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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Colorado River Relocation Center
Poston, Arizona

Narrative Report

COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

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INTRODUCTION

The seeds of democracy have been germinating in India, Egypt, Persia and many other countries. Everywhere people desire to have a greater part in shaping their own destinies. The inhabitants feel that they have a right to make their own mistakes rather than to be subjected to the mistakes of foreign administrators.

It is desirable that democracy should advance in the United States as it ferments throughout the world.

Some officials at Poston have said to the staff and residents that it would have been easier to have run the center dictatorially with all rules and policies established by the administration and without consultation with the residents, and that the establishment of community government, democratic practices and evacuee participation increased the difficulties of administering the center. I believe that this position is untenable and unsound and as fallacious as the doctrine that Fascism is more efficient than democracy. If the resources are comparable, slavery and oppression cannot rival democracy and freedom in efficiency, morale, or material and spiritual achievements.

Then it follows that if other conditions are equal, administrators of relocation centers which had little or no self-government have a more difficult task than the administrators of Poston, especially after the administration adopted the views of those of us who argued for more evacuee participation and community self-government. The efficiency which characterized registration, the camouflage net factory operation, and segregation, was due in a large measure to evacuee participation and support.

From the outset, I have been fervently, some say fanatically, devoted to increased evacuee management of their affairs. This view is exemplified by a memorandum written at your request on June 30, 1942, a week after my arrival. The following is an excerpt from my discussion of the tentative policy statement formulated on May 29, 1942, by Mr. Eisenhower:

"There is a lack of emphasis and detail on self-government of business enterprises and community government. There is too much emphasis on the part that the Project Director and his staff play. Governmental officials should not impose their will on the residents, but the government should be formulated by the residents. It is absolutely essential that the personnel understand and sympathize with the policy of self-government. The department heads should not wait until the temporary Community Council with advisory powers is transformed into a permanent system of self-government which has real power. Until the establishment of such a Council, the recommendations of the Council to be elected July 21, 1942,

should be given very great weight. The plan adopted by me is to keep informed and to consult with the two lawyers of the evacuees which constitute the two members of the bar who are in the Law Department. Other department heads should follow this method in regard to the matters within their domain. The department heads should profit by the help these Councils could render, even before the committees are set up. The major policies and questions could be formulated for submission to them."

My profound belief in the desirability of as much evacuee participation and community self-government as possible was heightened by the nature of evacuation itself. I shall not add my voice at this time to the discussion of whether evacuation was justified and necessary. Many libertarians will join in this discussion at the close of the war. I merely wish to point out there was something arbitrary and undemocratic in the process which exigencies of military necessity alone can justify. Owing to the delay of the beginning of the leave program, the relocation centers became institutionalized.

There are always dangers when appointed personnel from one race is placed in authority over those of another. It is understandable that any minority placed in the position of the evacuee would be sensitive to any situation which might give rise to an inference that their leaders were not regarded as capable of contributing to the solution of center problems. Some might imply that the doctrine of racial superiority was rearing its venomous, noisome head.

Many of the appointed personnel had special qualifications, such as knowledge of engineering or familiarity with government procedures and rules, not possessed by the evacuees because of their lack of experience in government work, administration, construction, or engineering. Many of the evacuees, however, occupied positions at a \$16 or \$19 monthly salary plus a small allowance for clothing, which were far more valuable to the center than some of the better paid appointed personnel. Under these unusual circumstances the sharing by evacuees of important decisions became of the utmost importance.

When Dr. Province, Chief of Community Management, and Dr. Kneier, Chief of the Community Government Section, visited Poston in August, they requested copies of election regulations, notice of election, notice of nomination, nomination petition, certification, ballots, oath of office, etc., which I had drafted. In the Community Government Manual for use in establishing local self-government in relocation centers issued on October, 1942, by the

War Relocation Authority, some of these materials were set forth in Part I of the Manual with the notation: "The regulations developed by one project which has a Temporary Council in operation may be helpful in this regard."

Dr. Kneier in a letter to me dated August 26 asking for criticisms of the draft of this Manual stated:

"You will note that we have printed some of your material without giving Poston specific credit. We did point out it wasn't ours but one project. The reason we didn't say it was Poston was because we felt it might be bad to hold up one project to others as a model. I hope you will understand and appreciate our point of view."

The influence of this Manual on other centers has been considerable. Many of our forms have been adopted in toto. Evacuee leaders at assembly or relocation centers and Chiefs of Community Management Sections, Project Attorneys, police chiefs and other officials have also asked for other forms such as those used by the police department and judicial commissions, resolutions of the Community Councils, and descriptions of procedures of committees, councils, and commissions.

We have no means of measuring and appraising the influence of our replies with their bulky enclosures. We know, however, that residents of Poston and visitors to Poston from other centers have often commented on self-government as Poston's greatest achievement and that officials of other centers have been embarrassed by comparisons.

Many have said that while Poston's physical facilities lack mirrors, partitions and fittings of the barracks of the newer centers, we rank highest in the relationship between appointed personnel and evacuees, and in community self-government. Starting off with an unenviable reputation because of its heat and isolation, Poston now connotes not only to its own residents, but also to innumerable inhabitants of other projects a place where appointed personnel and evacuees have succeeded in working together in the solution of common problems.

The W.R.A. promised the residents of relocation centers an opportunity to govern themselves in several memoranda and circulars issued in March and April, 1942. The ultimate form to community government was disappointing to many of the residents. In some of the centers a charter of permanent government was never adopted. In at least one, the semblance rather than the reality of self-

government is said to have been adopted. Though limited by administrative instructions of the W.R.A. and the delay in its formulation of policies, Poston was the first center to have a judicial commission, Issei Advisory Board, and to pass a Penal Code and Traffic Code.

In the metamorphosis of this cooperation, there were many periods when the project staff was divided in its counsel.

In my opinion, at first a few of the administrators, including Assistant Project Director Evans, desired the council to soar in the ethereal region. They were irritated by complaints of a minor nature and failed to realize that such actions by a political body were necessary, desirable, and inevitable during the early period of a council in a community such as Poston. Instead of being irritated and frightened by the early actions of the council in probing and making recommendations on food, hospitals, medical care, etc., they should have utilized the opportunities afforded by council action to learn about the community and some of its reactions to evacuation and to the early administrative difficulties.

Some of the reports and minutes of the councils should have been mimeographed. Many less desirable and instructive papers were mimeographed and distributed. The council could have been a medium whereby a great deal of administrative policies could have been presented through the councilmen to the people and embodied in the minutes as official memoranda to the councilmen.

Though many of the early councilmen were youthful and inexperienced, they constituted on the whole an unusual group of educated, Americanized young men who conscientiously strove to aid in the solution of many initial problems. The administration by being fearful of what the council might do took steps not only to slow down the council, but also to hurt its prestige. By not being able to remedy some of the complaints or satisfy some of the needs, the Council was placed in a position of apparent powerlessness.

For example, at a time when many other bodies such as the block managers were being vigorously backed through being provided with transportation, offices, paid employees and information of vital interest to the residents, the council was for several months given none of these prerequisites of prestige and power. During this period, important visitors, including the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, were brought to meetings of the block managers but not to meetings of the Temporary Community Council. Recommendations of the Council were in many cases not even answered.

Nevertheless, especially after the strike, the top project officials relied more and more on evacuee aid. Always ahead, even in the beginning, of other projects, Poston has demonstrated that less bureaucracy and more evacuee community government is a desideratum in relocation centers. After the strike the Project Director has devoted unstintly of his time and energy to act in this significant development.

the strike,

After understanding the causes of the top administrators realized as never before the value of the residents having a greater part in the formation of certain policies. The leaders of the evacuees learned too that certain policies were drafted and decided by the Washington office and their protests against them were ineffectual. After the dust and the din, the tenseness and the ardor had subsided, a new relation grew up.

Henceforth, it was not a prerequisite to be strongly anti-administration to be elected to office. Calmer heads took over positions of leadership. A few unpopular block managers were defeated as the office became elective. The block with a few exceptions settled down. The people became more contented. The resentments and frustrations had been quieted by the catharsis of a week of emotionalism.

The development of this unity of action has been an education to both parties. Many staff members have expressed delight at their fairly recent discovery that the way to get an efficient job done was to submit the problem to their evacuee staff and let them do the rest. Others realized this apophthegm from the outset. There has always been a strong correlation between those staff members who believed in a large measure of Community self-government and those who believe that a greater measure of responsibility should be reposed in evacuees in administrative posts for which they qualified. While through relocation we have lost some of our best workers, the abilities of the residents are not even now fully tapped by some divisions.

Other staff members--and they have never been denominated "torch bearers" nor impracticable idealists--have said that they have found the evacuees very cooperative but the appointed personnel were extremely difficult to handle. (For example, see statement of Fred Haverland, Chief of the Section of Transportation and Supply at a staff meeting held on January 26, 1943, referring to the misuse of government motor vehicles and the difficulty of securing compliance with the W.R.A. order requiring the pooling of all cars.)

No fence, figurative nor actual, separates many of the residents from many of the appointed personnel. On October 15, 1942,

John Evans issued an excellent circular outlining the policy that the relationships between the appointed personnel and the residents should in no way differ from relationships between individuals of any popular group in any other American community. While at times the democratic members of the staff have had to fight to maintain this relation on an issue such as permitting evacuee guests to dine in the personnel mess, the democrats have usually prevailed over the bigots.

To the extent that we have achieved this relationship, we have not failed in the most vital part of our work. This is one of the essences of democracy which unfortunately is yet to be achieved in many parts of the United States.

THE ROLE OF THE LEGAL DIVISION IN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

No profession is as fully represented in Federal, State, and local governments as the legal profession. For example, over 50% of the members of Congress and most state legislators are attorneys-at-law. Most of the members of the present cabinet of the President are lawyers.

Even if lawyers do not hold public office, they exercise an important role in civic affairs. The Legal Division at Poston was no exception. The Project Attorney was designated community council advisor and the members of his staff have played vital parts in the solution of community problems.

It is significant that the first Temporary Community Councils were housed with the Legal Division and the overall or Community Council has occupied from its inception a portion of the same room as the legal stenographers. The prominent part played by the Legal Division in the work of the Community Council, the block managers, and administrative commissions, etc., gave its members knowledge of the foibles and values of evacuee community government.

Furthermore, their ordinary functions put the lawyers in close touch with the community. The work was more in the nature of general practice of law than that ordinarily done by a government attorney. In addition to diverse problems of ordinary practice, they are asked about many problems which arise out of the war, such as the use of Italian prisoners of war, airmen's identification certificates, the Geneva Convention, special problems due to the center's presence in the military area, etc. Isolation added to the problems. For example, in one case the Project Attorney in solving a triangle problem involving a block manager had to conduct an investigation of conflicting stories by correspondence and determine facts in which most of the witnesses were not accessible.

