think about them, but it's just never been on my radar. I don't know why, and nor did I worry about it particularly. Part of that is demographic. When I would apply for a job at Berkeley, there would be maybe four or five, six other candidates. It's not like today, and most of the things were word-of-mouth. As I was working for Sponsored Projects, budget and planning wanted to hire me also because I had rotated through them, and so they ended up hiring me to do special projects. I was on what's called dual employment, so I don't know if they even have them, so I split time between both of them.

02-00:33:05

In budget and planning, I handled Letters & Science, and did budgeting for Letters & Science. One of the things that happened at the time is one of my jobs was to review appointments and promotions to make sure that they had the FTE, and if the promotion went through, to make sure that they have the money, allocate the money. The employment form would come, and at the time, the employment form would come along with the person's entire employment package, the entire package. That included the original application, the original review, all reviews for merit increases done by the budget and planning committee, the highly confidential committee that reviews promotions. For example, if a person was being put up for tenure, the budget and planning committee would establish a secret committee and then send the person's material to that committee. The committee would then comment confidentially on it as to whether they thought the person merited a tenured position. The commentary was extremely blunt because they took it seriously, and they were also working confidentially. I read them all. It was amazing, and I went back and I read the personnel files of former faculty of mine, and I also saw the commentary they made about other people. Now all this stuff is like locked up in the bank vaults, you can't see it, but I had a glimpse—not a glimpse, I had a prolonged examination of a part of the university that very, very, very few people ever get. First of all, it gave me a real respect for the tenure review process but then I learned how people think about intellectual merit and academic achievement, and what they thought was not.

02-00:36:10

Farrell:

Were you enjoying the work? I know you had a long career at Berkeley, and you're reading these grants, learning things, you're learning how people think about things, you're going to review these files. Are you enjoying this, are you thinking you want to stick with this for a while?

02-00:36:33

Hayashi:

The funny thing is the notion of enjoying it or not, I never thought of it in those terms. I guess I did enjoy it, I felt like I was learning something, I never thought of it as something that I'd like to do or not do. Again, looking back at that point in our society, it was right before the Baby Boomers and so there was this kind of tide that was lifting all ships, and opportunities came my way. I think during my career, I applied for three jobs. Well, I didn't apply for the mail job, carrier job, that was given to me by a friend of a friend. But then after that, I applied for the management intern job, which I got, and then I once applied to be deputy director of the student learning center, which I didn't get. But besides those, I had never applied for a job ever again. That part has something to do with my weird sense of career progression. I have to excuse myself for a second.

02-00:37:56

Farrell:

Sure, no problem, I'll pause the recording.

[BREAK IN VIDEO]

02-00:38:01

Farrell:

Okay, we're back. This actually is a good segue into Asian American studies. I'd love to hear your perspective on this. From my understanding, that grew out of the Third World Liberation Strike movement and started at San Francisco State, and it was a newer term as well. Can you tell me a little bit about the origins of that department? I know that with ethnic studies, there's Black studies, there's Latinx studies, there's Asian American studies growing out of this. But if you, from your perspective, could tell me your memories of the origin of that department?

02-00:38:51

Hayashi:

Well, the San Francisco State strike, which was quite violent and turbulent. It triggered a similar sympathetic strike at Berkeley, and it was violent and scary. One of the things that happened was that Wheeler auditorium was set on fire. That shows the kind of intensity of the strike and there were helicopters dropping tear gas around. There were a lot of people who ordinarily didn't have a prominent place at Berkeley like the Brown Berets, which were a group from I think Richmond and El Cerrito. You had a lot of Black Panthers on campus, and a lot of Asians got involved, but the Asians who were involved typically didn't identify as Asian. They were usually involved in other organizations like the Young Socialists and things like that.

02-00:40:26

But Asians got together and Asians were also influenced by the Vietnam War and many were anti-war. But the anti-war movement in the United States at the time focused on bringing our boys home, ending the draft and bringing our boys home, and the Asians involved saw it as a racist war. That one of the reasons it continued so long is that Asians were not seen as human beings, and that was most evident by the kind of weaponry used. Napalm was dropped on people, and napalm would land on the grass and then burned through the roof and then set people on fire. Because napalm is burning oil, and you can't get it off, and if you try to help someone, you get it on you. People saw that and the Asian Americans saw how Asian people, we were being perceived, that allowed that kind of weaponry.

02-00:41:59

At that point, I don't know how it happened, but the term "Asian American" was coined because up to then the term "oriental" was used, and there was a sense that that was a term used by colonial powers. Now, none of this was clear-cut like this. It was just sort of the free-flowing conversation and it emerged. The administration for its part, I think, had a combination of being truly shaken by the violence of the strike. Because even the previous major strikes like the Free Speech Movement, they weren't violent, but this was violent. This brought people to the campus who the campus had never dealt with before, and so there was apprehension there that, oh, I think made people want to appease the strikers. But also I think though, there was a genuine



sympathy because Berkeley, at its heart, is a liberal institution. They agreed to have not a Third World college but a Third World ethnic studies department that would eventually evolve into a college.

02-00:43:32

My job, as a budget person, was to set up the budget and so I met with different people. In one meeting, there were three or four young Asian graduate students who came to meet Errol Mauchlan who was then the assistant chancellor for budget and planning, to talk about setting up a budget, and I had volunteered to work on that. We were waiting outside his office and they were extremely friendly. Some of them were pretty imposing. I mean, they were wearing Mao jackets and the red star of China, communist China and stuff, but they were just very nice people and nice to me. They asked what I studied and I had said English and they said, "Well, we could really use you. You could teach a course for us." I laughed. I said, "I barely graduated." They said, "No, come on."

02-00:44:46

I volunteered to be a reader in their freshman reading and composition class, and after one term, I started to teach my own section. One time, I actually taught four sections, and I had to make my own curriculum. I had to grade the papers, I had a couple TAs, but it was all figuring out as I went along. There wasn't hardly any Asian American literature at the time, so I gravitated to Black literature and some Jewish American literature. Because they talked about, oh, the experience of marginal people in a way that resonated with Asian Americans. I especially started to study James Baldwin and it was amazing.

02-00:45:46

At the same time, I had to figure out how to teach writing, which meant that I had to learn it myself. I read a lot of books and just started teaching writing, learning how to teach writing. I don't know how well I taught it, but I learned it pretty well, and over time, I became a strong writer. I was a pretty strong writer before because when I worked for Errol Mauchlan, he was a strong writer. You give him a draft and he would just completely change it. I started a little challenge too, to be able to draft something that he wouldn't change, and so over the course of a year, I got so that I could. In other words, I was learning and trying to emulate him, and I became a strong writer there. All this investment in writing, I enjoyed, and it paid off tremendously because as you know in the university, you assume that everyone can write well, but you soon find out that that's not true. That some of the people in the highest levels can barely write at all, and they know it and or the good ones know it and so then they look for people who can do the writing for them. That was one of the reasons I was offered jobs because they knew I could write.

02-00:47:34

Farrell:

Oh, that's really interesting. Let's see, you started teaching these writing classes at about 1969, and I know you had mentioned before that one of the

books you read was *No-No Boy* and James Baldwin. I've heard in another interview that *Notes of a Native Son* was an important one. But what were some of the other texts that you were teaching?

02-00:48:04

Hayashi:

We taught *Love Story* one semester. [laughs] Our curriculum was not well thought out. It consisted basically of whatever I was reading that I liked and then we would share it. I remember at the very beginning, we taught something about medieval Chinese. We had no idea what we were doing at all, but the whole program was like that, not the entire program. There were some teachers like Floyd Huen. Floyd Huen is Jean Quan's husband, who was the mayor of Oakland. They taught courses, and Floyd would have a sort of anticolonial curriculum, Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, and we required that, but I was never able to read the book myself, I couldn't get through it. It is one of those deals where your students were required to read it, but you haven't read it yourself, and it was pretty haphazard.

02-00:49:35

Farrell:

[What else did you teach?]

02-00:49:40

Hayashi:

I may have taught some of the essays from [Ralph Ellison's] *Shadow and Act*. One of them is "The World and the Jug," and he talks about how white progressives look at Black life as if it's in a kind of terrarium and don't quite understand that there are people down there, and the people want to shout up say, "Hey, be careful, we're down here." As an example, he talks about how people talk about how awful segregation was and how Blacks have to sit in balconies in movie theaters. He said, "The view from the balcony was quite nice" and that it was kind of a little sanctuary. They could laugh and they could cry and it was liberating in a sense. Most importantly, they could learn and they could develop their own sensitivities, examine their own sensitivities. Essentially what he was saying is it may seem from a distance and from a structural sense as unfair, and it was, but that doesn't mean that the experience was not deeply humanizing and liberating and edifying.

02-00:51:45

Farrell:

You were the head of the department from 1971 to 1973. Can you talk a little bit about how that came to fruition?

02-00:51:58

Hayashi:

Well, we were run by a student council. I think there were seven people in it or something, and most of them were undergraduates. There might have been a graduate student or two. The coordinator of Asian American studies, the head of the program was just one of those people. Because I knew the nomenclature and the processes of the administration, I started to have a decisive say in a lot of the things. Gradually, people looked to me to handle the administrative portion of the program, and it just emerged out of that. The decisive change in the concept of the position came when we wanted to hire

Ron Takaki, and then we brought him up from LA. He had been denied tenure in LA and we brought him up and talked to him. He showed us his book, none of us read it, and he seemed like a nice guy. There were questions as to whether or not he was revolutionary enough, whatever that meant, but those are the kinds of things we would think about.

02-00:53:44

We decided to attempt to hire him, and because I knew what the process was then, I handled that. Because of my experience with the budget committee, I sent his packet to two history professors, Win Jordan and Charlie Sellers, both American history. Win Jordan had won the National Book Award on a book on slavery. I asked them what they thought, if they could give me a confidential reading on what they thought, and they both came back with the same answer. They thought that he was a solid scholar but nothing spectacular. Now solid, that seemed good enough for us, and so I made his case and sent it to the chancellor's office. Chancellor Bowker calls me and he says, "Can you come? I'd like to talk to you about this case." I said, "Sure," so I went over. My hair at that time was down to my shoulders, I was wearing combat jackets and hiking boots and stuff, and I think I had a mustache but I go over.

