

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION*in the Assembly Center*

250 2,1942

The question of Political Organization is one which might properly be treated under the heading of social groups inasmuch as it concerns the inter-group conflicts within the community and is closely tied up with differentiations arising out of generation, Assembly Center background, and pre-evacuation occupation. Our collaborator, Kikuchi, will be in a much better position to prepare a report on formal political organization than I. His position has taken him to the point where he is able to observe closely developments and conflicts of a political nature. For this reason I will touch only briefly on the formal political organization in the community and its inter-relationship with the administration.

The section on social groups has already mentioned in part the conflicts which have arisen out of the split in generations and I hope to elaborate on this division and its application to the political organization in the Center. The loyalty shown to what I term the Assembly Center Jinkai, however correctly the term may be used in that sense, has in addition to the conflict between generations provided an additional factor in the formulation of a formal political

organization.

Perhaps it is well to consider first in discussing this subject the groups which were formed by the administration according to specification by the W.R.A.. In the first stages, during the period that the camp was being opened, the only political associations which were formed were those centering around the Block Manager, as the blocks were filled by incoming evacuees. Individuals were designated by the housing chiefs who might cooperate with the administration to the extent of acting as spokesmen and general agent for the people in the block which they controlled. It was understood that such positions were to be of a temporary nature and would be reorganized following actual settlement of camp conditions. Actually it worked out that those who, in Assembly Centers, had been block managers carried on the duties of this kind in the Relocation Centers. Until conditions began to be settled, these individuals held the only political offices. In some cases these original block managers have been relieved of their duties and replaced by individuals who will hold these positions permanently; but in most cases these temporary appointments have proved permanent. The whole of the

block managers together meet in what is called a Block Council, the purpose of which is to determine policy and uniformity in such matters as housing, block welfare and block entertainment. This block council is presided over by an elected individual who is called the central block manager. It is interesting to note that block managers in Camp I are mainly Issei but in Camp II the Nisei seem to predominate. In accordance with this the Central Block Manager in Camp I is an Issei, Mr. Yahonda and the general tone of Block Managers Meetings seems to balance on the side of the Issei. I do not mean to convey that Nisei dominate the Block Council in Camp II, but they were successful in putting in a Nisei as Central Block Manager, Frank Sakamoto, a JACL who apparently has been successful in office, being able to subdue somewhat the conflict between Issei and Nisei. The general pattern of this group then is as follows: there are block managers, one in each block, who are appointed by the administration. This is an actual job carrying with it a salary of \$16 a month. These block managers then meet in a block council which is presided over by one of their number. The block positions are thus formed by the administration

and block managers are not elected although it is true that the people in any given block may, by exerting a certain amount of pressure, force an unpopular block manager to resign. This has happened several times in the first formative months. Thus the block council is a body which exerts a certain amount of control in matters of policy, especially those calling for dealings with the administration.

Offsetting the block council there is a community council. This community council is supposed, theoretically, to have a representative, which, however, is elected by the block. According to WRA organization, it is this group which will have more authority although I must frankly confess that I am not fully aware of the extent of the authority of the community council. In theory the community council will pass on every matter which concerns the activities in the Center. Thus every matter which is pertinent to the interests and welfare of the evacuees. Fryar stated that it is his desire to allow the Japanese to be entirely self-governing and that within reason the community council will set up every rule by which the Japanese in the community may conduct their activities. It is a bit difficult to say therefore just how

far the powers of this community council will carry. Although it is true that they may setup certain rules of behavior, certain regimen which possibly they can enforce in the restricted area of the camp, the fact that a police system is functioning separately from the community council and the fact that military regulations and administrative regulations determine policy covering the movement of evacuees are all factors which hamper the activities of any community council. Possibly the most significant power that the council will have is that of controlling the money which is in the hands of the community cooperative department. They may determine its disposition, its division and they may make arrangements covering the money which is earned by those in the community with outside employment, such as the cotton picking, domestics and the like. Because of the ill defined powers of the community council not a great deal of interest has been taken in it.

The background and attitude of the Center has swung to the side of the Issei, however, only Nisei may hold office and be elected.

Because in the case of the clock managers they have seats and a voice in this body, but ~~not~~ in the community council only American

citizens may hold office.

A few problems have arisen because misunderstanding of the rules of the WRA regarding office holding. Nisei have in some cases been afraid to hold office because of pressures brought on them by Issei, a fact which will come out more clearly in a moment. The actual voting by members of the community is handled through the Division of Community Welfare. It was suggested that each block hold a meeting and nominate and elect one representative for the Community Council. Mrs. Smith was in favor of the secret ballot in such elections since this carries out and demonstrates the democratic standard. Many of the blocks, however, did not get the representative in the meetings. They lacked quorums or they argued themselves to a standstill and got nowhere with their voting. Certain of the blocks which were dominated by Issei were very much opposed to the secret ballot and wanted to vote in the Japanese way of either a standing ballot or allowing each voter to drop, before everyone, a colored piece of paper into a bowl, indicating the candidate of his choice. This later way would have permitted everyone in the room to see how an individual was voting as, indeed,

so would a standing ballor. Mrs. Smith, by dint of sheer agrument, finally got many of the blocks to agree to vote forrepresentatives of the Community Council by the secret ballot. As happened in several blocks, Issei men came to Mrs. Smith and later to me and simply stated that they had appointed so and so, a Nisei, to be the block representative. When asked if a vote had been taken they would simply say that everyone in the clock had agreed that this individual should be elected and that there had been no actual voting. It thus became necessary to set up a system of secret ballotting, do mimeographed candidate lists for each block, to prepare and mimeograph ballots and to supervise a meeting in which the voting could take place. Many of the blocks were quite sullen about this and it usually happened that the individual who had been previously appointed was elected. The 24 blocks in Camp I finally got together a Community Council. At the first meeting a representative from Block 20 was missing and it was discovered that Block 20 had not as yet voted. Finally Block 20 was persuaded to contribute a representatave to the Community Council and after long last the Council here has gotten under way and is, at the moment, concerned with

drawing up a constitution for itself. In Camp I it appears that the Issei are put out because they cannot hold office and that the Nisei are apathetic. There has not been a great deal of interest in the formulation of a Community Council, in Camp I. In Camp II there have been even greater difficulties in the formulation of the Community Council. Here again the Issei are in the majority and it begins to appear that the Issei are divided among themselves. There is considerable jealousy between two sections of Issei and the Nisei, except for a few older leaders who more or less incline in favor of Issei control, are rather left out. As in Camp I they too are apathetic toward the formulation of a Community Council. This dual section arrangement which exists among the Issei there is extremely interesting. I regret to say that I can only present one side of the picture. In a recent conference with Mr. Geo. Miura
Miura, an Issei, head of the Welfare Department, I was told that the government of Camp II could not be fairly set up until the element of Gangsters was removed. There is apparently a group of dissatisfied Issei agitators in Camp II who are endeavoring to take the reins of self-government into their own hands. Mr. Miura's

statements are apparently true because even though Camp II has not been fully completed and was not, at the time of my departure, fully occupied, it had been requested to begin the election of block representatives for the Community Council. Certain groups of Issei have ~~banded~~ banded together under the leadership of dissatisfied individuals of their own class and have intimidated some of the more capable of the Nisei with the result that these are now afraid to run for office. I checked Mr. Miura's statements with 5 or 6 other individuals. They all agreed that a number of Issei were meeting together, spreading rumors disparaging the administration and attempting to obtain a certain amount of control in the self-government of the community. They do not want to have Nisei in office and they have attempted to bring certain pressures to bear on the administration which will grant them the privilege of electing Issei to office. In order to bring this about they have misinterpreted some of the ~~relating~~ rulings of the WRA regarding the bad against Issei holding office and have stated that any Japanese in the community might be elected to the Council. The political situation in Camp II has been plunged into a state of chaos. These