Dealing with the whole gamut of practical and legal problems in the life of a rapidly developing pioneer community, it was natural that the lawyers should have as clients many of the evacuee leaders. The confidence engendered by this work made them well-known and respected by people in all walks of life in Poston. It was natural, therefore, that both their professional knowledge and the reputation which they acquired in the community should be continuously utilized by the various community government bodies.

ADMINISTRATION--EVACUEE GOVERNMENT RELATIONSHIP

Mr. Morris Burge came to Poston about the middle of June as community organization specialist. A few days later soon after my arrival, he was assigned to other work and I was designated by the Project Director as advisor on community government.

At the beginning, I attended all of the meetings of the Temporary Community Council Unit I and the organization meetings of the Temporary Community Council of Units II and III and other meetings when invited. I was frequently called upon by the councils to draft resolutions, answer questions regarding administrative instructions, policies, law, etc. I was frequently placed on committees such as the drafting committee of the organization commission, the law and order committee, etc., and was also often invited to other committee meetings. It was my plan to assist a great deal at the outset and then gradually have more and more things done by the residents themselves.

When the councils had become more familiar with community and governmental affairs and work, it was integrated by the Project Director with the unit administrators and his own office. I continued, however, to be the advisor not only for the councils, but also administrative boards and committees.

Unlike W.R.A.'s organizational chart, the Community Council at Poston did not function under the assistant director in charge of community management. Mr. Head in a letter to Mr. Myer dated December 13, 1943, recommended the continuance of this plan:

"I question the advisability of changing the present arrangement whereby evacuee community government functions in the Project Director's office, and the Community Council has a direct line of contact with the Project Director, and has access directly to the Project Attorney's office for any advice or assistance in their work. The contemplated organizational chart of W.R.A. places community government under the Community Management Division; thus an intermediary is imposed between the Council and the Project Director. The prestige of the Council and the value of direct contact by the Project Director with leaders of the people would be impaired by this change.

I, therefore, recommend that the present organization chart on evacuee community government be retained after January 1, 1943."

OTHER STUDIES OF COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT AT POSTON

The Bureau of Sociological Research has made a detailed study of community government at Poston. I have turned over to the Bureau considerable material in this field. I understand that Dr. Spicer, assisted by others, has written a monograph on this subject. At my suggestion, the Public Relations Committee of the First Temporary Community Council of Unit I aided by Dr. Spicer prepared an organization chart for the project and a history of community government, on which I assisted. This history became the incentive for several other monographs of various segments of Poston life, including community enterprises, judicial commission and manpower commission. Dr. Tami Tsuchiyama working at Poston under the direction of Dr. Thomas is preparing a study on the history of community government. Finally, the unit administrators will undoubtedly treat this subject extensively in their reports. For this reason, I shall mainly confine this paper to a brief history of community government together with an appraisal of its benefits.

In 1942, Dr. Conrad A. Arensberg wrote a cogent and penetrating monograph which contains some analysis of the early problems of community government at Poston, entitled "Report on a Developing Community, Poston, Arizona." Since this study has been mimeographed, and later printed in the Journal of Applied Anthropology and is therefore accessible, the incisive points raised on pages 19 through 24 of the mimeographed issue will not be discussed by me.

The Tolson Committee, War Relocation Authority, and Indian Service agreed on the theory that substantial self-government should be granted to the residents of relocation centers. In practice the achievements, especially during the first year, did not come up to the early sanguine hopes. Nevertheless, after six months, I predicted that at Poston substantial progress on evacuee government would be achieved. This prophecy has been fulfilled.

The experience of Poston demonstrates anew that the best way to obtain efficient administration among most groups of intelligent persons is to have the residents participate in the administration. Antagonisms arising from frustration will not then be directed solely at the administration. On the other hand, dependence on government action for almost everything will not then be developed. Faith in democracy which had been seriously impaired or destroyed, especially among the Issei, who felt that their services and their children's services had been rejected by the United States and they were denied equal rights and would be denied future opportunities, has been partially restored by proper administration and formulation of policies.

The Washington office is realizing the value of having evacuees taking an active part in the relocation programs.

BLOCK MANAGERS

The block managers system originated in Poston and reached a high degree of importance here. The original concept of a block manager was formulated by Dr. Solon Kimball and John Evans. The creature which developed was very different than their plans. For example, under Mr. Evans, final decisions were usually made by him. His successor, Mr. Nelson, usually presented problems to the block manager giving his views on the questions but leaving the ultimate decision to the block managers. This method worked far more successfully. For almost a year the block managers in Unit I have had an Executive Board which plays an important role in formulating unit policies. It is composed of one representative elected from each quad and the block manager supervisor. All its proposals have thus far been adopted by the block managers. The Unit Administrator often presents major problems to this committee for its views.

The block manager soon acquired a staff. By the middle of the summer the regular officials were as follows: Assistant block manager, a clerk, and a custodian. A few months later, most blocks also had a gardener, watchman, janitors and a variety of other aides attached to the block manager's office.

The block custodian keeps the grounds, laundry and wash room sanitary and clean. The clerk takes care of much of the office routine. The block gardener supervises the planting and cultivation of block gardens.

With the decrease in available workers there has been a reduction in the size of the block manager's staff. Unit III had reached the highest total, the staff numbering sometimes 10 or 12. At present as a result of the order from Washington reducing the size of project employment, the block manager's staff is reduced to seven.

The duties of the block manager are manifold. They act as liaisons between the resident and the administration. They requisition and distribute government equipment and supplies and are responsible for non-expendable government property. They disseminate information concerning facilities and administrative regulations. They keep a record of the residents of the block council and distribute mail, report emergencies to health, fire, and police departments. They assist in settling grievances within the block.

They sometimes perform the functions of a political boss. Knowing many of the administrators and some of the governmental procedures residents come with the block member to facilitate disposal of their business. They organized the early block councils. They often activate block councils which are usually composed of

heads of families and which decide local matters. They call block meetings and usually act as chairman of these meetings. A provision was inserted in the permanent community council also permitting councilmen to exercise this power.

At first the block manager was appointed by the Unit Administrator. There was a great turnover in this position at the beginning because many residents could not stand the attendant criticism and worries. Later the residents became more appreciative and understanding of the difficulty and arduousness of this position; its prestige increased. The resignation of a block manager caused great perturbation and became the subject of many block meetings and delegations which attempted to straighten out the difficulty. The fact that the residents became so excited over a contemplated change shows how vital the manager became in block affairs.

As the prestige of the block manager became enhanced, the median age increased. At first most of the block managers were Nisei; many were very young. Many assistant block managers were Isseis. Later more and more were Isseis. In some cases the blocks were not in favor of the appointee by the administration. Proposals to have an elective block manager were denied by the Assistant Project Director who felt that the block manager was an agent of the administration and the residents should have no part in his selection.

The administration's early concept was demonstrated at several meetings. For example, in reply to a question of the temporary community council on August 19, 1942, Mr. Burge announced that block managers were to be selected the first week of September. He added that since the position is a form of civil service, they would receive an examination prior to appointment, and candidates would be required to give letters of recommendation, in either Japanese or English addressed to Mr. Evans. To the question as to whether if the present man was not popular what action could be taken to replace him, he said that the block manager was not elected but was part of the administration. One of the results of the Poston Strike was an agreement on the part of the administration to allow elections to office. In most cases the block manager was re-elected.

I have been informed that in some projects the block managers do not have such an important function as at Poston. In at least one center, Minidoka, they were supposed to have opposed the formation of a community government. In Manzanar, the block managers also served as a sort of councilman.

Project Attorney Horn of Granada in a report dated November 2 hailed the organization of block managers as "the backbone of this community", with innumerable duties to perform. He concluded that they are all older men who have influence and prestige in their respective blocks, that they are really able to "turn on the heat" if it is necessary; such as, at the time of the registration for the Army in February, and that they are the one group that the administration can successfully appeal to for assistance.

Block pressures have affected the views of many of the residents on many vital questions, such as how to answer questions 27 and 28, whether to go to Tule Lake, whether the camouflage net factory should open, whether the November strike should be supported and whether to relocate. Attempts to use the project, units, rokus or quads as the bases for activities never created the same unity of action as did block activities. This was demonstrated when the first Temporary Community Council attempted to establish a community trust fund from cotton picking. Quads were sometimes the bases for parties and mass meetings assisting in settling grievances.

The block has been the most important cohesive and functional unit. Block enterprises include building of recreational facilities such as basketball and badminton courts, the working on block vegetable or ornamental gardens, and the giving of block parties. Blocks organized cotton picking expeditions and kept a block fund for various purposes. Part of the camouflage net trust funds was distributed to blocks. Block 45 purchased pictures with part of the fund at about \$7.50 a week to be shown to the children. Blocks have purchased coolers, cooking, dish washing and other apparatus, and other equipment not furnished by the government. In the case of council meeting of Block 22, attended by the writer on July 3, 1942, each head of the family who could afford it was asked to contribute \$2.00. The committee was to call on those heads who were not in attendance but should not press the request if a person could not afford it.

The block meetings were often dominated by older or middle-aged men. At the block council meeting which I attended, all of the 25 members present except the block manager and two others were middle-aged or older. Japanese was the language used.

The actions of the blocks are in some ways reminiscent of Town Hall meetings in New England. There are some clear evidences of the influences of the Japanese culture of the early Twentieth Century such as emphasis upon loss of face and desire for unity of action, deference to heads of families and older people, former residents of certain kens working together, etc. However, many

essential features of democracy have developed in the making of decisions on whether blocks should make purchases of coolers, or electrical cooking equipment or fresh fish or for what purposes block funds should be used.

The management of Christmas parties, New Year's festivities or other block social activities through committees have often invoked a high degree of cooperation and democratic participation. A fine unity had evolved in many blocks out of cooperation in beautifying the blocks providing for certain foods and equipments not given by the government, settling controversies and problems.

Block representatives attend important funerals on behalf of the block. Contributions are made by heads of families of blocks for special purposes such as koden or for mutual aid. One of the earliest illustrations of block cooperation occurred on July 3, 1942, when a severe dust storm swept the center. The residents of Block 22 had just begun to eat dinner when the dust prevented them from finishing their meal. Everyone realized that a job of cleaning up had to be done not only in their homes but also in some of the public places including the dining halls. The kitchen help indicated very courteously that they would appreciate assistance in cleaning up the place at ten o'clock that evening. Over 50 residents came to help. Though most of them were young, several were old. One, who was lame, watered the place. By their joint efforts the mess hall was soon restored to its pristine cleanliness.

The W.R.A. in its original order providing for the establishment of a Temporary Community Council stated that no appointed official could be elected to the council. Since under the early system a block manager was appointed by the unit administrators, the Project Attorney therefore ruled that although he could not run for the council he would have to resign from the block manager position if he were elected and chose to serve as a councilman.

Administrative Instruction No. 34 providing for a Permanent Community Council after the adoption of a charter by the residents of a center does not contain this restriction. The Project Attorney has therefore held that a person can now be both a block manager and a councilman. Some block managers have been elected to the council.

