

March 3, 1943  
Christmas Day

Mr. Charles Kikuchi  
74-1-AB  
Gila River Relocation Project  
Rivers, Arizona

Dear Charley:

As you may have read in the newspapers, the state legislature has recently passed a special appropriation giving emergency salary increases to all state employees from July 1, 1942 to November 30, 1942, retroactively, and from February 1, 1943 to June 30, 1943. For full-time employees receiving less than \$3000 per year, the increase is \$15.00 per month for the five-month retroactive period, and \$25.00 per month for the five months starting February 1. For part-time employees working half time or more, the increases are pro-rated.

This cheerful note is written to inform you that, as the result of negotiations, it has been decided that both the retroactive and future emergency salary increase apply in your case. You will receive the following:

- a. For three months service, at half time from  
September 1, 1942 to November 30, 1942, at  
\$7.50 per month                      ...                      ...                      \$22.50
- b. To your monthly pay-check, beginning with  
the March 1 check and continuing monthly  
for five months, will be added                      ...                      \$12.50

You will probably receive the sum (a) in a separate check near the first of April. If you don't, or if the current extra stipend does not appear on your monthly check, you should inform the office so we can follow the matter up.

Since the state has begun to deduct the 5% Victory Tax from salaries, your check will not equal \$62.50 plus \$12.50. It should equal (approximately) \$62.50 plus \$12.50 minus 5%. There are several complications in computing the tax, so the figure won't be exact. The enclosed schedule may throw some light on the matter. The Victory Tax will not be deducted from the retroactive increase.

It should be understood that these increases are by special appropriation. They do not come out of our budget. There is absolutely no guarantee that they will be continued after June

Mr. Charles Kikuchi - 2.

March 3, 1943

30, 1943. The continuation of the increase will be a matter of legislative action and will have no relation whatsoever to individual merit.

Sincerely yours,

Morton Grodzins  
Research Assistant

MG:mw

Enclosure

May 10, 1943

Mr. Charles Kikuchi  
4743 Drexel Boulevard  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Charlie:

Under separate cover, I am sending you today:

1. The notes on political activities at Gila that Dr. Thomas and I extracted from your diary.
2. A tentative and incomplete outline for a report on political activities that was suggested to me by the notes.
3. A hasty memorandum on block politics that I did for Jimmy Sakoda weeks ago.

It seems to me that all this can be merely suggestive to you. The notes may be helpful in giving you leads to the complete entries in your diary. The outline may be helpful in formulating your own conceptualization. But you know so much more about the set-up than I do, that I have no doubt a much better working scheme will suggest itself. Though the block politics memorandum is really on another topic, it may suggest to you what I think are some significant political problems. You might want to comment on them as they appear in the larger sphere of camp politics.

Personally, I think the important political points that come out in your diary are: (1) the difficulties of self-government in a "concentration camp," and (2) the manner in which extra-legal political bodies (the block representatives) make themselves more influential than the legal bodies (the community council). On both these points your diary is very enlightening -- through your own critical comments and through your recital of events. The second point above is especially interesting and important because it again illustrates the political truism, what WRA authorities completely overlooked in their planning, namely, that the politically important body is the one that accomplishes things. All the factors that contribute to the primacy of the block representatives -- their age, their closeness to the people, former position of leadership, apathy of the Nisei -- indicates that the block representatives were in the only position to get things done. Just

as extra-legal "boss rule" arises in ordinary political life when legal machinery fails to accomplish what the people want,-- so, it seems to me, did the "non-political" (and in this sense, extra-legal) block representatives achieve primacy at Gila. I suspect, though I did not find it in your diary, that the actual "bosses" (perhaps in some corporate form) exist at Gila, too.

I have no idea if any of this, or if the things that I am sending, will be of help to you in your political report. But if there's anything else that I can do, don't hesitate to call upon me.

I hope that you are well settled and satisfied in your new Chicago work. Give my best regards to the other boys and to Mariko, Alice, Bette and Emiko.

