

(8109) Robert Spencer
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THE RISE OF POLITICAL PRESSURE GROUPS IN THE
GILA COMMUNITY

Japanese Relocation Papers
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The significant factor of what has been termed by some as pro-Axis sympathy and by others as subversive activity cannot be denied. It is true that in the Gila community there is a definite pro-Japan element. I debate seriously the authenticity of the danger of such organized movements and do not regard the manifestation of pro-Japan spirit as practically significant in the history of the development of the community. Throughout the analysis of the social groups which appear at Gila, it becomes apparent from the very start that the significant division between the generations is a cause for friction and discontent. The blanket generalization might be made that all Nisei are pro-Ally, that all Issei and Kibei are pro-Axis. In a sense this is true, but it is not true in regard to political or nationalistic expressions. It is rather pertinent to sentimental attachment to Japan, the mother country, which manifests itself among the members of the first generation. The Nisei, not having been in Japan, being unaware of the implications of Japanese culture and attempting to break away from the domineering influence of the first generation, have tended to scorn all organizations, institutions, and the like, which smack of the Japanese culture heritage. This is one of the significant causes ^{for conflict}, either consciously or unconsciously, between the two groups. If any militant pro-Axis feeling in the community exists, it is to be found among those who openly profess themselves to be Kibei and whose attitudes and expressions direct themselves in favor of Japanese culture and of sponsoring ~~of~~ the cause of the first generation. The analysis to follow hopes to present aspects of the political forces at work in the community; to ~~can~~ attempt to characterize these organizations, groups, and clubs, and to show their interrelationships. ^{Certain} Issei organizations have been called by some members of the administrative staff subversive groups which are to be expunged from the community and the leaders of which are to be exiled and sent to internment camps which are sponsored by the Department of Justice.

Evacuation has created such a turmoil and so many departments of the administrative staff of both the assembly and relocation centers have failed to promote and engender the best of inter-relationships between the staff and the evacuees that certain pressures are directed from the evacuee population against this or that administrative department. Issei, being unable to command the English language properly and mistrusting interpretations of administrative orders by Nisei, tend to reach out and take hold credulously of any wayward rumor that seems plausible. For this reason, feelings are directed against the administration on many accounts. The failure to provide adequate living quarters, the fact that the stoves were so late in coming, and that linoleum is only now being laid on the floors of the dwellings, that food has not been all that it should have been, that washrooms are in many cases in deplorable conditions, in short, that the general physical condition of the camp has been attributed to error, poor judgment, or down-right cruelty on the part of the administration, ^{directed} all of these and other complaints have been ~~lead~~ against the administration. By extension, therefore, the administration is at fault; the Army is at fault, and thus the whole Federal Government is to be blamed for the unpleasant circumstances in which many evacuees still find themselves. The tendency, therefore, is to blame the country at large and hark back to a time when there was peaceful and happy life in the rural villages of Japan. Most Issei are sensible enough to realize that Japan has changed and that were they to return there, they would find that the old associations, the pleasant times that they once knew, are no longer possible. Yet, in off-hand judgments in comparing life in the relocation center with the home life that they knew in Japan, forgetting their success or degree of assimilation in California in the pre-evacuation period, the majority of Issei are bound by sentiment and almost maudlin ties with the mother country. I believe this feeling to be pretty general, and it appears to me that it is ^{to be} this attitude which is contended by the administration officials ~~as~~ subversive

and pro-Japan. Given, therefore, this general background of Issei and Nisei in respect to feelings and attitudes, it becomes necessary to apply this background to a study of the pressure groups in the relocation community.

Groups attempting to assert themselves as controlling factors off a more significant reflection of life in the community than, perhaps, any other except a keen desire for prestige, recognition, and a certain amount of glory which seems almost inherent in the Japanese mind. In this respect, use is made of political pressure groups to enhance this desire for prestige. This is the driving force in the community at the present time. In the beginning stages at Gila, it at once became apparent that this ^{feeling} ~~group~~ would attempt to assert itself. Nisei groups acted strongly against Issei. Throughout, there has been the almost bitter struggle for domination in the community. It will be shown that there are Issei and Nisei groups alike in the community who not only wish to assume the upper hand, but once having assumed it, will attempt to dictate and to propose policies governing and affecting the community irrespective of the wishes of the opposing groups and generation. The struggle between the two generations is accentuated by the fact ~~that~~, according to the plan of administration outlined by the national officials of the War Relocation Authority, ~~is~~ of giving to the Nisei the right to hold elective office in the community and denying to the foreign-born. It will be well, therefore, to take up the analysis of the formally organized political organizations, those which have sanction from the administration and which are made up of elected Nisei representatives of each block. This group is the Community Council, and it is this organization which should be considered first since according to plan, all decisions affecting center life rest with the elected Community Council.

THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL

In the initial stages of setting up the WRA and in the formulating of policies relative to management by evacuees, it was decided that only American citizens would be entitled to hold office. In accordance with this plan, all foreign-born, therefore, while they were privileged to vote, were excluded from holding office in the relocation centers. It is already been mentioned that from the first, attempts were made to bring to the consideration of the authorities, a petition allowing Issei to exercise political rights in the community in addition to the voting privilege. For this reason, it was decided that a petition be drawn up and presented to Dillon Myer, National Director of the WRA, which called for the permission for the Issei to have representation on the Community Council. As yet, I have not been so fortunate as to secure a copy of the petition. Its formulation at informal meetings in certain blocks by Issei has already been discussed by Mr. Hikida in his own summary of the formulation of the Community Council and of the committee which was appointed to draw up plans for a constitution for the center. This petition was sent on the 18th of September, 1942, and was answered promptly by Mr. Myer. His answer outlines his reasons for limiting eligibility to elective offices to evacuees who are citizens. In spite of Mr. Myer's answer and in spite of the fact that many Issei were more or less satisfied with the arrangements now in existence, considerable feeling and pressure has, nevertheless, arisen which has culminated in agitation toward Issei office-holding.

Now, especially since the proposed program of relocation is in effect, it has been said that most of the Nisei will be leaving the center. This is particularly so because the relocation program offers more to the Nisei than to the members of the first generation. Agitation has, therefore, begun again to effect the creation of a center council composed entirely of Issei or of an equal representation from among the members of both generations.

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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Washington

Office of the Director

October 6, 1942

Mr. Ototaro N. Yamamoto
Gila River Relocation Center
c/o Pima Indian Agency
Sacaton, Arizona

Dear Mr. Yamamoto:

I am addressing this letter to you because yours is the first name to appear on the letter that you and thirteen other residents of the Gila River Relocation Center sent me on September 18 enclosing a resolution adopted by the residents of twenty-one blocks in the Gila River Relocation Center. I feel, however, that I am addressing this letter to all those who considered the resolution, and I should appreciate your making this letter public to them.

The resolution calls attention to the fact that, in the procedure we have established for the organization of community self-government at the ten relocation centers, only citizens of the United States are eligible to hold elective office. The resolution notes that evacuees who are aliens are nevertheless also loyal to the United States, and emphasizes that many of them would have become citizens of the United States if they were permitted to do so under the naturalization laws.

I am glad to have your resolution on this subject, and have carefully considered the reasons you have urged for making alien evacuees eligible to hold elective office in the community self-government offices.

Our reasons for limiting eligibility to these elective offices to evacuees who are citizens of the United States can be briefly summarized. In the first place, we believe that the citizenship status and privilege of the evacuees who were born in the United States needs to be given special recognition. The fact that, as a matter of military necessity, all persons of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from the West Coast, both aliens and citizens alike, has caused some of the citizen evacuees to wonder what value their citizenship has. We regret that fact very much. We understand, also, that a few among the alien evacuees have been taunting the young Niseis with this fact and have stated that the citizenship of the Niseis was valueless. It is our intention,

therefore, to help make up for this fact, as much as possible, by giving special recognition to the citizenship status of the Niseis.

In addition to making elective offices open to only evacuees who are citizens of the United States, it is our intention to give them preference in considering applications for leave from relocation centers, in assignment of work opportunities, and in other respects.

A second consideration had a great deal to do with our decision. In general, the Niseis are much more Americanized than are the Isseis. This has nothing to do with the question of loyalty to the United States but is simply a product of the fact that the Niseis, through having been born and educated in the United States, at least in most cases, are, to a greater extent, products of American institutions. We know that you share with us the belief that it is important that the Americans of Japanese ancestry should not be a separate group but should become amalgamated with the general population. We are of the opinion that if the Niseis alone are eligible for membership in the community council, the general character of the action taken by the community council will be more in keeping with American institutions and practices.

I am writing frankly to you because I feel that we have a common interest in achieving the best possible self-government within the relocation centers.

May I emphasize that the Isseis have not been completely barred from holding office in agencies of community self-government. It is only the elective offices that have been closed to the alien evacuees. This means that no alien evacuee can be elected to the community council. Which of the other offices will be elective rather than appointive can not be known until the permanent plan of government is formulated for each relocation by its organization commission. The alien evacuees are eligible to hold appointive offices. Thus they can serve on committees appointed by the community council, and in other appointive offices.

I am confident that the wisdom and experience of many of the alien evacuees will become available through their being appointed to such offices.

For these reasons, although I welcome your resolution and am glad to have the benefit of your suggestions, I believe our decision was a sound one and should be adhered to.

Sincerely,

/s/ John H. Provise

Acting Director

The workings of the Community Council can be described here only briefly. Actually, the council itself has not been too active as a political factor in the community. Its power has been superseded to a very great extent by those of the Block Councils, ~~and~~ a predominantly Issei body, the function of which will be described presently. Other observers will better qualify than I to present an analysis of the workings of the Community Council. Omachi, Hikida, and Okuno were members of the committee which drew up the constitution for the center. This constitution is still in the hands of the Community Council and has not as yet been submitted to the blocks for a general vote of ratification. It is mentioned above that the Community Council is not too significant a political group in the community. The very fact that it is composed of Nisei tends to limit to some extent its ability to act. Issei pressures are strong in the community with the result that group pressures are directed upon council members and they are, furthermore, subjected to criticisms and suggestions not only of their immediate Issei families, but also from among those Issei who reside in their neighborhood. The Community Council, therefore, has been forced to steer a pretty direct middle course, being subject to demands by the administration and ~~the~~ the strongly organized Issei. The Council is regarded largely as a joke by most Issei, and its actions and legislation does not have a particularly serious effect. With this fact in mind, a number of the Caucasian administrators of not only this but of other centers as well are, at the present writing, discussing the advisability of allowing the holding of elective office by Issei. Some have gone so far as to say that peace and quiet cannot be brought about in the relocation centers except by the formulation of a Community Council which is composed entirely of members of the first generation. The administration, too, is considering the fact of relocation which will tend to make the centers more and more subject to Issei domination. In Canal Camp, when the threat of a general strike hung over the community as the result of the assault on Takeo Tada and the arrest and imprisonment of his assailant, the first test of strength was

placed before the Community Council in that camp. The Council was powerless to act in cooperation with the administration since Issei feeling was directed toward a liberation of the assailant, Hirokani, on the ground that the assault was justified. This incident has been discussed upon to some extent and will be elaborated upon more fully. Unable to espouse the cause of the administration, the Council had no choice but to resign. The most dominant figure in the Council prior to the assault on Tada was Dr. William Furuta, the bacteriologist in charge of sanitation for the community. Furuta, on seeing the trend in the community, resigned just shortly before Tada's assault, leaving the Council virtually leaderless. Furuta states that he was getting the support neither of the administration nor of the people, who were opposed to an all Nisei representative body. Following the demonstration against the administration and against the Council by the organized Issei pressure groups in Camp One, a number of the Council members chose to resign, but were persuaded to keep their positions by the heads of the administrative Community Services Department, Mr. Hoffman and Mr. Gaba. The fact that Gaba and Hoffman have openly advocated a Nisei Community Council has done much to enhance their unpopularity in the community among the residents.

This dissatisfied spirit spread from Canal Camp to Butte. At the time, it was decided by members of the Butte Council that they could not successfully or satisfactorily carry out the duties which were expected of them. Accordingly, several members of that Council resigned. ^{Iri} ~~Erie~~ Kawai, the brother of the JACL leader, having espoused the cause of the JACL, was found to be most unpopular, and realizing this, resigned as chairman of the Community Council taking with him other JACL partisans. The result is that at present the Community Council in both camps is not a successful body. Not only does it fail to represent true opinion of the community, but the number of delegates is not up to the prescribed quota since it has been impossible to induce people to run for this office in many blocks. According to the administrative chart, the Community

Council is supposed to be subject to a certain amount of Issei advice and counsel. Actually, this arrangement has not been affected satisfactorily because of the opposition of one Issei pressure group to another. In practice, a council does not carry out the plan of administering to the needs of the community; all community policy is supposed to be determined by the Council members, who in turn, represent the findings of the Council and the formulation of its policy to the individual blocks which they represent. A clear example of this failure is brought out in regard to the opening up of the camouflage net project in the center. The net project, run by private contractors under the direction of the U. S. Army Corp of Engineers, was not satisfactorily brought to the Community Council. Administrative pressures were brought to bear, urging that the councilmen accept the conditions under which the net project was to be opened in the center. No equitable arrangement for the payment of evacuee workers in the project was decided upon until very recently. Now, it appears that the only private employment which will be allowed in the center is that of the net project. The workers on this project are paid according to a piece-work basis and given bonuses on the accomplishment of so many feet of netting. A deduction is made from the earnings of each employee for board and room in the center. It has been up to the Community Council to accept the proposition of the net project, to urge for the enlistment of workers in the project on a patriotic basis, and to point out the advantages of working there through extra earnings and the like. Unfortunately, the proposition made to the Community Council was never clarified to them. The project was slow in getting started because of Issei opposition as the result of the failure of the Community Councilmen to explain to the Issei members of each block the benefits to be derived from net project work by the community at large. The administration, particularly the Project Director, and the Employment Division forced the acceptance by the Community Council of the net project before a plan had been properly formulated. The Council was caught

mid-way between the fire from the administration and from the Issei opposition.

In order to provide workers for the net factory, it is clear that many of those employed in the WRA work corp had to leave that employment. To the Community Council has been relegated the task of deciding which Nisei may work in the project and leave their work corp jobs. Issei, being aliens, are not permitted by international law to participate in the net project work. Certain jobs held by Nisei can well be filled by Issei and the Community Council was told to decide how this could be effected in cooperation with the Division of Employment. The failure to do this arises because Issei do not wish to work in jobs around the center which were formerly held by Nisei, who now have gone into the camouflage net project and are making double, triple, and more, of the security wage which is advocated for the center residents. In Mess Operations, for example, it was decided that Nisei waitresses could be replaced by Issei. The former would then be able to go into the net Project. The opposition was most strong because Issei women would now have to perform the work of young girls, often hard physical labor, for \$16.00 a month. This is a problem which is now as yet being solved. The demand for workers on the net project increases, and capable Nisei are leaving jobs for which they are well qualified to take positions in the net factory. The Community Council is ~~xxxxx~~ faced with the choice of replacing these workers with Issei or, if that is not possible, simply leaving the positions unfilled. The Council is thus in a peculiar position since it must meet administrative demands in advocating the net project and since it must return home to find strong pressure against such advertisement on the part of the Issei.

The net project has again been made a war issue. Statements have been made frequently to the effect that it is wrong for the Nisei to engage in this war work since by so doing they are aiding the killing of their cousins in Japan. This thought has been expressed on numerous occasions against Nisei who work in the net factory by many Issei. Neighborhood pressures are strong and many

families are prohibiting their children from leaving their work corp^s jobs to go into the net factory even though the monetary gains to be realized are great, not only for the family, but also by virtue of the fact that a stipulated amount of net project earnings reverts to the Community Revolving Fund. This Community Revolving Fund is made up of money contributed to the project by net workers and the few others privately employed on the project for board and room. It amounts to \$25.00 a month. The disposition of this money is up to the Community Council which is wavering and hesitating to come out with a decision regarding the eventual solution to the problem of what to do with the Community Fund. Naturally, strong pressures are directed against the Council as to what should be done with it; moreover, certain departments, such as the Recreation or Community Activities Section, are requesting the allocation of certain funds to them so that they may purchase equipment and offer greater advantages to the community at large. Because the administration of the CAS is so unpopular, there is considerable protest against this on the part of organized groups of residents. In a similar position is the money which is to revert to the Revolving Fund from Community Enterprises. It is said, and justly, that prices in the canteens are too high and that too great a profit is being realized by the Community Enterprise Section. The Council has been asked to check this profit somewhat, but it is powerless to do so. As an organized pressure group in the community, therefore, the Community Council is helpless. The individual members do not wish to take the responsibility even though they have been elected from among the individual blocks. In trying to steer a middle course, they thrust themselves into the path of all the pressure groups in the community and thus feel themselves to be most ineffective.