When the Temporary Community Council was elected, many questions were raised as to the respective functions of both. The Legal Division answered many of these queries at my request. The Assistant Project Director, John Evans, explained the relationship of the block managers at a meeting of the Temporary Community Council meeting of

Unit I held on August 5, 1942. His talk was summarized in the minutes of this meeting as follows:

"The Block Manager system itself was necessary from a mechanical point of view because it would be impossible for the administration to run the project until such a time as the people of Poston were in a position to take over without this system. The Block Manager system will have to be kept alive in an administrative capacity. Their status approximates that of Civil Service. One of the difficulties with which we are confronted as far as saying that this is going to be a community which is entirely self-governed is the fact that it is a government project and a great many essential physical supplies have to leave the hands of the government and be transferred to our hands. The government does reach down into this community in a mechanical sense.

"When the block managers were selected and appointed in a temporary capacity, which they still are, they were chosen on the basis that they were the actual choice of the people. This was done by Dr. Kimball. The block managers' work and responsibilities are entirely on a block level. They also act as an information service for the residents of their blocks. In order to facilitate the work of research workers who are going to come here and help us, they will rely to a large extent on specialists. The block managers are becoming specialists in the blocks as far as knowing statistical details.

"Block managers are janitors in a mechanical sense of the word, but they can be of inestimable value to the Community on the block level. The block manager to be a good civil servant will have very little personal prestige, but no good civil servant can actually have that. The relationship that block representatives have with block managers is quite a difficult one. The Council will have to raise themselves to a very, very high level in thinking and actions in order that they make the contribution to this community that is essential to make in order that this community take its rightful place in the community at large. Poston Units II and III are each going to have councils, and the councils will have to act and think as one. It will be difficult to achieve, but it can be achieved. The Council represents a block and the needs and requirements are of the most interest to the members, but when the answers the questions, one must think it over in terms of the community at large. If it is

a good idea for the whole group, one must bring it up at the meetings and see that it gets where it should. As far as small complaints are concerned, the block managers will devote their time to that sort of problem. The Council should try very hard to have an understanding relationship with the block managers.

"Mr. Evans expressed a hope that sometime the Council and block managers could hold a joint meeting so that any questions in either group's mind could come out at that time and be settled. Mr. Evans stated that 'As you proceed with your meetings and get better acquainted, you should start group thinking. Don't worry too much about whether you would be allowed to do something by the W.R.A. or the administration because the chances are that you will get what you want. Mr. Haas and the legal department are equipped to keep you abreast with legalities. The W.R.A. has a general over-all policy, but it is feeling its way along as far as policy is concerned just as we are. If we made a reasonable plan for self-government and terms of forming a constitution and it holds within itself real possibilities, it will be given full consideration and it is entirely possible that it will be acceptable as a policy. We have as much right to try and solve problems as any other group of Americans. Let us do this.'

"The question was raised if there would be a change of block managers on the tenth of this month. Block managers will be appointed by the administration on the basis of their qualifications. They can be removed from office if in the course of time they do not perform their duties in a satisfactory manner. The other members of the staff will be selected in the same way. The entire block should be represented in the staff and choice of the block manager will be considered."

The block manager system started as a vehicle of the administration for the effecting of various administrative tasks. It formed a useful liaison between the appointed personnel and the residents. While having some unusual aspects, a similar plan has been frequently utilized in ancient and modern colonial administration by monarchic, democratic and fascistic nations alike.

The system evolved quickly. Instead of merely representing the administrative viewpoint, the block managers, especially during the past nine months, have become closer to the community and have been instrumental in assisting the residents in their contacts with

the appointed personnel. While at the outset some of the block managers were inclined to be dictatorial, most of them now regard themselves as servants of the people and cooperate with them rather than dictate to them. Their devotion to duty is demonstrated by the fact that some have been known to get up early in the morning to do menial work such as cleaning or starting fires in a recreational hall used as a classroom. The block manager is in daily contact with the residents of his block and he and they learn to know each other intimately.

While in April about three-fourths of the block managers were still Nisei, although a few Issei had replaced Nisei in the election of block managers which followed the strike in November, 1942, relocation caused the loss of many Nisei block managers. In most cases they were replaced by Issei. Perhaps half of them could speak little English, although they understood more of the language. Today about one-third of the block managers in Unit I are Nisei.

In many blocks the block manager and block representative cooperated well from the outset. The early rivalry between many block managers and the councilmen was due to a jealousy of prestige and a misunderstanding of their relative jurisdiction and powers. It has largely disappeared. An illustration of the better relationship is shown by the action of the Unit II local Council on October 18, 1943, in permitting block managers to attend council meetings and the councilmen to attend block manager meetings.

In many cases representatives of the block managers such as the block manager supervisor were appointed on committees or boards appointed by the council. Both the block managers and the council had been concerned at an early date with juvenile delinquency. The first important case heard by the three judicial commissioners in Unit I mainly involved juveniles accused of stealing oranges from the warehouse at Parker.

The idea of the Youth Counselling Board in Unit I emanated from the block managers. A provision covering it was readily inserted in the penal code by the council. The first four members of the Board, which held its first meeting on August 3, 1943, were agreed to by the councilmen and the block managers.

A block manager served as one of the judges on the judicial commission in the determination of the guilt and punishment of an adult involved in a juvenile delinquency problem.

Let me cite illustrations of consultations with blocks by the councils. The Unit III Council on October 13 decided to consult the blocks on whether payments should be made for baseball bats. On September 6, 1943, the Unit II Council decided to ask the blocks on whether a plan for cricket control which involved the use of certain poisonous drugs should be adopted. Several plans were submitted by the Manpower Commission to the blocks for their reactions. One block in Unit II on the other hand posed to the local council the problem of whether it could raise a block garden on subjugated land not in the block.

While in some cases factionalism developed, the people saw they had to merge their differences and work together because they were in daily contact in common laundries, latrines, showers, and messes. Occasionally a person did something which caused the block to desire to ostracize him. Sometimes families who have become involved in disputes in which one side or the other have sought to cause the deportation to another block of their adversaries. Certain sentences for offenses included the removal of the culprit from one unit to another or one block to another.

EARLY CONDITIONS OF COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

Poston is an abnormal community. At the outset many of the residents were tense, uncertain of the future, resentful of evacuation and some of their fair-weather friends. Those who had been in the assembly centers were especially disturbed by the experience of being regarded as dangerous and being placed behind barbed wires and watch-towers.

Many, if not most, of the leaders of the Japanese community were interned. Certain members of the community were accused of being informers to the F.B.I. They were called inus or dogs and many felt they were responsible for many separations of family and deserved no sympathy if they were assaulted. In this spirit, vigilante activities or lynching or other forms of mob violence take root easily. This was part of the disintegration of group morale and anarchistic tendency of certain groups in relocation centers.

There was at the beginning little understanding on the part of most of the people concerning the role of the W.R.A. and the Indian Service, the reasons underlying evacuation and the attitude of W.R.A. officials. An anti-administration feeling was developed, heightened by the fact that certain officials proved irresponsible and intolerant. Stories of their remarks were quickly disseminated throughout the camp--sometimes exaggerated or falsified. The W.R.A. added to the difficulty by prohibiting Issei from occupying elective offices.

Commissioner Collier and I disagreed with the memorandum on temporary community government issued in June, 1942, by the W.R.A. In the first place, it gave insufficient power over self-government to the residents, which had been promised them in printed pamphlets. Secondly, it excluded Issei from holding office. (Mr. Evans also disagreed with this point.) I registered a strong protest on these issues with Dr. Frouinse, Chief of Community Services Division of the W.R.A. and Dr. Kneier, Chief of the Community Government Section. I spent several hours unsuccessfully arguing for a change to permit Isseis to hold elective offices just before the San Francisco policy conference in the summer of 1942. Steps were taken with the approval of the temporary community council to remedy this defect without violating W.R.A. instruction by means of an election of an Issei Advisory Board and the appointment of Isseis to committees appointed by the council. This was the first center which had an Issei Advisory Board to assist the Council established pursuant to W.R.A. instructions.

The inability of Issei to hold office was an additional cause of the Poston Strike. Probably a more important cause was the placing of young Nisei in practically all the positions of importance in the administration work. In many cases they were on the periphery of the community and were unable to speak Japanese. Some of the older men deplored the fact that "babies" were given the use of autos and placed in \$19 jobs with authority over the old. They also resented the fact that some who had been unimportant on the outside were given supervisory posts here and former leaders were relegated to insignificant work. They regretted that fathers often received \$12 per month and their children \$16 or \$19. A portion of the community regarded them as too inexperienced and young to shoulder legislative responsibility. Some of the Issei resented their subordination to "children". The usefulness of community government was seriously impaired by these conditions.

Furthermore, although sympathetic with democratic procedures, at the beginning many of the project officials were fearful of too much self-government. They stressed the fact that the residents had little experience in the process of democracy. In school and community life they had little opportunity to participate actively in government. Their survival required anonymity in the social life of a community.

The first Temporary Community Council was composed entirely of Nisei, who averaged about 30 years of age. During 1942, a large portion of the Great Books' Seminar given by Dr. Powell, then Chief of Community Activities, were members of the first Temporary Council. These students were carefully selected. One-sixth of the council or

six members went out as seasonal workers in the fall of 1942. The first, Roy Kaita, left for Utah on September 17, 1942. Another resigned to work for the Bureau of Sociological Research which prohibited its research workers from being in politics. Many leaders in assisting the administration were in the first council. Subsequently a high percentage of the original council members joined or offered to join the Army or left for indefinite leave.

In a few cases, they did not know Japanese well and consequently were unable to establish communication with block councils which mainly held their meetings in Japanese and were usually composed of the heads of a family. Nevertheless, owing to the compactness of the blocks and the small number of constituents, the representatives knew and were known by the block residents far more than any legislator in an ordinary municipality. The Community Council assisted in informing the residents about the W.R.A. program and the way in which the project administration functioned. Committees tackled some of the problems which were especially serious in the eyes of the residents such as food 1/, hospital and medical care, welfare problems, and education.2/

Although in most cases block representatives did not carry to their blocks all the information that they gathered, many met in block meetings and conveyed the information they learned at meetings and brought up questions which were raised in their block to the council meetings. The difficulty of securing supplies and an early fear on the part of the administration of the council prevented mimeographing of minutes of the council meetings which, 1/ Block 34 which is inhabited by the appointed personnel at first had comparatively sumptuous meals. The quality deteriorated in 1943. A better-living committee composed of one representative from each barrack met with the Project Steward and the Chief of Transportation and Supply during November, 1943. The committee made findings which resulted in the improvement of the mess. It inquired into the amount spent for meals and the reasons for the poor quality. The committee also drew up rules regarding noise, sanitation, etc., which, after being approved by the Family Welfare Counselor, were hung on the halls of the barracks. Other issues which caused organized activity by the staff included the proposed building of a fence around each unit to be patrolled by jeeps, the abolishment of the block 34 recreation hall and the installation of a juke box.