individuals have ~~attempted~~ attended all block meetings, called together for the purpose of nominating and electing Nisei council members. When an individual runs for office, if he does not meet with the approval of this group, and he is approached and told that he or his family will suffer if he does not withdraw his nomination. I talked with a Nisei by the name of Nobu Kawai, who had been a former secretary of the JACL in Pasadena. Kawai told me that he had been nominated by his block for council representative, that he had been approached in the wash room by a group of Issei, following his nomination, had been pushed around and told that if he wished to run for office both he and his family would be beaten or even killed. Likewise some of the Issei who have sided with the administration in an agreement to elect Nisei leaders have been threatened and a demand was made on them that they keep their influence away from the political situation. It is true that Mr. Miura was one of these, but I did speak with Issei individuals who, being aware of this situation, had simply kept their hands out of the political situation and had refrained from offering advice or making suggestion, fearing the enmity of

particular
this/group. The Department of Interior Security was made aware of the situation which exists because of this Issei split. The WRA is empowered to take trouble makers and to move them to other Relocation Centers and it may very well be that the leaders of this Issei faction will be removed in this way. It is apparently true that this group has been attempting to discredit the administration, and that they have spread rumors directed against certain Japanese organizations such as the JACL and the like. Rumors of assassinations of JACL leaders in other centers seemingly can be placed at their door. Likewise reports of the machine gunning of Japanese at Manzanar, the deaths of new-born babies due to diphtheria in Poston, and the claims that no Japanese will ever be allowed freedom in this country again. All such rumors seem to be attributable to this dissatisfied Issei section. If the rumors are not originated by them, it is at least obvious that they are disseminated through them. The result has been that no community council has been permitted to exist in Camp II. What the result of this dissatisfaction will be is a problem for further observation. A number of pro-Japanese sentiments have been openly expressed by the same

group of Issei in Camp II. Certain Nisei have been encouraged to express Japanese sentiments. The use of the Japanese language seems to be becoming more widespread and the stories of Japanese victories and United States losses are being circulated rather freely throughout Camp II. At the same time there is an opposing pro-American influence in this Camp which originates in some of the Nisei leaders there. This whole problem of Issei-Nisei conflict at Gila is one which will bear considerable further research and ~~w~~one which is amplified to some extent by Kikuchi's Diary. Politically and paradoxically the Tulare group which forms the bulk of the population in Camp II was exceedingly well organized upon its arrival at the Gila Center. There is an active group of Nisei there but the Issei leaders seem to predominate in political matters. These Nisei seem perfectly willing to follow the advice of the Issei leaders but it is obvious that they are afraid of the Issei group and for this reason hesitate to run for office. The Issei who can only act in an advisory capacity are succeeding very well in retaining their political identity through the use of controlled Nisei leaders. Types of leadership in addition to these outlined above

find particular expression through the JACL. In Camp I very little interest has been shown in the JACL, but in Camp II a definite JACL chapter is being organized under the direction of the man mentioned above, Frank Sakamoto. The position of the JACL in Camp II is one on which further research must be done. It is difficult to outline the JACL aim in either Camp I or II as yet. It is obvious, however, that the Tulare group has been very active in the JACL, but that the Turlock group is disinterested. Community Government has been urged by the WRA. Mr. Sol Kimball, of this organization, has gone about supervising the election of councilmen, the drawing up of constitutions for the block council and for the community council and the general political situation. It will be obvious from the scant information above that the political situation at Gila is still in its embryonic form and that the functions of the various political ~~XXXXXX~~ positions are not at all well defined. Considerable further research must be done on the whole of the Gila political problem.

Appendix A

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MINUTES
MEETING - SEPT. 11, 1942
2:00 p.m.

A meeting of Mr. E. R. Smith, Project Director, Mrs. Smith, Counsellor, Mr. Frank Sakamoto, Central Block Manager, and all block managers was held at the Block 57 Manager's Office with Mr. Smith as Chairman. Special guest was Mr. Fryer, Regional Director of the War Relocation Authority, San Francisco.

Mr. Smith stated that he "appreciates all coming together for the purpose of discussing community government in its phases. It would be profitable to take a little time to discuss what first steps should be taken in this meeting of self-government." He realizes many important questions that Block Managers have on their minds at the present time and of the many answers that were not satisfactory to many at the meeting held last week. He would be willing to attend meetings of Block Managers that affect attention centered on one principal question, namely, self-government. He believes all Block Managers have received written material with regard to the election of Block Council. All should realize the necessity of some such group in a block to be chosen in any manner acceptable to members of the block and whose functions will be one of advice and of suggestion with regard to matters which concern the daily living in that block. There are many questions that affect the daily lives of the residents of a block such as food, trash, etc. The Block Council can perform a very valuable service in that regards. That of electing a Block Council is purely a voluntary matter.

Block Council - functioning and composition

1. Each block may form a temporary council to discuss affairs of the block, to make plans for the welfare of residents of the block.
2. Members of the temporary Block Council consist of one representative from each building in the block, the Block Manager, and the chief cook--16 in all.
 - a. A representative may be chosen by the residents of the building by ballot or by agreement.
 - b. It was suggested that representatives meet regularly, preferably once a week to discuss problems such as improvement of grounds, recreation for residents, health and sanitation, need for preventing fire hazards.
3. This temporary Block Council is the first step to democratic government. It is necessary to choose representatives for the temporary Block Council as soon as possible. Each Block Manager should submit this list to Mrs. Smith.

4. Question was asked whether aliens can be on the Council. Mr. Smith stated that no restriction or stipulation with regard to citizens or non-citizens has been set up in the matter of Block Council.

5. The importance of Block Council was stressed although the Community Council is more important. The Community Council constitutes a body of representatives of all residents to determine what are the laws and regulations for this Center. The Block Council is an advisory group.

Temporary Community Council

1. It is necessary to set up a temporary Community Council as soon as possible. Since more residents are expected to arrive in this Center, it would be unfair to set up a permanent Community Council at this time until all residents who are expected have arrived.

2. A commission will be appointed to determine how the permanent Community Council will operate and to make more clear not only in the minds of the residents themselves but also to the Administration Staff of the War Relocation Authority what are the needs, desires and problems which face all of us.

3. The Council will act as advisor to the Administration. It will consist of one representative from each block. Election for block representatives shall be held as soon as this Center is filled.

4. Voters - All residents, both men and women, 18 years of age or over, will be eligible to vote.

a. Mr. Sakata brought up the question of why the age minimum was 18 years instead of 21. Mr. Smith stated that there were a great many between 18 and 21 who were engaged in work.

b. Mr. Sakamoto clarified Mr. Sakata's question in regard to the above that he probably meant that it would seem that in the matter of voting, those under 21 would be swayed by others since they really haven't minds of their own. Mr. Smith replied that it would be well to keep a uniform method of selection for the Temporary Council and read an excerpt of the W. R. A. policy with regard to community government. "Section III entitled Qualification for Voting and Holding Office: A. All persons 18 years of age or over shall be eligible to vote in all elections held pursuant to this instruction."