The matter has recently come to the attention of the Community Council which will call for some explanation here. The Council was asked to make some decision regarding the disposition of a certain petition which was sent to every project from the Poston Community Council. It will be interesting to note

just what this petition was, and to trace its effect on the Gila Community. The Camp One Community Council of Poston drew up a petition, the gist of which follows. It was stated that at Poston, there was an over-abundance of Caucasian administrators; that the final decision in any matter affecting community welfare was up, not to evacuees whose communities these were, but rather to the Caucasian administrators whose interest in the welfare of the community could only be secondary, since they were not participants in community life. The demand was, therefore, made in the petition that no more Caucasian personnel be hired. If democratic self-government in the relocation centers were to be achieved. The tendency at the present time in all of the relocation centers, as gathered from the experience of those councilmen at Poston, was toward a Caucasian bureaucracy, a complete Caucasian dictatorship. It was implied that it would be well to let certain Caucasian employees of the various projects go, and to replace them with qualified Japanese administrators. Therefore, the evacuees would do the work which Caucasians are doing now. The question was raised: "Would they do this work?" They can do it, but under the present circumstances, the wages offered are too small. The wages should go with the job, it was stated, and it was pointed out that on the Indian Reservations, it was possible for Indians to take Civil Service examinations and to hold good-paying Civil Service jobs relative to the administration of their own people. Therefore, the question was raised: "Why is it not possible for evacuees to hold Civil Service jobs as, for example, that of the Project Attorney, jobs in the U. S. Public Service, in the hospital maintenance, and the like?" All of these are on a Civil Service status. It was stated that the present situation is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. This discrimination, it was said, taps necessary Caucasian man-power detracting from personnel which would be valuable to the war effort. Mention was made of the so-called unfortunate incident in Minidoka, Idaho, in relation to the acceptance of Japanese administrators by the center management. (I am not aware of

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How the Community Council may expect to effect the changes proposed in a resolution of this kind in view of adverse political action on the parts of so many groups in the relocation center is debatable. This memorandum was

brought to the attention of the Gila Community Council which is still acting in a temporary capacity for judgment. The Council, afraid to touch the issue, has tabled it for consideration. The above incidents indicate fairly clearly the weakness of the Community Council and the inability of the Nisei in the community to assert themselves as political factors. Until the adoption of the constitution pending approval by the national officials of the WRA in Washington, no permanent Community Council can be hoped for. Even in the events of the formulation of a permanent Council, there is no doubt of the great difficulties which will be encountered in the matter of getting Nisei to serve as councilmen under the present regulation which forbids the holding of elective office by aliens.

A further demonstration of weakness on the part of the Community Council is shown in its inability to handle the increasing difficulties faced by the Wardens in the Canal Camp. On November 30, occurred the beating of Takeo Tada, director of recreational activities for Canal Camp. The beating occurred as he was leaving a meeting of the Engaibu, or Issei Dramatic Society. This incident is regarded by administrative officials at the time of this writing as closed. It cannot be truly considered so since according to the analysis of this observer, the beating of Tada was merely the outward expression of the undercurrent of dissatisfaction which has pervaded community life and continues to do so. Up until this time, the Wardens had been in the process of being organized and were under the direction of the head of Internal Security, Mr. Williamson, engaged in becoming a protective organization for the benefit of the community. Williamson, trained by the University of California Police School, has had all along rather grandiose ideas of a model police organization of a purely impersonal and objective nature, forgetting the close association under which the various members of the Warden force must live with the other residents of the community. (X) Throughout this period of organization, the Warden personnel strongly resisted the desire on the part of Williamson that they become an objective law-enforcing agency. This is true not only of Canal Camp but of Butte as well. In his attempts to create a

model police organization, Williamson had his men fitted out in khaki uniforms, saw that they were provided with cars to patrol the inner camp limits and with horses to patrol camp boundaries. They were given classes in criminological techniques and expected to shut down the crime which Williamson conceived to be potentially rampant in the community. Williamson met with strong opposition from his assistant, Francis Fredericks, who contended that Williamson's organization was modeled along metropolitan police lines and not applicable to a community of concentrated population such as a relocation center. This view coming from Fredericks was surprising to most of the members of the administrative staff inasmuch as Fredericks had been a guard in New York's Dannemora Prison prior to becoming associated with the WRA. It was expected that he would be the first to use prison guard tactics in dealing with the evacuee population. As it happens, however, Fredericks is by far the more liberal of the two and has been successful in enlisting the sympathy and support of many of the Warden personnel against Williamson. The result has been that Williamson, feeling his authority questioned, has banished Fredericks to a night detail. It is noteworthy, however, that it was Fredericks' control over the Wardens at the time of the Tada beating and of the disposition of the man, Hirokani, Tada's assailant, which was effective in preventing a general strike in Canal Camp.

Williamson, in demanding an impersonalized police force, is daily losing the support of both his own men and of the administrative officials who have hitherto been backing him. The process of Warden reorganization was virtually completed when the Tada beating occurred. In Camp One, Williamson had, oddly enough, named one Charles Yonezu as Warden Captain. It is significant to note that Yonezu was at that time Tada's roommate. Like Tada, he was most unpopular. The very fact that he was associated with Tada contributed to his lack of popularity. There is fairly good evidence that Yonezu used his position as chief of Wardens in Canal Camp to obtain money for himself from a gambling ring operating there to which he offered his protection. Then, as the beating of Tada took

place, Yonezu was called in to aid Williamson in apprehending Tada's assailants. Hirokani was caught after having been identified by Tada. Five or six men had helped him in the beating. When Hirokani was caught, he confessed completely to the assault and stated that he alone was guilty, confessing ownership of the ironwood clubs with which Tada was beaten. The administrative officials, Cozzens, Project Director, and Korn, Assistant Project Director, Hoffman and Gaba, Chief and Assistant Chief of Community Services, were so anxious to press the charges against Hirokani immediately that only a perfunctory search was made for the others who were involved in the crime and, in fact, none were apprehended. Hirokani alone served out the sentence for the beating, but it is significant to note that he was given the support of the strong Issei Vigilante Committee, the so-called Kenkyu-kai or Investigative Society which will be discussed as another pressure group later. The Wardens, being mostly Nisei, found themselves in a very embarrassing position in their efforts to push the arrest of Hirokani. Since pressures were directed against them from the community at large, notably from among the membership of the Kenkyu-kai, in siding with the administration to push the trial of Hirokani, the Wardens were considered to be opposing the Issei groups who were their friends and relatives. It was necessary for them to make some gesture to show that they were in sympathy with the community in its espousal of the cause of Hirokani. Yonezu, as captain, had to stand apart from the other Wardens since he was most unpopular, and since he was Tada's friend. He, therefore, attempted to resign, but Williamson refused to accept his resignation saying that he was doing too good a job where he was. Actually, he had no choice in the matter as to what his actual position should be and was obliged to steer a course away from the general feeling of the community, a fact which further enhanced his own unpopularity. His next move was to go to Butte Camp where he attempted to enlist a Nisei Vigilante Committee which would be active in combating the strikers who were about to be active in Camp One. For this, he was severely criticized by Fredericks and forced to abandon his proposed move. The Wardens, early in December during

the critical week when Hirokani's trial was cause for much alarm in the community and when a strike was imminent, resigned in a body in order to show that their sentiments lay in favor of community feeling. Their resignation was not accepted by Williamson; indeed, they did not expect it to be. They achieved their purpose of showing that their sentiments were with the Issei leaders of the community at large.

They became most dissatisfied in the weeks that went by under Williamson's patronizing and paternalistic attitude toward them. Early in January, some of the departments in the community were being reorganized according to the pattern of administration just laid down for the Gila Relocation Center by the WRA national office to the effect that autonomous departments should be created under one division head in both camps. Dissatisfied with Williamson, the Canal Camp Wardens, therefore, elected to draw up a petition in which they demanded a separate department under the leadership of Fredericks. The petition was stopped by Fredericks who realized that his own position would scarcely warrant a petition directed against Williamson. The agitation for a separate department was still carried on, however. When Williamson heard of it, he stated publicly that "he didn't give a damn what they wanted. Things were going to stay as they were." Later, accused of making this statement in public, Williamson denied that he had ever said anything of the sort. The result was, of course, that Williamson lost face not only with the Wardens, but with the administrative officials who knew that he had made this statement. The pressure for an autonomous Warden unit grew with Williamson's desire to rid the Warden detail of Issei. In spite of repeated warnings by the FBI, Williamson has persisted in the policy of tracking down alleged subversive and pro-Japan elements in the community. Ostensibly, in order to discredit Fredericks, Williamson assigned him to this task. Fredericks has found himself in a very peculiar position inasmuch as he is opposed to reporting to Williamson on subversive activities, an assignment to which he has vigorously opposed. At the present writing, Fredericks has applied to another relocation

project due to his inability to agree with Williamson.

Pressures have been brought by Williamson against Issei Wardens on the ground that the Nisei are more easily dealt with, that they speak English, and that their loyalty is not so questionable. The end result is that community support is being withdrawn from the Wardens who feel that their position is that of scapegoat for Williamson, and that they must under Williamson's orders oppose the community. In two's and three's, they have been resigning. Following the Tada beating, Yonezu, on seeing his name high on the black-list of those marked for assault, felt that he could not justly carry on and finally resigned. No captain was named in his place. Those wardens in Canal Camp who were Issei, Hawaiian Nisei, and Kibei, who espoused the cause of the community, therefore, sided with Fredericks and were forced out of office in many cases by Williamson. Williamson has, therefore, taken on as most of his Warden personnel, younger Christian Nisei, a very undesirable thing to do from the point of view of the community at large. Those who were not forced out of office continue to abide by their stand which demands an autonomous Warden unit in Canal Camp. Williamson has been requested that he give some consideration to this request even though he does not name Fredericks as head of Internal Security in Camp One. Since, perhaps, the community sentiment against the Wardens even though Williamson in his bitter fight against subversive activities would cling only to Christian Nisei groups as a source for his Warden personnel, he has directed that the decision for this difficulty be turned over to the Community Council which throughout the center is, as may be noted from the examples above, a very weak body.

This is a discussion of the organized pressure groups in the community, and it is the purpose of the analysis to show the effect of organized political groups which have been formed under the direction and auspices of the administration as compared with those which have sprung up with the direction by Caucasian personnel from among the evacuee population itself. In this respect, it is

wise to add, if possible, the proper degree of perspective in regard to the community as a whole, while a Community Council as an organized political group is able to assert a certain amount of pressure in the community. The Wardens fail utterly to be anything else than somewhat glorified messenger boys. Councilmen are accorded some respect, the Wardens are not. Under Issei leadership there is little doubt that the Wardens could assert a great deal of authority in the community. As a Nisei group, the community residents hardly recognize their political existence inasmuch as they are considered to be with some degree of rectitude administrative stooges. It must be understood, therefore, that the Wardens are not a pressure group. They are simply a functioning body of evacuee employees. Their desire to assert themselves has been crushed by Williamson with the result that most of them who might possibly be leaders in a group which might be of benefit to the community at large have resigned, leaving people in charge to whom no respect is accorded. In Canal Camp, particularly with so small a percentage of the population Christians, there is further cause for opposition to Christian Nisei Wardens. To the Community Council was relegated the task of deciding favorably or unfavorably the solution to the Warden problem. Unwilling to commit itself on an issue of this kind, the Council withdrew into itself, professed to be studying the matter, and promised to render a decision during the week of January 24. This decision has not yet been forth-coming, and inasmuch as most of the Wardens who represent community feeling have already resigned, there seems to be little doubt that this issue will remain tabled and that the Wardens have at the moment swung over to the side of Williamson to the complete ousting of Fredericks, so far as the Warden personnel is concerned. Graves, the other head of Internal Security has been assigned to Camp One. Johnson, another assistant director, to Camp Two. Williamson is at the head. Fredericks, because of his inability to conform to Williamson's policies, is still assigned to detecting of subversive activities.

This Warden issue is one of the first problems of dispute which has been

brought up before the temporary Community Council. Even though the Council is of a temporary nature, it follows, nonetheless, that when a permanent Council is to be brought into existence as the result of community ratification of the constitution, the same council members will, in most cases, take their place on the permanent Council under the present set-up by which only Nisei may hold elective office. If Issei were to take over, the situation might somewhat be alleviated. Until now, the Community Council has not reached a satisfactory decision regarding any of the major issues which have confronted it. The above examples will suffice to show the Council's weakness. This weakness lies in the fact that the Council is not the real representative nor governing body of the community. The Council is not a power; it is eclipsed and superseded by the various Block Councils and by the Block Committees which normally form under the headship of the respective block manager. When the Council makes a decision, when it passes upon one issue or another, the report of this decision is brought back to the individual block by the Council member. This Council member is then subject to the criticisms, approval or disapproval of his stand on a certain measure. The issues which are to come up are discussed by the block members, and the individual Block Council member is directed as to his vote or stand in regard to a certain question. If the Community Council is not a pressure group, the Block Councils, on the other hand, do emerge as the controlling forces of the community, and it is to this group of bodies to which attention may now be turned. The Block Council is the real governing agency in community affairs.

THE BLOCK COUNCILS

In the initial stages of organization of the project, evacuees were herded into residence blocks and were obliged to face uncomfortable, crowded conditions, a fact which has been described elsewhere. Although there was a good deal of shifting about and resettling after the initial arrival of individuals from the outside, the blocks gradually began to settle down into some semblance of habitation. The needs of each individual block were cared for by an elected official of the individual block. A man was either elected or appointed by a block delegation in many cases; formal elections were not held. This individual took the post of block manager. It was his duty, then and now, to settle the problems of housing which arose in the block, to provide incoming residents with beds and blankets, to take adequate care of the washrooms, and in other ways, to meet the needs of the individual families of the given block. This block managership is a paid position, carrying with it the skilled wage of \$16.00 per month. In October, the block managers protested against this \$16.00 wage with the result that the Central Block Manager office appealed to the Division of Employment and to the Fiscal Department for a raise in stipend. Effective as of November 1, 1942, all block managers were accorded the professional wage of \$19.00. The \$16.00 wage was suggested at first before the duties of the block manager had been fully outlined. The original set-up prior to November 1 was purely of a temporary nature and it was understood that the block managers appointed up until that time held temporary positions, later to be substantiated by a general election in the block. In many cases, this general election never took place, and for the most part, those block managers who had been appointed in the initial stages of camp settlement continued on in that capacity.

The block manager is a kind of block leader, although he is responsible only for the physical well-being of the block; nevertheless, the office of block manager has become virtually a political one in the community and, as it will be shown, in the hands of the block manager rests the disposition of community

affairs and the execution of the details of community government. Since the position of block manager is a paid one and since block managers are attached to the work corp, up until now there has been no question as to their holding an elective office. The position is conceived to be an administrative appointment subject to the approval of block residents. This approval has expressed itself in favor of Issei with the result that the greater number, by far, of block managers are members of the first generation. As such, they are the only formal Issei organization which has a voice in community government. With the ratification of the proposed constitution, it may be that council members will receive a stipend from the work corp. In this case, the position of block managers may be more subject to the will of the administrative officials. As it has been pointed out, the block manager is a block leader, but around him he draws the older men of the block who are active in forming the individual block councils. The implication is that Issei dominate the block councils. While technically under an ideal arrangement this is not true since Nisei and, indeed, all members of the block have a voice in the block council, nevertheless, domination of this body is almost completely Issei.

Block managers are organized together under a central block manager office. The Central Block Manager in Camp One is an Issei by the name of Yahanda, a man who has been mentioned in previous reports as one who espoused the Nisei cause, attempted to cooperate with the administration, and was, therefore, most unpopular with the militant Issei Vigilante Committee which figured so prominently in the recent disturbances in Canal Camp. In Camp Two the Central Block Manager position is held by an older Nisei, Harry Miyake, who is likewise unpopular and has also been marked for assault. This position of Central Block Manager is held by virtue of administrative appointment. It is a thankless job because the Central Block Manager is obliged to settle the dispute of housing which arises between the two generations. As long as this situation exists, it

will be virtually impossible for a Central Block Manager to placate all the groups involved and to act with the administration in the problems which arise out of block administration and housing. The Central Block Manager Office has been assigned to the Division of Housing. Now that the Division of Housing has been abolished since settlement of the community has been, at least so far as the administration is concerned, satisfactorily affected, the office of the Central Block Manager will be under the jurisdiction of Community Services. The Central Block Manager Office is not to be thought of, however, as the block managers themselves. Technically, this is true, but in actual practice the block managers are responsible to the Central Block Manager only for the physical conditions of the block they represent. It is on this basis that the individual block managers arise as political factors, and the office of Central Block Manager, even though it must act in a coordinating capacity between all of the Caucasian and Japanese sections in the center, is unimportant politically.

The Block Council is the group which emerges as a political factor in regard to the organized community government in the center. Block meetings are held periodically according to the needs of the block. They are called by the block chairman who may or may not be the block manager. This chairmanship is an unpaid office subject to election by interested members of the block, that is to say, those who attend the regularly called block meetings. Almost always, these block chairmen are Issei. They work in close cooperation with the block manager and preside over meetings of block members. Thus, in most cases, two powerful figures arise in each block who are nearly always Issei. They are the block manager and the block chairman. When a problem arises which is pertinent to the well-being of the community as a whole, its solution is left to the individual blocks who make a decision by voting. This decision is given to the Nisei Council member who takes up the issue in the Council meeting and discusses it with the other Council members. Having been instructed how to vote, the

Council member then is subject to the will of the members of his block. Block meetings are attended mainly by Issei because, for the most part, they are conducted in the Japanese language. While many Nisei attend, it is virtually impossible for them to explain themselves freely because of their linguistic difficulty. Many Nisei are ashamed of their lack of command of the Japanese language, with the result that they hesitate to use it. The patriarchal system of Japan is effectively noted in the meetings of the Block Council. There is a tendency for the older men to come forward to voice themselves and to look with some scorn and annoyance on those younger people who attempt to make themselves heard. Obligated to elect Nisei Councilmen, the Block Council attempts to make all the decisions and to instruct the Councilmen how to vote. This is the cause of weakness of the Community Council and the reason why the individual blocks with their Issei domination emerge as the political factors of the community.

The block manager's office, usually apartment 1-D of each block, is a daily center for Issei meetings of block members in which political issues affecting the community at large are discussed. The Issei of each block are thus able to become pressure groups which affect a great amount of control in the disposition of community affairs. It will be shown that these Issei who bring about this control in the community are not only concerned with the individual block in which they live and in whose council they have a vote, but also many of them are members of other pressure groups which also exercise a considerable degree of control in the center life. It is these decisions which are rendered by the Block Councils individually which make themselves felt throughout the community, and it is here, as has been pointed out, that the real nucleus of community government lies. Not only are the blocks themselves capable of producing the resting place of Issei pressure groups, but also the block Managers as a group are able to effect decisions relative to the welfare of the center population as a whole. In viewing the individual Block Councils, it is neces-

sary to observe their relationship to the Community Council on the one hand, and to the less formal, unorganized pressure groups which appear in the community and which are mainly Issei. Because of the fact that there is administrative recognition of the Block Councils and that, therefore, they are carried on under administrative auspices, most of them have settled down contentedly to deal with affairs pertinent to the welfare of the given block and to decide on matters of administrative introduction such as the met factory and the like, and do not attempt to exert a force which will be significant in the formulation of community opinion. Thus, when a general strike was called in Canal Camp, the decision affecting this strike was not made in block meetings but rather was called by a stronger and more centralized pressure group composed of a union of Issei groups and societies, as will be pointed out.