2/ The committees of the Community Council include Food, Agriculture, Hospital, Publicity, Parker Warehouse, Community Activities and City Planning Board.

which, when translated into Japanese, might have been an even more important vehicle for the dissemination of information and the clearing up of many false rumors.

The average age of the members of the first Temporary Community Council elected on July 21, 1942, was 31. The oldest member was 47, the second oldest, 45. The youngest member, Robert Sakai, was 23 years of age. He later resigned to join the staff of the Bureau of Sociological Research, which compelled its research workers to eschew participation in politics.

There were ten college or university graduates, two junior college graduates, nine graduates of high schools in the United States, and seven of high schools in Japan, and one grammar school graduate. According to Dr. Powell, Chief of Community Management Division, "When the Adult Education Department set up its first college study seminar in 1942, half of the sixteen members were also members of the Community Council." Almost none of them spoke Japanese.

Fifteen councilmen came from the country. Some were engaged in produce or poultry farming. Although most of the unit's population was rural, twenty-one came from urban regions. They included salesman, clerks, a graduate student, an optometrist, one lawyer, one accountant, two dentists, and a mechanical engineer. Nineteen were Christians and seventeen Buddhists.

The oldest member of the Council, Mr. Nomura, was appointed chairman of the Law and Order Committee. A veteran of World War No. 1, he is highly respected and influential and was elected Chief Judge of the first Judicial Commission. The two other members of his committee served as Associate Judges. He was elected Vice Chairman of the second Temporary Community Council and after the Chairman, Franklyn Sugiyama, relocated, was elected chairman. He was elected Chairman of the Third Community Council and subsequently of the first and second Permanent Council Unit I and Unit Administrator succeeding Mr. Nelson in November, 1943. His fine standing and his intelligence greatly aided the Judicial Commission and the Councils.

FEAR OF ASSUMING LEADERSHIP

On September 23, 1942, I ruled that a parolee was eligible for membership in the Issei Advisory Board. Fear of assuming leadership or in a phrase popular for a time at Poston "Sticking out one's neck" prevented many from seeking positions of leadership or influence.

In some cases the pressures of the block caused some individuals to take a prominent position against their will.

What were the causes for this fear and reluctance? Firstly, I believe that the internment, often on little evidence, of most of the Issei leaders shortly after Pearl Harbor, including many officials of Japanese associations, was an important deterrent.

Secondly, many were frightened by actions of the F.B.I. in taking into custody several prominent leaders. While it was pointed out that suggestions for change and criticisms were welcomed, there was a fear that such actions might be interpreted as evidence of disloyalty. Caution especially characterized the first generation which often manifested a desire to make sure that a government law or regulation was being obeyed. Many parolees, especially after a few had been picked up for violation of parole, desired to take no chances.

Thirdly, many residents felt that the limitations on the powers of the community government, especially in the temporary council, precluded effective action. All basic policies, they argued, were formulated by the W.R.A.

Fourthly, many at first were reluctant to cooperate with the W.R.A. because of resentments at evacuation, property losses, and unpleasant experiences in assembly and relocation centers.

Fifthly, many were unwilling to risk the severe criticism which was levelled at evacuee leaders by the residents and administration alike. One in a prominent position ran the risk of being a scapegoat.

During 1943, especially a few weeks after registration which took place in February, the Poston residents became more settled, less excitable and discontented. The Poston Strike had served as a catharsis, a medium whereby some had poured forth their emotional tensions and reactions to evacuation. Many of the leaders of the community who had stayed in the background gradually came forward. When the new Community Council was elected in October it contained some of these persons who now felt that they could take an active part in community affairs without risking unjust criticism.

Whereas at the outset the ostensible leadership came mainly from the Nisei many of whom were inexperienced in dealing with large groups of individuals, today more of the urban Issei leaders have emerged.

HISTORY OF SELF GOVERNMENT

I shall not discuss in detail the history of evacuee government. I understand that the Bureau of Sociological Research has traced in detail the history of the First Temporary Community Councils of Units I, II and III, and that the new community analyst, Dr. French, is preparing a history of the community during the period subsequent to the departure of the bulk of the staff of the Bureau to the Navajo Reservation and Chicago to write up portions of the material they collected.

In March and April of 1942, the residents of relocation centers were promised a share in governing themselves in several memoranda and circulars issued by W.R.A.

Dr. Solon Kimball who during the past year was in charge of the Community Government Section of the W.R.A., Washington office, arrived in Poston in April. Together with other early appointed personnel, he mapped out plans, charts, and blueprints for the government of Poston. After the first evacuees arrived in May, John Evans, Assistant Project Director, and Solon Kimball formed a Legal Research Bureau and Civic Planning Board, composed of evacuees, to formulate plans of community government.

Leaders among the residents were encouraged to submit plans for an ideal democracy. Contributors of plans included Isamu Noguchi, sculptor, Reverend Mitani, Christian minister, Solon Kimball and the legal department. The initial assembly of five representatives from each block was found to be too large. Lengthy discussions, portions of which were irrelevant, took the place of decisive action.

A drafting committee appointed in May were composed of eight representatives, one from each of eight groups of blocks called quads. Under the chairmanship of Roy Yoshida, Kosaku Tamura, and Elmer Yamamoto, the board considered the various plans of self-government and largely adopted the one composed by the Legal Division. Provisions in the charters of several cities were utilized for ideas by the lawyers.

The preamble read as follows:

" We, the residents of Poston, Arizona, in order to secure for ourselves a just and democratic form of government, to promote through mutual cooperation the general welfare of our community, and to insure the maximum contribution of this community to our nation's welfare, do establish this constitution."

The constitution provided for voting privileges, and right to hold office for all residents regardless of citizenship, and outlined a system of municipal government.

While the Civic Planning Board was completing its plans, an order dated June 5 was issued by the War Relocation Authority in Washington providing for a Temporary Government. A Community Council was to be elected composed of one Nisei representative from each block with power to make recommendations to the Project Director on health, recreation, education, law and order, and other matters of internal affairs.

This order caused the board to dissolve. The members felt disappointed at their inability to effectuate their plans for having residents establish a permanent system of self-government with substantial powers.

I arrived at Poston towards the end of June, and was asked by Project Director Head to assist in establishing an evacuee government under the W.R.A. order. I drafted election regulations, notices of election, notices of nomination by block councils, nomination petitions, certificates of election results, and oath of office, etc.

Under the election regulations, nominations for the office of block representative could be made by both councils and by petition. At least two candidates were required to be nominated by each block. One block nominated eleven candidates and 127 nominations were made by the 31 settled blocks. Some of the Issei protested against their inability to be elected to office.

At the request of the Adult Education Division, I was asked to make a series of addresses at various quad meetings explaining about temporary community government with special emphasis on interpreting the election to the Issei. Many questions were asked me after these discussions concerning the election, the powers of community government, the framework and power of the W.R.A., the Army, the Department of the Interior and the W.C.C.A.

I attempted to clarify misunderstandings on these and other related subjects. I stressed the importance of the election, outlined the duties of the Temporary Community Council, urged voters to study the qualifications of the nominees and elect those best qualified to represent them. I also accentuated the unique significance of the election which was the first in the state of Arizona in which American citizens of Japanese ancestry or descent were sure of election to serve on a council of a large community and in which youth between the ages of 16 to 21 and aliens could both vote.

The "Press Bulletin" an official daily information paper of two or four pages published each day by the W.R.A. was supplied by me with information concerning the election. During the election period almost every other edition contained an article on the subject.

In each block one of the two members of the election board was able to speak Japanese. Two sample ballots were posted on the bulletin boards of each of the blocks, one bearing across it the designation, "Sample"; another and larger ballot in which the names of the candidates appeared in English and Japanese. Block Managers used their ingenuity in providing polling places with blankets and curtains with a desk or counter and a chair serving as a place to register a secret vote. Some blocks had two polling places. Wooden ballot boxes were made and sealed. Great precautions were taken to insure an accurate and honest count and election. However, we had no saloons to close on election day and did not have to prohibit electioneering. Not a single policeman was stationed at the polls nor took any part in the election procedure and police services were not needed.

While preparations were being made for the voting, an upsurge in campaign activity occurred. Most of the blocks held meetings the night before election, devoted to campaign speeches. The restraint and modesty of these speeches were in marked contrast to the blatant campaign oratory in municipal elections. A few blocks had campaign signs and speeches by neutral men who described the importance of the Council.

On the day before election I was asked to appear before the block managers' meeting to give instructions on election procedure and answer questions on the election. Ballots, ballot boxes, certified lists of nominees and other necessary equipment were distributed at the polls the day before election. The election was conducted in a very orderly fashion. An air of solemnness prevailed. The voters came out early; most of them voting after breakfast and after dinner. The number of voters even surprised me. 74.4% of the eligible voters who were sixteen years of age or older voted. There was a wide variation between blocks and in at least two blocks voting was comparatively low, which was due to special causes of which we are aware. In one block there was only one who did not vote. A special election edition came out the day following the election. All the returns were tabulated two hours after the polls were closed.

Mary Tachibana was elected to the Council over four opponents by an overwhelming vote. Another women came close to election. The story of Mrs. Tachibana's election has some very interesting

human angles. The day after the election she came to see me with her nephew, stating that her family did not desire her to serve, since she had four children and was taking care of some of her husband's business since his internment. I spoke with her about her unique importance to the Community Council. She described to me that during the campaign, men, women, and children had offered to help with the ironing and caring for her children, but nevertheless, she had wanted to decline the nomination. The block manager had told her that she would be defeated anyway. She was nominated for secretary of the Council. She did not desire to accept this increased responsibility and asked that her name be withdrawn, but the chairman insisted that they were all busy. She later became President of the P.T.A. and Chairman of the Education Committee of the T.C.C.

The Council met the evening after election to be sworn in by Mr. Head and addressed by Mr. Evans, Assistant to the Project Director. I asked these officials to participate in this way because I desired the prestige of the top administrators to give backing to community government. After Mr. Head had sworn in the candidates, a terrific storm, rain and lightning preceded by a dust storm, caused a quick adjournment. The address of Mr. Evans was delivered the next morning.

At the first regular meeting, questions were asked me concerning the functions and duties, and I took the occasion to make a few suggestions, including one relating to securing information about the members.

After the Acting Project Director rejected their resolution to release an evacuee accused of committing an assault and battery against another evacuee, the resignation of the Unit I Council and Issei Advisory Board occurred in the afternoon of November 18 during my absence from Poston, two days after it established a Fair Practice Committee composed of seven members following a series of elections by all evacuee work groups. The block managers resigned soon afterwards.