5. Nominations - There shall be nominated at least two persons from among the residents of each block for the office of block representative. These nominees must be American citizens, 21 years of age or over. The Block Manager is not eligible for nomination unless he resigns his position. Names of nominees are to be sent to the Project Director who will look them over and inform himself regarding them and who will post them in each block 5 days before election is to take place. A book will be issued to each Block Manager to register all voters.

- a. There is not any set way of making nominations.
- b.. There are not any rules and regulations concerning campaigning.

6. Questions and statements

a. Temporary Community Council will not be paid. As to the permanent, this will be taken up later.

b. The temporary Community Council has only advisory power, no legislative power. As far as major crimes such as felony is concerned, it is not within the Community Council to determine, it is up to local or state authorities.

c. Mr. Sakamoto summarized the concensus of opinion of the aliens as to why they should be permitted to hold an elective office--that they are Americanized and barred from citizenship only by an act of Congress and should be given an opportunity to prove it. They would like a reconsideration to be given to the ruling. Mr. Smith stated that the policy of elective officers having to be citizens was set down by the War Relocation Authority and is a definitely stated policy.

7. Elections shall be by secret ballot. A box will be set up in the Block Manager's office. If there is a Block Council, three of its representatives are to receive votes and tally. If the Block Council is not set up, the Block Manager shall appoint a committee of two. No campaigning or posting should be done in the vicinity of the voting place.

Permanent Community Council

1. The Project Director is expected to provide for selection of an organization commission, the function of which is to prepare a plan for the permanent Community Council. This plan will include rules for nominations, elections, and tenure of office of the members of a representative law-making body to be known as the Community Council.

2. Community Council will prescribe regulations and provide penalties for violation of such regulations for all community life with exception of major crimes. Council will also be in charge of community funds.

3. Plan of government shall provide for a judicial committee of not less than three members which shall hear cases and apply penalties for violations of laws and regulations prescribed by the Community Council. This plan of government shall also provide for the arbitration of civil disputes.

4. The plan for all government shall be submitted to the Project Director of review and will become effective when approved by a majority of qualified voters at a special election.

5. Criminal cases will be handled by state or local officials.

6.. Elections shall be by secret ballot. All voters must be 18 years of age or over. Only citizens of the United States who are 21 years of age or over shall be eligible for elective offices. All residents, whether citizens or non-citizens, shall be eligible for membership on any committee, commission, and board.

7. Project Director may set aside any regulations made by the

Council which he finds to be in excess of the functions of the Council.

8. It should be the function of the temporary and later the permanent Community Council to study and understand various details of the policy which affect this Center.

Miscellaneous

1. Mr. Ninokawa asked whether Caucasians or any other nationality would be allowed to come into this camp on business with any of the residents. Mr. Smith stated that it should be possible and that a Visitors' Building for both camps should be provided. As to Japanese visitors, this Relocation Center is located in Military Area No. 1 so they are not allowed to visit here unless they have official pass from military authorities.

2. Mr. Smith stated that this Relocation Area consists of 15,000 acres, extends from canal north 4 miles, starts several miles east from the canal camp and extends 4 miles west. Between sunrise and sunset, there can be complete freedom of movement within the Area. Except in legitimate operations as work in fields at night and irrigation and trips back and forth with physicians, ambulances, it will not be possible to have that same freedom of movement between sunset and sunrise unless accompanied by a Caucasian escort. It would be well to post such announcement in the Block Manager's office together with the map of the whole Relocation Area.

3. Any complaint by residents in regard to medical expenses or otherwise should be in writing and taken by the Block Manager and called to the attention of Mr. Smith.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:05 p.m.

MEMBERSHIP OF TEMPORARY COMMUNITY COUNCIL - CANAL

<u>BLOCK</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>CENTER OCCUPATION</u>	<u>FORMER OCCUPATION</u>	<u>FORMER HOME</u>	<u>AGE</u>
#3	**Okamoto, Minoru	Judo Inst'r.	Jap. School & Judo Inst'r.	San Francisco	32
	Murakami, Tom	Camouflage Wkr.	Truck Driver	Walnut Grove	26
	*Ikejiri, Shigeru	Ass't. Block Mgr. #3	Farm Laborer Grocery Clerk	Ventura	26
#4	Ajari, Hideo,	Warehouseman	Farmer	Danville	28
	Ichimoto, George	Athletic Director	Store Clerk	Vacaville	27
#5	Aoyagi, Harry	Camouflage Wkr.	Laundry	Dixon	31
	Ogino, Bob	Fireman	Gardener & Ra- dio Repairman	Alameda	31
#6	Furuta, W. J.	Bacteriologist	Lab. Technician	Chicago,	29
	Kubota, Jean	Supvr. of Am- bulance Corps	Retail Produce	Los Angeles	41
	Yamasaki, George	Camouflage Wkr.	Laundry	Vallejo	30
#7	Furuta, Sam	Camouflage Wkr.	Auto Body Re- pairman	Los Angeles	31
	*Ishimaru, Si	Blk. Mgr. #7	Mgr., Grocery Store	Los Angeles	31
#8	Iwanaga, Karl	Executive Sec'ty. (Red Cross)	Lawyer	Los Angeles	50
	Omoto, Masao	Camouflage Wkr.	Sales Clerk	Los Angeles	32
#9	**Tada, Takeo	Ass't. Supvr. of C.A.S.	Mgr., Frgn. Tr. Ass. Jap. C.C., Sect'y.	Los Angeles	33
	Yoshida, Hitoshi	Automotive Inspector	Mgr., Automotive	Fowler	36
#10	**Chiamori, Akira	Farm Supvr.	Farmer	Parlier	32
	*Morishige, Robert	Blk. Mgr. #10	Auto Mechanic	Selma	42
#16	Kono, Toshio	Asst. Dental Technician	Floral Designer	Alameda	26
#20	Seiki, Masatoshi	Foreman for Plumbers	Plumber	San Francisco	30
#21	Hiraoka, Yoshimi	Asst. Project Attorney	Lawyer	Fowler	27
	Narimatsu, Megumi	Farmer	Bookkeeper & Editorial Staff Of Japanese Ame- rican Newspaper	Los Angeles	35

<u>BLOCK</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>CENTER OCCUPATION</u>	<u>FORMER OCCUPATION</u>	<u>FORMER HOME</u>	<u>AGE</u>
#21	Ishimoto, Kelly	Nursery Fore- man	Farmer	Del Rey	32
#22	Matsumura, Kelly	Fire Inspector	Farmer	Fowler	35
#23	Fujimoto, Taira	Cost Acc't. for Trans. & Maint.	Veg. Grower & Shipper	Watsonville	31
	Yokoyama, George	Sr. Statistical Clerk	Farmer	Parlier	26
#24	Nakamura, Tom	Camouflage Wkr.	Produce man	Sanger	33
	**Kataoka, Art	Blk. Mgr. #24	Mgr., Star Produce	Crescenta	32
	*Yoshimura, Harry	Blk. Mgr. #24	Farmer	Gilroy	32
#25	Maeda, Goro	Asst. Teacher of Health Education	Wholesale Mgr.	San Francisco	36
	**Doi, Jerry	Asst. Blk. Mgr.	Farmer	Parlier	23
	*Takeshita, Herbert	Asst. Blk. Mgr.	Cook	Los Angeles	30
#26	Ando, Mats	Farmer	Farmer	Kingsburg	28
#27	Nagamatsu, George	Unit Foreman for Farm	Farmer	Oxnard	32