02-00:55:35

I had a friend who worked in academic personnel and she told me that what had happened is that the budget committees sent Ron's folder to the secret review committee of three people. Two of them had recommended he be appointed to a tenured position, and one of them had strongly objected. That was when it came back to the budget and review committee, they decided to go with the recommendation of the dissent and recommended against appointment. Bowker didn't know that I knew that, but that's what I knew. He went up and he said, "I'm getting a little pushback on this appointment, why do you want him?" I told him that at UCLA, he taught the largest lecture course on the campus and that he got extraordinarily high teaching reviews. I explained to him what I had done with having history professors review that and told him what they thought. I said he would be a massive upgrade in the academic strength of the program, and more important, that we're now functioning as a ghetto. If he taught this large course that attracted a lot of students, it would "break" our isolation, and other departments would start to take notice of us." He said, "Do you ever see him being the head of the program?" I said, "Absolutely, I'm going to leave in a year." He said, "Well, you've given me all the information I need. I'm prepared to support it." I said, "Before you do that, why don't you meet him? We'll fly him up and I'll introduce you to him."

02-00:57:40

Ron flew up and I took him over to the chancellor's office on the back of my motorcycle and dropped him off. I said, "I'll leave the two of you talk to by yourselves." Bowker said, "You don't have to do that." I said, "I think that would be better," and so then I went walking. I was sitting out in front of

Sproul Plaza half hour later and Bowker comes and Ron come walking over and then he says, "May I talk to you?" We stand to the side and he said, "I'm prepared to support this appointment." He didn't tell Ron that, but told me, and so that's how Ron got appointed.

02-00:58:23

When I reported back to the student council, they said, "What does it mean that he's tenured?" I said, "Well, that means that he can't be fired." They said, "That's not acceptable. He's got to be subjected to the will of the people and we have to be able to terminate him if he turns out to be counterrevolutionary." Those were the kind words used. I said, "I'm not going to do that." They ordered me to rescind the appointment. I said, "I'm not going to do that." There was a little tussle and I just said, "I'm not going to do that. We put him through all this, he's already been through this once before at UCLA, I'm just not going to do it." They had no recourse. I mean, they could've tortured me or something, but you know? That's how the student council lost its power, and the head of the division, me, took on a different dimension.

02-00:59:41

Farrell:

[They were opposed to] o tenure? I think what everyone wants still is to get that tenure appointment. But it's interesting the other side of it is like, well, you want to have some recourse if something goes wrong from the people who wanted him there, right? I think that that's an interesting discussion, but also the fact that he did go through that at UCLA, and you were like, well, we can't put him through this. Did the students eventually come around to your side of things?

02-01:00:21

Hayashi:

No, they graduated and left. That was the other part.

02-01:00:32

Farrell:

That's a good point, because there are cycles. How did you see Ron's appointments impact the department?

02-01:00:48

Hayashi:

Initially, he was kind of like a fish out of water because even though he had a rough time at UCLA, he was in a regular department with colleagues and stuff. Here, no one had a PhD. There were some grad students in sociology that I think he felt an affinity to, but within the department, there was no one there who was his peer. But I think that gradually he started settling in and his courses were very good. He started to attract students from other places and then he started to attract grad students to work with him, so he built his career there. I wasn't around during this time, but he started writing in a more popular way and he started writing books that were extremely well-received generally, *Iron Cages*. He started critiquing things like *The Last of the Mohicans* and the racist perspective that permeate a lot of popular American literature and so he established himself as quite an iconoclast. He

was a strong public speaker, and so he would speak around the country. I think he was being considered for a MacArthur for a while and we lost touch for a while, and then we started to get together from time to time. We'd have dinner, my wife and I and his wife Carol, would get together, and I enjoyed those. My wife had a travel agency, and he did their travel, and wherever they would travel, Carol and Ron would paint watercolors. They would sit together and they would paint the same scene, and so they would show us their watercolor journals. I always enjoyed that.

02-01:03:37

When Ron was going through his tenure battle at UCLA, he took up sculpture, and so he did some sculpting, little whimsical pieces, and I like them quite a lot. Carol was a quite accomplished batik artist. We mainly talked about travel and art, it was enjoyable, and I started to like him as a person. Then then he had suffered periodically with bouts of depression and had to go through electroshock therapy. He was, at one point, falling again into a bout of depression was afraid that he was going to have to back into the hospital, and he ended up hanging himself instead. It was a very painful end to, I think, a productive and creative life. Yeah.

02-01:05:00

Farrell:

Yeah, that's I think a good way to say that, a very painful end to creative life. Speaking of your wife, I'm wondering if you could tell me how you met her?

02-01:05:13

Hayashi:

We met on the Channing Tennis Courts. At the end of the class, they had a double tournament and she and I were paired together as a doubles team, and we won the tournament. She invited me to go sailing with her, which was problematic because I don't swim, but I went and we've been together ever since. She was getting her teaching credential at the time.

02-01:05:46

Farrell:

And you had a daughter as well, right?

02-01:05:49

Hayashi:

Sandy had a daughter from her first marriage, Christy, and I ended up adopting Christy.

02-01:05:59

Farrell:

Okay, and this is in the early '70s, right? I guess what I'm getting to is that you left—

02-01:06:09

Hayashi:

I think it was '69.

02-01:06:12

Farrell:

'69, okay. Because in '73, you decided to leave Cal because you felt burned out and went to Japan with the two of them.

02-01:06:22

Hayashi: Right.

02-01:06:23

Farrell: Can you tell me a little bit about your decision to leave Cal and move to Japan?

02-01:06:30

Hayashi: Well, it was Sandy. Sandy loves to travel, that's why she started a travel agency, and I think it was mainly her idea. If you notice something, I tend to go along with things as they emerge, I'm not much of a pathbreaker. She had this idea that we would go to Japan and that seemed like a good idea. We were reading about different places and we read about Sendai. It was nicknamed "the city of scholars" because it had sixteen colleges and universities and so we figured that that would be a good place to teach English.

02-01:07:16

We went there, and I didn't have a lot of money. Sandy knew Japanese at that point and Christy knew a little. I thought that it was genetically encoded in me, and that once I hit the motherland, it would just flow out, and that turned out not to be true. What flowed out was the Japanese I learned when I was talking to my grandparents; it was five-year-old Japanese. Anyway, we got there, and we met some people right off the dot and met an American guy. We told him we were looking for an apartment. He said, "Well, you can have mine," because he was leaving. He said, "You could have my job too," and so he gave me his English teaching job. On day two, we were set and met some other people in the foreign student community and had a tutor. We had a Japanese tutor, so one of the tutors said, "Why don't you become a student?" He arranged for me to become a graduate research student in educational sociology at Tohoku University. Now Tohoku turned out to be quite a prestigious university, one of the seven former imperial universities, and so there I was. It was fun.

02-01:08:50

One of the things that they were trying to start was a university extension program, and so they had a lot of material in English. They all read English quite well, but they didn't understand the technical nomenclature, so I could help them a lot, I could explain things to them. My main professor was head of the Japanese American Friendship Society and so he would arrange for me to meet with groups in the city and talk to them. Because I had some experience teaching ESL, I had a facility to be able to explain the same thing in English three different ways, and so people really liked to hear me speak because they could understand my English, and it was interesting. He was very careful to treat me as his graduate student at the university, but when we were doing some public event together, he spoke to me as his colleague. That's when I started to pay attention to the different levels of politeness in Japanese. I found out later that it was an extremely progressive program. They always chose every year one of their graduate students, advanced graduate

students to be the lecturer or lead assistant. The year I was there, they chose two women, which was unheard of in Japan, but they were that the strongest students.

02-01:11:09

Farrell: Do you mind if I pause for one second? I'll be back in about thirty seconds?

02-01:11:15

Hayashi: Sure.

02-01:11:15

Farrell: Thank you.

[BREAK IN VIDEO]

02-01:11:18

Farrell: Okay, we're back. Given that was your experience at the university, what was it like for you to move to Japan and live there?

02-01:11:32

Hayashi: It was a wonderful experience. I found moving to a different country and culture with a different language scary. I didn't know my way around, I didn't have friends, and people assumed that I was Japanese and they were alarmed when they found out I couldn't speak Japanese very well. But I made my way, I made friends, and I think I came to enjoy it.

02-01:12:26

I used to run a lot and I ran the San Francisco Marathon. I wasn't in good shape—well, I was in good shape—but I went out too quickly, and I ended up hitting the wall at mile twelve. I thought, oh, God, and I knew exactly what was happening to me. I was starting to burn muscle rather than oxygen, and I said, “Jeez, I have 14.2 miles to go, what am I going to do?” I said, “Well, just see what happens because you'll never be in this position again where the only way you can make it through is through your own strength, mental strength.” So I did, and I finished.

02-01:13:27

One of the things that happens is you start getting paranoid, and there was this guy, really old guy, I think he was in his seventies. I'd be walking and then he'd run past me and he would piss me off. So I would start up again and I would pass him and then I'd start walking again and he would pass me, and it became funny, it was absurd. When it was over, it was an experience I knew I would never experience again, but it taught a lot about myself, I learned a lot about myself. One is that I wouldn't quit and two is that I could see the absurdity of things that happened.

02-01:14:23

I view Japan that way. It was a wonderful experience and I saw things that I would never experience again. There was a man also from Berkeley who came, and I forgot what field he was in, economics or something. He wasn't

getting any help from his head professor and he was just foundering, he just didn't know what to do. I asked him if he would like to meet my professor, and he said yes. I asked Sasaki Sensei if he would meet with my friend and he said, "Yes, of course." We met at Sasaki Sensei's office. In that situation, it would fall to me to make tea. I said, "Sasaki Sensei [Japanese]." What was amazing is somehow, I fell in to teineigo, the highest form of politeness, which I didn't know I knew. He was startled and he replied very graciously, "Yes, that would be very nice." I started to make the tea, but I didn't know how to make tea, and it boiled over and made a mess, and he saved it. I cleaned up and then I served it to them and he said, "Oh, it's very good."