In the evening an Emergency Council was organized composed in most blocks of one Issei and one Nisei. Of the 72 representatives appointed, 20 had been members of the Issei Advisory Board, 12 councilmen and 5 block managers. A committee of 12, 11 Issei and 1 Kibei, the Vice Chairman, was appointed as an executive committee. During the last negotiation meeting with the Committee three Nisei replaced three Issei. This was probably a tactical move to ingratiate the committee with the Administration. The new members did not participate in the negotiations. With the Project Attorney as an inter-

mediary, a series of meetings with the Project Director were then held which culminated on the evening of November 24 with the peaceful ending of the Strike. A City Planning Board was then elected composed of one Nisei and one Issei from each block.

HISTORY OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
AND LABOR RELATION BOARD

On November 28, 72 delegates of the City Planning Board, composed of one Issei and one Nisei representative from each block in Unit I, created a Central Executive Committee composed of four Issei and four Nisei.* This committee was called the Central Executive Committee or Central Executive Board, and was often referred to as the Toseibu. Three of the four Nisei Council members were formerly active in the Temporary Community Council, and a majority of the Issei Committee were formerly on the Issei Advisory Board. All of the members were to be qualified by the Honor Court which was to be composed of the most respected residents from various counties. The Honor Court's function was to judge in secret sessions "dogs" and others accused of unsavory reputations, but was never established. Each council could recall its committee members by a two-third vote.

The Central Executive Committee appointed a Labor Relations Board of eight, which was to have important powers regarding the hiring of key evacuee personnel. Some of the advocates of the Central Executive Committee further stated that all recommendations of both councils and all recommendations of the Project Director to residents should be reviewed by them. Others felt that while the Community Council would be vested with legislative powers, the Central Executive Committee would be the administrative board. It was also decided that the Issei and Nisei Council would meet together except that when the problems concerned only the Nisei, the Nisei Council would have sole jurisdiction.

Some of the members of the Issei Advisory Council were dissatisfied with the leaders of the Central Executive Committee and decided to overthrow the Board by a coup d'etat. The Nisei delegates with the help of the Issei prevented the resignation of the

* A committee of twelve was first elected which selected the eight.

Central Executive Committee tendered at a joint meeting on December 4.

On December 22, the Project Director issued the following statement drafted by Dr. Powell and me save for a slight change by the Project Director. It defied the powers of the Central Executive Committee and read as follows:

"To the Residents of Poston and the Administrative Staff:

"The election of the Temporary Community Council of Unit I affords the opportunity to clarify some misunderstandings which have arisen regarding evacuee government.

"(1) Only one official body is recognized by the administration under the War Relocation Authority rules. That body is the duly elected Community Council, which is authorized to adopt and transmit directly to the Project Director for his action recommendations in matters affecting the welfare of the residents of Poston.

"(2) On December 17, the Community Council of Unit I decided that the 36 Issei members of the Temporary Civic Planning Board would be continued as the Issei advisors to the Community Council, except in cases where a written complaint is filed with the Council by residents of the block.

"(3) The Central Executive Committee has been retained by me as personal advisors in matters affecting Unit I and will continue to serve in that capacity."

The C.E.C. suffered a severe loss of prestige on December 17 because of a proposal of its chairman to the Spanish Consul that the Imperial Government give to each Issei a substantial sum for rehabilitation at the end of the war. The Committee was subjected to further attack on January 10 by the Issei Advisory Board which asked for its resignation and sent bulletins attacking the Committee to various block managers. The Committee answered the next day. The Temporary Community Council was asked to arbitrate the breach between the Issei Advisory Board and Central Executive Committee.

Meanwhile, the Central Executive Board was trying to have its status clarified and proposed to the Project Director that it be established as follows:

I. Members

1. This board will consist of 8 committee members, 4 Isseis and 4 Niseis. In case of vacancy caused by termination of office, such vacancy shall be filled by appointment by the council.

II. Term of Office

1. The term of office on the membership of the Board will be for the duration of the T.C.C.

III. Functions and duties

This Board shall be the Administrative organization of Unit I and will have administrative functions, some of which are as follows:

1. Will act in advisory capacity to the Project Director.
2. Shall have the right to hold consultations with the evacuee department heads including Block Managers to carry out recommendations of the Community Council that are approved by the Project Director.
3. Shall have the right to nominate, appoint, or remove persons to or from the key evacuee positions and other important positions with the approval of the joint council.
4. Shall furnish information to the Community Council on departmental matters.
5. Shall put into practice any specific recommendations of the Community Council upon approval of the Project Directors.
6. Shall assume responsibility for translations of W.R.A. and local directives and bulletins as desired by the Project Director.
7. Shall have power to exercise such other duties and functions as may be conferred upon it from time to time by the Project Director.

IV. Limitations

1. This Board shall not make any regulations which would be in excess of the functions of this body herein defined.

V. Vacancy

1. Vacancy caused by resignations, removal, or death may be also filled by the regulation set forth by Section I, 1. In such case the said member will serve for the unexpired term.

VI. Recall

1. Any member of this Board may be recalled by a two-thirds majority vote of seventy-two members of the joint council."

A mediation statement was prepared by a committee of six members and was adopted on January 15 by the Nisei Council. It asked for cooperation and harmony between the Issei Council and the Central Executive Committee and that both parties bury the hatchet. It also proposed that the Nisei and Issei councils convening jointly in a regular meeting may recall any or all members of the C.E.C. by a two-thirds vote of the joint council. Among other arguments advanced to settle the disagreement was the imminence of permanent community government.

On January 15 the Issei Council Advisory Board reported to the Nisei Committee that they accepted the terms of arbitration. A week later the Central Executive Committee presented its resignation to the Council and the next day to the Unit Administrator, claiming non-cooperation of the Issei Board and the destructive efforts of certain groups. On January 25 the joint council appointed two committees to define clearly the duties, powers, and term of office of the Central Executive Committee and Labor Relation Board. On January 25 the Labor Relation Board resigned at a joint session of the councils and the next day to the Unit Administrator. The joint councils received on January 29 the plans of the committee which were approved with slight modification by the council and later, on February 4, by Mr. Head and Mr. Evans.

The resolution adopted provided as follows:

"We, the Local Council of Poston, Unit I, pursuant to Section 4, Article IV of the Constitution, hereby form this administrative body."

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Article I. Formation:

Section 1. Members of the Poston I Local Council shall choose the Chairman, who in turn shall select persons for the Board subject to approval by the Local Council.

Section 2. The Chairman shall determine the number of persons necessary to do the carrying out of the functions of the Executive Board and may, at his discretion, increase or decrease the number of members on his committee.

Article II. Term of Office:

Section 1. The term of office of the Executive Board shall be for the term of this respective Local Council.

Section 2. Any member of the Executive Board may be recalled by two-thirds majority of the Local Council consisting of not less than two-thirds of the total members.

Article III. Duties and Powers:

The Executive Board shall be the administrative organization of Unit I and shall administer its functions, including affairs related to labor.

Section 1. Shall act as advisor to the Unit Administrator and Local Council Unit I.

Section 2. Shall cooperate with evacuee and department heads and block managers and execute any and all recommendations of the Community Council and the Local Council approved by the Project Director and the Unit Administrator.

Section 3. Shall have the power to execute such other duties and functions as may be conferred upon it from time to time by the War Relocation Authority.

Section 4. Shall mediate any and all labor disputes which might come before the Board by request of the party or parties concerned.

Section 5. The Board shall study fair labor standards, wages and work conditions, work incentive and other matters for the maintenance of satisfactory labor relations and shall make recommendations for carrying out the result and findings of the study.

Section 6. The Board has the right to select or appoint, discharge or transfer evacuee personnel in key positions other than those personnel elected by the people, subject to the approval of the Unit Administrator or Project Director.

Section 7. Shall encourage and promote movements and activities conducive to the welfare of the residents of Poston, Unit I, to the fullest extent of the limits defined by the rules of the WRA."

At the same meeting a Labor Relations Board was created under the local council which followed in a large measure the functions previously performed by the Board. This plan was approved by Mr. Head and the Unit Administrator. Slightly modified, it was again approved on July 5, 1943. It reads as follows:

"Article I. Organization:

Section 1. The Labor Relations Board shall be composed of four committee members.

Section 2. The Chairman shall be chosen by the Local Council, Unit I, and he shall appoint three members. All committee members must have the approval of the Local Council.

Section 3. The Chairman of the Board, at his option, may change any or all respective members of the committee subject to the approval of the Local Council.

Section 4. In the event of resignations of its members, vacancies shall be filled as set forth in Article I, Section 2.

Article II. Duties and Powers:

Section 1. The Labor Relations Board shall mediate any and all labor disputes which might come before the Board by the request of the party or parties concerned.

Section 2. The Board shall study fair labor standards, wages and work conditions, work incentive and other matters for the maintenance of satisfactory labor relations and shall make recommendations for carrying out the result and finding of the study.

Section 3. The Labor Relations Board shall be the spokesman for the evacuee Work Corps.

(a) The Board has the right to select or appoint, discharge or transfer evacuee personnel in key positions other than those personnel elected by the people with the understanding of the Caucasian department heads.

(b) The Caucasian administrative chiefs and sub-chiefs shall inform and consult the Board about various plans and changes of each department pertaining to labor relations and manpower arrangement, and in turn,

(c) The Board shall inform and explain to the Caucasian department chiefs and sub-chiefs the attitudes of the evacuees toward such plans and changes.

(d) The duties and functions of the Labor Relations Board is confined to Unit I."

The procedure followed by the Council was to elect a Nisei and an Issei as a Chairman and Vice Chairman and they in turn would pick three Nisei and three Issei to fill out the membership of the Board.

On February 8, 1942, the joint council approved the appointments of other members to the two boards. Some of the old members of the Boards were retained, but some of the members whose reputation was doubtful among certain groups were purged. Two days subsequently the Executive Board recommended the appointment of Roy Furuya as Executive Assistant to the Unit Administrator and the joint council approved.

When the councilmen were elected under the charter, some of the local councilmen proposed the abolition of the Central Executive Committee and the Labor Relations Board. Mr. Gelvin, Acting Project Director, froze these boards on the ground that they were performing a useful function and that the local council should determine whether they should be continued.

A committee was appointed by the local council to investigate this matter. They reported in favor of the continuance of these boards. The former Vice Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, Mr. Kawashima, a Kibei, was elected Chairman and the former Chairman, Mr. Nagai, was elected Vice Chairman. The board's name was subsequently changed to The Executive Board.

The Labor Relations Board successfully settled about 50 labor disputes, but business tapered off towards the close of the six months term of the first permanent council. In fact, during the last few weeks a minor strike of the pharmacists was the sole controversy settled. The new council elected in October, therefore, combined into one body the two boards which is now called the Executive Board.

POLICE COMMISSION

The first Chief of Police of Poston, Shigekawa, of Unit I resigned on April 27, 1943. The Chairman of the T.C.C. Unit I and the Issei Advisory Board and the Chief of Internal Security after conferring with members of the Police Department appointed as a temporary chief "Jumbo" Ota.