*Block Managers or assistants

**Left Center

COUNCILMEN

<u>Block</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Center Occup.</u>	<u>Former Occup.</u>	<u>Home Town</u>	<u>Age</u>
28	Mrs. Kinu Fujinaga	Camouflage foreman	Cosmetologist	El Centro	33
29	Yoshio Wakasa	Storekeeper Comm. Enterprise	Sales Manager	Parlier	35
30	Ben Tsudama	Notary Public	Grocery store owner	Stockton	24
31	David T. Kurakane	Camouflage	Cleaning and pressing	Los Angeles	30
32	Tadashi Iwamoto	Pantry clerk	Mgr. Retail Produce	Los Angeles	29
33	Takeshi Sakurai	Cost Accountant	Auditory	Los Angeles	26
34	Masato M. Kato	Executive Secretary Cooperative	Student	Los Angeles	28
36	Yasakichi Akira	None	Produce Business	Alhambra	35
	Edward Kato	None	Manager Produce	Los Angeles	35
39	William A. Nishino	Placement Aide	Produce Buyer	Wilmington	24
40	Robt. M. Hiramatsu	None	Veg. Grower, Shipper	Santa Maria	35
44	Joe Higuchi	Administrative Aide of Camouflage	Buyer, Wholesale Prod.	Los Angeles	28
46	Tsutomu Kurihara	Farmer	Warden	Oxnard	36
47	Tom Koyama	Community Enterprise	Export, Import Japan	Guadalupe	27

<u>Block</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Center Occup.</u>	<u>Former Occup.</u>	<u>Home Town</u>	<u>Age</u>
48	Ken Kitasaka	None	Prod. Grower, Ship.	Guadalupe	35
49	Akira Kaizoji	None	Clerk in Market	Pasadena	27
51	Eddie Ikemoto	None	Farm Hand	Compton	21
52	Tets Mayeda	St. Property Clerk	Mgr. Food Market	Los Angeles	25
	Mac Isao Yaki	None	Truck Driver	Gardena	35
54	Jimmy Fujimoto	Blk. Councilman	Chiropractor	Pasadena	35
55	Bill Oyama	C. A. S.	Truck Farming		29
	Ray Kawazoe	Tractor Driver	Farmer	Brentwood	22
56	Bob Uyemura	Adm. Whse. Clerk	Farmer	Courtland	25
57	George Nishimura	None	Grower, Ship. Prod.	Lompoc	42
58	Keiso Ishizu	Camouflage	Chrysanthemum Spec.	San Marino	38
59	Erie Kawai	Camouflage	Sales Clerk	Pasadena	32
60	Thomas K. Mizuno	Gardener	Street Grader	Se. Pasadena	37
61	Kenny Goto	Prop. Clerk Farm	Wholesale Produce	Los Angeles	28
63	Ted Soyeshima	Timekeeper, Enter- prise	Gardener	Sierra Madre	22
	Henry Kondo	Cost Accountant	Bookkeeper	Oakland	33
64	Buichi Umeda	None	Veg. Farmer	Oxnard	46
65	William N. Kato	News Editor	News Editor	Washington D.C.	33
	Henry Terazawa	Courier Clerk	Executive Sectary of J.A. .L.	Concord	26

<u>Block</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Center Occup.</u>	<u>Former Occup.</u>	<u>Home Town</u>	<u>Age</u>
66	Duke Kusaba	Property Clerk, Educ.	Diesel Engineer	Stockton	22
72	Daizo Muneno	Cook	Nurseryman	Santa Barbara	43
73	Earl M. Yusa	Dentist	Dentist	Santa Maria	36
74	H. K. Minami	Dentist	Dentist	Berkeley	34

Exhibit
C

MEMBERS OF PRESENT CONSTITUTION COMMISSION

<u>Name</u>	<u>Center Occupation</u>	<u>Former Occupation</u>	<u>Home Town</u>	<u>Age</u>
Harry Hirose	Chief Investigator (Housing)	Owner & Operator Racing Games, Fortune Telling	Pasadena, Calif.	49
Toshio Kinoshita	Block Manager #40	Teacher Japanese Language School	Guadalupe	42
Yotaro Okuno	Case Worker (Comm. Serv.)	Secretary	Compton	57
K. Riuzaki	Head Garbage Man	Manager Retail Food Store	Santa Barbara	53
Harry Miyake	Central Block Mana- ger of Quarters	Shed Foreman	Guadalupe	42
Ken Utsunomiya	Executive Secretary	Office Manager	Guadalupe	33
Shotaro Hikida	Coordinator of Activities	Institutional worker	San Francisco	43
Joe Omachi	Legal Adviser	Lawyer	Stockton	32
Kay Nobusada	Personnel Manager of Ag. Prod.	Research Chemist	Reedley	27
Karl Iwanaga	Red Cross Exec. Sec.	Lawyer	Los Angeles	50
Teizo Yahanda				
George Kawahara	Supervisor Script Allowance	Co-Partner of Re- tail Business	Los Angeles	42
Frank Sasaki				

RÉSUMÉ: MINUTES OF THE TEMPORARY COMMUNITY COUNCIL
OF CANAL

Robert F. Spencer
April 30, 1943

The writer has been fortunate to secure access to the Minutes of the Council in Canal Camp from the time of its inception until the present. It is to be realized, of course, in accordance with previous reports and with the information given out by Omachi on community government that up to the date of this writing there has been no ratification of the constitution nor has the Council been as yet set up as a permanent body. A discussion has been made from time to time of the weakness of the Council and the fact that it hardly constitutes a representative, jurisdictional, or governing body. In viewing the Minutes of the Council, therefore, it will be well to take a point-to-point analysis of the various measures that have been introduced before the conciliatory body and to show them in their relation to the community.

If we may go back to the inception of the Project, we will note that the first meeting of the Community Council in Canal was called on September 23, 1942, some two months after the opening up of the Project for settlement. The Butte Council did not begin until two months later. Power of the Butte Council has ever been contested by the Block Managers, particularly through the Central Block Manager's Office, as the result of the strong personality behind the Block Managers of Harry Miyake. In Canal, the Council has been more or less independent and has superseded the Block Managers and Block Chairmanship. Résumé of issues confronting the Council from time to time are herewith excerpt from the minutes.

With the inception of the Community Council, Dr. William Furuta, the bacteriologist in the employ of the hospital staff, was elected Chairman of the body. It will be noted from foregoing reports that on November 25, Furuta resigned because of what he termed anti-Nisei pressures on the part of certain Issei groups which, in his opinion, curtailed the effectiveness of self-government. The initial meeting concerned formulation of the Council as an executive body, and by the second meeting, which took place early in October, Dr. Solon Kimball brought up the matter of community governmental organization and the duties and responsibilities of the Temporary Community Council. At this meeting, too, the Constitutional Commission was set up and the first steps taken toward the formulation of self-government on a permanent basis. At the start, it appeared as though the Council would take some active leadership in the community. It made some ample disposition of the problem of the cotton picking which was described by the writer in a report of October 1942. The Council decided that inasmuch as cotton picking interfered with Farm Management, the discontinuance of recruiting of additional cotton pickers should be effected and that the emphasis of community work should direct itself toward the agricultural endeavor on the Project. In accordance with the plan for the drafting of the constitution, the members of that body were elected in this meeting by the Community Council members and their functions outlined.