The fact that the block government is so decentralized is instrumental in curtailing somewhat the effectiveness of community government at large. It will be shown that the greater degree of centralization that can be effected, the greater will be the force of the pressure group in the community. The analysis of the block in the Community Council is particularly left up to observers who can more actively participate in the respective meetings than can a Caucasian. It is sufficient here to indicate the weakness of the Council and the strength of the Block Councils as those bodies which are recognized and have administrative sanction. More significant are those groups and organizations which are sanctioned by the evacuee population but are accorded recognition by the administration only as recreational agencies. It is this type of organization which should next be considered and it should be remembered that the organizations which are to be described here have a far greater significance than do either of the two groups mentioned above. In this respect, it will be well to consider the relationship of these groups with the administration. This relationship receives no recognition by the Community Activities Section or Rec-

creation Department which is directly responsible to Hoffman and Gaba, the respective Chief and Assistant Chief of Community Services.

Some mention has already been made of the formation of the Community Activities Section (CAS) and the attempts on the part of the administration to formulate a CAS Council composed of various representatives from the various sections which make up the CAS. The CAS Council is divided into two parts. It takes into consideration the various branches of recreational life which appear in the center, and it, furthermore, recognizes clubs and organizations. This organization of clubs and other bodies has given rise to a Clubs and Organizations Council within the CAS. The Main CAS Council is composed of the paid representatives of each recreational section such as the Athletic Director, the Director of Issei recreation, of Nisei recreation, the Coordinator for CAS activities, the Assistant Coordinator, the Art Director, Vocational Director, Director of Libraries, art classes, pattern drafting classes, and the like. This body is somewhat over-lapped by the Council for Clubs and Organizations. Here Issei clubs and Nisei clubs send their representatives. The difference between the two is that the CAS Council proper is made up of paid representatives, the Clubs and Organizations Council is made up of representatives which may or may not be paid and which are elected from among the membership of the given organization. Thus, the Director of Issei recreational activities has under his jurisdiction such clubs as Sumo, Judo, Goh, Shogi, Kendo, Men's Club, Women's Club, and so on. This Issei recreation director has, therefore, under his supervision, the representatives of each of these organizations and appears in the meeting of the Clubs and Organizations Council. The same is true of the Nisei recreation coordinator.

This development of the CAS is only briefly mentioned here. It is rather the purpose of this report to depict the rise of pressure groups as typified by these various organizations which are drawn into coordination by the CAS. Thus, the CAS is the focal point around which groups center themselves. Because of the pressures exerted on the CAS by various organizations which have made constant

appeal to Gaba and Hoffman for recognition for facilities and for the hiring of paid personnel. The CAS has not been able to emerge successfully as a coordinating factor or been able to promote amicable relationships between various organizations. The CAS Council proper has not been successful in its attempts to push a recreation program. With the formation of the permanent Community Council, it is hoped that some success in promoting the activities of the CAS will be achieved. It will be shown later why not only the CAS Council but also the Council for Clubs and Organizations has been unsuccessful in exerting a degree of control in organized recreation in the community and in sponsoring successful relationships between each organization.

The difference between the two generations must be kept in mind in order to depict the relation of the various organizations to the community. There is no doubt, as will be shown, that each club and organization attempts to exert itself as a pressure group. The relationship to the administration is shown by the function of the CAS. Therefore, in bringing up the subject of pressure groups, it is necessary to make a division between Issei and Nisei. The Nisei pressure groups to be mentioned here are not so significant as are those of the Issei. Except for one organization, that is to say, the Kibei Club or Gila Young People's Association, none exerts a marked influence in either camp. Other Nisei organizations which attempt to exert control are the Christian and Buddhist church groups, the JACL, the athletic associations exclusive of athletics of a purely Japanese character, and one or two other minor organizations. A strong Issei front will appear as a result of the various Issei pressure groups which in both camps are so closely allied and unified. Among the Nisei clubs there is considerable ⁱⁿ⁻dependence, but among the Issei in both camps, Issei organizations have a mutual relationship which makes for strong solidarity. The Issei organizations to be discussed are the so-called Investigative or Peace-Promoting Agency, the Kenkyu-kai and the Kyowa-kai, the Sumo Club, Judo Club, the Goh-Shogi organization, the Engeibu or Issei Dramatic Society, all of which are closely related to the Gila Young People's

Club, a Nisei organization but the sympathies of which tend toward Issei favor. Of course it is true that some of these organizations, particularly those of the Issei, have not been very favorably looked upon by the Director of Community Services, Mr. Hoffman. The result is that only partial recognition is accorded to many of these organizations. This hesitancy on the part of administrative officials to recognize this group or that is instrumental in causing some manifestation of ill-feeling. The pressure group arises, therefore, not only in relation to life in the community as a whole, but also in attempting to push the necessary recognition and sanction on the part of administrative officials.

The Community Council meets under the supervision and with the sanction of the Community Services Director. The Block Councils and Block Managers' Committees have a similar sanction but are more divorced from immediate recognition by Community Services administrators. In the same way, certain groups which attempt to exert pressures receive through Community Services, that is to say, the CAS, some formal recognition, but others depart from it completely inasmuch as being regarded as subversive, they are not accorded a place in community affairs by similar acknowledgment. The result is often dangerous. In addition, however, to the groups which are of a purely social or recreational nature and whose membership band together out of common interest and a common bond of locality or for other reasons, there are those groups of an occupational nature whose suit for pre-eminence in the community is not to be ignored. Reference is made to the Mess Operations staff which is dominated by Issei and is very significant as a pressure group. As in some other projects, the hospital staff, although desirous of asserting itself politically, has been unsuccessful in doing so since its membership is apparently too small. The discussion of the activities of this group should follow, however, as well as mention of the Canteen workers, the office workers, the teaching staff, the ecclesiastical personnel, the wardens, and the like. More significant, however, are the groups which represent the two generations and which, ostensibly, have some amount of administrative recognition, either

directly or through the CAS, or negatively by the fact the administration recognizes their existence and fears them. In the discussion to follow, these groups will be taken up individually, and their relationship to the community depicted. It is understood, of course, that complete information on these groups cannot be forth coming, and that the material presented here is subject to emendation.

ISSEI PRESSURE GROUPS

Some suggestion has already been made of the various groups to be discussed in the pages which follow. It will be necessary for the reader to keep the clear distinction in mind of the existence of two camps, which, nearly four miles apart, have markedly different social structures. There is some reason for this, and it might be mentioned briefly here although this fact has been discussed elsewhere that the people of the smaller, the Canal, camp come from, in the main, the Turlock Assembly Center and the so-called Free Zone. They are people mainly from the Delta and San Jauquin Valley regions of California. They are predominantly rural, and the close hold which they have of Japanese culture patterns is marked. This group is almost completely Buddhist. Furthermore, this group in holding fast to Japanese systems emphasize the Japanese family relationship and subscribes, in the main, to the various Japanese forms of the patriarchade. For this reason, in Canal Camp there is predominantly an Issei sphere of influence. Conflicts between the Issei and Nisei generations are not nearly so marked as in Butte Camp. Butte Camp derives its population mainly from the Tulare Assembly Center, but there is also a large Turlock Christian group, and a large Santa Anita group. The Tulare Assembly Center was mixed as to population, having rural and urban antecedents, and a large representation from the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area. Christianity is stronger in Butte Camp, and with Christianity there is the feeling of the abandonment of the tie with the mother country and a consequent cultural conflict which is not so marked as in Canal Camp. Militant Nisei groups, therefore, arise in Butte, a circumstance impossible in Canal because of the community pressure against group expression by the young people. There is this

difference in the organization of the Gila Community at large which must be carefully delineated. Although in Butte Camp there is greater freedom of Nisei expression, nevertheless, the population to about 60 per cent tends to follow more closely the accepted Japanese pattern of behavior. Thus, the controlling factor in both camps is Issei. Because of the fact that the Nisei are able to hold elective office, Issei groups feel that representation for them is limited and that they must seek to assert their desire for political control in other channels. This accounts, I think, for the creation of the strong Issei pressure groups in both camps.

The role of the CAS and of the Caucasian chiefs of Community Services is an important one since in the hands of this organization and of these individuals lies the power to recognize or to deny recognition to these pressure groups. What the result of the denial of such recognition entails is a matter which will be discussed here. Issei pressure groups are, therefore, mentioned first because Issei pressure groups have, by far, the greater influence in the community at large, whereas Nisei groups are independent, unable to band together to form a united Nisei front. The Issei groups have been most successful in establishing rapport with one another. On the political scene, the Community Council has been shown to have a direct sponsorship of the administration, but it is also indicated that the Community Council is a weak body and that its members are unwilling to assume responsibility against Issei pressures. It is also been shown that decisions affecting the community at large lie in the decisions made by the Block Councils and in the closely knit and decentralized organization of the Block Managers in connection with the Block Councils. Because of the decentralization of block power in community politics, the Issei pressure groups have found a fertile field in which to operate. Thus, when an Issei pressure group arises in the community and allies itself with the other groups and all of them together are capable of forming a united Issei front. It will, therefore, be

wise to take up individually these Issei pressure groups and to show their inter-relationship.

Previous reports have made mention of the strong Issei Vigilante Committee which now is in existence in both camps. In Camp One, this group elected to call itself the Kenkyu-kai or Investigating Society. The fact of its existence has already been mentioned previously in relation to its first concerted action in Canal Camp, that of rendering the stamp of approval which was indicative of community support on the action of the group lead by Choto Hirokani in their assault on the CAS Japanese head, Takeo Tada. At this time, December of 1942, the first premonition of the existence of a Kenkyu-kai reached the ears of the administration, and it was suddenly discovered that a group had come to light, boasting a membership of more than 500 Issei whose leadership was able to effect decisions to sway the will of the entire Canal Community. Hirokani was apprehended at Tada's denunciation and was arrested and sentenced to serve six months in the County Jail at Florence. Although five months of the six in the sentence were commuted, nevertheless, the community sponsored the cause of Hirokani to such an extent that it protested vigorously against the administrative decision and called for a general strike set for the day on which Hirokani was to be incarcerated. The question may justly be raised why could a group of more than 500 be active in the community unknown to the administration and have all of the earmarks of a secret and active society. What happened, apparently, was that this group did not meet at prescribed time and places but rather that the leaders whoever they were and are circulated among the population enlisting Issei support for the organization and making up petitions which could be favorably or unfavorably received by the individual member. Thus, when a matter came up in which the Kenkyu-kai felt it obligatory to render some decision, the issue would apparently be brought before the individual member in his home, and his sentiments regarding the issue discussed with the organization's leader or messenger.

Robert Spencer
February 1943.

Kenkyu-kai reorganization.

As an aftermath to the beating of Tada, the fact of the existence of an Issei group in Camp 1 which boasted of a membership of 500, came out. This organization was the so-called Kenkyu-kai, which, roughly translated, means "study group". It was an organization set up to generally investigate and protest against conditions and administration and to carry out the wishes of the bulk of active Issei in the camp. In December, following Tada's beating, this club was brought up to the attention of the administration by a Mr. Tani of Canal Camp. It was later learned that Tani, a man named Fujimoto, and Hirokani, were the three most active agents of this so-called study group, although it was generally conceived that they three did not comprise the real leadership. There seems little doubt that this group was active in the assault on Tada and in the militant anti-Nisei, anti-administration campaign which culminated in formal recognition of such a situation by the administration through Tada's beating. It was mentioned previously that the Kenkyu-kai, having pressed its demands and having achieved certain amount of recognition from Cozzens, ^{then} /the acting Project Director, chose to disband. A list of 500 names was given to Cozzens. These 500 individuals being members of the Kenkyu-kai and representative of the Issei generation and the Kibei group. The relationship of the Kibei group, the Gila Young People's Association, to the Kenkyu-kai has already been discussed to some extent. In Camp 1, certainly the Kibei club, which was just applying for recognition in the early part of December, made such application with the consent and understanding of the Kenkyu-kai, and acted as an auxiliary in helping the former enforce its demands. Not too much information ~~information~~ can be

elicited regarding the Kenkyu-kai; that it had its roots in the Turlock Assembly Center, is obvious from the fact that the organization had taken place there/^{and}was ostensibly recognized by Pinella, the Project Director at Turlock. Such a group had not been organized in Butte camp when the Tada incident took place, although agitation was in existence to bring about the formation of such group. Prior to the Tada incident, notices had been placed on mess hall bulletin boards written in Japanese requesting the attendance of interested persons to an informal meeting designed to promote the existence of such a group. When the Spanish Consul visited the Center to investigate conditions and the treatment of Japanese enemy aliens, the movement for the formation of the so-called study group was brought into existence. One of the leaders here was Mr. Jo who had acted as interpreter for the Consul. Mr. Jo, having lived in Texas and having learned to speak Spanish fluently, was chosen as interpreter. Mr. Jo has already been mentioned by Mr. Hikida in his discussion of the evolution of the Block Council and the informal meetings which took place just following the entrance of the Tulare people. The two factors, the one being the support given by the Kenkyu-kai to the Tada incident, the other being the visit of the Spanish Consul, brought forth into full bloom the Kenkyu-kai organization. This organization was modeled on the informal pattern of the study group in Canal camp. However, early in December, it appeared actually that two such Issei study groups were being formed, or had been formed. The first of these was made up of those who had been evacuated from the Tulare Assembly Center, while the second had its roots in Santa Anita. This bears out my previous contention that the associations which were formed in the Assembly Center have a decided effect on the happenings in the Relocation Center. The Gila Young People's Association, that is, to say, the Kibei Club, is made up of Tulare members almost exclusively in Butte Camp. It would, therefore, be expected

that the Kibei Club would get the support of the study group made up of Tulare membership. This, however, is not the case. The Tulare Kenkyu-kai, being strongest, has given its support to the Kibei Club as such, but up until December first, had been definitely opposed to the organization of the Kibei Club, saying that as a club its horizons were too narrow and that the best interests of the community were not served by its existence. In this matter, attention was directed against George Yamashiro, president of the Kibei Club and director of Issei recreation on the CAS Council. The resignation of Yamashiro was demanded before the Tulare Issei would give their support to it. However, on December 7th, Yamashiro was successful in putting through the Hobby Show, and achieved considerable success with it, with the result that the Kenkyu-kai of Tulare is more tolerant towards his organization and the two apparently have agreed to a certain amount of cooperation. During the Christmas week, the Santa Anita study club was approached by the Tulare group and the two joined forces. Just prior to this, however, Kibei and Issei members of the Kenkyu-kai had drawn up a black list with the idea of repeating the Tada incident in Butte camp, and had placed several names upon the list, these names being drawn from the leaders of the Tulare Assembly Center. The list particularly was directed against the formation of the JACL in Butte Camp, and such names as Nobu Kawai, Harry Miyake, Taki Asakura, Toshi Kawai, and possibly Gohachiro Miura, were placed upon this list together with several other names. With the exception of Miura, all the names on this list are members of the JACL. A chapter has been recently chartered at Butte Camp, the first JACL charter to be given to a relocation Center, and the feeling against it in the community has been

strong, especially on the part of the militant Issei group and of the Kibei club. Nobu Kawai was a head of the JACL chapter in Pasadena and was one of the delegates to the JACL convention in Salt Lake City in the latter part of November. Miyake, Asakura, and Toshi Kawai have been active in the settlement of this community in housing and employment, and have also been staunch supporters of the JACL. Miura has been repeatedly condemned for his desire to enlist the Nisei in supporting him as a potential political factor in the community. The list that was drawn up however, seems to be primarily directed against JACL leaders. Ken Tashiro, the editor of the paper, attended the JACL convention with Kawai and although he apparently has been better able to retain the good will of the Issei, it is said that his name also appeared on the list. On December 12th, the Kibei club asked Nobu Kawai and Tashiro x to address them on the Salt Lake City convention. Kawai spoke on the aims and purposes of the JACL and its potential aid on the rehabilitation of the evacuees. The meeting took place quietly although there were some objections to the JACL stand on drafting of the Nisei. Kawai felt that the meeting was not too much of a success, however, and that the JACL was unlikely to get the support of the Kibei group. ~~With~~ With this black list, agitation was begun against JACL members, but apparently the blacklist ~~fell~~ fell into the hands of one of the wardens who was sympathetic with the JACL, and either by accident or purposely, the list was passed on to Mr. Williamson, the head of Internal Security. Williamson turned the list over to the newly appointed Project Director, Mr. Bennett, who then interviewed all of those whose names occurred on the list, and guaranteed their protection, stating publicly that drastic steps would be taken if a repetition of the Tada case would occur in Butte Camp. Active disapproval of the

JACL seems to stem out of the Kibei Club. Support is given by the Issei organization. The manifestation of disapproval against JACL activities may best be described by Kikuchi rather than by me. Of more pertinent interest perhaps is the formation of the study group in Camp 2. Oddly enough, this group, now fully organized, has applied for official recognition. The organization seems to consist of the Tulare Kenkyu-kai, the Santa Anita parallel and to have the backing, or at least, the partisanship of the Gila Young People's Association. This group has called itself the Kyowakai, literally, a peace society.