Then a police commission of six, four Issei and two Nisei was organized by the first local council elected under the charter. The second local council of Unit I retained five of the former members and elected a successor to the member who had left on indefinite leave.

The Police Commission was designed to represent the public and also assist in acquainting the public with the department's

work and clarifying misunderstandings about it. It was also asked to help in the formulation of broad policies of the department. The Director of Police was a member of the Commission Ex Officio.

The Commission retained "Junbe" Ota as permanent chief. When he left for relocation in Denver towards the latter part of November 1943, the commission called the police department together and after learning its views recommended the appointment of Captain Musashi Kariya as Chief. Subsequently, Units II and III, (the latter on July 16, 1943), established a police commission and recommended to the administration the appointment of chief of police.

The Local Council of Unit III on June 30, 1943, granted the following duties, powers, and regulations to the newly created Police Commission:

- "1. The Commission shall meet regularly once a month at the office of the Local Council at Block 310-8-D with the Police Chief.
2. The Commission shall act only as a body and its decisions shall only be binding when all members are present and the majority opinion is presented.
3. It shall have the authority to investigate the activities of the Poston III Police Department at all times which shall include the following: To call a member or any number of members of the Police Department before them for questioning; to have access to the files of the Police Department's office.
4. It shall have the authority to remove any member of the police force for inefficiency, immorality, failure to perform his duty, for accepting bribery, or other reasonable reasons, which reason or reasons the Commission must present in writing, with the consent and approval of the Police Chief.
5. Before any new member is placed upon the police force, such employment shall first have the approval of the Commission.
6. The Commission shall act in the capacity of Advisors of the Poston III Police Department, and may with the consent of the Local Council adopt the policy of the Police Department. Upon the request of the Police Department, it shall be the duty of the Commission to meet to discuss emergency problems.
7. Upon recommendation of Police Chief, the Commission shall have the authority to either promote or demote the rating of the members of the Police force.

8. The Commission shall act as a recommending body to the Local Community Council in regards to the degree of enforcing local ordinances.

9. They shall act as an intermediary whereby it is their duty to act as a public relations committee in educating the people on matters of law and order.

10. For the purposes of upholding the public morale and welfare, it shall be their duty to investigate and be open to any roku, block, organizations, or group to hear their complaints or suggestions on matters concerning law and order, local ordinances, or unwritten law."

On July 26, 1943, the legal department informed the Local Council and the Police Commission that the foregoing functions do not come within the purview of the usual municipal Police Commission and were in conflict with some of the W.R.A. instructions.

This opinion was rendered after the Police Commission complained that it should have been consulted before a complaint was filed against the father of the secretary of the Local Council.

On July 26, 1943, City Clerk, James Yahiro, called a meeting of the joint Police Commission of all of the three units. At this meeting, Mr. Masuda, City Attorney, explained that the primary duties of the Police Commission were to act as an advisory body to the Police Department and as a public relations board and to make recommendations and suggestions for employment of the department in reference to its internal organization, discipline, and general attitude towards the residents. He also advised that the Commission should not concern itself with the punishment and the disposition of the criminals that may be arrested by the Police Department since that was primarily the responsibility of the Project Director or the Judicial Commission.

The joint police commissioners decided that they would take up the problem of their functions with the various local unit chairmen--whether the Police Commission as one unit work together or separately and independently of each other. Although Units II and III desired unified action, Unit I felt that it would be best to have the units function alone because at the time there was considerable factionalism within the Police Department in Unit I which had resulted in the change in the police chief and the members of the Unit I Local Council felt that they were more familiar with the local problems which might arise.

Recently a member of the Police Commission of Unit III who also was a judicial commissioner criticized the policy of having the appointed personnel in the police do most of the work and thus reduce the prestige of the evacuee police. The Chief of the Judicial Commission wrote a memorandum to the Project Director embodying these ideas.

MANPOWER COMMISSION

Miss Findley, Chief of the Community Services Branch, issued a memorandum toward the end of 1942 outlining the functions of her office. She also stated that where a choice must be made between recreational and productive use of manpower or among different types of community activities, the final arbiter would be the Temporary Community Council of Unit I.

Towards the end of February and the early part of March, 1943, the labor at the center for ordinary purposes was decreased by the beginning of the camouflage net factory which at the outset took about 300 workers in Unit I. Several hundred more were added when the factory opened in Units II and III. The acceleration of leave clearances began to take a drain, mainly of young and middle-aged workers, and about 100 left for the Army. Others who had signified their willingness to serve gave up their jobs in the belief that they would be called soon.

While it was realized that there was sufficient manpower on the project, some felt that too extensive plans had been made, and some divisions were under a great strain because of a poor distribution of labor. Divisions which kept high standards of efficiency had to compete for labor with others who were lax in the enforcement of employment rules.

A plan was proposed at the beginning of the year for a conference by the appointed personnel and leaders of the evacuees. It was designed to discuss a long term plan for agriculture industry and to evaluate the importance of certain work in the light of the available manpower. Suspicious of its purpose and fearful that it contained a joker, it was repudiated by evacuee leaders.

Various attempts have been made, after the incident, to determine the value of services of the various divisions and the amount of labor necessary. The branch chiefs have sat with the Labor Relations Board of the evacuees in order to determine these questions. However, in no case did the Board reduce the labor desired by any branch. It was charged that many sections had inflated the number

of their jobs in order to forestall a cut and that some sections retained too many generals and office workers and had elaborate planners who accomplished little except on paper.

On March 3, 1943, the T.C.C., Unit I, was authorized to hold a manpower conference. Preparatory committees composed of both appointed personnel and evacuee leaders were appointed on food, administration, general welfare, construction, manpower and outside income.

The invitation, dated March 9, was signed by Franklyn S. Sugiyama, Chairman of the Council. After showing that the warehouse, garage, hospital, and project administrative offices concerned functions affecting the three units, the following plans were suggested:

"At this conference, it is planned to have the appointed administration department heads reveal their plans for the next 90 days. The plans will be discussed in light of the existing manpower and the possibilities and feasibility of its realization. Thus, the purpose of the conference will be:

- (a) to study, to survey, and to stabilize and to agree upon a solution for an intelligent distribution of the manpower;
- (b) to establish a manpower commission;
- (c) to deliberate and find a solution for the disposition of funds from outside activities, such as camouflage and other income.

"These recommendations will be made for the benefit of the Councils in each Unit."

The Manpower Commission which assembled on March 12, 13 and 15 was under the sponsorship of the Temporary Community Council of Unit I. The whole project program was discussed and the conference adjourned with a recommendation to the Project Director asking that a joint manpower commission be formed with six representatives from the Temporary Community Council, Unit I, and six representatives from the administration. Acting Project Director Gelvin, in a letter on March 18 written after submitting the problem at a staff meeting stated that the administration would participate fully and officially in the proposed joint body, and expressed delight that joint participation and planning for the project units were to be undertaken.

On March 17 the T.C.C. of Unit I approved the recommendations of the Manpower Conference.

The membership of the Joint Board was composed of the Chairmen of the following agencies: Temporary Community Council, Issei Advisory Council, the Camouflage Workers Shop Committee, the Fair Practice Committee, the four branch chiefs, Chief of Employment, and the Unit Administrator. The body was to have the power to recommend to the Project Director policies and actions required by the manpower emergency and when he has approved such policies and action to carry them into effect.

Invitations to the meeting had been sent to Units II and III but they did not send any delegates. Subsequently, meetings were held two or three times a week, grading the various occupations on the project as vital as judged from the security, life, and health of the project.

A total of over 1,800 workers were classified as essential including the whole of the Agriculture Division with the exception of landscaping gardeners and flower nursery workers, the maintenance of essential services such as garbage disposal, maintaining of water, sewage, electric lights, maintenance of roads, and irrigation, the hospital, the schools, (outside of school janitors), clothing allowance, public assistance, and welfare, the Legal Division, and the administrative branch.

In some cases the number of workers were limited such as 85 workers to operate the warehouses and 240 cooks and assistant cooks in the mess halls. Firemen and policemen were limited to 36 members. Block Managers and supervisors were considered essential and the employment division was allowed 110 workers.

The following were placed in the "B" category: the engineering department, field parties, draftsmen, post office, express office, assistant block managers, council committees such as executive board and labor relations board. In the "C" category were included all of the people not mentioned in the above classes. The following comment by Franklyn S. Sugiyama, Chairman of the Manpower Commission, is interesting:

"During the course of the meetings it has revealed the difference of viewpoints. The evacuees seem to have the labor angle while the appointed personnel attempt the capitalistic stand. It is amusing to note that during the meetings, sometimes the appointed staff and evacuees take diametrically opposite views; the staff defending the working evacuees' position

while the evacuee representatives attack from what normally would be the employer's stand. Because labor is the key that unlocks the future plans of the project, the manpower commission indirectly is a policy forming group. It is the first time that the evacuees have had a hand in this field. However, since the aims of the appointed personnel and the evacuees are for the welfare of the project, the last meetings were harmonious and the work seems to be progressing nicely."

On June 26, 1943, the Project Director received a teletype from Director Myer, establishing a maximum employment quota for the Colorado River Relocation Center. In a message to the residents, dated June 30, explaining this new policy, Mr. Head said:

"The residents of this project through the manpower commission of Unit I, the Labor Commission of Unit II, the Merit Rating Board of Unit III and the various councils of all units have realized for some time that considerable improvement should be made in project employment. They have already made a contribution by evaluating the work, eliminating unessential work and improving morale. I know that they will assist me in carrying out Mr. Myer's directive in the best possible way."

SEGREGATION ADVISORY BOARD

At the request of the Project Director, the Community Council appointed a Segregation Advisory Board composed of 16 members. Thomas Masuda was elected Chairman and Jim Yahiro, Vice Chairman. The Board served as the medium whereby the administration learned the reactions of important members of the community, furnished information to the residents, and was advised of some of the more pressing problems.

HONOR COURT

At the time of the negotiation with the Strike Committee of 12, the Project Director agreed to the formation of an Honor Court. It was to be formed of the best residents from the various communities in California and would judge the qualifications of individuals to hold office and would assess the reputations of any residents who were accused of being "inuts" or "dogs", i.e., informers. Many loyal Niseis were said to be on this list. For several weeks at forums, the pros and cons of the court were debated. The Project Director's enthusiasm waned. Some of his

aides including the Project Attorney felt that the star chamber procedure advocated by its proponents smacked more of the fascist than democratic procedures. The Court was never established.

OTHER BOARDS

The foregoing boards, commissions, and committees are some examples of the success of the councils in establishing political bodies. Other permanent boards like the Library Commission have also served useful purposes. Various special boards have also performed useful functions. For instance, the Rest Home Board was created by the Unit II Local Council to speed up the establishment of an old man's home to relieve the overcrowding in the hospital, assisted in securing personnel for the home and in other ways. It was dissolved November 27, 1943.

Another example is the appointing of three trustees in each of the units for the purpose of keeping funds assigned by evacuee workers on camouflage net funds which were to be distributed to other workers.