Another meeting was held some days later on October 6. At this time, the attention of the Council was directed toward the matter of outside employment on the Project through the letting out

of various contracts for fulfillment by evacuee workers. The only instance of this kind that has taken place at Gila, of course, has been the inception of the camouflage net factory and which at that time was not as yet thought of. Instead, it was proposed that under private contract, a dehydration plant be installed on the Project, and the opinion of the Council was that such a plan would be desirable if manpower were available. Here, again, the Council was empowered to decide whether a dehydration plant might exist on the Project. K. Nobusada was called in to give the Council some of the descriptive aspects of the dehydration plant inasmuch as he had been concerned with work of this kind prior to evacuation. The plant was to have been installed by J. A. Julian Company and was later blocked by administrative edict.

Some attempt was made by the Council to determine what would constitute need in regard to welfare cases in regard to clothing allowances and payment of relief funds. A number of dissatisfactions were aired at this meeting, introduced by various Councilmen, which reflect fairly well on community sentiment at the time. These may be itemized here: 1. lack of cooperation from the medical staff. 2. inadequate number of doctors on night duty; it was proposed that the doctors staff at night be balanced in proportion to the community needs. 3. the erection of boulevard and street lights; at the present writing, the residence areas of both camps are effectively lit at night. 4. repetition of the demands of housing and protest against over-crowded housing conditions. 5. the necessity for installing fire alarms throughout the community. 6. pressure was brought upon the Council to revive the method adopted by the WCCA in the assembly centers of issuing script for necessities and commodities salable in

the canteens; a memorandum was sent to the administrative staff to this effect but, of course, in view of a slightly higher wage scale than in the assembly centers and because of granting of clothing allowances, this measure has never been contemplated by the WRA.

7. fire extinguishers although at the time installed in each barrack were regarded as impracticable because Block Managers had not carried out the duty of explaining the use of this extinguishers to their respective blocks. 8. the existence of mobs and gangs of various kinds in the community was deplored, and it was suggested that some control of these be effected. 9. at this time, although the Project had been in operation for more than two months, the establishment of the \$12.00, \$16.00 and \$19.00 wage scale was still questionable, no one as yet having received paychecks for work done; to Gaba was given the responsibility of gaining information as to establishment of set wages and the payment of these wages. 10. in this meeting also the first criticism of the Community Enterprises system manifested itself; it becomes apparent that block pressures were asserted upon individual Councilmen in order to effectively control the Community Enterprises system, and the assurance of script was again brought up in relation to Community Enterprises. 1. because of the farm labor problem, the Council decided that cotton picking should be discontinued, and a motion was brought before the Project Director in order to effect this.

On October 13, Shelley, the Head of Community Enterprises, took over the matter of informing the Council as to the function of the various enterprises in the community not only from the point of view of the canteens but also for barber shops, shoe repair shops,

and the like. The reaction of the Council to these remarks is not given in the Minutes. It is interesting to note, however, that community sentiment being against enterprises at this time, Takeo Tada took an active stand in bringing up the question of the various enterprises and defending them before the Council. The administrative staff opposed the suspension of cotton picking because of the bad feeling that it would create on the outside communities. The result was that the Council in the interest of the Project decided that cotton picking be allowed until the end of the cotton season. Here is an excellent example of administrative recommendation superseding the dictates of community demands. Regarding the dissatisfaction voiced above concerning the various points raised, clarification was given to the Council of these points through the cooperation of the Housing Department, the Hospital, the Fiscal Section with regard to paychecks, clothing allowances, relief cases, and so on. It is noteworthy that the Council was being severely criticized by the community for the delay in paychecks. It was suggested that if paychecks were to be further delayed, a statement should be made by the administration giving the reasons for such delay.

A number of other items were brought up in this meeting which show the effect of dissatisfaction in community gripes and rumors. The Council decided that some petition should be made to the military in order to allow emergency travel in the military zone. This was to cover the accompaniment of the immediate family of the deceased to a crematory or burial ground, for a member of the immediate family to accompany a sick child or other person leaving the center

for hospitalization. In this meeting, Mr. Fryer, who was present, issued the statement that the community will have gas heaters and linoleum within the month. The problem of the gas heaters has already been described, and it is known that they were supplanted with oil heaters. It is also ascertained that heaters were not installed until the turn of the year, nor has linoleum been completely installed even at this writing. Severe community criticism was directed against military police for mixing in with the community and for picking up Japanese girls at night. Some discussion was raised relative to separate newspapers for each community, and it was decided that separate newspapers should exist for both Canal and Butte. The newspaper, of course, had been taken over by evacuees from the Tulare Assembly Center and directed its attention to Butte news, with the result that Canal was somewhat left out of things. The Canal Community Council was in favor of having a separate newspaper in Canal. Here, again, administrative recommendation opposed separate papers and, again, the Community Council bowed to administrative edict. The rumor circulated around the community that mess hall workers under thirty were to be released. There was considerable Issei feeling against this inasmuch as it was thought that this would place a great burden on Issei. The effect of this was a feeling which has manifest itself in the community from time to time ever since. The younger mess workers were instructed at a later date to go into camouflage work, much to the resentment of the Issei Mess Operations workers. For the first time at this meeting, the subject of the camouflage net factory was brought up to the Council but was dropped because of lack of adequate information. Criticism

was made of the hospital because of the clinic in Canal where no waiting rooms were available for waiting patients. Even today, in Canal, this matter has not been overcome inasmuch the hospital patients are required to sit outside in the heat until their turn to use the clinic facilities comes. The Council is noted as going on record feasibly in the matter of allowing pets to be kept by community residents. It is, perhaps, on this issue that the Council has been allowed to express its own voice without interference from the administrative officials.

On October 20, it was decided that private barbers should be allowed to practice but the tendency would be to bring them under Community Enterprises if this was possible. Chiropractors, osteopaths, and the like, doing private business within the community were to be brought in under Community Enterprises and such other regulations set forth by Dr. Sleath. There are a number of such in the community and as far as can be ascertained, the recommendation that they be brought in under Community Enterprises has never been seriously followed. Regarding the accompaniment of family with a deceased person to a burial ground or of a near relative with a patient in case of off-Project hospitalization, it was admitted that military edict prevented this as it continued to do until the lifting of the military boundary. Pressure was brought to the Council to pay religious workers in the community, a measure which was flatly denied by Gaba as being against WRA policy.

By October 27, Cozzens had become Acting Project Director and began to attend Council meetings and seemingly to high-pressure the Council to make recommendations favorable to the administration. In

reading the Minutes, it becomes apparent that community feeling directed itself more and more against Community Enterprises. The Council was hesitant to allow a barrack to Shelley for the installation of barber shop, beauty shop, radio repair shop, and the like, in Canal. Korn, who was present, suggested that the Council make a recommendation that the barrack be given and although there were protests, Korn's recommendations were followed. The Council was expected to appoint an Advisory Board to Community Enterprises but had difficulty in finding candidates. At length, it was put up to Shelley to find his own candidates for the Community Enterprises Commission. Community Enterprises was not, at this time, concerned with the check-cashing system, and it was difficult for Project employees to cash the small checks that they received. Community Enterprises promised to rectify this as, indeed, they did later with the establishment of a check-cashing system. Chiropractors, neuropathist, osteopathists, and so on, refused to cooperate with the hospital staff or with Community Enterprises. Sleath was asked to work out some solution to this problem. Cozzens was opposed to the translation of certain WRA regulations into Japanese in the newspapers, and it was decided that only those regulations which had been passed on by the Council and then submitted to the Project Director for approval could be translated. The system of preparing and translating administrative edicts and making them available for those people speaking only Japanese has never been worked out successfully. Mention was made of the fact that household goods stored in warehouses in California might be shipped to the Project at government expense. This matter for some difficulty has continued to the present;

inasmuch as such stored goods which supposedly are being thrust out of government storehouses on the coast cannot very well be handled by the hardly adequate warehouses and housing facilities on the Project. In respect to problems of this kind, the observer at once is aware of the fact that these issues are simply stated in front of the Council by administrative officials; in this case, it was Korn, Gaba, and Cozzens. No attempt is made to elicit the opinions of the Council, and it is observed that by this time, October 27, nearly a month after the Council had begun, their position was that of "yes men" to the administration. It becomes more and more clear that recommendations made by Project administrators were simply followed by the Councilmen without very much consideration or debate. After certain of these problems had simply been stated by the administration, the Council is free to pass on its own problems of community government.