02-01:16:35

What I found there was by changing my language into a form of politeness that I didn't know I knew, and him responding in the same way, that there was an absolute understanding of our relationship to each other reflected in the language and the activity. With that came not a sense of subordination but a sense of absolute freedom of knowing your right place in life at that moment nice. I said, "Wow, what a wonderful experience."

02-01:17:26

Farrell: How long did you live there for in total?

02-01:17:28

Hayashi: Twenty months.

02-01:17:29

Farrell: Okay, okay, and you did you end up earning your degree there or did you end up transferring back to Cal?

02-01:17:40

Hayashi: No, it was a nondegree program.

02-01:17:43

Farrell: Oh, okay, I see, okay.

02-01:17:47

Hayashi: From there, one of the major things that happened is I used to take periodic trips to Tokyo to buy books. I found a bookstore that had a very nice selection of books in American higher education by major people like David Riesman and a guy named Martin Vesey. I went back and I started reading about American higher education and so I suddenly got this very solid, larger perspective on the structure and history of American higher education. I could see my experience at Berkeley and my experience in Asian American studies in a historical context. They didn't seem so much as aberrations but rather as one of endless attempts at changing American higher education. It gave me a scaffolding to think through everything I had experienced. Of course, then I had the Tohoku University experience there too.

02-01:19:15

Farrell: [So from Japan you returned to] the States and to Berkeley?



02-01:19:22  
Hayashi:

I'm trying to think if this is correct, yes. I had taken a seminar given by Clark Kerr and Marty Trow on American higher education. What had happened is that Clark had been fired by Ronald Reagan and then after a couple years, people realized that he had to teach something, he couldn't just hang out. They created the special seminar, and it was secret—it wasn't advertised—and they recruited twelve students. We sat around a seminar room and Marty and Clark were at the head of the table. Outside of the seminar table, there were about at least a dozen high-ranking faculty who wanted to hear Marty and Clark talk about higher education. I assumed that Clark would just mail it in but he was not that kind of guy. Every evening, they would speak about their latest thoughts and they were well-developed thoughts, and they didn't agree with each other often, and so it was a real active conversation. It was extremely intimidating needless to say, but I got to see two of the finest minds in the world with respect to higher education talk to each other, and so there's nothing like that.

02-01:21:29

I had written a paper, I had it written on Asian American studies, and Clark liked it and Marty had written. He said, "I found this interesting, but I don't think you went far enough, and forgive me for going on at length, but that's the nature of criticism." He wrote a four-page critique of a very short paper; he actually wrote more than I did. It really pissed me off until after a few weeks and after the course was over that I realized that it was a real sign of respect. I read what he wrote, and I learned from what he wrote.

02-01:22:26

In Japan when I was coming back, I said I was thinking of coming back and studying public policy or going to Stanford and studying education. He said, "They were both good choices, we've enjoyed having you here." So I went back there. I already had a master's in public administration, but the public policy program was a two-year program, and I thought I'd get a doctorate, but that wasn't in the offing. You have to go through the two-year program, and very few students went for their doctorate, but I went through the two-year program. I did well and distinguished myself because of the quirkiness of my intelligence. I had to write a paper on organizational design or something and so I ended up writing about a worm farm that Sandy and I started as a kind of how to build an organization. The faculty absolutely loved it and based on that, I was one of two students in the class who were invited to go on for a doctorate with funding. Again, I hadn't really thought about it, but I just went on whatever path opens up.

02-01:24:12  
Farrell:

[Did you enjoy it?]

02-01:24:14  
Hayashi:

Oh, no, it was awful because public policy, the master's program is highly structured. You take core curriculum and then suddenly, there's no structure at

all, and it was awful. I was just at sea making no progress. I didn't know how to go about it, I didn't know how to choose the research subject, and it took me fifteen years to finish it. In the meantime, I went back to work and then I was appointed associate vice chancellor, and so I had major responsibilities, but that really wasn't the problem. The problem was I just didn't know what I wanted to write about. I ended up writing my dissertation on admissions because Marty was about to retire, and I thought, jeez, I better get this done before he leaves. I cranked something out and I asked the three—Marty was one of the people in my chair—on my committee and two friends, so they just sort of said, "Okay," and they signed it. It was not a good dissertation.

02-01:25:40

Farrell:

Given that you had a lot of other stuff going on, but it did take fifteen years, what did it mean to you to finally earn your PhD?

02-01:25:50

Hayashi:

It was like the marathon. I knew a lot of people in my position and all of them quit but because of the marathon. I said, "Well, I don't know if I'll ever finish this damn thing, but I'm not to quit, and got it done." When I was working for [Richard] Atkinson, he said, "Why don't you tell people you have a doctorate?" I said, "It doesn't really matter to me and I don't remember it most of the time." Because most of the time in that environment if you have a doctorate, particularly a PhD and you're not faculty, you make sure people know that. Well, I had my PhD when I started working for him, but most of my career—the higher levels—I established without a PhD.

02-01:27:10

Farrell:

Is it okay with you if I pause? I want to check in with you about the session.

## Interview 3: April 6, 2013

03-00:00:08

Farrell: Okay, this is Shanna Farrell back with Patrick Hayashi on Thursday, April 6, 2023. We are talking over Zoom and this is our third session for the Japanese American Intergenerational Narratives Project. Pat, welcome back. It's nice to see you again.

03-00:00:28

Hayashi: Good to see you.

03-00:00:30

Farrell: When we left off last time, we started to talk a little bit about your career, and we talked about your time in Japan and coming back and your decision to return to UC Berkeley. And then in 1984, you were working as an analyst at Cal and then in student services as well, so you were working as the head of student conduct. Can you tell me a little bit about that role and what your experience was like?

03-00:00:59

Hayashi: It was a halftime—I was halftime as head of student conduct and halftime as an analyst. I was working for Assistant Vice Chancellor Bud Travers, who's a close friend of mine, and we played tennis together. We had worked as analysts together in the budget office and he needed someone right away, so he called me up and I could start the next day because I was a grad student basically, and that's how I got it. There wasn't a recruitment or anything like that.

03-00:01:31

Farrell: Oh, okay, I see.

03-00:01:33

Hayashi: The student conduct aspect was interesting. Before then, it had been handled by a student services guy and he I don't think understood the importance of student conduct for the university. I'm not sure if that's fair, but it seemed that way. When I took it over, it was kind of a shapeless office and set of responsibilities. You deal with academic misconduct and that gets complicated because a lot of departments have their own procedures but some departments would turn to our office to handle it because it's a difficult area. You don't quite know if the goal is to identify people who have cheated and or if it's to educate people about what plagiarism is and why it's not appropriate in a university setting and so there was always that tension there.

03-00:03:10

There were issues of sexual assault and those were very, very difficult and largely because of how troubling that area is, and also because the survivor. In times that I had worked, they were all women, most of them, if not all of them, did not want to participate in hearings and for a variety of very understandable reasons. Sometimes when I thought that a case should be

pursued, it involved bluffing because if the student got an attorney and they pushed it, I would just have to concede because I had no one willing to testify. So those were tough.

03-00:04:32

The other part of it, there was one case that I was pursuing where the vice chancellor of my area, a guy named Mac Laetsch advised me and Bud that we should go easy on this one accused student. Because he said that when he was in college that there were women who they referred to as townies. This was at the University of Indiana and that there was a sense, a cultural sense, that they were fair game. That was the other part of it. You have an unsupportive boss and then you have a victim who did not want to be further traumatized through a formal hearing. In those cases, and there weren't many of them, I would have to run a bluff and usually it worked because the accused suddenly found himself in a difficult situation.

03-00:06:03

The other part was student protest, and there were a lot of anti-apartheid protests at the time and that was very, very interesting to me. Intellectually interesting because it involved the right to assemble and free speech and protest. I was lucky I found a long essay by Laurence Tribe, who is now retired. He taught at Harvard, he was Barack Obama's law professor, and he wrote an essay on how to think about protest, free speech, and forums. For example, that there are certain forums like Hyde Park and Sproul steps where, through custom, there was the establishment of absolute free speech rights. That you could limit those rights because it's an office building and that serves students. You could limit those rights to certain hours, but you couldn't limit the speech, and so that was our free speech venue. Then there were issues about other places like Sproul Plaza, which has limited but pretty broad freedoms. And then you have classrooms where their faculty have academic freedom and students, to a certain extent, have that too, just speak their mind, but that's limited. If you're in a math class, you can't disrupt the class to talk about anti-apartheid. It was intellectually fascinating to parse those out and then to try to put them into place.

03-00:08:36

Farrell:

Yeah, that sounds really interesting, and I'm wondering how that rolled into your role as special assistant to Mike Heyman who was the chancellor, and you started that in 1986?

03-00:08:50

Hayashi:

What happened is that there was a protest management group that would meet regularly and it had about thirty people in it. The chief of police, his assistant, head of grounds maintenance because a lot had to do with removal of things and things like that, public affairs, and the office of student conduct, and I was there in my role as student conduct. But one of the things you find out in intense crises, which are sometimes physically dangerous, that some people show up regularly and other people never show up regularly. I was among the

group of people who showed up, and so you get to know each other in tough times and you pay attention to who shows up. I became friends with John Cummins, who is Chancellor Heyman's assistant, key assistant. John was amazing and so John was then given additional duties. He was asked to take over public information for a while, so I was brought in to backfill, to take over the things that John didn't do.

03-00:10:36

One of the things about working directly for the chancellor or a chancellor Mike Heyman is that John and I would meet with him every morning at 9:00, and we were his first meeting. We'd go over the day and we just talk about things. Mike was a tough guy, he was trained as a city planner and also a lawyer, and he had clerked for Earl Warren and so he had a liberal frame of mind. The idea that he would be accused of suppressing free speech or suppressing protest was hard for him and so we worked together in that kind of maelstrom of constant protests.