Sincerely yours,

Morton Grodzins  
Research Assistant

MG:mw

## CAMP GOVERNMENT +

### POLITICS AT GILA

(The numbers in parenthesis refer to the attached notes from Kikuchi's Diary)

#### I. General Organization as set-up by WRA regulations -

- A. The official program  
(Following (73) - Administrative Instruction #34 re: Community Evacuee Government).
- B. Difficulties of no Issei holding office (2), (4), (5).
- C. Attempts to create institutions
  - (1) As in Permanent Council (below)
  - (2) As in Constitution (below)
  - (3) As in Judicial Commission (191)

#### II. The Chronology at Gila -

- A. The Block Representatives  
(the Diary lacks specific information on  
(1) how Block leaders selected; (2) how Block council constituted)
- B. The Temporary Community Council (5), (63), (64), (65), (66)
  - (1) Its "temporary" character and its first dissolution (62)
  - (2) Failure to form permanent Council (88)
  - (3) Lack of interest and effectiveness (65), (66), (67), (69), (184)
  - (4) Attempt at Constitution making (183)

#### III. The Block Managers and the Council

- A. Personalities and Organization (36), (57), (79)
- B. Spheres of Action
  - (1) Theoretical (4)
  - (2) Actual (10), (16), (3), (19), (52), (81)
- C. Conflicts and relations with WRA (50), (52).

III. Continued -

- D. The Conflict for Political Power between Block Managers and Community Council (3), (6), (7), (10), (13), (19), (22), (25), (51), (91).
- E. The Reflection of other Tensions
  - 1. Issei and Nisei (1), (2)
  - 2. Pre-Evacuation Splits (Liberal, Conservative, Geographical cliques, etc.) (6)
- F. The Resolution of the Conflict thru' victory of Block Managers - (25), (34), (61)
- G. Examples of specific issues
  - 1. Camouflage wages (77 ff.)
  - 2. Tada case (79)
- H. Quantitative analysis - showing many ways it serves camp. (From the Minutes in Diary)

IV. Other Political Groups and how they wielded influence -

- A. The J.A.C.L. - its attempts to organize effectively - (101) through (157)
- B. The various Kibei groups
  - 1. Success in CAS conflict (167)
- C. The Issei
  - 1. Intimidation (158)
  - 2. "Subversiveness" (168)
- D. American Legion Group
  - 1. Place in Community (186)
  - 2. Failure to achieve status (190)

V. Self-Government in a "Concentration Camp"

- A. Realities vs "Self-Government" (12), (74), (76), (85), (89)
- B. Breakdown under duress
  - 1. The Registration Issue (178)
  - 2. The Tada Case

## BLOCK POLITICS

At Gila, where a Community Council and a Block Manager's Council exist side by side, Kikuchi has pointed out that the Block Managers wield the politically significant influence. At Tule Lake, Miyamoto has recorded the complaints of the Block Representatives to the Temporary Community Council to the effect that they are "messenger boys" for the Blocks. These comments, plus others, strongly indicate that the politically important segments of the Relocation Communities are the blocks, themselves, rather than any of the larger units. And this corroborates well-known observations with regard to the paramount importance of the cellular units (precincts and wards in America; communes in France; block or apartment cells in Russia and Germany) in ordinary political life. The Relocation Camp blocks, consequently, would seem to merit detailed study.

The attached questions are merely suggestive and by no means exhaustive. Nevertheless, they may serve to indicate possible lines of inquiry. Certainly, much of significance, that the person-on-the-scene will perceive, is not touched by the questions.

## BLOCK ANALYSIS

1. Number of Issei in block?
2. Number of Nisei in block?
3. In a given series of meetings -- can a count be secured of Issei and Nisei in attendance?
4. By interview:--why Nisei absenteeism?
5. Language at block meetings? Why?
6. If Japanese, what would be effect of English? Where sufficient Nisei in attendance -- could English be used?
7. What are Nisei & Issei methods of "getting the vote out" (canvassing, mess announcements?) and of "keeping the opposition at home" (intimidating family pressure?).
8. Miyamoto refers to lack of secrecy and consequent intimidation of Nisei during voting on camp-wide issues. How are these votes taken?
9. On block-issues--what is method of voting? If non-secret, is this another way of fostering Issei supremacy?
10. Position of women in block meetings?
11. In days of Temporary Council (Tulelake) were specific instructions given <sup>at</sup> ~~by~~ Block meetings to Block Representative? What was his position at Block meetings?
12. The relative positions of the block representative and the leader of the block meeting need full description. In the conflicts between them, apparently, lie the politically significant conflicts of the Camp. Where does the power of each lie? Is it a strict Issei-Nisei-split? Are the

Nisei, in turn, divided? How? Why? How about Issei solidarity?