PRE-TEMPORARY COMMUNITY COUNCIL FIRST TEMPORARY COMMUNITY COUNCIL UNIT II

I unsuccessfully dissented from the decision of the Project Administrator that a pre-temporary council be organized in Unit II. On July 28, 1942, such a council was formed composed of three Issei and Nisei representatives from each block and Nisei officers. At weekly meetings, committees submitted informative reports on various administrative matters. On August 5, an Issei Council was organized which agitated for a change in the W.R.A. rules prohibiting Issei from holding an elective office. Mr. Crawford and I were asked by the Assistant Project Director to attend this last meeting of the Council held toward the close of August. Issei leaders vigorously attacked the discrimination of the W.R.A. rules prohibiting Issei from holding elective offices. Cheered by a clique, they advocated the continuance of the pre-temporary council. The Project Attorney stated that if Unit II did not wish a temporary community council, the residents did not have to elect one. However, the W.R.A. administrative instructions must be followed unless and until they were changed. Petitions asking for Issei representation on the Council could be submitted. However, the pre-temporary council could not continue after September 1, the date set for the election of the council. Consequently, the pre-temporary council disbanded on

August 27. The movement to boycott the election failed and on September 1, 1942, a council of 14 members was elected. On September 15, an Issei Advisory Board was elected, with representatives from each of the blocks except Block 221. This board met jointly with the Nisei Council. The officers including the chairman of the Unit II Council were at first elected for temporary terms. A few weeks later they were elected permanently. Unit II elected (in lieu of the officials elected by Unit I, viz., chairman, vice chairman, secretary and sergeant-at-arms) a chairman, vice chairman, executive secretary, legal clerk and sergeant-at-arms. The Unit II Council formed a Fair Practice Board in October, a month before Unit I completed its board.

During the general strike in Unit I a Community Congress was formed under the chairmanship of John Maeno, Chairman of the Council. It consisted of the Council, the Issei Board, the Block Managers, and the Fair Practice Committee. Block representatives from four blocks which at the time of segregation contained the largest number of segregants of any blocks resigned from the Council and unsuccessfully attempted to cause Unit II to join the strike. The Congress was a vital factor in foiling this move and in keeping the residents of Units II and III advised of the facts by means of speeches, conversations and a circular largely written by Mr. Maeno. The Congress met occasionally after the termination of the strike and disbanded January 31. In the early part of February 1943, the second temporary council in Unit II was elected. One of the reasons for holding this election was to enable the four blocks whose councilmen had resigned to secure representation. John Maeno had his eyes turned toward relocation, and declined to run. He was succeeded by Kenji Uyeno, who was elected by the Council with the approval of the block managers as the first evacuee administrator of Unit II on November 8, 1943.

THE SECOND TEMPORARY COMMUNITY COUNCIL, UNIT I

On December 10, 1942, a Second Temporary Community Council and Issei Advisory Board was elected for Unit I. The Councilmen took office on December 18. Meetings of the two bodies were held about twice weekly. On December 16, 1942, the Council voted that the Issei Advisory Board and the Community Council would hereafter hold separate meetings. This plan was followed, although joint meetings were sometimes held to discuss subjects which were considered of interest to both parties.

An Issei Advisory Board had originally been elected to sit with the Council. It was composed of nine members elected by quad.

Except for two cases the quads are composed of four blocks (one of the exceptions contained three blocks and the other five blocks). Soon all the Issei representatives were attending the meetings of the Nisei Council. Some of the Nisei complained that this lengthened the meetings; in some cases, personal differences were said to feature the discussion. The Unit I Council was the only one of the three unit councils in which the Issei and Nisei Councils held separate meetings before the change in the ruling prohibiting Issei representatives.

Among the major accomplishments of the Second Community Council were the promotion of popular interest in the construction of the Adobe School, and the speeding up of the work by a plan of securing volunteer manpower. The Council negotiated the contract with John Stahl, Contractor, concerning the camouflage net factory work. Improvement in the Poston Chronicle and Community Enterprise also followed the focusing by the Council of attention to certain inefficiencies. The Council stressed the need for a regular Japanese language section and was instrumental in securing this regular addition to the paper. It also passed a resolution requesting an attorney to be placed on the Judicial Commission, which was done.

UNIT III COUNCILS

Unit III, the last unit to be settled, elected ten councilmen on September 16, 1942. Eighty-three per cent of the eligible voters participated in this election as compared with 74.4% in the first election in Unit I. The councilmen were sworn in by Mr. Head on October 7, and a chairman, vice chairman, and secretary-treasurer were elected. An Issei Advisory Board was elected early in November and met jointly thereafter with the Nisei Council. A new temporary council and board were elected in February in order to give the voters a chance to pass on their representatives.

The first local council elected under the charter conducted an investigation into the Industries Department in Unit III, which caused considerable rancor between the investigators and the investigated. As a result, the department was reorganized under an agreement between the Community Enterprises and the Industry Department which provided for the sale by the Enterprises of products manufactured by the department. Thus a violation of administrative instructions was corrected.

ORGANIZATION COMMISSION, ADOPTION OF CHARTER AND
PERMANENT GOVERNMENT

On October 9, 1942, the first meeting was held of the Organization Commission appointed by the Project Director. It was composed of almost 30 representatives of each of the units recommended by the local councils. A small drafting committee composed of the Legal Division and a few members of the Commission was appointed to draft a constitution in accordance with basic principles adopted by the commission at a few meetings. Its work interrupted by the strike, the commission met again a few weeks after the restoration of a Community Council in Unit I. On January 29, 1943, it adopted a charter which with minor changes suggested by the solicitor's office of the W.R.A. was submitted to the voters in May 18, 1943. A prior education campaign included the distribution and discussion of English and Japanese copies of the charter.

The permanent charter was adopted by an overwhelming vote in Unit I and II, but was defeated in Unit III. A few of the evacuee leaders in Unit III felt that too much power was given to the Community Council and that the Local Councils were not given sufficient recognition. The Unit Administrator of Unit III openly expressed a view that the three units were separate and the overall council was unnecessary.

ELECTION OF SHORT-TERM PERMANENT COUNCIL

The charter provided that the first councilmen should be elected for six months and subsequent councilmen should serve for a year. The Community Councilmen should only serve as such for half a year. Although many of the evacuee leaders were very anxious to establish a permanent government, most of the residents were apathetic. In general, a period of apathy prevailed in the center at this time following periods of anxiety and anger.

ELECTION OF PRESENT COUNCIL

The election of the present council was postponed for a few days until October 11, 1943, pursuant to a resolution of the Community Council. This date was a week later than provided in the charter. This action was taken in order that the election should take place after the end of the mass segregation of about 1,400 residents of Poston to the Tule Lake Center.

This was the first election conducted by the evacuee officers themselves rather than the Project Attorney's office. The original election regulations were followed except that the blocks were allowed to decide on the method of nominations. Sixty-four councilmen were elected in the three units. The choice in many blocks were unanimous, but in a few cases there was a spirited contest. Block 328 re-elected the sole councilwoman, but she resigned a few weeks later.

The councilmen were sworn in by the unit administrators on October 15. The local councils of Units I and III re-elected their previous chairmen. The 19 members of the Community Council included the chairmen and vice chairmen of each of the local councils and the City Attorney. They organized on October 21 and following a custom initiated by the first community council divided the chairmanship, vice chairmanship and city managership between the three units.

The median age of the new council continues to advance with each succeeding council. Several of the new local councilmen did not know English at all and had difficulty repeating in English the oath of office.

At the present time there are no women on any of the local councils and no woman has ever served on the Community Council. The first Secretary of the Temporary Community Council was a woman and succeeding Temporary Community Councils elected another woman on the council because Mrs. Tachibana, the first secretary, did not run for re-election.

The two Temporary Community Councils in Unit III had a woman as a councilman. The first Permanent Council in Unit III re-elected a woman who served on the Temporary Community Council, but after a while she resigned for personal reasons.

APPRAISAL OF COMMUNITY COUNCIL

At a general election on May 25, the local representatives from each of the blocks were elected. At the beginning the Community Council which was composed of 9 members from Unit I, elected by the Local Council and 5 members each from Units II and III, had difficulty in finding its position. This situation was accentuated by the fact that the dominant faction in Unit I was opposed to the dominant faction in the Community Council which had gained control by a coalition of leaders from the three units. For example, the Community Council wanted to terminate the Social Welfare Committee

of the Local Council in Unit I. Its leaders misconstrued the functions of the Community Council's Arbitration Commission which under the charter was designed to settle certain types of civil disputes between the residents. The process of determining powers served a useful purpose of acquainting influential leaders with important features of the administrative instruction relating to community evacuee government and the relative jurisdictions of the Local Councils and Community Councils.

At the outset certain of the project officials, including the Project Director and the Unit Administrator of Unit I, were fearful of the leadership of the Community Council. However, the Councilmen took their duties very seriously. Their attitude was exemplified by their careful consideration of a penal code. By the time a new council was elected for the full year in October, 1943, the leaders of the Community Council had learned to select the important overall problems and were working well with the Local Councils. Furthermore, more of the real leaders of the community were willing to accept responsibility. Some still were reluctant, remembering that many leaders of the Japanese community were picked up by the F.B.I. and interned soon after Pearl Harbor. When a few prominent leaders were taken out from the centers, some interpreted this as a recurrence of these early days. The previous fears of addressing meetings or becoming prominent in other ways were thus re-emphasized. Soon the leaders learned that the action of the F.B.I. was not related to political activities in Poston. The administration also learned that some of its fears concerning the motives of the leaders were ill-founded. Instead of obstructionists, they found that they were conscientiously endeavoring to improve conditions and cooperate in making Poston a more beautiful community, more efficiently run with greater evacuee participation in the planning of policies.

The majority of Isseis were in their 50's or early 60's. More of the councilmen were drawn from their ranks. They had the confidence of the community and spoke Japanese fluently. They knew the customs and understood the desires of the residents. They could properly represent the community in public ceremonies.

The misunderstandings, cynicisms, and pessimisms which had arisen in the minds of some of them as a result of evacuation and the leadership of these whom they regarded as their children, the Nisei, became displaced by a feeling of pride. Although the alien Japanese were mainly independent farmers and businessmen with little experience in self-government, they worked well together in committees. Even political activity stirred up much constructive thinking in community matters.

An able administrator must keep informed on the attitudes of the administered and in what is happening in the community he governs. The Project Director devoted considerable time to meeting with committees and he thereby learned the attitudes of the residents and secured data which was of help to him in making decisions.

The administrative practices of the appointed personnel had been more crystallized and though still sometimes loose and slow were more coordinated. The community had become more homogenous in its beliefs and practices. It had become more oriental as the extremists among the Nisei were among the first to relocate. Many prominent J.A.C.L. officials who had been targets of resentment left for the outside.