Here is a good example of the recommendations showing the weakness of the body. Mr. Nakamura brought up the fact that families were complaining for heating facilities and linoleum. Korn answered that nothing could be done for the moment, and so the matter was dropped. Tada complained about the inefficiency of the receptionists of the hospital. He was told by Dr. Furuta that they were being re-organized. Tada reported a request by Ken Tashiro that the Council hire for him a responsible person to take charge of the newspaper reporting in Canal, and the Council was instructed to look for such a person. Mr. Matsuura stated that the Project should be beautified and everyone agreed. Mr. Matsumura stated that a cemetery should be set up. There was arguments as to where this should be and finally

Korn said it had already been decided by the Project Engineer. Matsumura said that there should be ladders in each block; other Council members said that this was dangerous. And so, the meeting was adjourned.

In the meeting which took place on November the sixth, Tada, a Councilman and head of recreation in Canal under Gaba, made the request in behalf of the C.A.S. to hold a carnival during the community affairs on Thanksgiving to raise funds for the benefit of the community, notably C.A.S. After some discussion, it was accepted by the Council providing that an itemized list of expenditures be listed after the event. This brief statement and approval by the Community Council, a matter which was never brought up in block meetings for individual block expression, shows how little the Council was representative of community feeling. At no time in the community has disapproval and resentment attached itself to any measure as at this carnival. It was thought that here money was being needlessly spent by Nisei. Tada was blamed for arranging the whole thing, with the result that this undoubtedly was one of the factors contributing to his assault. At this meeting, neither Korn, Gaba, nor Cozzens were present. The result was that the Council was completely befuddled and unable to handle even the simplest of issues. It states in the Minutes, "It was wholeheartedly decided by the Council to have Mr. Cozzens or Mr. Korn attend our next meeting to assist in some of the matters brought before the Council." Most of the issues at this meeting were tabled or directed for approval to the administration.

The following meeting on November 10 was attended by Mr. Cozzens, who set forth the problem as to whether the evacuees in this

community would recommend the WRA to bring in private enterprise to the Project, and if so, the method of distribution of such private wages. Although Cozzens did not admit so before the Council, it had already been decided that the camouflage net project would be constructed on the Project, and Cozzens cleverly stated before the Council that introduction of private enterprises into the center was necessary because the willingness to work was beginning to fade, with the result that some type of enterprise might create an incentive for hard work. The Council agreed. In general, this was the gist of the meeting.

On November 19, a meeting took place, held jointly between the Block Managers and Community Councils of both camps. The Butte Council had been organized a short time previously. This meeting was presided over by the Chairman of the Butte Council, Erie Kawai, and concerned the inception of the camouflage net project in this center. It is noteworthy that prior to this meeting, there was very little by way of decision forthcoming from the Council relative to private enterprises on the Project, and yet already present were Reynolds, representing the Southern California Glass Company but introduced to the meeting as a WRA employee in charge of industries on the Project; a Mr. Morgan from the U.S. Engineering Department; Stahl representing the Southern California Glass Company and who was introduced as such, and Harvey Coverley, Assistant Regional Director from San Francisco. Standcliff, Head of the Industrial Division of the Regional Office, was introduced by Coverley to introduce the camouflage net plan. Standcliff's remark is quoted as he says, "a concrete proposal to offer you and you have the

privilege of deciding what to do." He stated that he had obtained through the U.S. Engineers a contract to operate a camouflage net industry and that the policy of the WRA is that when a private industry enters a relocation area, it must pay prevailing wages either directly to workers or it must be paid part to the workers and part to the community trust fund, providing that is the decision of the community. Prevailing wages are conceived to be sixty cents per hour, based on the production of a thousand square feet of net garnished in an eight-hour period. The decision to be submitted to the people for their consideration was not whether the net project should be allowed on the Project but as to how the money paid as wages should be distributed. The Council was allowed to make no decision as to whether the net project should be allowed. It was left to the Council and the Block Managers as to how the accruing wages should be distributed. Three separate plans were suggested by Mr. Standcliff at this meeting and concerned the contemplated distribution of the money earned by a proposed 960 net workers. These plans were based on the month of November at a forty-four hour week basis and taking an average of Manzanar where a net project had been established. Plan One is given specifically here as are plans two and three. This information may already be available, but it will probably be well to reiterate these plans here: Plan One - All money goes directly to worker in net factory. Subsistence deducted. Dependence estimated at one-half for each worker. Subsistence charge of \$20.00 per month for workers on the basis of \$16.00 per month for dependents and in this case \$8.00. For the actual worker garnishing one thousand square feet for a month, salary received would be \$82.40, for 1500

square feet, \$126.00. Plan Two - deductions of charge for subsistence take place and WRA wages are paid in addition. The net worker would receive \$16.00 a month and if an average of a thousand square feet per day were garnished, \$9.00 in addition would be given. If 1500 square feet average were made, then \$14.98 would be added. Plan Three - provides a bonus to the individual worker on the project and still provides a distribution to all the workers in the community, allowing the same deductions for subsistence. For the worker who averages one thousand square feet a day per month, he would receive \$10.00 in addition to \$16.00 basic wage. On that basis, he would get \$16.00 plus \$10.00 plus \$7.64, which would be divided among all the workers in the community. Thus, the total would be \$33.64 based on one thousand square feet. It was decided that if he did more than one thousand square feet, he would receive a bonus in addition to the \$10.00 of one-tenth of one cent for all feet over one thousand square feet. Thus, workers garnishing 1500 square feet a day would receive \$11.50, while \$13.63 would also be given to him and to a fund for all the workers in the community. The workers would then receive \$16.00 plus \$10.00 plus \$11.50 plus \$13.63 for a total of \$51.13. If this basis were followed, then approximately \$50,000.00 a month would be distributed all over the community on the basis of one thousand square feet, but if a 1500 square feet average were made, \$96,000.00 would be distributed. It was decided that these plans be placed to the community by the Block Managers and that a discussion should take place and a plan decided upon. A number of questions were raised by representatives at the meeting as to how these figures were arrived at, how

the contracts were brought up, subsistence, recognition for dependents, unemployment, etc. Answers were given to these questions by the Caucasians in charge, with the result that the meeting was adjourned and the decision for the adoption of the plan pending.