It was decided that this organization could accomplish more by requesting official recognition from the Community Activities Section. The individual particularly concerned with the organization of the group was Mr. Jo, who had previously gone about enlisting the aid of those whom he considered to be influential Issei. It begins to appear as though Jo is the real leader of the Kyowakai. Following its organization he has taken a back seat in its plea for recognition and has sent delegates to Mr. Hoffman in an attempt to call the attention of the administration to the existence of his group. Accordingly, Mr. Hoffman was approached by an Issei delegation of 12 which had first appeared before Mr. Bennett and presented him with the rough draft of their constitution. Bennett referred the thing over to CAS director Mr. Hoffman without going very much into detail over the matter. The constitution had five articles concerning the name of the organization, aim and purpose, membership, officers, meetings, and subcommittees. The aim and purpose was expressed as ~~xxxx~~ bringing peace into the community, describing themselves as an interested and active group. They asked for recognition on the ground that they could further the best interests of the community by exerting pressure if necessary, and by forestalling any incidents as that of the Tada case. The constitution was worded in such a way as

to give the organization considerable power. Hoffman called me into his office and showed me a copy of the constitution of this Kyowakai and asked my opinion as to whether he should recognize the group. I pointed out the close tie between the proposed Kyowakai and the Kibei Club. George Yamashiro, when asked by Mr. Hoffman what he knew about the formation of the Kyowakai denied any knowledge of it. Mr. Hoffman then called my attention to the constitution of the Gila Young People's Association, written by Yamashiro and several aides. The constitution of the proposed Kyowakai was to a certain extent a verbatim repetition of the Gila Young People's Club. Although not so voluminous, certain sections were taken over in toto. The full recognition has not, as yet, been made for the Gila Young People's Association. When an organization applies for recognition, an official letter is sent out by Mr. Hoffman to the head of that organization, stating in effect that representatives may be elected to the CAS Council and quarters and facilities may be requested. Only partial recognition has been given to the Kibei Club; half of one recreation hall has been placed at their disposal in Butte Camp, but they are not as yet entitled to representation on the CAS Council, or to paid personnel. Recognition of the Kyowakai would entail allotment of paid personnel and quarters and representation on the CAS Council. If the constitution which they present were recognized, it would detract from the power of the Internal Security Department, in short, it would leave the militant Issei group free to carry on any such policing or intracamp dealing, as it saw fit to do. Thus a very delicate impasse has been reached. Hoffman proposes recognition to a certain extent, of the Kyowakai, but an imposition of definite restrictions which would prevent infringement upon functions of the Internal Security Department and of other administrative organizations. For this

reason, meetings of the Kyowakai representatives with Mr. Hoffman have been frequent and an attempt will be made to somewhat stifle this growing organization. To fail to recognize the organization would undoubtedly be cause for dissatisfaction and of the accusation that the administration refused to cope with eminent problems. Kyowakai however, was successful in being organized in Camp 1 in an informal way, why they should now apply for recognition is questionable and it is hoped that more information regarding this point can be elicited.

In the meantime, although the Kenkyu-kai of Canal Camp has been to all intents and purposes dissolved, it appears that a movement is under way to revive this organization, possibly in the same way Kyowakai in Butte Camp, which has made ~~xxxxx~~ application for formal recognition. Mr. Tani, so active in the part played by the Kenkyu-kai during the Tada incident has invited administrative officials and some of the Japanese leaders to a New Year's banquet to be held Tuesday evening January fifth. It is interesting to note that this banquet is taking place on the day of Hirokani's release from the Pinal County jail. It may be mentioned here parenthetically that a petition was in effect to release Hirokani over the Christmas holidays but that this petition was denied by Mr. Bennett. More information on this fact will be elicited. Bennett, Korn, Hoffman, Gaba, Henderson, and one or two ^{other} administrative officials have been invited to the banquet as well as Omachi, Kawahara, Yonezu, and several other individuals who were on the Canal Camp blacklist^o following the beating of Tada. I asked Omachi why he thought Tani was giving this dinner and indeed, ~~xx~~ there seems to be some question in everyone's mind why Tani has chosen this time to fete the administration and those against whom he held a grudge. It is thought that this is a

peace overture and an honest attempt to bring together Kenkyu-kai leaders and ~~the~~ administrative officials and the leaders in the pro-administrative faction. It has also been suggested that Tani may be behind this movement in order to seek favors from the group with which he was lately at enmity, and possibly may be an overture towards broaching the subject of a formal Kenkyu-kai in Camp 1. It remains to be seen who the guests at this banquet are at which Tani is host, and in which he is carrying out ostensibly at his own expense. There is considerable doubt expressed by members of the administrative staff as to whether or not they should attend this banquet. It was in Hoffman's mind to turn down the invitation and he wished to advise his fellow staff members to refuse the invitation. It appears, however, as if they are going to accept it. If they do not, Tani will have just cause for complaint against the administration. They have, it appears, little choice but to accept the invitation.

The organization of ^{the} Kibei Club, the Gila Young People's Association is interesting, and a brief description of the constitution of the organization may be brought out here inasmuch as Mr. Hoffman gave me the opportunity of reading it. Like the one mentioned above, for the Kyowakai, the Kibei Club constitution embraces clauses of name, membership, purpose, and offices, together with administrative sub-committees. The purpose is expressed "to promote the general welfare and well being of the evacuee inhabitants of this Relocation Center". No mention is made of actual Kibei membership, on the contrary, American citizenship is perquisite to membership. The organization is large, having in addition to a President, three vice-presidents, a secretary-treasurer, a secretary, and a clerical staff of volunteer labor, a governing committee which is also modeled after the organization of the club itself, the governing committee being composed of a president, two vice-

presidents, a secretary, and a clerical staff. George Yamashiro is over-all president, but there is a president of the board of governors who, in Mr. Hoffman's opinion, is the real leader of the group. It is said by some that Yamashiro is only a spokesman for the organization at large, and that the real leader is invested in the board of governors. This may be true and additional observations relative to the Kibei club may bring the matter out. The inter-function of the Gila Young People's Association and the Kyowakai will now be a point for serious consideration. There is little doubt that these Kibei organizations can present considerable solidarity which may affect the progress of the community at large.

The people who were concerned with the organization and leadership of the Kenkyu-kai would apparently circulate in the community from house to house to enlist opinions of the individuals or to apply pressures which might be useful in formulating group opinion and support. The result was that these 500-odd people, all of them for the most part men and family heads, felt that CAS, Housing, Clothing Allowance Section, and other departments were doing a poor job of administration, and that it was time to voice their disapproval. Thus, it was apparently the Kenkyu-kai that drew up the black list on which names of Japanese high in community disfavor were placed. Old issues, those which stemmed out of preevacuation period and out of the assembly centers, were not forgotten. In fact, Tada, a leader in the Turlock Assembly Center, having been one of the three elected councilmen there, was blamed not only for his mistakes at Gila but also because of what was conceived to be mal-administration in regard to distribution of clothing at Turlock. It was not unreasonable, therefore, that since because of his position as recreation leader and the consequent fact that he had closer dealings with the community at large than others, his name should be placed first on the black list. The formation of the Issei Kenkyu-kai as a pressure group undoubtedly was not restricted to Gila, but had its beginning in Turlock, a very unsettled assembly center, poorly administrated, so the accusation goes, by unscrupulous Caucasian officials. The Kenkyu-kai, therefore, chose to eliminate a number of individuals and drew up the black list which is described elsewhere. There is fairly conclusive evidence that the man Hirokani jumped the gun in bring about the assault on Tada. The idea was, rather, that all of those people whose names had been placed on a community black list were to be assaulted by various groups at the same time. Hirokani's assault was premature. What would have happened was that Yahanda, Central Block Manager, Omachi, Turlock Councilman, and Acting Attorney for Canal, Yonezu, Police Captain and Tada's friend, George Kawahara in clothing distribution, Dr. Furuta, resigned head of the Canal Community Council, and one or two

others were to have all been assaulted at once by groups of men who would go to their various houses and drag them out. The whole plan failed when Hirokani assaulted Tada and enlisted the aid of one or two other friends. The end result was that since the Kenkyu-kai had apparently planned the whole thing, they elected to give their support to Hirokani even though his action was ill-timed. The general strike was not called because of the delay in pushing the trial of Hirokani. Had Hirokani been judged and imprisoned on the day following Tada's assault, there is no doubt that a community strike would have been the result since it was called and planned for. It was known that a group of men had been delegated to burn the Canteen on the first day of the strike and that others had made arrangements with the Mess Operations staff to further the feeding of the strikers. In short, an incident similar to the riots at Poston was the planned result. It is said, in fact, that correspondence took place between Kenkyu-kai leaders and strike leaders at Poston on the techniques on the handling of a general strike in the relocation center. When Hirokani's trial was delayed, the Kenkyu-kai was unable to keep community sentiments up to a pitch where a strike would have been made possible. After the days wore on and Hirokani was not immediately judged nor sentenced, the strike sentiment died down in spite of the efforts of the Kenkyu-kai to keep such sentiment in active motion. During the week, the Kenkyu-kai circulated a petition among the Issei women of the community which asked clemency for Hirokani. This petition, designed to bring about a closer cooperation not only of the women but also to keep the Kenkyu-kai members continually in mind on their stand on a general strike, fell through because of the delay in bringing about a conclusion to the Tada case.

The Kenkyu-kai was not alone in its stand regarding the calling of a general strike. In fact, it had the support of other Issei organizations as well. This is the fact which makes the Kenkyu-kai so significant and which clearly demonstrates the existence of a strong Issei front in the Canal Community, the repercussions of which have made themselves felt in Butte. On the surface, it may

appear that a general strike was called simply to defend the man Hirokani, who beat another man unpopular in the community at large. But this implication must be denied since there are a great many other elements which enter in and which clearly show the importance, not of the Tada beating, not of the general strike, but rather of the tremendous strength of Issei pressure groups of the Gila Center.

The accusation was leveled against strikers as also took place at Poston that such strikes were the direct result of un-American, pro-Axis activity. In the opinion of the writer, this is not the case. It is not true that the basis for the organization of groups of this kind lies in an attempt to discredit the United States and to favor the Japanese war effort. I think that it may be truthfully stated that here it is a definite attempt to discredit the administration, to protest against the unhappy situation which has been the lot of every evacuee since coming to the center, a purely physical situation which only now is beginning to be alleviated. Mention has already been made of crowded housing conditions, of lack of stoves with the onset of the cold winter, of poor flooring and the delay in producing the necessary linoleum, of unpalatable and unetatable foods in the mess halls, of the dispute and delay in achieving the solution to the clothing allowance problem, the late start of the educational program, and the complete failure of a recreational program. All of these factors contributed to the break down of camp morale, and the desire on the part of the people who considered themselves to be leaders to remedy this situation. It was not unreasonable, therefore, that the Issei, having no voice in the community government in the final analysis and thus being unable to express themselves, should choose to assert their will in this way. In spite of the fact that the administration at large believes the Tada beating to be the result of a personal grievance against Tada, the fact of the black list and of the plan of the Kenkyu-kai to subject all of the pro-administration Japanese leaders to assault is fairly conclusively proved by Hirokani's own statement as to the plan of the group at large. The rather thoughtless plan did exist, that by intimidating Nisei leaders and pro-administration Issei leaders, a

more amicable relationship could be established by the bulk of the Issei with the administration. In short, they felt that they were being "sold out" by the leaders desirous of close cooperation with the administration, and that to remove these leaders would make for a more satisfactory understanding by the administration of family problems so keenly felt by the majority of non-English-speaking Issei. I believe that this honest motive was behind the formation of the Kenkyu-kai and Tada's beating. It is true, however, that certain leaders have pro-Axis notions, that they seek to discredit the WRA administration, and that they also seek to discredit the Nisei. Certain individuals have been guilty of expressions of this kind, and in some individuals it must have been the driving force for such actions, a force which continues to be in existence. For the bulk of the Issei, however, the desire to alleviate the deplorable conditions in existence up to that time was strong. It is furthermore not to be implied that every Issei was a member of the Kenkyu-kai. The list of 500 membership names which came into the hands of the Acting Director, Mr. Korn, shows this. There are many Issei who did not wish to aid the Kenkyu-kai and whose wish to remain aloof from it still exists. The honest desires to improve conditions is, in the opinion of the writer, the basis for the formation of the group. The very nature of the name of the organization, Study Group, that is, an organization to investigate and to improve conditions, is fairly indicative of this. If, however, the Kenkyu-kai is a militant organization, the question as to its actual structure can justly be raised.

The organization has in later months appealed for recognition to the Community Activities Section, something which it had not done at the time of the Tada assault. A constitution was proposed and presented to Mr. Gaba, the Assistant Director of the Community Services Section, and Acting Director of Recreational Activities in Canal Camp. The constitution, not being satisfactory, was not ratified and the Kenkyu-kai leadership has withdrawn to, ostensibly, reorganize. The pleas on the part of the Kyowa-kai of Butte Camp, the counterpart to Canal's Kenkyu-kai, for recognition is a fact which will be discussed in the description

of that group. The suit for recognition of the Kenkyu-kai in Canal was not pressed and it is to be wondered if the leaders of the organization are biding their time and waiting to apply again, or if, indeed, they want actual representation on the CAS and recognition by the administration. Most of the Kenkyu-kai members and, indeed, all of the administrative officials do not know who is the leader or leaders of the Kenkyu-kai. Only on two instances have Kenkyu-kai people appeared in that capacity since the existence of the group first came to the attention of the authorities. The first instance came about at a banquet sponsored by a Mr. S. Tani, who appears to be a guiding spirit in the organization, and the second instance appeared when a group lead by Tani came in to talk with Gaba. So far as the administration is concerned, the Kenkyu-kai no longer exists. It is not officially recognized, at any rate, and at the moment is is not active. Tani, an Issei graduate of Waseda University in Tokyo, is thought by some members of the administrative staff to be the real leader of the Kenkyu-kai organization. Possibly he is a leader since it appears that the Kenkyu-kai is governed by a committee, self-appointed, of residents of Canal and of respected Issei. Tani is the only person who has acted openly for the Kenkyu-kai. In this capacity, he appeared before Mr. Cozzens at the time of the hearing for Hirokani and offered some defense in Hirokani's behalf. Tani, a man whose position is thus not fully understood by anyone, has been the acting front for the organization. After Hirokani's release from the Florence County Jail, Tani had a banquet to which he invited the administrative staff members and those Nisei leaders who had been on the black list. It was thought to be an effort to bring about peace in the community. A brief description of this incident follows here.

Addenda

The following information was obtained from a talk with Mr. Fredericks, associate director of Internal Security. Since the Hirokani case and the beating of Takeo Tada, a number of incidents have occurred which possibly may be attributed to maladministration by Mr. Williamson, the head of the Internal Security Department. In a previous report, mention was made of the invitation of Mr. Tani which was extended to caucasian staff members and to Japanese individuals with whom Tani had lately been at enmity over the Hirokani case. The following individuals were invited to the banquet; Mr. Hoffman, Mr. Gaba, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Korn, Mr. Williamson, and Mr. Fredericks. Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Hoffman declined the invitation. Korn, Gaba, Fredericks and Williamson attended the banquet. The banquet was held specially in a mess hall in one of the unused community service blocks, no. 16. A special staff was hired to do the cooking. One of the first surprises of the evening was the fact that bourbon highballs were served to everyone present and that bottles of bourbon was left on the table together with bottles of soda water so that each individual could mix his own drinks. In view of Williamson's drastic attitude with regard to liquor on the project, the Tani faction must have felt that they gained a definite moral victory. The dinner started at 7 p.m., and in addition to the liquor, there was a very elaborate spread of roast chicken, soups, salads, Japanese dishes, several kinds of desserts, etc. The Japanese present were Omachi, Kawahara, Yonezu, Yahanda, the four who had figured most prominently in the blacklisting episode which arose out of the Tada case. The rest were Issei and Kibei, known members of the Kenkyu-kai and of the Issei engaibu. It was considered by the four caucasians present as a testimonial on the release of Hirokani from prison. Hirokani was present and was feted in toasts. Everyone was very happy, except the 8 invited guests who felt that the

situation was extremely peculiar and also felt extremely powerless to do anything about it. Hoffman and Bennett had refused the invitation and had urged the other members to do likewise. It begins to appear as though they wished they had, and yet to refuse Tani's invitation would mean that the administration was not in sympathy with the efforts of the Tani faction to ingratiate themselves, or to bring about overtures of good feelings. In the meantime, it begins to appear as though another incident is about to begin.