03-00:11:46

There was one protest outside of California Hall where the chancellor's office was and students and non-students alike had built a shantytown around the building or in the front of the building. God, there must've been ten or eleven shanties, they're build out of plywood, and they had roofs and things. There were twenty-four-hour protests, so they were constantly occupied. We cleared away the entrance to the door but you'd had to walk through them; people would be shouting at you and everything. The fire marshal said that it was a fire hazard, which it was, but in instances like that, you often ask the fire marshal to declare it a fire hazard. There was a decision to go and remove the protesters and to tear down the shanties and for reasons I think of safety, they decided to do it at midnight where there weren't other students who would be endangered or attracted to join the protesters.

03-00:13:20

The police brought in a bus and they had powerful searchlights all set up, so everyone could see what it was doing. The officer in command ordered students to disperse and said that if they did not disperse, they would be arrested. Some left, most did not because in situations like that, it's hard to get up and leave. Then they started to arrest and they were using those of plastic zip ties as handcuffs. That's what they used pretty much everywhere now and they're very effective. But they ran out of them and so they would arrest people and release them because they couldn't take more. The students and protesters that they released went back and joined the protest and so it was a real botched arrest. Word got out that the arrests were taking place and so students from the dormitories came and they started to sit down.

03-00:14:51

There was a very militant protest group of students and nonstudents called By Any Means Necessary and so what they started to do is break up the cement bicycle racks. The police were close to the shantytown, they were flanked by

protesters who were sitting in peacefully, including a lot of the students from the dorms who had come just to show support. The students By Any Means necessary began throwing huge rocks. I mean these are like four inches by four inches, they're broken up cement basically, over the demonstrators at the police. One of my friends got his shield broken in half, that was how violent it was, and the police weren't going to just take it because they could actually get killed. They went through the students who were passively demonstrating to get to the people who were throwing at them and it was just a mess. One demonstrator got his leg broken seriously and there were things like that going on.

03-00:16:34

I don't think that the police called for mutual assistance. Sometimes when protests get out of control, they'll ask adjacent agencies to send police officers to help. But they're reluctant to do that because the officers, say, in Oakland volunteer to do it. What I was told by other police officers is that the police officers who volunteer, volunteer because they want to go crack some student heads and saw Berkeley students as privileged and arrogant and so there was always a reluctance to call in mutual aid. That's the kind of stuff I did in the protest management part.

03-00:17:36

Farrell:

I see, and then in 1998, Michael Heyman also appointed you associate vice chancellor for admissions and enrollment, and this, from what I understand, was in the midst of a controversy over Asian American admissions? At the same time, you became the highest-ranking API administrator in the UC system. Can you tell me a little bit about stepping into that role and some of the context around it?

03-00:18:08

Hayashi:

Beginning around 1980, Asian American admissions started to grow steadily and substantially, and then suddenly in 1986, the growth stopped. Community leaders such as Henry Der and Ling-chi Wang accused the campus of using illegal racial quotas. Ling-chi Wang wrote an article comparing Berkeley's Asian American admissions to the attempts by Ivy League universities in the '30s and '40s and '50s to suppress the growth of Jewish admissions. He didn't get the particulars right, but he got the attitude right. There was growing concern, particularly from people involved in development, that the growth of Asian American admissions was leading to a sharp drop in particularly white male admissions and that would lead to real problems with respect to fundraising and maintaining alumni support. I think people had a very, very difficult time imagining the campus as anything other than a majority-white campus because that's what it's always been.

03-00:20:30

The director of admissions, Robert Bailey, took an action where he restricted EOP [Educational Opportunity Program] admission, these were low-income students. But he exempted from that restriction Black and Hispanic students,

so it affected only Asian Americans. That led to not a drop in admissions but a capping of the admissions, and that's what led to the protests. The chancellor steadfastly believed because of the reassurances of vice chancellor Laetsch who was overseeing student affairs and admissions at the time that we had clean hands in this whole thing. But Bob Bailey had written this memo outlining the steps. He directed his staff to withdraw the special treatment of Asian American admissions in EOP, and that became public, and it was seen as a smoking gun. But it took two years for it to become public and Heyman was being fully criticized all over the world. Because Berkeley was a bastion of liberalism and progressive politics and especially in Asia, the *Asian Wall Street Journal* and major magazines and newspapers criticized saying the slowing down and restriction of Asian American admissions makes no sense at all unless something illegal was taking place. Then Bob Bailey's letter comes out and that's seen as the direct evidence of motivation to suppress Asian American admissions.

03-00:23:03

When that came out, Mike Heyman decided to use an upcoming hearing chaired by Tom Hayden on Asian American admissions. While he didn't acknowledge deliberate actions to suppress admissions, he did say that the campus should've been more sensitive and all, and formally apologized, and that broke the logjam. Other legislators came in to the hearing room and congratulated him for his candor and courage, and they were glad that the issue had been opened up. After his hearing, after his apology, Asian leaders said, "That's great, thank you, we appreciate it, but you have no Asians in any top-level positions. If you mean what you say, you'll start by appointing at least one because if Asians had been in your cabinet, it's unlikely that this would've happened." In our morning nine o'clock meeting, he was pacing around and saying, "They're right, Pat. I need to find an Asian American, but where in the hell can I find one?" He looked at me, and John talked to him and said, "Why don't you put Pat in that position?" That's how I got the position.

03-00:25:00

I jumped up four levels, and my appointment was covered in *Newsweek*, the *Economist*, *Der Spiegel*, the *Asian Wall Street Journal*. It was international news actually.

03-00:25:16

Farrell:

How did you feel about being appointed on the heels of all of that?

03-00:25:21

Hayashi:

Scared—I wasn't prepared. Usually when someone gets appointed to that kind of level, that kind of position overseeing a controversial policy area and an extremely complex administrative set of units like financial aid and admissions and the registrar's office, usually you work your way up over a period of twenty years at least. In the process, you learn about the different areas and you have hands-on experiences, too, what the day-to-day work involves. I didn't bring any of that experience with me and so I didn't know

what I was doing. In retrospect, I didn't learn it very well. The hardest part for me and the part that I never got right was managing people. I turned out not to be very good at that; I'm not quite sure why. Part of it is because management too is not an intuitive thing; it takes training. The best training takes place incrementally and so that you learn by observing other people and you learn by correcting the mistakes you make. You learn what's legal and what's not and then you learn what's permissible and what's not, and those are different things.

03-00:27:12

On the other hand, in terms of policy development and political skills on the national level and the state level, I was quite good. I could think through policy issues and I could think through political issues skillfully. I don't know where that came from. I think it probably came from having served as head of Asian American studies where again when I was twenty-six or twenty-seven, I found myself at the head of a program. That required negotiations with academic senate committees and other administrative committees on campus and so I learned how to think things through. I was trained to some extent on those kinds of areas.

03-00:28:11

Farrell:

Well, then a year later in 1999, you became the associate president of UCOP, and you were serving under Richard Atkinson. Thinking about policy, one of the initiatives that you were involved in was challenging the SAT and the National Merit Scholarship Program. I know that you had criticized the standardized college admission tests because they unfairly discriminate people of color and disadvantaged students. I'm wondering if you could tell me a little bit more about why you decided to take that issue on and what it was like for you to challenge the testing admissions?

03-00:28:54

Hayashi:

I stayed in the associate vice chancellor position at Berkeley for about ten years, and then in '88—

03-00:29:08

Farrell:

Okay, oh, I read the dates wrong—you're right. I read it as 1998 instead of 1988. Sorry—yes, it was ten years later, not the next year. Thank you for correcting me.

03-00:29:23

Hayashi:

One of the things that happened because I was one of the few high-level, high-ranking Asian Americans in higher education is that I got invited to serve on committees that I shouldn't have been invited to. Because nationally, people were starting to be aware that Asian Americans should be included in policy discussions. One of the first things I was invited to was a college board committee headed by Harvard President Derek Bok and UC President David Gardner, the most prestigious private and public universities. The question was should they revise the SAT and turn it from a two-part test—SAT writing



and SAT Math—SAT English, SAT Math, and include a third part, the SAT Writing which would require students to demonstrate their proficiency in writing. It was about a thirty-person committee and extremely prestigious people. For example, what would be called the secretary of education under Lyndon Johnson, Harold Doc Howe was a member. Diane Ravitch, who was a distinguished professor at NYU, I think, or Columbia, and also former assistant secretary of education for higher education was on it. A couple of school superintendents from I think Chicago and Atlanta were on it, some very prominent academics, and me. It was balanced in terms of gender and ethnicity. I was the only Asian and I figured that after the Asian American controversy, UC President David Gardner could not chair a committee that did not include at least one Asian and I was the only one he could think of.

03-00:31:59

I was really nervous because I knew why I was there and I also knew that I was not qualified to be there in terms of experience or expertise. At the first meeting, Harold Doc Howe, Johnson's secretary of education, said that he began with the assumption that a person's writing ability was a direct reflection of the person's thinking ability. If a person did not write well, could write well that that was direct evidence that the person was a faulty thinker. When he said that, I was shocked because I had taught freshman reading and composition and Asian American studies for four years. I expected the people of color around the committee or anyone to sharply disagree with him, but nobody did. Not only did people not disagree, they strongly supported his assertion, so I raised my hand.

03-00:33:34

Now in a committee like that, you don't raise your hand, you just interrupt. And because you're prestigious, otherwise you wouldn't have been on the committee, you expect to be listened to. I had written little notes to myself, and Derek Bok was chairing the committee, and he saw my hand. He said, "I believe Mr. Hayashi would like to say something." Very weird interaction. My hands are actually trembling visibly in front of me and I said, "Secretary Howe begins with the assumption that a person's writing ability reflects that person's thinking ability. I don't begin with that assumption. Instead I turn it into a question, and the question is to what extent does a person's writing ability reflect that person's ability to think?" I said, "When you pose it as a question, the answer becomes obvious, it depends. If a person is new to the country or if the person is poor and has attended poor schools where the quality of education is low, then it's incorrect and unfair to think that a person's writing ability reflects that person's thinking ability. Because oftentimes people just haven't had the opportunity and the assistance to develop writing ability."