By the meeting of November 24, the Council was at a loss to know what to do with the three plans for the distribution of salary. The matter was, therefore, tabled with Furuta's announcement of his own resignation as Chairman. Of the sixteen representatives in Canal, some decision was forthcoming relative to the camouflage net after it was announced that the WRA had ruled that \$25.60 per month per worker only would be deducted regardless of dependents. The decision of the distribution of salary of camouflage net workers may be summarized as follows: ten blocks for Plan Three unconditionally; three blocks for Plan Three conditionally; one block for Plan Two; three blocks undecided. The importance of the camouflage net project was superseded by interest in the Tada assault case. Cozzens demanded that the Council back him relative to Tada's assailant and with reluctance was given. Actually, Cozzens seemed to wish to find out the will of the people in the disposition of this case and was anxious for the Council to support him, because he believed it to be a representative body.

In the following meeting, it was decided to set up a committee for the camouflage net factory so as to relieve the Council from the necessity of making any decision without full study by an appointed committee. By December 1, the first of the Block representatives resigned and by the next meeting, December 8, other resignations began to take place. Six resigned in these weeks so

that with lack of attendance and fear of community pressures, few were left on the Council. The resigning Councilmen were asked to reconsider their decisions, but in most cases no reconsideration was given and the resignation was passed. From here on, as the result of the unpopularity of certain Council members, the decisions made by the Council lacked sureness and independence. Gaba becomes the dominant figure in the Council, with the result that as an active legislative body, the Council is purely ineffective. At the turn of the year, this situation remains unchanged.

In 1943, the first meeting of the Council took place on January 3. After the secretary had sent out memorandums to eight blocks requesting replacements of Councilmen who had resigned. There was demonstrated great reluctance on the part of prospective Councilmen to serve with the result that although resignations of Councilmen have been taking place all through the month of December 1942, by January 3 there was only one replacement.

Prior to this date, one of the most difficult problems which had confronted the Council was that of the disposition of the Community Enterprises Division and its various proposed innovations in the community. At no time would any Councilman come out and speak strongly against the Cooperative, but it appears fairly obvious that both Cooperatives and Enterprises were made to feel the brunt of community disapproval. Assurances had been given to the community from time to time through the Councilmen that the Cooperative which was to be built up on the Community Enterprises receipts was designed to be of benefit to the community. It is apparent that the Councilmen themselves were never convinced of this in spite of frequent

addresses by Shelley and by other leaders in the community Enterprises Section such as Kato, Kurimitsu, and so on. By this meeting, therefore, the plans for the Cooperative were brought before the Council and were received with some misgivings. Some time previous, a five-man Advisory Board had been elected by the Council in Canal to investigate the matter of Community Enterprises and to carry through the plans of setting up a proposed Cooperative. This five-man committee set itself up to investigate the matter of price control inasmuch as canteen prices were believed too excessive and to recommend the development of a community Cooperative. Gaba, present at this meeting, suggested that this five-man committee devote itself entirely to the matter of setting up a community Cooperative, since this was the desire of the general WRA administration, and as usual, the recommendation by the representative of the Caucasian staff was followed. Therefore, some steps were taken toward the formulation of plans for a Cooperative. The WRA plan, of course, is and was that Community Enterprises at present an administrative section would later be converted into a community Cooperative and regulated by Federal or Arizona State laws. The people of the community, therefore, would decide on the proper disbursement of Cooperative funds. In order to do this, it was necessary to educate the community and to get all of the people behind it. Mention was made of the fact that a good bit of dissention was made over the matter of the community Cooperative having to pay Federal and/or State income taxes since the community stores were supposed to be following the rules as set forth not only under Arizona State law but also under Federal law. Considerable unwillingness has manifested itself among residents

of the community to pay State taxes inasmuch as the people consider themselves as wards of the Federal government. This discussion lasted for some time, and the cooperative committee was requested to clarify the matter further.

In accordance with Community Enterprise regulations as established by the WRA, several incidents were mentioned where private industries had been set up on the Project such as music and dancing classes, beauty and barber shops, chiropractors and other practitioners, and the like. These are, having clashed with Community Enterprises and having drawn income away from the community fund, it was decided, to be brought under C.A.S., that is the various classes, and all private industries to be incorporated under Community Enterprises. A Licensing Committee composed of Hoffman, Gaba, and Shelley was set up to pass on the continued existence of such private industries. In this, as in many other meetings, protests were raised against the fence around the residence area and, again, the assurance came from Korn that it was impossible to do anything about the fencing at the time.

On January 12, Mats Ando, representative of Block 26, was elected Chairman of the Temporary Council. Ando, formerly a farmer, has a distinct interest in community government and is not worried over his own position in the community, with regard to Issei resentment or vengeance. It was easy to persuade him to become Chairman and he has acted in this capacity ever since, filling the gap left by the resignation of Dr. Furuta. Mention was made at this meeting of the twelfth of the discussions which had taken place between the Butte and Canal Cooperative Committees jointly. It was decided in accordance

with the Butte plan that each block be accorded with a delegate to meet with Cooperative Board and be empowered to inform the population about the Cooperative. In spite of the formulation of this plan as occurring in early January, this system of delegation and representation in relation to a Cooperative has never been satisfactorily worked out and educational committees are at the present writing, May 1943, still in the process of being brought together to inform the population of the value of the Cooperative movement. The matter of income tax, Federal and State alike, for the Cooperative was still point for debate and still a clouded issue so far as the Council was concerned. Considerable discussion took place relative to the licensing of those engaged in private industries on the Project, and at Hoffman's recommendation the Council agreed that all qualified persons wishing to obtain licenses would have to register through the Employment Office and to have their ability to practice ascertained by the Licensing Committee. Groups of evacuees skilled in similar professions would support the decisions of the Caucasian Licensing Committee by passing on the ability of the individual to carry on his profession.

An interesting sidelight on the Christian group is brought into this meeting. A Christian Councilman, Mr. Ichimoto, asked whether it would be possible to discourage basketball games on Sunday mornings. The Christian churches had protested on the activity because of the decrease of church attendance and had made some impression by their protest on the Buddhist churches. Ichimoto reported himself to have investigated the matter and stated that most of such games were not supervised by the Athletic Department. As athletic director in addition

to a Christian leader, he resented the infringement of sports and games on his own authority. Basketball games were forbidden on Sundays by the Athletic Department but could not be stopped by mere declaration.

In the meeting on January 19, a memorandum and read from Keadle, the Head of Mess Operations, which stated that in the event of any meetings or social gatherings held in mess halls other than those activities held within the block itself, the C.A.S. should be informed of the date, time, and place. This gave rise to the impression that C.A.S. was trying to run Mess Operations. An attempt was made by Gaba to clarify the stand of the C.A.S. in regard to the use of these facilities, but at the present writing there is still disagreement between the C.A.S. and Mess Operations relative to the use of the mess halls as social gathering places. At this meeting, a report was finally given by the Cooperative Committee which elicited the plan of the Butte Cooperative Committee in which it was stated that a \$1.00 membership fee for any individual would entitle that individual to membership in the cooperative, the \$1.00 fee itself providing a working capital for the Cooperative itself exclusive of the profits derived from Community Enterprises. The Council was opposed to this, contending that the only privileges derived from this membership was the voting power. As the members of a Cooperative Committee had not been as yet appointed for each block, Butte again taking the lead, the matter was tabled until such appointments could be made. A discussion came up next regarding the funds of the net factory which were to be turned over to the community on a trust basis and divided among all of the workers in the community. There were to be three trustees to handle the distribution of this fund in each camp, one Caucasian and two evacuees, who were

to be selected by the respective Councils. It was proposed then, and this proposition is still in order, than when other expenses had been taken out such as bonding of trustees, clerical help, and the like, the balance of the surplus fund would be divided equally among the entire population of workers according to working time put in. While this was approved by the Council, candidates were selected for trust fund managers. It was decided that only citizens could be trustees upon recommendation from the Project Attorney, Terry. At the present writing, three months later, trustees are still being sought by the respective Councils, no evacuee being willing to take the responsibility of the monetary division. Considerable money is forthcoming to the workers of the community as the result of the net factory, but responsible authority being lacking, the money is still being held in reserve. Here, again, is another example of the ineffectiveness of the Council.