Although it is impossible to say how much of it is connected with the Tani--Kenkyu-kai organization. A split has occurred in the Internal Security Department. The Chief of Police, Charles Yonezu, has threatened on numerous occasions to resign, and indeed led the resignation of wardens following the declaration of sympathy over the Hirokani arrest. At that time he was persuaded by Williamson to remain in office and since that time he has come directly ~~in~~ under Williamson's leadership ammedable to Williamson's suggestions, and obviously tending to court favor with Williamson as against Fredericks, associate chief of Internal Security, and Graves and Johnston, assistant chiefs of Internal Security. Fredericks was nominally head of Internal Security in Camp 1. In an attempt to oust him because of his refusal to take immediate action in the Hirokani case, thereby preventing a general strike, he was relegated to a night shift, leaving Williamson in charge during the day. Many of the wardens in Camp 1 felt that Williamson had sold them out and allied with Fredericks, and Fredericks aide, Ben Fukuzawa, assitant chief of police in Canal Camp under Yonezu. Since that time, feeling has grown strong against Williamson and Yonezu and the sympathy of the wardens has shifted over to Fredericks and Fukuzawa. The wardens

refuse to cooperate with Williamson with the result that Fredericks was recalled from the night shift. Oddly enough, a petition was begun by the wardens requesting that Frdericks be made head of Internal Security answerable only to the Project Director in Camp 1 and that the two Internal Security Departments in both camps function autonomously. Williamson refused to consider this petition and stated openly in a meeting of his wardens that he didn't give a damn what they thought but that the Internal Security Department would be run as he saw fit. Fredericks and Williamson are definitely on outs with one another. Johnston has sided with Fredericks while Graves has joined forces with Williamson. Yonezu, on seeing that he no longer had the support of his wardens handed in his resignation for the second time which Williamson again refused to accept. Williamson, angry at Fukuzawa, because of the support which he had from among the wardens generally, discharged him. Yonezu continued to function as Internal Security Chief of Police but then on the 4th of January, 1943, on finding the feeling against him still growing, he handed in his resignation and refused to consider. Williamson to all intents and purposes accepted the resignation, but Yonezu continues to function as Intermediary between the Internal Security Department and Williamson. During the Tada episode, Yonezu got together a number of Nisei to organize a vigilante committee. He did this both in camp 1 and in camp 2, and called for a pitched battle if this were necessary between Issei and Nisei. This was regarded by many as a definite mistake and contributed to Yonezu's unpopularity. Now it begins to appear as though Yonezu is taking bribes from the gambling faction. That he has succeeded in working along with Williamson to the extent that he is to be kept on if not as Chief of Police, then as special agent. Technically, he is no longer Chief of Police, but he still wears his warden uniform and drives the warden's car yet, Williamson has accepted his resignation. Today, January 6th, the

resignation of Yonezu came out. At the same time, Williamson has brought concerted effort to bear to discharge all his Issei wardens and to make up a warden force of Nisei, composed of a nucleus of Nisei wardens who have been continually employed. The Issei resent this and place the blame on Yonezu. Yonezu, on the blacklist once before, is now again in line for a beating. Thus, a situation is beginning to assume critical proportions. The meeting called for today had to do with the petition that separate police force be maintained in Canal. Williamson's unpopularity in Canal is growing, and demonstrations was to have occurred today at the meeting since more than 400 Issei men, ostensibly members of the Kenkyu-kai, which seems to have sprung alive again, were going to be present at the meeting while Williamson makes his decision regarding: 1. a new Chief of Police, 2. policies affecting Fredericks position, and 3. the formation of an autonomous police department. Williamson obviously refuses to cooperate in any way with the populace in their demands that he take a back seat and it begins to appear that the well-being of the Internal Security Department is exceedingly disrupted.

Miura is beginning to function as a leader again, or, at least, as a trouble maker. He has denounced his Waseda fellow alumnus Mr. Tani, to Williamson and Fredericks, as a pro-Axis enthusiast. He has then gone to Tani and said in effect "be careful, the administration is out to get you." The accusation has been made against Miura to the Project Director that he is a secret member of the Black Dragon Society. Thus, another situation which needs to be handled with care. It has suddenly become known that Mr. Miura secretly applied for repatriation and that the Japanese government has expressly requested his return to Japan in exchange for five American prisoners.

This is the last instance of the formal appearance of the Kenkyu-kai. After the Tada beating, the organization acknowledged at the time of the trial that it would not continue to exist. Ostensibly, it has not been too active since this time. Issei activities have expressed themselves through other organizations, particularly through the Sumo Club, the Engeibu, and always with the support of the Gila Young People's group. As is shown above, the Gila Young People's group, Sumo group, Judo group, and Issei Dramatic Society figure prominently in the activity of the Kenkyu-kai group. This relationship will be better understood in an analysis of each of these organizations and in a corresponding analysis of the Kyowa-kai in Butte Camp and its relationship to these groups at large.

THE CANAL GILA YOUNG PEOPLE'S GROUP

This Kibei group in Canal has made application for recognition to the CAS Director, Mr. Gaba. Recognition has been long in forthcoming, but finally in December, it was granted and a recreation hall was set aside for the use of the Gila Young People. Recent information has come into my hands from our observer Omachi which sheds further light on the relative position of the Gila Young People's group in Canal. In my own write-up of Tada's case, Omachi considers me unfair to my handling of the case of the Kibei group since, as he points out, it is not in Canal a particular militant or aggressive group. Under the leadership of Akimoto, the group has been kept pretty much in check and has tended to be favorably disposed to the dictates of the administration. I leveled the accusation at the Gila Young People in Canal that it was intimately associated with the Kenkyu-kai there. Omachi states that this is not true. Actually, the Kenkyu-kai does have a certain connection with the Gila Young People through the Issei advisory board of this organization. It will be shown in Butte Camp that there is an entirely different kind of leadership between the two Kibei groups and that the Butte Young People's organization may be considered a rather subversive element. The Gila Young People in Canal has as one of its advisors, a man named Fujimoto, who is intimately connected with the Kenkyu-kai and whose name has been repeatedly linked with that of

Tani. As in the case of the Butte Gila Young People, as will be shown later, the true leader of the organization is not necessarily the president. If George Yamashiro is president of the Gila Young People in Butte, his authority is subject to the will of certain dissatisfied Issei groups. The same is true of Akimoto in Canal, but to a lesser extent. The Canal Kibei Club does not offer the same strength that is found in the counterpart organization in Butte. The connection, therefore, with the Kenkyu-kai seems to lie in Canal with Fujimoto and not with Akimoto, the ostensible leader. Most of the members of the Gila Young People in Canal have remained apart from internal politics. Some dissatisfaction was expressed over the delayed recognition by the administration. Now, however, that recognition has been accomplished, the group has settled down and taken a more amicable stand toward administrative officials.

It is true that Tada, on the night of his beating, went before the Gila Young People and discussed some of the necessary pre-requisites to recognition with them. He then attended a meeting of the Issei Dramatic Society or Engeibu, and it was upon leaving this meeting that the assault took place. This was not brought clearly in my initial report of the incident since I implied that there was a greater connection between Kenkyu-kai, Engeibu, and Gila Young People, that a close connection between the Engeibu and Kenkyu-kai exists is indisputable. This connection is expressed by a few of the Kibei in Canal, particularly those who side with Fujimoto. Those who side with Akimoto, however, remain aloof from community politics and attempt to make of the Gila Young People a purely social club. Through Fujimoto, however, the application for recognition on the part of the Kibei Club in Canal was made with the consent and understanding of the Kenkyu-kai. The Kenkyu-kai is described by Omachi as a group which is made up of dissatisfied Issei. This, Omachi says, does not present a true representation of Issei feelings in the Canal Community. Certainly this statement is true. However, the dissatisfied element in the Issei group in Canal has been successful in winning over a great many Issei family heads. Thus, the list of names of 500 members, all of them Issei, all of

them family heads, is most significant in pointing out the relationship between the Kenkyu-kai and the population in general and in showing the Kenkyu-kai to be a significant pressure group. In relation to the Gila Young People, the significance of this organization as a pressure group is shown by the fact that the Kenkyu-kai sponsored the appeal of the Kibei to have a recognized organization. The Kibei themselves, in Canal, because of the fact that Akimoto holds the group in check, does not emerge as too significant pressure group. One of the reasons for this is that it has not been necessary for the Kibei Club, as a representative Nisei organization, to assert itself against any rival organization. It is to be remembered that the Nisei in Canal Camp have been more or less inactive with the exception of a few block clubs, young people's clubs, and the like, all of them independent of each other. There has been no assertion of a Nisei front. The reverse is true in Butte where the J.A.C.L., as a representative Nisei organization, is at variance with the Kibei; a fact which will be pointed out in greater detail. The University Club, an intellectual Nisei club in Canal, the Young People's Christian Fellowship, and the Young Buddhist's Association are the only organizations which might exercise some voice in community affairs. In actual practice, these groups are small and are not of great significance.

The Issei generation in Canal are not as dissatisfied with the Nisei at large as are the Issei of Butte. There is no doubt that the Gila Young People would emerge in Canal as a significant political factor if its Issei advisory board found it necessary for it to be so. In view of an organization by the J.A.C.L. in Canal Camp, the Kibei Club might assert itself more strongly than it has up until now. Because its authority is not questioned and because the authority of the Issei is not challenged by any Issei group in Canal, the Kibei Club has not been called upon to act. Akimoto was a member of the Community Council. He is a man whom considerable respect is given by virtue of the fact that he is a Japanese University graduate (Meiji) and apparently has not desired to bring about agitation

in the way that George Yamashiro does in Butte. One significant feature which has been sponsored by the Kibei Club is that of a Japanese Library, that is to say, books in Japanese, which are kept under the direction of an Issei librarian in a specially assigned apartment or hall. The measure was proposed by the Gila Young People in Butte Camp and spread to Canal, so that Japanese books are now available for general circulation through this library system. It is significant to note that sums of money to buy such books have been contributed by the Engeibu, the Sumo Club, and the Issei Literary Society of Bungei-kai. With these few words, the Kibei Club in Canal may be dismissed. It is significant only to note its rather remote relationship with the Issei at large.

ENGEIBU AND SUMO CLUB

The Issei Dramatic Society in Canal is undoubtedly significant. Too little is known of its activities, however, to be able to discuss it at length here. At the time of Tani's dinner as a peace overture to the administrative officials, Japanese and Caucasian alike, the entire membership of the Issei Engeibu was invited by Tani and appeared at the dinner. Tani himself is a member of the Issei Engeibu which has been putting on Japanese kabuki in the outdoor theater in Canal. A further report will shed some light on the activities of the Engeibu.

The Sumo Club, however, is conspicuous as a pressure group in Canal and is closely allied with Tani and the Kenkyu-kai. It appears as though the Sumo Club is the strong-arm society for the Kenkyu-kai. They are a group closely connected with the gamblers of the community and which contribute to the Kenkyu-kai a certain amount of reciprocal financial backing. The Sumo people are subject to the will of one Issei, a man named Fujishige (?), to whose family the refereeing of Sumo belongs as an imperially conferred honor. This man is active in the Kenkyu-kai as, indeed, are many of those who participate in Sumo matches. Evidence for this, however, is only hearsay. Again, however, when the

Kenkyu-kai held its banquet under Tani's direction, the Sumo Club membership turned out in a body. Prominent among them was the man whose name was mentioned above. Hirokani, when he assaulted Tada, is alleged to have had with him some of the members of the Sumo organization. The Sumo Club has long been a thorn in the side of the administration. They, too, were given recognition only after considerable debate on the part of the Community Services Section. Gaba, assistant Director of Community Services, who works in Canal Camp, has, in view of the Caucasian CAS Director, been acting in that capacity. His dealings have been entirely with the Sumo group in their suit for recognition. Some feeling has been directed against him at the behest of the Sumo Club, and it has been pointed out that the Sumo Club also pushed the recognition of the Gila Young People by the CAS.

CAS recognition implies the assignment of one or two or more CAS staff members to the organization. These members are hired from among the group membership and are put on the work corp payroll. The Sumo group with, perhaps, 175 members asked for six representatives from the CAS, a paid president, instructors, and a janitor. The request, after recognition was given, was granted with the result that these officers were hired and put on the CAS payroll. Other organizations have leveled some criticisms at these employees since they do not actively work at their assigned duties like other employees on the work corp. They are obliged to put in a 44-hour week at a \$16.00 monthly wage and they do not do so. Other organizations have leveled such criticisms at them, and they are in disfavor with the CAS. Just how this difficulty may be circumvented is unknown since they protest strongly against any criticisms leveled at them by Kibei.

Mention is made above that the Sumo Club offers, to a certain extent, gambling connotations. In every case of matches and contests, prizes and cash awards are offered by the Sumo Club members to the participants. Wagers

are laid upon the outcome of various matches. Sumo enjoys a bad reputation in the community at large and, indeed, it is stated that Sumo in Japan is similar to prize-fighting or horse-racing in this country. It is said to be a sport which attracts a certain gambling and vulgar element. This is unlike Judo which enjoys a higher social sanction. Sumo is popular in the community with older men and has no Nisei following to speak of. Some Kibei do follow the Sumo Matches. Because of the fact that this element is attracted to Sumo, it is quite possible that the dissatisfied Issei element which is represented in the Kenkyu-kai can find a useful tool in the Sumo organization. The very fact of this low social standing of Sumo people lends some reflection to the status of the Kenkyu-kai in the community. It must be emphasized that, as Omachi says, the Kenkyu-kai is composed of dissatisfied spirits who actively oppose the administration. A connection between Sumo and gambling groups in relation to the Kenkyu-kai is to be observed in Canal. It is to be remembered that Butte offers a mixture of type of population and that, therefore, Sumo does not enjoy the same great following in Butte as it does in Canal. Canal Sumo might be said to be made up of the lower class people in the community.

Whether it is intimately connected with the Kenkyu-kai on an equal basis or whether it is simply used by the Kenkyu-kai to force its demands is a question. Some accusation of anti-American activity has been leveled against the Sumo Club. At 10 a.m. on New Years Day, a rather elaborate Sumo contest was held in Canal. The contestants and audience paused before the opening of the matches to engage in several loud ban-zai and sing Japanese national songs. In doing this, the whole audience turned to the East. Such observances of New Years Day, being highly ceremonialized and practiced by a good many of the population, are not necessarily nationalistic in character, but again may only indicate sentiment. The observation of such rites on New Years Day is known as yohaishiki, literally, paying honor from a distance. The implication being that the honor is in this case paid to the Japanese Emperor. Social calls on New Years Day, however, are

described by the same term. Much to do was made over this demonstration by administrative officials anxious to prove subversive pro-Axis activities. It is said that at this Sumo match on New Years Day, the Kenkyu-kai turned out in a body, but only those members of the Gila Young People who sided with Fujimoto were there. Akimoto's adherents remained away. Another point of significance is that the president and other officers of the Sumo Club have applied for repatriation. If in the center militant pro-Japanese national group exists, and this observer continues to doubt that they do, Canal Camp's Sumo Club is, perhaps, the best example. The Kenkyu-kai is too mixed as to its aims and purposes and as to its membership to be said to be active pro-Axis group. It is rather that, as has been pointed out, the Kenkyu-kai is attempting seriously to alleviate the physical conditions which confront the individual evacuee families in the Gila center. Similarly, it is hoped that Akimoto's position is so far clearly delineated to show his unconcern over political issues. He continues to attempt to keep the Gila Young People in Canal out of politics. In spite of the fact that he has applied for repatriation, his honest conciliatory efforts remove him from suspicion. Engeibu and Sumo, however, are, more so than the Kenkyu-kai, dangerous elements in the community. In the event of community strife and dissension, however, it has already been shown that Engeibu, Kenkyu-kai, and possibly Gila Young People, will band together in Canal to form what is a fairly solid Issei front. It will be well to turn attention now to the matter of similar organizations and pressures in Butte since it is in this center that the greatest amount of conflict occurs. Canal does not present the disunited picture that Butte, the larger camp, shows. At the time of the Tada beating, which served as a means of bringing the Kenkyu-kai in Canal into light, the germs of an organization of this kind spread to Butte, and it is here that the first inkling of united Issei came out with the disruption in Canal. It will, therefore, be well to take up the discussion of Issei pressure groups in that camp and the conflicts which are entailed by their existence.

BUTTE ISSEI PRESSURE GROUPS

In a discussion of the Butte Community on which greater information is available, it should be remembered that a slightly different emphasis is manifest in the Butte Community. In Canal, much has already been made of certain strong Issei pressure groups, and it has been pointed out that the Nisei groups are small. The Issei have a common purpose and a solidarity in organization which does not exist among the Nisei. This is true not only of Canal but of Butte as well. Issei organizations are at marked variance with one another. Again, in this respect, it is necessary to point out that the Issei and the Nisei split is always accentuated by the fact that the Issei are the stronger by virtue of the fact that they can band together and that they have the aid and support of certain Nisei organizations, particularly that of the Gila Young People. Butte has a different background from Canal. While the latter is almost exclusively rural, the former is mixed urban, suburban, and rural. Canal draws its people mainly from one locality, but Butte, a larger camp, has individuals from many different localities. The Tulare Assembly Center, itself, was made up of people who came from various places on the coast of Southern California, from the Los Angeles metropolitan area, and also from the southern half of the San Joaquin Valley. In addition to this mixed population, a group from Turlock is present as well as 1500-odd people from Santa Anita or partly urban Los Angeles, San Pedro, Wilmington, Long Beach, and the like. It is noteworthy that Issei societies and pressure groups arose out of each one of these different assembly center backgrounds. For a time they were disunited, each one trying to out-strip the other. Then suddenly they were brought together under a common leadership so that now the community is pretty well united as to Issei pressure groups, a factor which has been brought out in a short paper entitled, "Kenkyu-kai Reorganization".

A strong Nisei factor emerges in Butte through the formation of the JACL

there. The Butte Chapter was the first one to be granted a charter in any relocation center. The rabid opposition to the JACL centers itself in the Kibei Club and the Issei Vigilante Committee. This general background is sufficient to denote the conflicts which take place within the community and to show the existence of marked groups with strong leadership who rabidly oppose one another. The material to follow will attempt to elucidate and amplify the conflict which occurs. It will be well to make mention of some of the more formally organized factors of community government which appear in Canal and Butte together on the basis of comparison.