13. It is a political truism that "the man who gets things done for the people" becomes the publically important man. In the Relocation Centers, it may be surmised that the politically important man in the block unit is the person who meets the evacuees' immediate needs -- i.e. gets fuses and other incidental supplies, settles disputes, takes issues to the higher authorities, etc. At Gila, this person is the block manager--and the block managers at Gila hold regular meetings of great political importance.

- a. What position (at Tulalake) does the Block Manager hold with reference to the block meetings?
- b. Is the Block Manager the leader of the Block meetings?  
Is the Block Manager over the Block Representative to the Council?
- c. Where the (1) Block Manager, (2) the Block Meeting Leader, and (3) the Block Representative are different people-- what is the distribution of power?
- d. Do the Block Managers have their own general meetings at Tulalake? Miyamoto makes no reference to them. If they do, with what business do they concern themselves? If they do not, it is natural that they should have exerted their pressure through the Temporary Council -- and now exert it through both the Council and the Advisory Board. How does this check with your observations?

14. Aside from meeting the needs of the people, what makes for

leadership in the Blocks? Age? Former community position? Wealth? Organizational ability, etc. This seems a fundamental question and needs elaboration.

15. The Issei apparently wield paramount political power in the Camp as a whole. The key to understanding this power lies, in great part, in understanding the primacy of the Issei in the Blocks. This is the Central question to which all the questions above, ultimately point.

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4743 Drexel Blvd.  
Chicago, Illinois  
May 27, 1943

Dear Morton,

Dr. Thomas asked me to forward the enclosed freight bill to you for remittance. The bill covers the cost of bringing my papers and other data relating to the Study out here. I thought that the WRA would assume this charge, but, unfortunately, I had much in excess of the 500 pounds for which they were willing to pay. DST insists that the Study can assume this bill legitimately.

We are still working on the Outlines so that none of us have done any field work yet. I have quite a guilty conscience and I have hardly written a thing since I have been out here. I hope that I am not getting disorganized. It appears to me that the chief emphasis from now on will be on qualitative work rather than a quantitative collection of data and I am not so confident that I will be able to measure up. I have the outlines on block politics which you worked out so completely, but I have not started to work on them yet as my papers just arrived. I also plan to go over my notes on Social Welfare while DST is still here so that I can get her assistance on organization of the report. I rather suspect that this will take me quite some time.

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Although I have been in Chicago well over a month now, I still haven't got the feel of the city yet. From what I have seen, I rather like it here. However, I am still provincial and I don't think that Chicago can even begin to compare with San Francisco from an all around point of view! (I forgot that this is your home town so please excuse.)

Has the Sumo Man returned to Gila yet? I was rather surprised to learn that he got married. Was it the "Lady of the Lake?" He will have some tall explaining to do when he goes back to Gila and sees the Desert Rose and the Prairie Flower. Just like a Jap to leave a trail of broken hearts behind! He had better get a coat of armor or else he may suffer some more broken ribs, and it won't be from sumo. It's too bad that I didn't remain behind at Gila to give him the benefit of my fatherly advise. Now he will have to get out of the mess himself.

Incidentally, the Prairie Flower <sup>is planning to leave.</sup> ~~has left~~ Gila. She is enrolled in the Training Program of the NYA someplace in the Midwest. Her father died recently so that she decided to resettle. My mother is going to take in her little brother for the next few months until she can send for him.

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The personnel of the study appears to be taking a beating right now, but DET does not ~~appear~~ <sup>seem</sup> to be too unduly worried. She is confident that we will be able to carry on. From all indications I believe that it is now her plan to close out Gila unless she can find a suitable replacement. I do not think that this will hurt the scope of the study to any great degree, although I do have a personal interest in Gila along with Bob. If he can remain at Gilax until October, as Bob indicated in his letter this morning, I think that this will allow plenty of time to make the necessary adjustments. Even if he leaves by July, this will allow a little time to wind things up. I can't think of a single evacuee at Gila who could fill Bob's place. However, Bob seems to think that he has a couple of possibilities. We talked over the whole thing before we left, and at that time, we could not think of another possible observer.

DST informs me that you are sending my journals on to me. If you have not done so already, I wonder if you could just keep them there? I haven't anyplace to keep them in my tiny apartment! As long as I am getting the typed copy, that will be sufficient for the purposes of writing up further reports.

Yours truly

Charlie