On February 2, the Council wondered when the constitution would be presented to the people for ratification. A recommendation was put into motion to send a memorandum to Bennett, Korn, and Terry to hasten the analysis of the constitution. The Councils are still waiting and still wondering. Some time was devoted to discussing personalities to act as net fund trustees. The Council was unable to decide if surplus funds from the Cooperative should be distributed among the residents. The Council went on record by expressing itself favorably inclined to the payment of resettlement expenses by the WRA. The motion was put in order to sound out the Councils of the other centers in this matter. Gaba requested that some of the Community Enterprise funds be directed into the C.A.S. in order to buy equipment, and the like. This has never been successfully brought about, the C.A.S. having clamored for funds

virtually since the inception of the Project.

On February 10, the Council expressed itself as dissatisfied with the present net factory pay plan since a person who puts in work for eight days and is legitimately absent for two days would have to put a contribution into the pool for ten days instead of the eight days actually worked. A small committee was appointed to investigate this and, again, the matter was tabled. Objection was raised to dances held in mess halls 16 and 13 since there were Issei pressures against these activities. The Council expressed itself as unable to do anything about this. An amusing sidelight into how much power the Council felt it had is given in a statement as follows: "Barber shops: Mr. Yoshida placed the barber shop situation before the Council. It was stated that in Butte, the private barber shops are doing more business than the Community Enterprises shop itself and, furthermore, that little could be done about it."

On February 16, the matter of the questionnaire in regard to army registration had been raised. Some clarification was given to the Council by Terry as to the meaning of the questions 27 and 28 on the registration questionnaire and each Councilman was requested to inform his block members at a meeting to just what these questions meant. A recreation committee was set up to investigate the matter of the formulated C.A.S. Council and to make for greater cooperation between the Community Council and the C.A.S. At the recommendation of the Camouflage Net Committee, Terry suggested that a definite order from the Council be secured concerning the modification of the pay plan, this modification being that money put into the pool by a worker should

be reduced in the same proportion as days absent from work.

On February 23, the Council decided against the formation of a credit union. The Constitutional Commission gave a report that the constitutional approval was still pending. The Council wondered whether coolers would be set up in school classrooms. It was decided that ration cards would be subject to the disposition of the Welfare Department for shoes.

On March 2, the Constitutional Commission resigned and handed its resignation to the Councils of both camps. The Councilmen seemed at loss to understand that this was done in protest against the fact that the constitution was not submitted to the people. The Council requested that the committee remain in office. Plans were brought under way for a send-off party for army volunteers. This send-off party was held later but the army volunteers are still waiting to be sent off. The Council decided that pets should be registered.

By March 9, the Council was still looking for trustees for the Camouflage Trust Fund. The Council attempted to make a decision as to the \$34,000, which was then in the Community Enterprises Fund. This residue is still undisbursed and in the two months since, it has practically doubled. Throughout these meetings, the Council, if it was successful in meeting at all, was barely able to maintain a quorum. Gaba, Hoffman, and Korn, if present, were included in the number of Councilmen and so a quorum could be met. Actually, in most of the meetings, about half of the Councilmen remained away. The Council collected money from a number of organizations, clubs, and the like, to give gifts to the departing volunteers, and these were distributed by Captain Thompson, and the Council went on record as congratulating itself for its foresight.

The Council decided to place the constitution before the people and to elect a permanent Council as soon as possible. The other committees aided the temporary bodies at Butte and Canal in preparing a rough draft of a letter to President Roosevelt protesting against the segregation of Nisei soldiers and asking that loyal citizens and aliens be returned to their California homes. After approval by Omachi, this letter was sent.

In the meeting of March 29, Bennett was scheduled to speak, and for the first time in nearly three months, a large number of Councilmen were present, only five out of the sixteen representative block Councilmen being absent. Bennett pointed out that there were three difficulties requiring constant watch and action: food was adequate but could not be wasted; because of resettlement, the staff of every department was going out; and all materials would have to be conserved. For the first time, the plan was introduced before the Council to have a training program set up. This had been contemplated since the beginning of the year. This training program was to provide an apprentice basis for workers and to train various individuals to take key jobs when they resettle. Hoffman and Bennett discussed this at length and no reaction is recorded from the Council. At the present writing, this is still being contemplated, but no further steps have been taken to cause this plan to materialize. Hoffman stated that in Butte, it was voted to have an Advisory Board of twelve Issei and Nisei to act with the Council. Of this twelve, four would be selected, and together with the Central Block Manager, would meet with five members of the Community Council. Thus, in Canal, Ando was requested to attend

the next Block Chairman's meeting and to ask them to select four members to act in the Advisory Committee. This had already been discussed in a previous report under community government in relation to Community Services. Bennett emphasized the fact that if the consumption of water is continued, it would be necessary to collect every hose in camp to conserve water for drinking, laundering, and bathing purposes. Wolter, Gaba, and Welles addressed the meeting in regard to the C.A.S. programs. After the Caucasians had departed, the Council voted the following memoranda: to Mr. Sawyer requesting him to see that the camp was rid of all unlicensed dogs and cats; to Mr. Bennett for screens for barrack windows; to the Sanitation Committee to wipe dust off dishes after dust storms.

On April 20, the next meeting was held. A request was made for a raise in the wage scale between \$25.00 and \$40.00. A discussion was held, but no plan was reached. The C.A.S. under Wolter's direction planned to have a National Boys and Girls Week in the center, the plan entailing the management of the center by boys and girls from the high schools and grammar schools in order to allow the children of the community to see how the community is run. Full support was given by the Community Council for this measure. During the current week, that of May 2nd, this plan is taking effect, being in accordance with the national Japanese holiday of Boys Day, May 5th. Various offices are being held by students from the schools, from the Project Directorship down. An issue of the newspaper is being given out by the schools as of Tuesday, May 3.

In the main, these are the decisions which confronted the Council from its inception up to the present time. It will be noted that the

Council took action on minor issues and evaded, for the most part, the major ones, preferring to devote attention of these issues to committees. Throughout the course of its existence in Canal, the Council has attempted to steer a middle course between Issei and Nisei and to avoid committing itself on significant issues which might damage the reputation of its individual members in the community. The Butte Council has been equally as helpless, and as soon as can be conveniently arranged, a short resume of its Minutes will be included.

This material is considered to be supplementary to that which has gone before and to the information relative to the constitution and community government and to the information relative to the constitution and community government as given out by Joseph Omachi. The slight difference in emphasis between Canal and Butte must continually be kept in mind in comparing the powers of the two Councils. In Butte, domination by the Central Block Manager's Office has completely eclipsed the functions of the Council so that their influence has been insignificant although there has never been the same hesitation or fear manifested in Butte. Yet, at the same time, the Butte Council has never come out to express itself on a significant issue as the Canal Council has at times done. The Butte Council has ever been totally without power. The same situation has existed in both camps, that of the difficulties of maintaining a quorum, and the problems of meeting administrative pressure have never been overcome.