In both camps the Community Council is virtually without support and has the sanction only of the administration and derives little support from among the residents themselves. The weakness of the Community Council has already been described some pages previously. It has been pointed out rather that the Block councils, made up largely of Issei, and the Block Manager form the real formal governing body of the community. It was not clearly brought out in the discussion above that in Canal the Block Councils are, by far, the more dominant figures. It is they who decide the decisions which are brought up to the Councilmen, and they instruct their individual Councilmen how to vote. The Block Manager in this camp rather takes a back seat to the Block Councilmen who are, more or less, under the thumb of the Block Chairman. In Butte, however, there is again this slight difference of emphasis to the fact that it is the Block Manager who generally emerges as the Block Chairman and has control over his Block Council. Moreover, the Central Block Manager Office is one in which meetings are held to determine camp policy and to make decisions affecting the run of daily life within the camp. The Block Manager instructs the Block Council on the stand which they are to take and in turn instructs the Block Councilman. Thus, there is a subtle difference in leadership so far as the blocks are concerned in each camp. Harry Miyake, the Nisei who occupies the position of Central Block Manager, that is to say, a paid position which is sponsored by the

administration, continues to lead the Block Managers even though he is decidedly an unpopular figure. This is not because of the decisions which he makes, but because of his affiliation with the JACL. He has been threatened on numerous occasions by dissatisfied Issei groups, but there has been no pressure directed against the administration to remove him from the position of Central Block Manager. His own Block Managers, in fact, do not always support his actions, and many of them do belong to the Issei Vigilante Committee which is anxious to effect his removal. Miyake, therefore, occupies a very peculiar position. If he were to give up his affiliation with the JACL, there is little doubt that he would be accepted by the Issei as one of their number. His policy, pretty generally, has been to give way to the Issei against the Nisei, but he still believes in the value of the JACL. He was forced by circumstances to come out with a public stand regarding his own position in relation to the Issei of the community and to the Army volunteer enlistment, which is at the present writing cause for so much furor in the camp at large. He decided in favor of volunteer enlistment, probably in order to keep his position with the administration as a recognized leader in the community. He has, therefore, committed himself to the effect that Army enlistment is necessary and has imparted this stand to the Block Managers who act with him. This stand has caused some disfavor, but in general this was the position he was expected to take. Miyake presides over the meetings of the Block Managers, meetings which take place weekly to discuss the current affairs of the community in the various blocks. He continues to use his influence for what he believes to be the improvement of the community and, in spite of the threats made against him, he has taken a strong stand on all matters relative to group agitation. It is to the Block Manager's office then that the observer must look in order to understand the rather intricate block organization and control of formal political organizations in the community. These block organizations are subject to pressures from the outside by informal and unrecognized groups, which groups take their stand in accordance

with the desires they have and the needs of the community which they consider necessary to meet. It is this subject of pressure groups and their effect on community politics which might best be brought up here. Issei pressure groups, as has been pointed out, are by far the more significant because of the close relationship between them and the effect which their existence has on peace or strife, or group conflict which arises in Gila. Perhaps the two most significant pressure groups in the community, which might be considered next, is the Issei Vigilante Committee, the so-called Kyowa-kai or peace-promotion society, and the Kibei Club. The two are intimately connected. Taking them in detail, we may first consider the Issei Peace Society.

THE KYOWA-KAI

In regard to the Kyowa-kai, a short paper of some nine pages has already been submitted. In this paper mention is made regarding the effect of the formation of the Canal Camp Kenkyu-kai on the subsequent and comparable movement in Butte. The relationship with the Canal organization is mentioned as well as the character, Mr. Dyo (previously incorrectly spelled Jo). After the incident in Canal which brought the existence of the Kenkyu-kai to light, Mr. Dyo had gone from house to house and had enlisted prominent Issei in his Investigative Society. A number of these Issei refused to agree to the demands of Mr. Dyo and his group with the result that it again appears that it is a dissatisfied and agitating element which was desirous of forming an association of this kind. It appears that the Vigilante Committee, which we are justified in calling this group, was organized for two reasons. In the first place, it received its impetus from the Tada beating and was forced to come to light in order to support the counterpart agency in Canal. Also, agitation for the formation of a society of this kind had been going on for some time prior to the incident which so disrupted the Canal community. The members of the group from the Tulare Assembly Center and the members from the Santa Anita center had not reached a state of

collaboration. This was achieved only when it became necessary for the Issei to take a unified stand, ostensibly, as they thought, for their own protection and the furthering of their own interests. The two joined forces during Christmas week. The second point which caused the formation of this group was the fact of the organization and chartering of a JACL chapter in Butte Community. It is this JACL chapter which has given rise to so much controversy in the community, a struggle which will be elaborated upon to a further extent. It becomes clear why the Kyowa-kai, as the group chose to call itself, took a sudden stand against George Yamashiro, the leader of the Kibei Club. The reason for this being that Yamashiro is one of those few who had come into Butte Camp from the Turlock Assembly Center. He had formerly lived in Tracy and was, therefore, not known to southern California and Los Angeles people. His unpopularity came about because of the fact that he had high-pressured his own way to the Kibei group. When on December 7, he was successful in putting through the Hobby Show for the Issei and having achieved considerable success with it, the Tulare Kyowa-kai group became more tolerant to him as head of the Kibei organization with the result that the Kibei Club and the Kyowa-kai have been successful in joining forces and becoming aligned with all of the Issei forces in the camp as a strong pressure group.

In accordance with the movement of strike and black list, which took place in Camp One, the Kibei and Issei together with members of this Kyowa-kai drew up the black list with the idea of repeating the Tada incident in Butte Camp. A previous report makes mention of the fact that this list was particularly directed against the formation of the JACL in Butte, one or two names being made public at this time. Nothing was ever done by this group in the weeks of agitation in December, probably because of the fact that the administration had become aware of the existence of the Kyowa-kai and of the strength of the Kibei Club. It is mentioned that the black list was reported to Williamson, Chief of the Internal Security, by one of his own wardens and that this matter was turned over to the

newly appointed Project Director, Mr. Bennett, for consideration. He assured the people whose names appeared on the black list of adequate protection.

Hoffman, as Chief of Community Services and acting head of Community Activities Section, promptly gave recognition to the Kibei Club and supplied them with a recreation hall. The result was that the Kibei, at least, were mollified. Dyo, on seeing the success of the formation of the Kibei Club, decided, apparently, to resort to the same tactics himself. He applied to Mr. Hoffman for recognition and the information which Hoffman had at his disposal relative to the formation of the group is already in our files. Hoffman's own comments on the formation of the organization from an administrative point of view are clearly given in his own memorandum for the files, a copy of which I was fortunate enough to secure. Hoffman, before granting recognition from the Community Activities Section to the Kyowa-kai, urged the group to reconsider its constitution. The group appeared before Mr. Bennett requesting recognition, but was referred to Mr. Hoffman. The leaders of the Kyowa-kai, finding that they had to deal with Hoffman, appeared before him ^{with} a revised constitution, a copy of which we have. A brief analysis of this Kyowa-kai constitution should follow here. I would call the attention of the reader first of all to the very close similarity between the form of the constitution of the Kyowa-kai and that of the Gila Young Peoples group, a constitution which will be discussed presently. The author of the one seems to have adopted the same style of the author of the other, and it has been suggested that the constitutions of both organizations were written by the same person. The purpose of the organization, listed as Article II, was the point of contention between Hoffman and the members. Mention is made of the necessity for the promotion and improving the system of the relocation center in order to maintain peace and order, to promote general welfare and the general situation. Hoffman construed this to mean that in the event of any emergency, this organization would act as a kind of police agency detracting from the sphere of influence and authority of the Internal Security Division.

In his own memorandum and in Bennett's memorandum to him, mention is made that the organization does not perform any function not now supplied by the Council or the Block Manager. The result is, and I agree with Hoffman's analysis, that the Council, the Block Managers, and the like, would be entirely eclipsed by this organization if it were granted recognition. Councilmen are chosen one from each block. The Kyowa-kai demands two to five representatives from each block. These would necessarily be Issei, and the result would be that the waning power of the Council would be further superseded by the power of the Kyowa-kai. The second purpose shows clearly that it was the desire of these individuals to exclude the Nisei entirely from a voice in all community affairs and politics since it wished to be named agent for the Spanish Consul in dealing with the Japanese government. Whether a nationalistic organization or not, the Kyowa-kai could, if its constitution were ratified, become the sole governing body of the community. People who later became associated with the Kyowa-kai drew up the petition mentioned earlier which asked for Issei voice in community government. Even though the Kyowa-kai is purportedly, by the administration at least, a pro-Axis agency; nevertheless, recent meetings in San Francisco and consideration of community politics in Washington lead one to believe that petitions of this kind are being seriously considered and that community representation may be through the Issei rather than Nisei. It is understood that the debate for this move is still going on in Washington among WRA officials concerned with community government. In view of the relocation program, the fact that Nisei are now admitted to the Army and possibly to the draft later, it is thought that the Issei leaders of the community should emerge as the governing factor in the Community Council. Although the Kibei Club was successful in its suit for recognition, the Kyowa-kai failed. Hoffman would not consider recognizing such a group, while Mr. Bennett, on the other hand, had urged the group to dissolve. Naturally, even though it does not have formal sanction of the administration, nevertheless, the Kyowa-kai is still an active group and emerges from time to time as a pressure group.

Moreover, it seems to dictate the policies of the Gila Young People now that satisfactory cooperation from George Yamashiro has been elicited.

The Kyowa-kai, literally a Peace Promotion Society as it should have been mentioned above, was most active in attempting early in the stages of the project to effect administration to elective office by Issei, a matter which has not as yet been settled, and then again was active in its own membership drive which took place in December. As was mentioned for the Kenkyu-kai in Canal, the membership drive was not open. It took the form of individual house to house solicitation. I happened to be present, in fact, when Mr. Dyo himself called on our collaborator, Mr. Okuno, and asked him to join forces with the Kyowa-kai. At the time, Mr. Okuno stated that he did not wish to join an organization which did not have the sanction of the administration. This was true of other leading Issei as well. Bulletins were placed on the mess hall bulletin boards, written in Japanese, requesting the attendance of those interested at various meetings. The result was that people appeared from time to time in various meetings of the Kyowa-kai and, apparently, in cooperation with the Gila Young People, the constitution was drawn up. It will be well, I think, to say a word or two regarding the comparison of the Kyowa-kai in Butte and the Kenkyu-kai in Canal.

Three leaders in Canal are considered as heads of the Kenkyu-kai. These are Tani, Fujimoto, and Hirokani. It is my own belief that the administration is in error in considering Hirokani to be any kind of leader. He is, apparently, too weak a character, and certainly after his jail sentence because of the assault on Tada, he could scarcely be considered to be a community leader or even a group leader. Some of the evacuees have told me that Hirokani is "just a stooge" and I think this appellation is justified. Tani's activities are pretty well known, and he does not seem to be the organizer or the true leader. Mention should have been made above in the discussion of the Kenkyu-kai that Tani seems to hold the purse strings. He is the agent of a Japanese language newspaper which is published in Denver, Colorado (?). He has the privilege of distributing this news-

paper in the camp. Copies are sold for five cents each, and it becomes apparent that Tani can keep a share of the profits. In fact, at the banquet which was held in order to pacify the administration or else to annoy certain administrative officials the excellent repast and the liquor were known to have been paid by Tani out of the Rocky Nippon funds. He is not known to be a man of any financial means himself, and his only known source of income is through the distribution of this newspaper. In fact, he admitted to Fredericks, the Assistant Chief of Internal Security in Canal, that the banquet was paid by the Rocky Nippon funds. Tani is, therefore, a leader because he can make his money available to the organization, but it seems doubtful that he is the only leader. Fujimoto seems to be the dark horse. He has been mentioned as the leader of the group time and again. He is an advisor to the Canal Kibei Club, but very little is known of him either by the evacuees or the administration. There seems to be others in Canal who control the Kenkyu-kai too, but their identities have not as yet been divulged. A somewhat similar situation seems to exist for the Kyowa-kai in Butte Camp.

The Kyowa-kai has, at least, applied for recognition through Mr. Dyo and his friends, and it begins to appear as though Dyo is the recognized leader of the Kyowa-kai; at least he had been elected its president, and he and others contacted this person and that in the membership drive which the group informally conducted. He acted as interpreter when the Spanish Consul came to inspect the Gila Community. Dyo was successful in bringing together the two Vigilante Committees of Tulare and Santa Anita, respectively. Dyo has a bad reputation, and for this reason, his influence is doubted by a good many people. He had previously lived in El Paso, Texas, and had sold stock to California Japanese farmers in a non-existing Chihuahua gold mine. For this reason, he is distrusted, and it is thought that he should still be prosecuted which he, apparently, never was. I have talked with several men who went to Chihuahua some ten years ago

in order to find this gold mine. They had been called in as disinterested parties by the Japanese Association of Los Angeles, which had received numerous complaints against Dyo. Although the gold mine was never found, the complaints against Dyo were never brought to court with the result that he was apparently successful in fleecing a good many people. Dyo is not trusted but, apparently, because he is an organizer, he is permitted to carry on the work of bringing about the existence of the Kyowa-kai and receives support because of it. Another individual worth mentioning is a man whose activities also have been discussed to some extent, one Ototaro Yamamoto. Although Yamamoto has for a long time marked as an agitator in the community, it was he who was successful in pushing the petition for Issei office-holding. Yamamoto, furthermore, has been denounced as pro-Axis by several Issei, particularly by one Gohachiro Miura, a would-be leader in the community who has ingratiated himself with the administration.

In a few weeks, the segregation camp for agitators and trouble-makers and people of known pro-Axis sympathies will be opened in Moab, Utah, under the auspices of the War Relocation Authority. As the result of the denunciation by Yamamoto, Tani, Hirokani, and one or two other Kenkyu-kai and Kyowa-kai leaders, will be placed there. The Butte Camp Kibei leader, George Yamashiro is also slated to be transferred to this camp. A man named Ando acts in close cooperation with Yamashiro. They are seen constantly with a man named Tanaka, who is president of the Sumo Club and who is also known to be a close friend of Dyo. The Kyowa-kai also has the support of a wealthy man by the name of Taira, who is said to be the liquor dealer for the community, a man who brings in liquor through a contact with certain of the Caucasian and Negro laborers on the project. It appears as though the leaders of both the Kenkyu-kai and the Kyowa-kai are men of a rather unsavory reputation. Omachi is, I think, correct in his statement that these groups are made up of dissatisfied few and do not necessarily represent a community concensus. This dissatisfied few, however, is more

successful in maintaining a hold over the community than are those Issei who are stable family men and who are interested in their future in America and in the welfare of their children in this country. These Issei seem to be either unable to unite or are taken in by the promises, by the sentiments expressed, and by the agitation of such men as Dyo and others of his kind.

In Canal, the organizations associated with the Kenkyu-kai do have a certain amount of financial backing through Tani and his affiliation with the Rocky Nippon. They do feel, however, that they do not have enough money to carry on their plans and desires, and they have stepped to the Sumo Club with the result that the Sumo Club places a large proportion of its not inconsiderable treasury at the disposal of the Kenkyu-kai. Furthermore, the Kenkyu-kai is known to support certain gamblers and to sponsor gambling houses in which so-called "house games" where the house draws a percentage are conducted. It is not to be implied that the Kenkyu-kai is in itself made up of gamblers or that all of these members share these rather cheap interests. On the contrary, there are men in both the Kyowa-kai and the Kenkyu-kai who seem to have an earnestness of purpose and who believe that their organization may be utilized for the benefit of the community at large. There are some self-seeking individuals involved, however, who make use of this anti-administrative feeling in order to conduct their own nefarious activities. These individuals take refuge behind the Kyowa-kai and the Kenkyu-kai. A lottery is being sponsored in both camps by certain Issei who are known to be members of these respective organizations. This lottery, working under cover in the same way as the Chinese lottery, aims at bringing in a sizable sum of money for the initiators. Whether or not the Kenkyu-kai and the Kyowa-kai are able to make use of these sums of money made by the lottery or the sums of money which come in as the result of gambling activities is questionable, and yet it appears that these activities go on with the consent and approbation of these two Issei organizations. It is said, at least, that the Sumo Club draws its treasury; the Kenkyu-kai and the Kyowa-kai, their money for banquet, prizes,

and the like; the Kibei Club for their activities; the Engeibu for its costumes, scenery, and the like; and other organizations profit as well from the money made through gambling and by the sponsoring of the lottery. The lottery has been in existence for about six weeks but, apparently, the administration officials including the members of the Internal Security Department are as yet unaware of its existence.

The Kenkyu-kai membership in Canal was listed at 500. In Butte it approximates or is in excess of it. It will probably be well to discuss gambling groups as pressure groups. Some mention has already been made of this, but it seems that the gamblers do not wish to engage in political activities except insofar as they are members of these Issei Vigilante Committees. This is the only evidence for connecting the two, but it appears well that this suggested connection be mentioned if only to characterize the leadership of the Kenkyu-kai and the Kyowa-kai. The gambling activities take similar form in both camps. They seem to have similar sponsorship, and the same games are played; the same system used, and the percentage derived is given to various kinds of organizations which pressure groups seem to be drawing their income far in excess of what the normal membership dues would be. For example, no financial statement has as yet been issued by the Kibei Club, but it begins to appear that they have a rather sizable sum of money at their disposal. I would emphasize again, however, that there is no evidence for making an assertion that the Kibei Club sponsors gambling. If such a situation does exist, it is removed from the actual province of the Kibei Club, the Sumo Club, the Engeibu, and other organizations of a similar purpose and nature. There are other ways of obtaining funds as well. Yamamoto, for example, decided that his block (61) should take up a collection and assess each member of the block twenty-five cents in order to buy rose bushes to place around the mess hall. About \$25.00 was collected since some of the residents contributed more than the required twenty-five cents. Ten dollars was spent on rose bushes; the remaining fifteen dollars was given by

Yamamoto to the Sumo Club much to the indignation and protest from among block members, particularly the Nisei. The Kenkyu-kai and the Kyowa-kai are somewhat on the fringe of things. Since neither has been recognized, in order to enforce their demands, they must act through other organizations. It will be remembered that the Canal Camp Kibei Club is divided amongst itself. Akimoto, the president, controls a large block which endeavors to be cooperative and to work for an administration and community relationship. A group of Kibei in that club, however, are opposed to Akimoto and side with the dissenting Issei. The Kenkyu-kai in Canal, since it has not been so open, is more difficult to examine and to place in a proper relationship than is the Kyowa-kai which has come out more specifically with statements as to membership, aims, and purposes. While the Kibei Club does not give the Kenkyu-kai full support, the Kyowa-kai and the Kibei Club in Butte are intimately associated. This has been especially true since George Yamashiro turned his attention to get the support of the Issei in order to maintain his own position as head of the Gila Young People in Butte. This organization should next be considered.