03-00:35:38

Farrell:

Yeah, and it calls into question, by whose standards?

03-00:35:43

Hayashi: Sure, yeah.

03-00:35:45

Farrell: It's not the same for everyone for exactly the reasons that you're describing.

03-00:35:50

Hayashi: Well, also, when I taught writing to freshman, writing in Asian American studies, I learned that there are certain grammatical errors that students make that a traditional English teacher would regard as a fundamental serious error. But they're really artifacts of the person's native language like subject-verb agreement in Chinese speakers and things like that. If you understand that, then you can develop strategies for addressing it. The main strategy is to say, "When you're speaking Cantonese, these things happen, and when you're writing in English, the same things happen. Just be aware of that and when you finish your paper, go back and correct them, you know how to correct them." It's a trivial matter really.

03-00:37:06

Anyway, that remark was greeted with dead silence, no one said anything, and it was the silence that really pissed me off, and then Bok called for a break. When I got back to Berkeley, I said that many people on the committee asked me to explain my views further. That was a lie; no one asked me. I wrote to everyone an open letter to the committee and I got one response. It was from Diane Ravitch who, at the time, was known for being very conservative—she's since changed. She challenged me and so she and I had a series of open letters with cc's to the rest of the committee members. One of the things that happens when you work on a college board committee is you have to sign a confidentiality agreement that the materials you receive in the meetings, you had to keep confidential. What I was doing by writing these letters, public letters was establishing my own body of thought and work that was not subject to the college board's confidentiality agreement. She and I went back and forth and back and forth. She said that if we want to assess a student's said writing ability may be the most important ability for students to have in order to succeed in college. I agreed with that, and she said, "If that's the case, then we have to directly assess how well they write, that's why they must write an essay."

03-00:39:27

After about three or four exchanges like this, I said, "We agree on this, but why are you supporting this test? Because this test does not involve an essay, it involves simple multiple choice questions, and students won't have to write a single word?" Well, she didn't realize that, she thought an essay was involved, and so she had egg on her face and she wrote to me conceding. She didn't say she didn't know that, but she said that, yes, it has to have an essay, and that was the only letter that she did not cc everyone, she just wrote to me. But when I sent my response, I sent a copy of her letter to everyone, and then

she essentially dropped off the committee. I think she felt humiliated and then the whole thing was dropped.

03-00:40:36

Because the other thing I did is Gardner was known for having never chaired a committee where a minority report was filed. The college board used to call me all the time and I said that one of the reasons I'm writing these letters is so that I have my own intellectual property because unless things change dramatically, I'm going to write a minority report and included this correspondence in the minority report. I knew that would get back to David, and it did. At which point, he started to call me after work weekly. His assistant, who I knew quite well, would say, "Dr. Gardner would like to talk to you if you are free at six o'clock." "Sure, I'm free." He would call me and he was wonderful. He never tried to change my mind, he actually listened, and in the end, he agreed with me, and so that that was it.

03-00:42:05

Farrell:

How long did that go on for?

03-00:42:09

Hayashi:

One year.

03-00:42:11

Farrell:

It was a year, okay.

03-00:42:12

Hayashi:

Yeah.

03-00:42:13

Farrell:

Okay, it's quite the year it sounds like.

03-00:42:18

Hayashi:

Yeah, it was. It was interesting. The head of the college board was a man named Don Stewart, an African American man who had been the president of Spellman and a nice guy, a smart guy. But as I said, usually if you get to serve on a national commission, that means that you had served on state commissions for the college board, regional commissions and had been vetted. The people who got on the national commissions were people who were strong supporters of the college board.

03-00:43:07

It was interesting, then Donald retired, and he was then replaced by a man named Gaston Caperton who had been the governor of West Virginia and didn't have a PhD, wasn't an academician, but was a superb politician. I don't know how I met him, but he recommended that I be made a trustee of the college board, and his staff really fought that. They said, "Do not let him be a trustee of the college board because of the history," but he just overrode them and he appointed me a trustee. I served for four years. It was in that position that I was serving as a trustee when Dick Atkinson led his challenge to the SAT. It was an awkward kind of position, though it was beneficial in the end.

03-00:44:31

Farrell:

Yeah, yeah, that's really interesting. You did decide to retire in the early 2000s, in 2004. What went into your decision to retire?

03-00:44:45

Hayashi:

Well, we should actually go back to the SAT for a while. Is that okay? Dick Atkinson was in his last year as president and when he was cognitive scientist, he was the most frequently cited social scientist in the world. He had been the youngest head of the National Science Foundation and I think he was the youngest chancellor at UC San Diego so throughout his life, he was associated with academic excellence at the highest levels. It might have been Christmas—I'm not sure—he went home to see his daughter and granddaughter in Florida. His granddaughter, who is I think in the seventh or eighth grade, was studying verbal analogies in preparation for the SAT. He came back and he said, "What the hell are these verbal analogies and why are people testing them?" I said to him, "Dick, verbal analogies assess one's deep knowledge of the structure and meaning of the English language." He looked at me and he says, "What theory of cognitive development justifies that bullshit?" Knowing that he's the most eminent cognitive scientist in the world, I decided not to argue with him. He said, "Look, Pat, if you don't know the meaning of one of the words in the analogy, no amount of intelligence will get you to the right answer. But if you do know the meaning, the reasoning involved is trivial. Throughout the history of testing, test makers have often used vocabulary tests, which this is, to introduce a strong class bias into the test because vocabulary is strongly associated with class and education."

03-00:47:43

He says, "I think I should take on the SAT." He said, "I think I'm probably the only person in the country who can do that." Because of his intellectual and academic credentials, the fact that he's always been associated with academic excellence at the very highest levels, and because he knew a lot about testing. I actually tried to talk him out of it because I thought it would suck all the time out of his remaining months in the job, which it did. He was invited to give a talk to the American Council on Education, and some previous speakers had been Bill Clinton and Kofi Annan who was the head of the United Nations. It was a highly prestigious invitation, so he decided to unveil his challenge to the SAT there.

03-00:49:02

It fell to me to write his talk. I was working principally with a man named Saul Geiser who was a head of student research, a very, very smart guy, PhD in sociology from Berkeley. When I structured the talk, I was heavily influenced by an essay by Neil Smelser on meritocratic and egalitarian values in California higher education. That California higher education always worked to strike a balance between academic values and democratic values, and is most prominently shown in our A–G requirements. That we set certain curricular requirements in English, math, and so forth and then we set an academic floor. You have to have a 3.0 or something in these A–G

requirements. But the requirements can be met in any high school in the state, and we accept grades for all high schools as equal. A C in a poor urban school means the same as a C in Head-Royce.

03-00:50:50

I used that framework and developed the essay in terms of what should a test do. How does it reflect a balancing of meritocratic and egalitarian values and why the SAT fails to meet that balancing test in part because of its construction? It was interesting because I would write it sometimes in conjunction with Saul Geiser, but mainly me. Yeah, Saul would do the technical parts and give it to Dick, and Dick was a superb editor. He would edit using editorial nomenclature, markings and would turn it around in fifteen minutes. It would be really well edited, mainly clarifying thoughts and then simplifying because he liked to write in a simple way.

03-00:52:13

One of the things I always did when I worked for a top executive is I would learn what they read for pleasure. Dick would read on average three books a week and they were always nonfiction and usually biography. I don't know why I mentioned that, but it was important for me to know it. Dick would have the draft in his drawer and when his most trusted people came by, he would share it with them sometimes—people like Judd King. They're smart, and they know higher education, and they would give him feedback. He kept it from his chancellors because he knew that some of the chancellors, if they found that he was going to challenge SAT, would go to the regents and try to find a way to stop him. Because the chancellors, some of them were real believers in the SAT. Some of them had actually personally benefited from the SAT and identified as high achievers. That was an interesting dimension of it.

03-00:53:55

We went through I think twenty-six drafts, and the twenty-sixth draft was leaked. I think the penultimate draft was given to our public affairs unit so that they could get it ready to hand to the press and anyone. One person had left that program disgruntled and he leaked it. The day before Dick's speech, it was covered in all the major newspapers. The headline says president of the University California plans to challenge the SAT, so that the meeting itself was standing-room only. I mean it was a huge auditorium and there were TV cameras, everything, and so it was a huge thing. I think the next morning he was on *Good Morning America* and things like that. That's how it all came about.

03-00:55:12

Farrell:

That's really interesting. Do you mind if we pause for like five minutes and come back?

03-00:55:19

Hayashi:

Sure.

03-00:55:19

Farrell: Okay, that will be great.

03-00:55:20

Hayashi: Sure.

03-00:55:20

Farrell: Okay, great, I'm going to pause the recording, and I'll see you in a couple of minutes.

03-00:55:23

Hayashi: Okay.

[BREAK IN VIDEO]

03-00:55:25

Farrell: All right, we are back. When we left off, you were talking a little bit about the SATs and I'm wondering how all of that resolved, if you can say that it has at this point? [laughs]

03-00:55:43

Hayashi: Partially resolved, the college board did a little secret survey and they found out in their survey that while many of the major users of the SAT would continue to use it no matter what, California institutions would probably drop it. The University of California was the largest user in the country so that was problematic, so Gaston made some concessions. But in hindsight, Dick's challenge was the start of a series of challenges and that this organization called FairTest worked tenaciously with universities around the country, particularly selective private universities, and got them to make the SAT optional. Once they made the SAT optional, I think all of the universities involved decided that that was a good decision. Because what it did is it encouraged people with lower test scores to apply and they found that those students were indistinguishable from students with high test scores in terms of how well they fared once they were enrolled. They always scrambled "to make their class," as they call it, to fill it up because of if you're even just ten or twenty students short of your enrolment goal, then you have the beginning of major financial problems.

03-00:58:10

They started that and then at the same time, people within UC started to question the SAT. I think that a chancellor at Santa Cruz—I don't remember her name—and Carol Christ at Berkeley publicly questioned the SAT. I don't know if Carol had made it optional at Smith, but once that started, the regents and the chair of the regents, John Perez, contacted me. John had been a student at Berkeley and he was a really, really bright guy. He became speaker of the house and he grew up in labor politics, he was an organizer. He knew that I had done work on the SAT, so when the regents were contemplating it, he asked if I would write a couple papers for him, briefing him, and I did. I said, "The fundamental question is how do you evaluate merit in a

democracy?" I said, "I don't really know the answer." I said, "Part of the answer is that you evaluate it in the context of opportunity, how can that be developed in many ways. But I do know one thing, we would not use the SAT, if we're to start now, we would not use the SAT for these reasons."

03-01:00:11

Now there's a widespread universal misconception that Dick and others challenged the SAT because underrepresented students and poor students tended to do poorly on it. That is a fact, but that's not the reason people challenged the SAT. They challenged the SAT because it's a really bad test as a test. The SAT is what's called a norm-referenced test. They take the answers to the tests and they weigh them in a way that creates a bell curve so that you distribute the respondents across a bell curve. In selective universities, you're only concerned with the right side tail of the bell curve where the high scores fall. There, what you end up doing is you end up making monumental decisions based on trivial differences in answers. One or two wrong answers or right answers can make the difference between whether you're accepted in a highly selective university or not.

03-01:01:59

The other way of distributing the test is to have—I forgot the name of it—criterion-referenced test. You distribute the scores on the basis of whether students got the questions right or wrong. In a criterion-referenced distribution, theoretically, everyone could get 100. It's a much better test to use because it gives you direct information as to what areas a student is strong in and what areas a student is weak in. That provides you with a basis for looking at it and understanding whether, say, Berkeley has the resources to address a student who has a weakness in certain areas of mathematics or English. I have a friend who's been the president of several small Catholic universities. He uses test like that to make sure that the students that he admits are those who the university has the capacity to serve. Tests can be useful. I'm not an anti-test guy, but I'm anti-SAT.

03-01:03:50

Farrell:

I do want to turn a little bit to your retirement in 2004. What went into your decision to retire?

03-01:03:55

Hayashi:

Could we talk about the National Merit Scholars Program?

03-01:04:00

Farrell:

Yes, we can definitely talk about that, but I do want to be conscious of time as well because we only have about forty minutes left, and I want to make sure we're talking about Topaz as well and some of your artwork.

03-01:04:14

Hayashi:

Okay. I was in a cabinet meeting with Chancellor Tien, and he looked at *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and it ranked universities on the basis of National Merit Scholars. Harvard was number one and Berkeley was number

twenty-two. He looked at me in an open cabinet meeting and he says, "This is a disgrace." I tried to explain why it wasn't and I wrote him a memo why it's not good to participate in the program, and he didn't care. He ordered us to participate, so the next year we were number two behind Harvard. If you formally participate in the National Merit Scholars Program, you have to agree to give every National Merit Scholar you admit a stipend. At the time, it was \$2500 a year, and you guarantee it for four years. Most National Merit Scholars are wealthy so that meant that you were literally taking money from poor students and giving it to rich students. But Tien didn't care, he wanted us to be ranked high.

03-01:05:39

When Bob Berdahl came in, and we met with him, we explained it to him, he said, "Let's get out of the program," so we got out of the program. Later, I established a campaign to get all campuses to drop the program. The academic senate resisted it because they thought I was just concerned because there's zero Black National Merit Scholars. But when they studied it for a year, they were aghast at what a terrible program it is, psychometrically, educationally, socially, so all universities, all campuses had dropped out. I'm proud of that by the way.

03-01:06:27

Farrell:

As I think you should be. Those are I think a couple of really big, big deals but also big accomplishments too.

03-01:06:38

Hayashi:

Now we would talk about—?

03-01:06:44

Farrell:

Well yeah, so I am curious to know about your decision to retire.

03-01:06:49

Hayashi:

I retired at sixty or sixty-one, and I retired because Dick retired.

03-01:06:55

Farrell:

Okay.

03-01:06:55

Hayashi:

I just did not want to work for anyone else. I liked working for him quite a lot.

03-01:07:04

Farrell:

That make sense. So it's as simple as that.

03-01:07:09

Hayashi:

Yeah, it was.

03-01:07:11

Farrell:

You also had a long career too. But returning to your relationship with Topaz over the years, I know that you became more involved with Topaz in your personal relationship to the site as time went on. It took a little bit of time. I



know one of the pivotal parts of this was a 1972 exhibit that you went to at Berkeley. Can you tell me a little bit about that exhibit that you went to?

03-01:07:54

Hayashi:

Well, there are two exhibits. One was at Berkeley called the *Executive Order 9066*, forty-five photographs. They were blown up, so it was quite big. Many of the photographs were by Dorothea Lange and so they were extremely beautiful photographs. The beautiful tonalities of her black-and-white images, and she had an amazing compositional eye, and a great gift for capturing emotion and feeling through body language and gesture. When I went in there, that had a huge effect on me because it was like I was walking through my family scrapbook, which we didn't have because for the first couple of years, the camps prohibited photography. It sort of created images in my mind where I didn't have them before.

03-01:09:16

At that exhibit, I volunteered to sell the exhibition catalogs. The person organizing it asked if I had been born in a camp. I said, "Yeah, Topaz." She said, "Well, would you like to wear one of these nametags that everyone wore with Topaz on it?" I said, "Yeah," and then I put it on it, and it must be like the Star of David the Jews wore—the armbands that Jews were required to wear. When you put it on, it takes you back in time and creates a deep connection with everything that people went through.

03-01:10:07

I talked to this old, white woman who came up to me while I was selling the catalogs and said, "I think it was shameful and terrible what we did to you Japs," not realizing that that's a terrible word. However, she was well-meaning. It captured in a just a brief second the difficulty of talking about the camps with white people or Black people or Hispanic people. Japanese Americans have a feeling for it that's so deep and complex and so unarticulated that it creates this communication gap and emotional gap that we're gradually chipping away at.

03-01:11:06

Farrell:

I think that's a pretty salient example of what you're just describing. Another exhibit you went to, were there drawings of James Wakasa?

03-01:11:19

Hayashi:

There was—my mom told me the story of Mr. Wakasa.

03-01:11:25

Farrell:

Right, and then didn't one of the first pieces that you ended up buying was a rendering of him?

03-01:11:36

Hayashi:

No, this was in 1984, I think. It was called *The View from Within*. It was an exhibit of camp art in the San Jose Museum. At the time, I had zero interest in art and I didn't feel comfortable in museums. They seem like high culture and

I didn't know how to behave, I didn't know if I could talk, and I didn't know how to move. But I went in and as soon as I went in, I choked up. I don't know why. The first paintings were landscapes and still lifes. I turned the corner, and there was Chiura Obata's Sumi sketch of James Wakasa falling over after he was shot, and I just started to cry. I was embarrassed but the gallery was filled with Nisei and Issei too, and they were all crying. I think that it just captured something that was horrific and captured the terror that, oh, permeated life in the camps, and that we never talked about except that my mother told me that one story.

03-01:13:12

Farrell:

Yeah and you, after that, started collecting Obata's pieces, right?

03-01:13:19

Hayashi:

I used to go to a little art store and framing shop on Shattuck called NIKKO, and they did Obata's framing.

03-01:13:31

Farrell:

Oh, okay.

03-01:13:32

Hayashi:

Yeah, I went in there, and there was a brush painting of a place that looked like Topaz and so I said, "Is that Topaz?" He said, "Yeah." I asked, "Is it for sale?" They said, "Yeah," and so I bought it. It cost me \$700. It was in this brocade mat with a handmade bamboo frame. When I bought it, she said, "You actually bought two paintings," and she opened a compartment in the back, and there was another small brush sketches with his poetry and all written in Japanese.

03-01:14:03

Farrell:

Wow.

03-01:14:04

Hayashi:

I had the other framed, and that led to me collecting camp art. She knew I was interested in it, so if she heard anything, she'd contact me. Hmm, I had a collection of about twenty or twenty-five pieces, and they were nice. I ended up donating them to Stanford about a year ago and they put that into their inaugural exhibit of Asian American art. They have an Asian American Art Initiative there and it was interesting to give to Stanford. A good question is why didn't I give them to Berkeley? Well, the answer was that Stanford had an organization focusing on that with two young, very young, very brilliant women—one is [an art historian] and the other is a curator—and they're amazing. They're absolutely amazing.

03-01:15:19

Farrell:

Yeah, I believe I watched the talk when that exhibit was opening that you participated in.

03-01:15:26

Hayashi:

Oh, Masako and I? Yeah.

03-01:15:28

Farrell:

Yes, yeah, exactly. Those pieces, the camp pieces, is it just related to Topaz, or are you interested in other sites as well?

03-01:15:40

Hayashi:

I'm interested in all the sites, yeah.

03-01:15:43

Farrell:

Going to the 1972 *Executive Order 9066* exhibit at Berkeley and then the '84 *View from Within* show, how did that impact your relationship with Topaz?

03-01:16:03

Hayashi:

I'm typical of third-generation Japanese Americans; we grow up hearing next to nothing about the camps. My friend Judy Sakaki, who was president of Sonoma State, when she heard her parents talk about the camp, she thought it was a summer recreation camp. That's not an uncommon misunderstanding because people just didn't talk about them typically. I think it's this odd thing. Jews have studied the intergenerational transmission of trauma and I think trauma can be transmitted nonverbally and because the silence among Japanese Americans, among everyone, is textured. Different types of silence mean different things and convey different emotions, and I think that's how I learned about the emotional tone of the camps and the devastation it had.

03-01:17:28

Once I got involved in Asian American studies and we're studying about myself and my history, it was no longer a point of embarrassment but a point of curiosity. Then gradually over my lifetime, I started to fill in the blanks and create a mosaic. It is a mosaic because it doesn't hang together all that well. There are particular images that had a great impact on me. One was a decapitated man who, because of how he felt about camps, put his head on a railroad track. You look at that and you think, my God, how could this happen, and what led to this?