BUTTE GILA YOUNG PEOPLE'S CLUB

It is difficult to discuss these organizations in themselves since they are so intimately related to other organizations. Regarding the Kibei Club, however, it may be said that the membership showed some difficulty in getting started. The Kibei Club began first in Canal, and there was the initial problem of arranging the petition for recognition and of deciding on the leadership. Both Akimoto and Yamashiro had been together in Turlock Assembly Center. Akimoto had been the Turlock Kibei leader against strong opposition from Yamashiro and his faction. When it became possible for certain of the Turlock people to move over to the Butte Camp, Yamashiro persuaded his family to move over there so that, apparently, he could be free to carry on his own activities without competition by Akimoto. Although virtually unknown to the Tulare people, Yamashiro organized the Gila Young People's Club with the result that

he was elected the first president. It was understood that this election was of a temporary nature. At first he decided to steer a middle course and to push the interest of his own Kibei Club, but the members of the Kyowa-kai were opposed to him; apparently because they did not know him as mentioned above. He was, therefore, asked to resign. In order to placate the Issei, he put through the December 7 Issei Hobby Show, which when it closed on December 8 was the scene of a banquet for Issei and Kibei. Japanese national songs were sung and ban-zai's shouted. The after-math of the Hobby Show was the appearance of two Japanese flags on the nearby Butte.

Early in January the Kibei Club decided, now that the camp was fully settled, to have another election for permanent officers. There was some debate as to Yamashiro's position, but he was elected. Yamashiro seems to stand alone as the leader of the Kibei Club. He always has a group of satellites around him wherever he goes who appear to do what he wants them to do. He placed and continues to place Kibei agitators in various JACL meetings and has made his organization rabidly anti-JACL. The result is that in order to placate the Issei who seem to keep him in office, Yamashiro and his group are swinging more and more away from the side of the Nisei and from cooperation with the administration. Yamashiro owes his authority and prestige to a certain extent to an ecclesiastical influence. The fact that he is a devout Zen Buddhist has earned for him the support of Bishop Ochi, one of the advisors of the Gila Young People's Club. This, too, has been a factor in keeping him in office. Ochi holds a Sunday afternoon service for the Kibei Club alone and, as has been mentioned before, both he and Yamashiro are strong in their opposition to the formation of the Shin sects Young Buddhist Association. The Shin priests and Shin devotees are strong in their denunciation of Yamashiro. The question arises as to just how much of a part Ochi plays in this whole political pressure group development.

There are three advisors to the Gila Young People's Club. Our own

observer, Mr. Hikida, is one. He is an advisor simply because of his position as coordinator for the Community Activities Section. He does not take an active part in dealing with the Kibei Club as he daily deals with George Yamashiro, who occupies the work corp position of CAS Director of Issei activities. The second advisor is Ochi, as mentioned above; but the third, significantly enough, is Mr. Dyo, who with Ochi takes a rather active part in cooperating and in planning the programs of the Kibei Club. Yamashiro, Ochi, and Dyo seem to act together as the leaders of the Kibei organization, an organization which now has taken on a rather pro-Axis, pro-Japan flavor. The very fact of Yamashiro's earnest devotion to Zen Buddhism, which seeks to reach out and embrace Japanese culture, and his rabid opposition to the more conciliatory Shin is indicative of his own sentiments in favor of Japanese culture. I hesitate to brand Yamashiro as pro-Axis nor, indeed, am I concerned with pointing out pro-Axis enthusiasts. Since this division of pro-Ally and pro-Axis, however, has become such a strong issue in the community, it is impossible to deny Yamashiro's action or its effect. For this reason, I can safely say Yamashiro is pro-Axis and can point out his effect in the community at large, an effect which is not inconsiderable.

Some of the more formal aspects of the Kibei Club should, perhaps, be mentioned. Recognized by Hoffman as a pressure group, it was decided that recognition of a formal nature should be given to them by the administration. Accordingly, Recreation Hall 55 was opened to the Kibei Club in Butte Camp and has been taken over by them as a general club room. A small section is partitioned off and made into an office and a sewing room for the Kibei girls. In this partitioned space also is the Japanese language library, a lending library which now contains about 700 volumes in the Japanese language, those which were returned by the WCCA to the relocation centers after confiscation in the assembly centers. These books are very widely read by Issei. They are said to be books of poems, of a certain amount of propaganda, of novels, but nothing of a very serious or subversive nature. Hoffman and Sawyer, the latter in charge

of Education, have been very much opposed to this Japanese language library, but it has been sponsored and is kept up by the Kibei Club in both camps. Another significant item in the Kibei Club is a tree which is made artificially of iron-wood. Little white cards are placed on this tree. The trunk is marked in Japanese, "Nippon". The branches, that is to say, those fully flowered and in bloom, are marked China, Indo-China, Strait Settlements, Burma, and other of the more important conquests of Japan. At the top, in bud form on the branches, there are markers for Australia, Canada, the United States, and England. This artificial tree occupies a very prominent place in the Kibei hall. A billiard table purchased by the members, ping pong tables, and other equipment is in the main hall. The Kibei Club is the center of Kibei meetings and also the center of certain Issei meetings. Mr. Dyo and his associates meet there frequently. The Kibei Club is, perhaps, one of the busiest centers in camp. The members feel free to rush in and out all during the day, and there is a constant bustle of activity which is vaguely reminiscent of the great hall in the Berkeley International House.

Like the Kyowa-kai, the Gila Young People has a constitution, a copy of which has already been deposited in our files. The Canal Kibei Club likewise has a constitution but it is separate from the one in question and, moreover, I have not seen a copy of it. Like the Kyowa-kai again, the Kibei Club sets out as its purpose, the promotion of the general welfare of the evacuee residents of the Gila Center. The most significant section of the Gila Young People's constitution deals with, I think, that of the advisory board, which is mentioned above as being made up of the three names listed. The group approached these individuals asking them to be members of the advisory board. Hikida was approached because of his own intimate knowledge of Japanese organizations and clubs on the outside, Ochi to render a spiritual sanction, but I am unable to see how or for what reason Dyo was appointed. Article X relates to departments for community service. These are listed as department for Public Relations, a position which up until now has

been filled by George Yamashiro because of his connection with the CAS, the Publicity Department which comes out with the mimeographed semi-monthly booklet which is mentioned. It is significant to note that no mention is made of the Japanese language or its use by the semi-monthly booklet which is always published in Japanese, likewise in the literary activities and the writing of good literature. The library and the dramatic groups express themselves entirely through the use of the use of the Japanese language. The organization clings tenaciously to the refinements of Japanese culture and attempts to abandon all Western cultural ideals. Other than these few remarks, the constitution of the Kibei Club is pretty much self-explanatory. It is to be noted, however, that the duties of the president allow to the president considerable prestige and somewhat a character of a dictatorial nature. He is the chief agent and the virtual ruler of the organization.

The Kibei Club has emerged as a pressure group in many occasions. They have sponsored Sumo contests in conjunction with the Sumo Club. They always attempt to arrange their meetings so that they will be in conflict with the meetings called by the JACL or other Nisei organizations. On the day in which the finals of the Nisei basketball teams are to take place, the Kibei Club have called a field day of races, field events, and other athletic contests, a factor which detracts somewhat from community interests in basketball. This has been done so frequently that it appears to be wholly intentional on the part of the Kibei. In the recent week when the Army delegation came in order to effect a general registration for defense work and open up the volunteering of Nisei into the Army, the Kibei were among the most rabid of the groups opposed to Army enlistment. Meetings were arranged so that every member of the community would have a chance to hear what the Army had to offer and what the registration of those between the ages of 17 and 38 would mean. In every such meeting, members of the Kibei Club were present. Written questions were handed to Captain Thompson, the president of such meetings. He attempted to answer these questions to the best of his ability. The Kibei group was ever the first to raise such issues as: "There is now

no necessity for enlisting in the Army inasmuch as by acceding to evacuation, we have fulfilled our part in the war effort of this country". Being present at one or two meetings, I noted the direction of Kibei questions. The Nisei were far more willing to cooperate with the speakers. On one occasion, Captain Thompson, the officer in charge of the recruitment and registration, passed the Kibei during the evening and was greeted by cat-calls and boos and stated that he heard called after him such epithets as "bakatare onagure", likewise "kill the son of a bitch" and so on.

During this week of registration, the community feeling was strongly intensified by the attitude taken by the Kibei, who emerged as the most rabid of the groups opposed to registration and volunteer enlistment. The Sedition Act was read to the Kibei particularly, and they were urged to refrain from hindering people from enlisting. Yamashiro, himself, was called into Captain Thompson just prior to the meeting with the Kibei Club in order to explain registration and was told that on the slightest sign, he would be held personally responsible if his group were to appear in opposition or to hinder the speakers in any way. Consequently, the meeting of the Army officials and the Kibei was a very quiet one. No one asked any questions; everyone listened in silence to the words of the project director Bennett, Captain Thompson, and the Leave Officer, Mr. Landward, and remained silently sitting when the meeting was over. After the meeting, Yamashiro arose and referred to questions 27 and 28 of the questionnaire which require the individual to state his willingness to serve in the armed forces of the United States and to renounce allegiance to foreign powers. Yamashiro spoke to his group in Japanese and stated that the question of enlistment and the question of answering questions 27 and 28 in the affirmative was entirely up to the individual, but, he added, for himself he had done his part for the war effort. He said that if he were to be disfranchised, there was another country willing to receive him as a citizen. He said, further, that he did not believe

in war or of aiding the war effort against ones blood brothers. He said that although his family was pressed for money, he would not demean himself by even going so far as to work in the camouflage net factory. He concluded by saying to the group, "You may answer questions 27 and 28 as you wish; I think you know how I will answer them." The effect of this speech served to break down the strong Kibei pressure against volunteer enlistment. This pressure has now become a community manifestation rather than one which has been directed by any pressure group. The pressures against individuals enlisting in the Army have now been taken into the homes and have become now a purely family matter. The Kibei, fearing the acts of the Sedition Act, are no longer out-spoken in their attitudes. As a pressure group, however, the Kibei achieved their purpose in preventing people from enlisting and in bringing Issei sentiment up to a pitch where many Nisei are being prevented by their parents from joining the Army. This is the significant action of the Kibei at this time. They have now retired once again into the sanctity of their own social club.

Because of its unified character in Butte, the Kibei Club is far stronger than that in Canal, as has been pointed out. The emphasis which has been placed on Japanese culture continues to be more and more significant. They have sponsored Sumo, Judo, Kendo; now, they are sponsoring a Japanese field day. Many of their members have applied for repatriation and expect to make their future in Japan. All of this is significant in outlining the position of the Kibei Club in Butte Community. Canal's Kibei Club falls far short of the strength of the one in Butte. In Butte, the Kyowa-kai and its affiliated organizations and the Kibei Club present the true leadership in the community; groups which are successful, as demonstrated above, in molding community sentiment. The affiliated groups should now be discussed in some detail.

SUMO, JUDO, AND ENGEIBU

Closely related with the Kibei Club in Butte is the Sumo Club, even more closer, in fact, than the relationship between the two in Canal. This comes about through the workings of a man named Fukumoto, who is a Kibei and who with "Butch" Tanaka is head of the Sumo Club. The small Sumo Club has a dual organization. It has an executive board with a president, and it has an athletic board with a president. Tanaka is head of the athletic board, that is, he arranges meets, bouts, and all of the athletic contests sponsored by the Sumo Club. The executive board is the group which acts in conjunction with other organizations. It supplies the representatives to the CAS Council, the Clubs and Organizations Council, and takes care of the financial end of the Sumo organization. Fukumoto is head of this. It is noteworthy that he is also chairman of the Board of Governors of the Butte Gila Young People. He is conceded by some to be the actual leader of the Kibei Club while George Yamashiro is thought to be a front for the organization. This, apparently, is true. Fukumoto, himself, is an older man who has gained respect in several organizations including the Kyowa-kai. He is an intimate friend of Mr. Dye, and it is said that he has great powers of oratory which make him an acceptable leader. As in Canal, the Sumo Club is closely tied in with gambling groups, and it is agreed by some that these gambling groups sponsor Sumo matches in order to wager on them. Tanaka, himself, is known to be a gambler. In Block 55, several gambling houses are known to exist, and Tanaka's house has been said to be a place where gambling games were played. Something has already been written on the gambling in the community, and it will be well another time to go into the discussion of the effect of gambling on the population at large. Certainly, the gamblers are a pressure group, but not a political pressure group as are the other organizations in question. The gambler groups are divided among themselves. This division and its effect should be discussed in a later report. Sumo is the chief athletic organization and is the strong-arm unit for the Kyowa-kai and the

Kibei Club, a situation which is analagous to that of Canal.

It is, however, noteworthy that the Kibei do not, as they do in Canal, give any support to the Judo group or the Kendo group here. These latter two organizations thus seem to be without any political significance in the Butte Community.

The Engeibu, unlike the counterpart organization in Canal, is more purely a dramatic society, concerning itself with the presentation of Issei talent shows and of the rendering of Japanese dramatic productions which are known as kabuki. This organization has been sought after by a number of organizations including Kyowa-kai, Gila Young People, and the Sumo Club. Recently, a large dramatic festival took place, and the activities of the Engeibu were formally recognized by the administration. The production was held in the Butte amphitheater, and it is worth noting that the ornate curtain which shielded the stage was inscribed as being donated by the Gila Young People and the Sumo Club together. The members of the Engeibu, however, even though some of them may belong to these various organizations which emerge as pressure groups are primarily concerned with dramatic presentations and the restoration of pure Japanese dramatic art in the center. This restoration is the more significant inasmuch as in the pre-evacuation communities, pure Japanese dramatic productions were rarely, if ever, given. It is the hope of the Engeibu to restore the sentimental love of Japanese for the dramatic art of the mother country. Little time, therefore, has been spent in political activities exerted by the group as a whole. This is quite unlike the Canal situation.

THE BUDDHIST CHURCH

The divisions between the Shin and Zen have been discussed to some extent in other reports. It is significant to note that the Zen Bishop Ochi has sponsored the spiritual side of the Kibei Club. The community is strongly divided between the two Buddhist sects. Zen, although numerically inferior, has

greater connotations of Japanese cultural survivals. George Yamashiro is an ardent Zen devotee. He, it was, who brought Ochi in as spiritual head to the Young People's group. The Young People has been successful in preventing the rise of the Young Buddhist Association, a group which has been sponsored by the Shin priests. Ochi has long been trying to effect a union between the Gila Young People and the Buddhist group. Because of the opposition of the Shin priests, he has been unsuccessful in doing this. It is only recently that the Young Buddhists Association has been successful in emerging as a social group. It is not desirous of being a pressure group as are the Kibei, or to be associated with the Kibei.

It is wondered how much of a power Ochi really is. It is said by some that he is the main brains behind the whole subversive development in the center. While I believe this to be considerably far-fetched; nevertheless, it must be admitted that because of his influence, he has been able to control the Kibei Club. If he had wished, he could bring the Kibei Club to support any measure which he considers worth supporting. The Kibei Club, thus, has sanction in the Buddhist dignitary, particularly those two of the Zen sect, which have contributed to those powers and also to the power of the Buddhist church. It is, however, difficult to ascertain Ochi's real position in the community.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

It is very difficult to determine the position of some of the other and less significant organizations. Although it is fairly easy to delimit the particularly powerful Kibei Club and the Issei Vigilante Committees, and the Sumo Club, such organizations as Goh, Shogi, the Men's Club, the manifestations or religions other than Buddhism, and the like, to exert certain pressures which are not so clearly defined. It must be noted that in the Issei organizations, there is a considerable over-lapping as to membership. A man may belong to the Goh Club, take an active interest in the Sumo bouts, and belong to the

Kyowa-kai. In this case, he can generally influence the thinking of his fellow members in the Goh Club. The result is that most Issei organizations have fallen in line with what might be termed an Issei front, a unified expression of Issei sentiments which are designed to bring about better conditions, a voice in the government, and general improvements for the Issei. This is the effect, mainly, of the smaller pressure groups which rest in individual organizations. It is significant to note that even though such organizations as those described above in detail are powerful, they are not in themselves too significant so far as the community at large is concerned.

The Kibei Club has, perhaps, the largest membership, 500-odd in Canal and perhaps 1500 or less in Butte. Not all of its members take an active interest in the organization, so that the force of the organization is limited to a few individuals. Perhaps, the most significant thing about all of these organizations is not the fact that they exist as pressure groups, but that all together they present a united front in favor of Japanese culture as against the Nisei who favor American refinements of culture.

It would be incorrect to say, for example, that all of the Issei belong to the Kyowa-kai, or that there is an intimate close-working relationship between the Kibei Club and the Kenkyu-kai or the Kyowa-kai. Throughout this report, I have hinted at the matter of gambling groups, mentioning card-sharps, professional gamblers, and rather lower class of people who might be associated with such activities. This indicates a connection of Sumo, Kibei, and Issei groups, which is not all together desirable, and it is not to be thought that because such a situation exists, that all of the members of these groups sponsor whole-heartedly the actions of some of the membership. It is not to be thought, either, that there is complete agreement. The significant point to be raised is that all of these organizations have a common purpose and that they are desirous of furthering their own interests. These interests may best be furthered by a united front, which places secondarily, moral issues such as

the gambling, liquor rings, and prostitution, which is sponsored by some. This is unlike the Nisei situation. The Nisei do not seem to have a common purpose. Issei organizations have banded together for self-protection, and although under the surface they may disagree, on the surface they present a united front. The Nisei organizations, being divided among themselves, are continually at one another's throats, with the result that there's is an unorganized leadership. Taking advantage of this situation, the Issei organizations have stepped in and assumed control. The Block Councils have superseded the Nisei Community Council, and Issei organizations have bitterly opposed the divided Nisei, with the result that the former have been able to exert considerable degree of influence as compared with the disunited Nisei. A word should be mentioned here regarding the Kibei.

As has been pointed out above, in spite of the fact that they are Nisei, their attitudes conform with those of the Issei parents and with the Issei group at large. They resent the degree of assimilation which has been attained by the Nisei, and for this reason, align themselves with the older people. The Kibei are a peculiar group. It is known, of course, that they are most unpopular. There are many families who have only one child who is a Kibei, the others are Nisei. In such cases, it is usually difficult for the Kibei member of the family to get along with his parents and his brothers and sisters alike. It has been mentioned, rather significantly I think, that the Kibei are a spoiled class. They are generally eldest sons who have gone to Japan away from their parents. They have been given money to spend and have been more or less free to do as they pleased. In most cases, they stayed with relatives in Japan, who were only too anxious to see them partake of the Japanese cultures. It is said that most of them were able to have things their own way, and this is the effect which is observed in the center here.