03-01:18:22

Over time, I just learned more and more and more and more and then I served on the California Civil Liberties Public Education Fund, which was first a federal and then a state program where over the years we gave about \$10 million for projects related to the camps. I would read them all like back in my contracts and grant days. It was just a great source of education to learn more and more and more about camps, about the literature, the sociology, the law, the religion. Very little is known about religion in the camps, the interesting thing, and things like that. Young people addressing the camps through comic books and other people doing painting, having plays, creating dances, writing histories. It was a wonderful education.

03-01:19:27

Farrell:

It led you to start to do your own art practice as well, and I'm wondering how you came to art at that point in your life?

03-01:19:40

Hayashi:

I contacted Obata's family and his granddaughter Kimi Kodani Hill said that Obata's main student was a woman named Shirley Rencher Miller who lived out in Walnut Creek. I contacted her and I started taking brush painting lessons from her. My theory was that brush painting ability was genetically encoded in me, and I just had to clear my mind and the ink would flow. [laughs] Well, that was wrong, and I was terrible. It's extremely difficult because it's unforgiving. You make your mark and there it is, so you better know what you're doing. But to learn what you're doing takes a lifetime. I have in the corner a bamboo brush painting by Obata, and it's probably fifteen strokes. They're graded tonally, some edges are lost and found, some edges are sharp, it's just masterful. The composition had mainly white space, and that's how I got to start at art. Once I realized I would never be a good brush painter, I just started taking university extension classes and I liked it. I don't have many regrets in my life, but one regret is that I took up art and singing too late. I wish I had taken it up when I was a kid and stuck with it because my life would've been richer. I would've been a much better policy analyst, a much better political strategist.

03-01:21:44

Farrell:

Yeah, it's interesting at what point we come to different things and then having hindsight about how it might have been back. You've also dabbled with different mediums as well, like you were just mentioning brush paintings and I know that you've done some dying textiles. You also did some smoke and fire after discovering you could do that by accident when you had a kitchen fire?

03-01:22:17

Hayashi:

Probably the most interesting medium is the one I discovered about how to paint with smoke. I had monotype that I had made, a print of red fire ants that I hated and so I took it to the sink to burn it and it flared up. I hit it with a spatula, and it flipped over, and the back was beautiful. It looked like a Zen painting. For the next several months, I just started trying just put smoke on paper or set fire to paper. I tried different kinds of matches and ended up using little, tiny kerosene lamp because kerosene has a dirty smoke and the smoke has to have soot in it, and so that's what creates the image. I ended up working primarily as a Tonalist landscape painter. The most prominent American Tonalists were [James Abbott McNeil] Whistler and [George] Inness and they don't try to depict a particular place. Instead they try to evoke a spiritual mood and that's what I try to do in my paintings. When I do it well, it succeeds. The challenge is that if I do it too often, I get too skilled, and part of the charm of the medium is when things are not terribly clear. There's usually only one section in each painting, which you can read unambiguously, the rest is ambiguous.

03-01:24:24

Farrell:

Yes, you want it to maintain that the audience is getting a feeling?

- 03-01:24:30  
Hayashi: Yeah, I had a show on The Faculty Club, and Carol Christ contacted me and said she'd like to buy some of those smoke paintings. I said, "No, I'll give them to you" because I give away my work now—I don't sell it—but I haven't gotten around to it. Now because of this conversation, I'll start getting her paintings done.
- 03-01:24:54  
Farrell: How often—
- 03-01:24:54  
Hayashi: You know—
- 03-01:24:54  
Farrell: Oh, go ahead.
- 03-01:24:55  
Hayashi: Carol plays the viola and I'm told that she has a trained voice, soprano I think. I think that those are important things to know about her because it talks about another dimension of her that most people probably don't know about.
- 03-01:25:24  
Farrell: Yeah, yeah. How often are you making work these days?
- 03-01:25:30  
Hayashi: Pretty much daily.
- 03-01:25:32  
Farrell: Oh, okay, okay.
- 03-01:25:34  
Hayashi: But my latest, [shows wrapped rocks] I've been wrapping rocks.
- 03-01:25:43  
Farrell: Oh cool.
- 03-01:25:47  
Hayashi: I was completely uninspired and so I said, "Well, let's try and do something completely different." I got some cane and started wrapping rocks. It's kind of fun.
- 03-01:26:01  
Farrell: I appreciate that, like the try something different. Well, another thing I wanted to ask you about was you had mentioned in another interview that we did that you worked a little bit with the Topaz Museum and did some summer workshop with Jane Beckwith for Utah teachers. There are about thirty teachers per workshop. I'm wondering if you could talk a little bit about how you got involved with the Topaz Museum and what those teacher trainings were like for you?

03-01:26:29

Hayashi:

When I heard about the Topaz Museum, that that Jane was considering making one, I contacted her. I said, "Thank you for doing this, that's wonderful, I'd be glad to help." She asked me to join the board, but I don't like being on boards, so I declined. She said that she had started to give workshops during the summer to Topaz or Utah teachers in their continuing education workshops and so she invited me to participate in that, and I would go. They were two days in the classroom and one day at Topaz. I went to Delta where she lives—well, they were actually held Salt Lake City—and the night before, we would always have dinner and then we'd spend two and a half days together and so I got to know her quite well, and I admired her. It's hard to do something single-handedly like that, yeah, and then something happened.

03-01:27:55

They were developing the display text for the new museum that they built. I don't know how it happened, but the proposed text got released for public comment. Some people, principally Nancy Ukai and Chizu Omori and others, were alarmed by the text. They thought it saw Japanese Americans in the model minority myth context and they thought that it was a whitewashing of the experience. There was no examination of the harshness of the camps. The National Park Service, which was partially funding the museum, heard about the controversy. They paused funding because they didn't want to get involved in internecine community battle.

03-01:29:09

They convened some meetings and then they reconstituted the committee, the oversight committee, and they recruited a man named Franklin Odo, who was head of the Japanese American section in the Smithsonian and an eminent historian, and he chaired the committee. Another woman Cherstin Lyon who was a professor at Fullerton had written a major book on resisters in the camps. They reshaped the exhibit, they brought in a professional exhibit designer. Franklin's view and one that I share, was that the design came out okay. It's not perfect because a lot of it had been built out already and so the degrees of freedom were limited as to how it can be changed, but it came out well considering.

03-01:30:20

I was invited to talk to the California Historical Society and I spoke. I spoke about this challenge about how to shape the exhibit. I spoke about the responsibilities of the public museum and making everything up as I went along. I thought I was quite complimentary to Jane, and I sent her a link to my talk, and I never heard from her again.

03-01:31:03

Farrell:

Was this the 2016 Day of Remembrance talk?

03-01:31:07

Hayashi:

Yes.

03-01:31:08

Farrell: Okay. Yeah, that's interesting.

03-01:31:14

Hayashi: She had asked me to be the keynote speaker when the museum was opened, but after that talk, I never heard from her. Not a word.

03-01:31:24

Farrell: And so that was it, you never heard from her again? That was the last time?

03-01:31:28

Hayashi: That was it.

03-01:31:31

Farrell: Interesting, okay. How do you feel about the museum now?

03-01:31:37

Hayashi: I've never been there. I think I admire that it's there. I honor the effort and the dedication that it took to build it. I think that their handling of the Wakasa monument—oh, well, it was just awful. There is going to be on April eleventh [2023], the eightieth anniversary of his death, a program in J-Town [Japantown in San Francisco]. Do you live close to J-Town?

03-01:32:22

Farrell: I do, and I actually think I'm going to go. It's from 12:00 to 1:00, and I saw that you were speaking.

03-01:32:29

Hayashi: Oh, good. I'm working on the talk now and something interesting has happened. Mary Farrell and I are going to be the principal speakers. Mary is the archaeologist who found the stone, and something is happening. We're talking less about the desecration, the kind of disrespect. No Japanese Americans were there when the forklift pulled it out and destroyed the entire site. Architects grid the ground they study in I think one-meter grids and then they go down one centimeter at a time sifting the soil, photographing everything they find. Because people don't know what happened to Wakasa's ashes, and maybe they were buried along with the stone, but because of the way the ground was treated, no one knows. There may have been something written on the stone in Sumi and because it was dragged across the ground, no one knows. It's just awful. And were other artifacts put in there? Were his kitchen knives put in buried with this stone? It is just terrible. But taking a cue from Mary, we're going to talk more about how the stone has uplifted our community spiritually. That is now a time for forgiveness and so that's been interesting. I've been thinking about the concept of wonder and awe, and I think that that's being released, triggered, or evoked through the stone to us, our generation.

03-01:35:03

Farrell:

It's going to be interesting to see how that rolls out. One other thing I know that you did as well was that you spent some time with the Topaz High School Class of '45. You've spoken at two of their reunions.

03-01:35:18

Hayashi:

Yeah.

03-01:35:19

Farrell:

One thing that you talked to them about was the discussion of what to call Topaz, what to call it essentially. Can you tell me a little bit about the time you spent with the class of '45 and those conversations you were having about what to call Topaz?

03-01:35:39

Hayashi:

What I did to prepare is I had at least an hour interview with each person I could contact, and I wanted to learn their stories. In my talk, I re-told their stories to them, and they did not know how remarkable their lives had been, and so they're astonished. I attended their planning meetings and there were about eight people in each planning meeting, and some of them were retired military. My cousin's husband was a major in the air force and deeply patriotic. The question was what do you call Topaz? Some people wanted to call it a concentration camp. Everyone was in agreement that internment camp was just not proper, but you could call it a confinement site and something like that. They asked me what I thought, but I didn't say anything. I thought it was up to them.

03-01:36:53

In the end, they decided to call it a concentration camp, and that included my cousin who had been the major in the air force. I could see a complete transformation occur once they settled that issue. They became proud of their lives and proud at how they conducted themselves in the camps. I think prior to that, they saw themselves as just clueless teenagers who did as much as they could to enjoy themselves through dance and singing and baseball and football. Once they saw it as a concentration camp, they could see the way they lived their lives fully as an expression of their fundamental humanity and honoring their own inherent dignity. They could see their insistence on living life fully as an act of defiance, and it happened right before my eyes. It was amazing.

03-01:38:12

At the reunion itself, Mark Izu, who's a principal trumpet player in the San Francisco Symphony, he and a guitarist came. Mark's father was in Topaz. Mark's father married an English woman, a white woman, and they never talked about the camps at all. It was only when he died when Mark was sixteen, and he and his two older brothers went through his effects that they found the Topaz Rambler or the yearbook of the camp. Mark then went on a journey to try to find out about his father in the camp. He played and he attended the planning meetings because he wanted to know what songs they



danced to. They danced to things like "Blue Moon" and "Don't Fence Me In," all the '40s big band music. When he played, I learned that there is a huge difference between a musician and a world-class musician, it was just astonishing. He started playing and the people in the class who were sitting upfront or in roundtables literally pushed their walkers away and got up and started to jitterbug. It was amazing and they were doing twirls and everything, and they weren't doing lifts or between-the-leg stuff, but they just became transformed physically and emotionally.

03-01:39:58

I talked to a neurologist and he said that music follows different neural pathways, and it activates the body in different ways. I thought, wow, it was amazing to see that, but I think that that was also connected with the prior decision to acknowledge that it was a concentration camp.

03-01:40:25

Farrell:

Yeah, and I think you've discussed this a little bit, but did it have an impact on your perspective?

03-01:40:38

Hayashi:

Yes, my preferred term was concentration camp, but it was a political position rather than something that affected me emotionally and seeing the Topaz High School Class of 1945 affected me emotionally. Now when I refer to it as concentration camp, I think of them and what they taught me, but I'm not consistent. Sometimes I'll refer to it as a confinement site, but that's hard to say, and sometimes I'll refer to it as an internment camp. I think it's a big deal, but internment camp doesn't bother me if it's used thoughtfully.

03-01:41:53

Farrell:

Yeah, okay, interesting, yeah, and so it's more of a fluid thing for you?

03-01:41:58

Hayashi:

Yeah.

03-01:41:59

Farrell:

I know you haven't been to the museum and I know that there are no official pilgrimages. But have you visited Topaz and done your own, some sort of pilgrimage?

03-01:42:08

Hayashi:

I've been probably been there four times. The first time I went, I was at a conference in Salt Lake City and I'd go out there. Someone told me to contact Jane and I contacted her. This was before the museum and she was very, very gracious and inviting, and that led to more contact, and that led to the classes we gave to Utah teachers. At every class, we would go out to Topaz. There's nothing there. I remember the first time I went there, I took a little tripod seat, and I took my watercolors. I was wearing shorts and I sat down and I was going to absorb the scenery. But I started to get bit by mosquitoes and sand fleas, they drove me out in just a second. First time I drove out there, it was

bright and sunny and then it turned into a blizzard and the snow was falling horizontally. It was scary and kind of a whiteout. But then I said, "Oh God, this is what it was like here."

03-01:43:27

Farrell: Yeah, I've heard about the extreme weather and that it can change on a dime.

03-01:43:32

Hayashi: Yeah.

03-01:43:33

Farrell: It's intense, yeah. Those four times that you visited, what did it mean to you to return to Topaz?

03-01:43:50

Hayashi: I think it would be mean more now. I thought I would have an epiphany of going home, but none of that happened. Maybe it's because I was thinking of it in sentimental terms and romanticized terms and political terms, so it didn't affect me deeply at all. Teaching the teachers and working with Jane did affect me deeply. I remember one time in my presentation—we may have talked about this—I began my presentation telling the teachers that I imagine my father standing late at night looking towards the mountain, Mount Sevier, and thinking about my mother and his three sons and his two elderly parents and his younger brother. Then I recited a poem by Sylvia Plath, "The hills step off into whiteness. People and stars. Regard me sadly, I disappoint them." It captured, for me, his solitude and the deep emotional and physical and economic and parental burden that he felt. It was interesting because the teachers were wonderful. They were there by choice and they really responded to that. We could talk in a deeply spiritual way; it wasn't just a recitation of the chronology of events.

03-01:46:05

Farrell: I want to ask you a few reflective questions at this point. Looking back over your life, your career, your work with art, what are some of the things that you're most proud of?

03-01:46:26

Hayashi: Well, this answer surprises me, but I think I'm most proud of the fact that I worked hard all the time. I just worked constantly. That's also one of my big regrets, so it's an odd thing to say, but that was part of it. I think I was imaginative in the way I approach problems, and that was in large part because of the curiosity I developed through children's literature. I'm not sure Sherlock Holmes is children's literature, but through reading. I'm very pleased by close friends that I have. I had John Cummins and Ray Colvig, a small circle of close friends. It's helpful to have friends at Berkeley who you can just relax with. I think those are the things.

03-01:47:50

Farrell:

Looking back, when they think about this history and all of its nuances and complexities, what do you hope that people learn or remember or take with them about incarceration and that impacts that it's had on descendants?

03-01:48:23

Hayashi:

I hope that they develop a habit or a reflex of learning more and more and more about the camps. One of the things that's wonderful about Wakasa controversy is that I've met many amazing people. Did I send you the film that Emiko Omori made of me painting with encaustics?

03-01:48:57

Farrell:

No, not that one.

03-01:48:59

Hayashi:

I should send it to you.

03-01:49:00

Farrell:

Yeah, please do.

03-01:49:02

Hayashi:

Nancy Ukai for the Day of the Dead contacted me. I have no idea why she contacted me other than she knew I was involved in art. But she said that Kimiko Marr was creating a day of the dead altar at the Watsonville Cemetery, which is a Japanese American cemetery—I didn't know anything about this—and would I please paint some marigolds. Sure, okay, and so I painted some marigolds and gave them to her. She came back and she said, "After Mr. Wakasa was killed, people reported seeing a fireball in the air, about forty feet high." In Japanese folklore that fireball is called a hinotama, and it was Mr. Wakasa's soul. She said, "Could you paint his soul?" Nancy gets people to do interesting things, and so I painted his soul using encaustic, which is melted wax, and I actually did several. I gave one to Jeff and Mary, the archaeologists, I gave one to Nancy. I'm planning to give about thirty of them, but I ran out of steam. But that was interesting. A lot of people do things now that they wouldn't have done otherwise

03-01:51:01

Emiko was a gold medal winner at Sundance for best documentary, so this is real talent that comes in, and it's extraordinary. Kimiko Marr, who's a Yonsei artist, and she organizes pilgrimages, and she's a filmmaker and seems to have endless energy. She created a series of short films, ten-minute films about different people in the camps, and I look at them because they give me the best sense of what life was in the camps. One film is on the family of the head of the resisters at Heart Mountain and his wife, his widow, his daughter, and some grandchildren were talking. They talked about how he would get so angry that one time he hit his daughter so hard they thought she was dead. They talked about it and said, "Well, he had too much on his shoulders and it came out this way." His granddaughter said that her father was missing in action somehow and that her grandfather took her to the father-daughter high

school dance. She said he was a really good man and then they all agreed that it wasn't so bad. Kimiko is such a skilled filmmaker, she creates the understanding that it was bad. I mean you don't hit someone that hard and then not be bad. It was bad, but it was complicated, and he was a complicated man of many parts. That these little films really gave me a deep sense of how camps affected people and continue to affect people.

03-01:53:32

Farrell:

My last question for you is how you hope your art continues in the future?

03-01:53:42

Hayashi:

I have taken up puppetry but I've decided to put that on the back burner and just do it as a sideline and to concentrate on collage. Because I like collage and it's not a medium that I've studied very much. I've done some collage, but it's something that I could maybe develop a voice in. But I could also use collage to explore the camps for example and my family in the camps and the continuing effects of the camps and or a lot of other things like music or aging. Aging is something that really interests me and mortality, and I think that collage will give me that flexibility.

03-01:54:46

I announced to my wife that I was putting puppetry on the back burner and concentrating on collage and she didn't say anything. I said, "Jeez, I just shared with you this momentous decision and you didn't react. She says, "But you change your mind all the time." [laughs] Okay, maybe that's fair enough.

03-01:55:25

Farrell:

Well, that's funny. It's interesting because we started our conversation with a discussion about puppetry.

03-01:55:30

Hayashi:

Did we? I have forgotten.

03-01:55:31

Farrell:

Yeah, we did, yeah. Well, I think that's all the questions I have for you, unless there's anything you want to add?

03-01:55:40

Hayashi:

No, other than I've enjoyed this quite a lot, and I appreciate it, and I hope you have too.

03-01:55:46

Farrell:

I have very much enjoyed it and I really appreciate you sharing everything that you did and your perspective on all of this and your work and your experience. I think that it's tremendous and I think we also benefit from hearing your story, so I really appreciate your time and your thoughtfulness with this.

03-01:56:06

Hayashi:

I hope that you enjoy working for Berkeley as much as I did.

03-01:56:16

Farrell: Yeah, yeah, I do.

03-01:56:17

Hayashi: Yeah, it's a great institution. It's so complex, you can find many places there.

03-01:56:26

Farrell: I agree, yeah. I'm going on ten years and no plans of leaving, so let's see.

03-01:56:36

Hayashi: When I was contemplating making that gift of paintings to Stanford, I remember what Clark Kerr told me once. He says that Stanford and Berkeley have always had a very, very mutually supportive relationship and in terms of faculty helping each other, and that Stanford always supported Berkeley's requests for financial support from the state. I thought, hmm and he felt that neither university could've become as great as it did without the other's presence. And I thought, wow.

03-01:57:27

Farrell: Yeah, that's really interesting. Yeah, that's probably true.

03-01:57:31

Hayashi: Yeah.

03-01:57:31

Farrell: Well, thank you, Pat. I'm going to pause the recording and talk to you about next steps.

03-01:57:36

Hayashi: Okay.

[End of Interview]