NISEI GROUPS

It is mentioned above that the Nisei are divided among themselves and that they seem to have no common purpose. In a community like Gila where ^{there} is a large percentage of rural people, there are many Nisei who have been reared in rural backgrounds and who have trained in the Japanese language along Japanese precepts, and who are almost Kibei-ish in their outlook. The percentage of those Nisei in Gila who have taken advantage of the American higher education is small, so small, in fact, that I think I can safely say that I am personally acquainted with all of the college graduates in the center. This is the first significant division which occurs between the Nisei groups. There are those who are completely under domination of their parents, and there are others who have been able to some extent to emancipate themselves, but the latter are in the minority. There are, further, the significant divisions which occur between the JACL and the anti-JACL factions. Actually, there are no Nisei groups as such, with the exception of the JACL, who are capable of exerting any kind of influence in the community. Of course, there are various young people clubs and groups. They have sprung up all over the center and are far more numerous than the Issei groups, but they are, in the main, social clubs. They cater to people who are not particularly thoughtful about the problems at hand, people who are dominated by their parents and who step, more or less, in line with the dictates laid down by the parental generation. All such groups and organizations are organized on what is, more or less, a social basis. They sponsor social evenings, dances, club meetings of a social nature, and the like. They do not attempt to exert a political influence. It appears, too, that most of the Nisei are concerned solely with the social advantages offered by these various organizations and by the social life of the center generally.

Being a younger group, they incline to be more optimistic about the future and are less concerned with the problems facing their generation. It is because of this attitude that many Issei have expressed the need for maintaining an Issei

organization and a strong Issei front. They maintain that their children are not, as yet, old enough to take the reins of leadership, that they do not know what is good for them, and that they are unable to make their own plans for the future. To a large extent, this is true. The result is that many Issei are completely subjugating their children to their way of thinking. When a matter comes up concerning Nisei, such as volunteer enlistment, the group finds itself utterly incapable of carrying on the work and is entirely subject to the demands of the parental generation.

There have been various attempts to bring together the more educated Nisei and to make of them leaders in the community, but these attempts have been abortive and unsuccessful. There are certain older Nisei who emerge as leaders. Harry Miyake, who is discussed above, is one but such Nisei leaders generally go over to the side of the Issei inasmuch as support is rarely forthcoming for them among their own group. It is unfortunate that as long as the main interest of the Nisei is a social life, little can be done against the domination of the Issei. There are those groups who have tried, and it is these groups which should be mentioned as significant as pressure groups in the Gila Community. In Butte Camp, there is the JACL Chapter, while in Canal, there is the University Club, the JACL having made no progress in Canal.

The University Club should, perhaps, be discussed first as less significant. It was originally opened to all of those who were interested in higher education regardless of whether they themselves had attended universities and colleges. The result has been, however, that most of those who are college graduates took an interest in the group and have sponsored its meetings. The University Club is a very active little group and has attempted to swing community sentiment in favor of Americanism, pushing the program for camouflage net workers, enlistment in the intelligence school, and, more recently, general Army enlistment. The group has, perhaps, 35 to 40 active members and is, thus,

really too small to be effective as anything but a moderating agency. The members have tried hard but have not been very successful. It is worthwhile to note that while there are other Nisei organizations in Canal, they are not nearly so significant. The Christian Church groups, the various clubs and organizations are concerned with their own immediate problems and do not take a stand on community affairs as does the University Club. The director of Adult Education in the center, Mr. Leiberman, has been largely instrumental in founding this organization. Probably most of the male members of the University Club will enlist in the Army with the result that the power of the organization, limited as it is, will be more completely curtailed. The University Club in Canal is significant because it is the only organization by the Nisei in that camp which has attempted to exert itself and to take a stand on community affairs. In the weekly meetings of the club, discussions take place relative to the improvement of conditions in the center and of the necessity for bringing across to the evacuee population as a whole, the import of the various problems which arises from time to time.

A more significant organization is the JACL, which does emerge as a truly significant organization as a pressure group in Butte Camp, and which should now be considered. Most of the information regarding the intimate details of the JACL can be obtained from a perusal of Kikuchi's diary.

THE JACL

Kikuchi has been in a position to follow the daily happenings of the JACL. A picture, incontestably correct, of its history and development in the center can be gleaned from a perusal of his diary. Pressures for the formation of the JACL Chapter began in Butte early in November. Two people, principally, were instrumental in bringing about the formation of the organization. They were Nobu Kawai, former head of the Pasadena Chapter of the JACL, and Ken Tashiro, who at the time of the formation of the organization was acting as editor of

the Gila News-Courier. In November, a national convention of the JACL took place in Salt Lake City. Having been given some support by the manifestation of the formation of a chapter in Butte, Kawai and Tashiro attended this convention and returned with a charter permitting the recognition of the first of the JACL chapters to be established in a relocation center, that of the Gila Butte Community. Upon their return from Salt Lake City, Tashiro and Kawai sponsored a number of mass meetings for the purpose of arousing interest in the organization. The chief point raised in these meetings was the fact that the JACL is the only recognized organization of and by Japanese which can further a relocation program and work to the benefit of the evacuees in the relocation centers. The general program outlined was one of the enlisting new members and a concerted membership drive was planned, which has been taking place in Butte. Unfortunately, numerous critical situations arose, such as the request for young men to enlist in the Army Intelligence School, such as the more recent development of the drive for Army enlistment, which have somewhat prevented an active JACL participation and have somewhat checked the drive for new members. A concerted drive took place in the latter part of January, and there was some response. The result is that the JACL is fairly active in Butte.

Attempts to form a chapter of the JACL in Canal Camp have been fairly numerous. The University Club, which I mentioned above, invited Kawai and Tashiro to address them on December 19, 1942. At this meeting, Kawai urged the formation of the JACL Chapter in Camp One and attempted to clarify the stand taken by the organization in their Salt Lake convention in regard to their policy, namely, that of cooperation with the authorities and the pushing of a relocation program. This, he said, was the hope and aim of the JACL for the year of 1943. He stated in this meeting as he had stated in other meetings that it was the aim of the JACL to raise the Japanese minority group to equality with other Americans. In this respect, it was necessary for the JACL to take a positive stand on Army enlistment and on drafting of the Nisei. He brought out the

point that the JACL had entered into communication with high Army officials and WRA officials in order to push Army openings for Nisei. In these discussions, Kawai debunked some of the accusations that have been made against the JACL, particularly the one regarding the accusation that it was the JACL which was instrumental in bringing about evacuation. These meetings took place before various groups. The Kibei Club, in fact, in Butte asked Tashiro and Kawai to appear before them and to address them on the subject of the JACL. Although the meeting was conducted in a fairly orderly manner, nevertheless, there has been no over-lapping of membership between the Kibei Club and the JACL.

The JACL is, perhaps, the only united Nisei organization which can take an active stand in expressing Nisei opinion. It is true, however, that the JACL is not a representative Nisei organization. There are strong pressures directed against the organization, not only from among the Issei and Kibei clubs, but from the Nisei themselves. The fact that Butte was the first relocation center to be granted a JACL Chapter is not indicative of the strength of the organization in the Gila Community. In fact, it is only because there is a strong leadership that the JACL has been able to make any headway at all, and it is this leadership which brings about the formation of the organization in the community. Yet, on the other hand, because of the unpopularity of the leaders, it defeats the purpose of enlarging the organization within the community. As a matter of fact, the JACL is prevented from becoming powerful also by the fact that administrative sanction has been given to the organization. The question may justly be raised why should there be such terrific antagonism toward an organization of this kind which is honestly, in the writer's opinion, working toward the benefit of the relocation center as a whole. The answer seems to stem back to the pre-evacuation days. JACL chapters in California and on the Pacific coast generally were rather numerous. Although there was a national chapter, it did not function with any significance in the pre-evacuation normal times. The result was that each JACL chapter functioned in its own way and usually as a kind of Nisei

social club. There were certain leaders in these various chapters who manifested time and again the position of the Nisei as opposed to the Issei and Kibei. The result was that many families objected to the stand which was taken by the organization along these lines because they felt that the organization was encouraging disobedience and disrespect for parents and was breaking the sentimental tie with Japan and Japanese culture. There were many Nisei who were thus brought under their parent's influence with the result that they, too, became hostile to the organization. In many towns, the chapter was controlled by a few with the result that some Nisei were accepted and other, excluded. In short, the organization, being ununified, lacked true significance. There were, of course, certain chapters who sponsored educational programs and who attempted to aid the members in getting adjusted to life in America, but I gather that these were in the minority. Then, too, there were said to be certain dishonest spirits in the organization, such as the ones who founded the Anti-Axis League, an organization which is discussed elsewhere, following the out-break of hostilities with Japan.

The JACL was accused of pushing the evacuation program in an honest desire to cooperate and in the process of reuniting the various chapters following the out-break of the war. The organization did, perhaps, bend over backwards in its desire to cooperate with the military authorities. On finding that evacuation was inevitable, many of the JACL leaders volunteered to go with advance groups to assembly centers, particularly to Manzanar. The Japanese population as a whole got the impression that the JACL, always regarded as an upstart organization, had fostered the evacuation program. This is the chief accusation which has been leveled against the organization and one which in the relocation centers at least, the members of the organization have never been able to live down. As soon as the first evacuees were moved into the Butte Camp, the JACL movement began. It is said, perhaps with some degree of rectitude, that such organizations as the Kyowa-kai, Kibei Club, and the unified Issei organizations

generally received their impetus from the beginning growth of the JACL. These groups wished to contest the JACL and on seeing that organization beginning to grow, took steps to prevent its growth. This is the consensus of many neutral Issei and of some Nisei as well, who are non-partisan.

The accusation has again been leveled at the JACL that it is a selfish organization, working entirely for its own interests and that it does not represent a true consensus of the Japanese in the United States. It has been pointed out by some Issei who have given the matter some thought that the selfishness of the JACL has not only damaged the organization itself, but has turned the hand of every non-member against it. Attention has been called to the Pacific Citizen, and it is pointed out that every page discusses only Nisei, Nisei activities, and the Nisei future. No attention is paid to the Issei, to the younger yobi-yose, or to the Kibei. It is said that the JACL sets itself up as an all-Nisei organization, purely for Nisei, that it expresses Nisei opinion only, and that thus it seeks to defeat the other groups of Japanese who are not and cannot be JACL members. In spite of the fact that the JACL is now attempting to take into consideration the Japanese at large, the Gila population cannot forget the pre-evacuation hatred of the organization. Nobu Kawai, unpopular as a Chapter president, continues in disfavor in the relocation center. The same is true of Tashiro, Miyake, Oji, Miss Obata, and others. It is said by some of the more rational people that if a new leadership could be presented by the organization, that, perhaps, community sentiments would be more in favor of it. In view of the strong community pressures, however, against the JACL, this is doubtful. Perhaps there is some truth in the accusation that the JACL is a selfish organization; in fact, there are those members of the group who are bitterly opposed to anything "Japanese" and who thus buck the Issei and Kibei on every turn. With such active disapproval of Issei and Kibei actions, there is little reason to indicate that the JACL enjoys popularity. In general, however, the present policies of the organization do extend themselves

for the benefit of the community as a whole, but the community as a whole do not and will not recognize these beneficial policies. Too many are only too inclined to sit back and criticize, recalling the position of the JACL in the past and refusing to recognize that its policies have been changed. The united Issei are only too anxious to push their case against the JACL, with the result that the JACL leaders are constantly being threatened and are constantly subject to violence and threats of it, although no actual violence has as yet been perpetrated.

The position of the JACL in relation to registration of everyone between the ages of 17 and 38 and of Army volunteer enlistment is one which promises to do much that is detrimental to the organization at large. There is the promise of the draft. The JACL has constantly been accused of bringing in Army volunteer enlistment, the registration, and the proposed draft measure. It is said, therefore, that the JACL is working against the interests of the Japanese in America and that it is trying to drag people away from the influences of their parents to put them in danger in the Army and, thus, to further its own selfish end. Absurd as these statements are, they, nevertheless have wide credence in the community. The relation of the JACL to Army enlistment is one which will be brought up in a paper on the processes of registration. It is sufficient to note here that the JACL is held responsible for the condition in which the center finds itself.

When recently a number of Kibei and of the Kyowa-kai and Kenkyu-kai leaders were apprehended by the FBI and made subject to arrest and internment, blame for the denunciation of these individuals was attached to the JACL. The details of this will follow shortly.

An organization which is closely related to the JACL and which is of aid in formulating the policies and actions of the organization is made up of a small group of Issei who have united together under the title of the Ex-Servicemen's League. These are veterans of the last war, and by virtue of

the fact that they are veterans, have been able to attain citizenship and, consequently, membership in the JACL. Since the JACL is designed primarily for young people, the ex-servicemen as a group do not take an active part in the Citizen's League. Rather, they confer with the JACL Board of Governors on matters of community policy. The Ex-Servicemen's Club has twenty-seven members divided between both camps. Most of these members are intensely patriotic; they belong to the American Legion, they have sponsored the Boy Scouts, observances of national holidays such as Armistice Day, flag-raising ceremonies, and the like. Many of them, moreover, have chosen to work in the camouflage net factory while others volunteered and were accepted as teachers in the Army Intelligence Japanese Language School. The other Issei regard them as somewhat queer and, in the main, they are a group to themselves. They out-spokenly support the war effort of the United States and although they are very unpopular, they are not considered particularly significant by the other Nisei because they are not taken very seriously.

Because of their own lack of power, they have had to resort to a union with the JACL. When, during the Army registration, Issei and Kibei, pro-Japanese elements, urged the answering of the questions relative to repudiation of allegiance to foreign powers and willingness to serve in the armed forces in the negative, the JACL and the ex-servicement got together to exert pressures in the opposite direction, urging people to answer in the affirmative. A group of individuals, JACL members and ex-servicemen, are making, at the present writing, a house to house canvass in order to urge the people affected by the registration to answer both of the questions listed above in the affirmative. The Army and the administration desire that no pressures be brought to bear at all, either for or against the acceptable answers to these questions. The ex-servicemen have been asked to desist from this activity, while those so-called disloyal elements who urged negative answers to these questions were largely apprehended by the FBI in a recent round-up, the effect of which will be dis-

cussed later. Like the JACL, the Ex-Servicemen's League has been militantly active against the dissatisfied Issei groups and are out-spoken in favor of the Nisei. Oddly enough, certain members of the administrative staff, particularly, Mr. Hoffman, Chief of Community Services, and Director and Assistant Director of the Project, Bennett and Korn, respectively, have opposed to the JACL on the grounds that the organization does manifest certain selfish tendencies. Attention is called to the fact that the Kibei and Issei are willing to give up their freedom and their lot in the United States in favor of a principle. Even though these Issei and Kibei organizations are unable to agree on all points, they are, nevertheless, able to effect a mutual cooperation which makes for the strong united Issei group. The Nisei organizations, being too self-centered, being too concerned with bringing people over to their own point of view, have not been successful at all in maintaining a united front; in fact, they succeed only in fostering ill-feeling among the residents of the community.

CONCLUSIONS

This, in the main, brings to a close the discussion of materials available on pressure groups at the moment. It has been the desire of the writer to show them in their relation to each other. Some attention has been given to the action taken by these groups in the community but, in the main, the morphology of the organizations has been discussed. It is difficult to say just where these organizations exert their pressures. Of course in such matters as the influence of enlistment and registration, which is now creating such a furor in camp, the division of Issei and Nisei comes out very clearly. It was the Kibei group who brought pressures publicly, but when they were silenced, the anti-administration move began to center itself in the individual homes and it was here that parents took control over their children to the extent that they tried to and continue to try to urge an adherence on the part of their children to a more purely Japanese regimen.

It is often difficult to elicit the exact position of a group. Membership is over-lapping; there is a day to day change in the emphasis and the effect of the organization. In regard to the Canal Kibei Club, for example, it is mentioned that there is a division in the group itself. With the removal of the conservative president, Akimoto, by the FBI, the conservative element in the organization is going over to the more militant Issei-favoring side, and it begins to appear that the Kibei Club in Canal can, without leadership, cooperate with the Issei and emerge as a strong power as the one in Butte. Naturally, all of the information given above is to be understood to be incomplete; as the scene changes and as new events take place on the project, the emphasis shifts with the result that one organization may supersede another. In general, however, the Issei organizations have maintained their solidarity of front while the Nisei, having no solidarity and not, apparently, having community interests at heart, have been subordinated. This situation has been pretty general throughout.

With the admission of the Issei to the Community Council, a measure which may well occur, it seems likely that the Nisei will be the more over-shadowed. On the other hand, Issei admission to a voice in community politics may cause the break-down of the strong Issei front inasmuch as the Issei generation would then be legally permitted to express itself. This might be left open for questioning until a definite decision on it is forthcoming. Given the political pressure groups of the camp, it will be noted that all of the Issei and Kibei organizations together from the Block Councils down to the Sumo Club are far more powerful and exert a far greater influence than do the JACL and the Community Council. These latter two organizations are not unified but are divided against themselves even though it is overlapping in membership. In spite of the fact that Miyake is Central Block Manager and a member of the JACL Board of Governors, his influence as a JACL member is limited. Realizing this, he leaves the JACL out of his handling of Block Managers. As has been mentioned above, this is an exceptional position and one which swings over to the Issei side.

Of course, there are many other pressure groups in the center and mention of them has been forthcoming from time to time, but such an organization as the Goh Club, the various Women's Clubs, and the like, are all subordinate to the united Issei. It must be remembered that with the possible exception of the Kibei Club not one of these organizations is, in itself, a power. It is with unification of method and purpose that strength emerges.