The Council gave the centralizing influence in political affairs which was required to fight the rising tide of random leadership and the social disorganization which gave rise to gangs, delinquency and extra-legal bodies and controls. The growth of factions which had followed in the wake of the strike and the desires of a few to gain prominence in order to recapture the status lost by evacuation were other disorganizing factors which were lessened. The lack of social controls and the general turbulence in the early period, the feeling of dependency and insecurity together with a lack of adequate control over their future also diminished.

At the beginning the councils had been vulnerable in its relations to the administration because it had been unable to do much more than collect and channel complaints. The limits of the power of the W.R.A., the Project and Council had gradually seeped into the minds of many of the people. They felt more secure. They were more reasonable, less excitable, and were better informed on the relationship of the Council and the administration. They had come to realize that although W.R.A. might make mistakes, leaders like Mr. Myer had the interests of the evacuees at heart and was fighting courageously against some of the groups in our national life who were seeking to make political capital and secure economical gain at the expense of a small minority.

RELATIONS BETWEEN UNITS

The first official meeting between the representatives of the three units occurred on August 19, 1942.

The T.C.C. Unit I invited representatives of Units II and III to attend a meeting on that date at which the first Penal Code

of the Community of Poston was adopted. Subsequently, the forms used in criminal cases prepared by the Legal Division and used by the Judicial Commission and Police Department in Unit I were sent to the other units and adopted by them. These included criminal complaints, warrants of arrests, subpoenas, undertaking, summons to jurors, commitment of imprisonment, order of probation, order suspending proceedings and remanding to the Social Welfare Department.

When councils were first elected in the two newer units, some of their leaders felt that the council leadership in Unit I was not sufficiently cordial to them.

Units I and II overwhelmingly voted in favor of the charter permanent government. Unit III voted against it.

The Temporary Community Council of Unit I resigned as a result of the refusal of the Acting Project Director to grant its resolution to release on bail a Judo instructor who was accused of having beaten a resident.

Representatives of four blocks in Unit II which were dominated by pro-Japanese residents resigned at the time of the strike in sympathy with Unit I.

The Civil War which existed between the loyal American group and the pro-Japanese group was suspended as both united to organize a very successful fair which was held about the first of January, 1943.

Subsequently, the Temporary Community Council of Unit II unanimously decided that in order to unify the unit into a more solid body, a new election of a temporary council should be held on February 9. This council was to hold office until the adoption of a permanent government.

The fear that Unit I would dominate any inter-unit councils soon prevailed. The Poston general strike in Unit I which occurred in November, 1942, increased the rift between the leadership of the units. The captains of the strike attempted to induce the other units to join their ranks and follow their leadership. During and subsequent to the strike, strike leaders delivered addresses to the Unit II residents justifying the strike. The Local Councils resisted this pressure except that four councilmen resigned from Unit II. The councils in two and three were potent factors in preventing the spread of the strike.

This difference of opinion together with the rejections by the Strike Committee of the Plan of Settlement proposed by John Maeno, Chairman of the Unit II T.C.C., increased the rift between the leaders of Unit I and the other units. For several weeks after the termination of the strike, the leaders of the two smaller units refused to support the original plan agreed to by the Organization Commission for an overall Council composed of 10 representatives from Unit I, 4 from Unit II, and 5 from Unit III.

At a meeting attended by the unit administrators and evacuee leaders of Units II and III and the Project Attorney a few weeks after the Poston Strike, some of the evacuees felt so strongly against the Unit I leaders that they opposed an overall council or any dealings with Unit I. They expressed the view that another strike might be called by the group which had been recognized by the Project Director. In the absence of a council they felt that Unit I lacked any official representative body.

The drafting committee of the Organization Commission finally agreed to a compromise proposed by the writer whereby Unit I would have 9 community councilmen and Units II and III, 5 each.

The Chairman and City Clerk were elected from Unit I, the Vice Chairman from Unit III (Chairman of the Local Council) and the City Manager from Unit II.

In the second community council, the Chairman was elected from Unit III. Following the hospitalization of the Chairman of the first Community Council he had been Acting Chairman. The Vice Chairman was from Unit II (Chairman of the Local Council) and the City Manager from Unit I (Vice Chairman of the Local Council).

Representation from units on committees are often made so that the members from the two smaller units outnumber those from Unit I. For example, the Planning Board appointed by the present Community Council to beautify the community by landscaping the firebreaks, especially plan for the entrance to each of the units, and to investigate the possibilities of local industry, agriculture and production, contained 3 members from Unit I and 2 each from the other units. A food committee appointed in the fall of 1943 contained the same ratio. In one important community council committee, the Segregation Advisory Committee, 6 members were appointed from Unit I and 5 each from the other units.

Considerable resentment existed in Units II and III because of the fact that the original board of trustees of the community

enterprises was composed entirely of residents of Unit I. The Project Director made this appointment prior to the inhabiting of the two smaller units. The suggestion that there be four cooperatives, one for each unit and the fourth the purchasing agent for the three was proposed and advocated by the cooperative experts who attempted to complete their organization in their three weeks' stay at Poston during the summer of 1942.

With the appointment of a new board of trustees on January 1, 1943, all units were represented. Another board was elected soon after the completion of segregation during October, 1943. It is interesting to note that the numerical pattern by units adopted in the charter was followed; viz, Unit I, nine; Unit II, five; Unit III, five. The custom of the overall council was followed of distributing the three principal offices between Units I, II, and III.

The Community Council did much to allay the suspicions, fears, and jealousies existing previous to its formation among the leaders of the three units. These ideas were voiced by some of the leaders of Unit III who had worked to defeat the charter. The unit administrator of Unit III is said by some to have had some influence in creating a separatist feeling among the residents of his unit.

While during the summer of 1943 the new Community Council sometimes found it difficult to determine where its functions ended and the local councils began, jurisdictional disputes between the local council in Unit I and the overall council were soon settled amicably.

It seems to me that the improvement of relations between the three units has justified the hopes of the proponents of the central council that it would eliminate some of the previous provincialism and thinking in terms of units rather than the whole community of Poston. Its existence, for example, at the time of the negotiations on the camouflage net factory contract would have made it possible to adopt a uniform plan of distribution of income for all three units.

I will succinctly discuss the camouflage net and cotton picking incidents because they were early example of the cooperative activities of the Works Committees of the three units. In both situations the councils considered the public relations aspects of these issues at a time when most of the residents gave this aspect little or no thought. This part activated many councilmen to do volunteer work, unloading camouflage material and to go on cotton picking expeditions.

The Unit I Local Council took the initiative in selling the advantages of the camouflage net factory to the residents. At the request of the Chairman of the T.C.C., Mr. Franklyn Sugiyama, I escorted four representatives of the T.C.C. to Gila to inspect the camouflage net factory. The report dated January 8, 1943, signed by the delegation was written largely by Mr. Sugiyama on December 30, 1942. The Unit I Council voted unanimously in favor of the factory after the Issei Advisory Board had left the decision in its hands. The Units II and III Councils followed suit.

The T.C.C. of Unit I, especially its Works Committee, took the leadership in securing community backing for the cotton picking in the Parker Valley. The committee then conferred with council committees in Units II and III. Although at the beginning the plan was to have all but project wages paid to a community trust fund, the plan was soon modified so that blocks, classes, the councils and block managers worked for the benefit of the smaller groups. The revocation of the permit by General DeWitt on November 12 occurred at a time when there were far more volunteer cotton pickers than available trucks. Public Relations in the Valley were improved by cotton picking. The Cotton farmers of Parker Valley expressed by resolution their appreciation of the help of the evacuees and telegraphed General DeWitt in an unsuccessful attempt to cause him to permit the continuance of this work.

VALUE OF EVACUEE COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

For the remainder of this paper, I will discuss some of the value of evacuee community government to the Poston Administration and the evacuees.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF COUNCILS

A study of the recommendations of the local councils will disclose many good suggestions interfused with others indicating misunderstandings.

The following exemplify some of the worthwhile suggestions formulated only one month after the organization of the first council at a time when confusion, dust, heat, lack of privacy and freedom of motion, worry about place in future society, worry of elders about children's future and possible danger to morale, barrenness, mournful exteriors, disorganization, insecurity, and fear were dominant notes in the community.

The Social Welfare Committee of the Temporary Community Council, Unit I, recommended at a meeting on August 19, 1942, that a home for elderly people be established as well as a juvenile court to try offenses by persons under 18. The judge would have discretion to refer cases of persons between 18 and 21. Both plans were eventually effectuated. The Administration has recognized the desirability of an old folks' home although the difficulty of securing supplies and materials has delayed the completion of such a project. With the help of the Rest Home Board appointed by the Local Council of Unit II, the Rest Home was finally opened at the close of 1943. Unit I established a Youth Counseling Board in the summer of 1943.

At the same meeting the Education Committee stated that the completion of the school was of paramount importance to the people of the camp. After exploring other possibilities, the Council accepted the recommendation of the committee to have volunteers from the blocks aid in finishing the adobe buildings. Without the Council's support and the education of many of the residents, the schools would not have been finished in time for the school term in 1943. At the same meeting the Works Progress Committee recommended a uniform cash allowance, the correlation of reports on progress and goals, and an evaluation of their importance to Poston. Subsequent suggestions of the committee included a directory of employable and order of priority of assignment of labor depending on importance of work, and the establishment of a fact-finding committee on grievances.

Several suggestions in the field of the improvement of communications between the administration and the residents have also been sound.

The desirability of translating into Japanese administrative instructions and statements of policies was also understood by the second T.C.C. which effected an agreement with the Project Director and Reports Officer on this subject. At a meeting of August 5, 1943, comment was made by representatives of local councils, Units I and II, that there was a tendency to release official news later at Poston than at other centers. The council recommended to Mr. Head the immediate release of official news.

The resolution, which asked for the release of Fujii and Uchida, the rejection of which caused a strike, was a dignified presentation of the civil rights issue involving the holding of a person without bail and definite charges being placed against him.

If the recommendations of the T.C.C., Unit I, were heeded there would have been no strike. For instance, the following dignified recommendations dated October 14, 1942, over a month before the strike called the attention of the Project Director to complaints which the residents considered very serious:

1. "WHEREAS, the weather has become unduly cold, and

WHEREAS, the people are living in apartments with inadequate insulation, and

WHEREAS, in your memorandum of September 30, addressed to the Community Council and Block Managers, you have assured us the installation of oil burning heaters, and

WHEREAS, the promised partitioning of rooms have not been taken care of to this date, and

WHEREAS, screens have been promised the residents,

WHEREAS, the immediate attention to these matters are vital to the well-being of the morale of the people, and

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the Community Council of Poston, Unit I, hereby requests your immediate action to expedite the installation of the heaters, partitions, and screens."

2. "WHEREAS, the members of the Work Corps of the community of Poston find the cash advances inadequate to purchase bare necessities, and

WHEREAS, the payment of cash advances and issuance of the clothing allowance provided for in the WRA Administrative Instructions No. 27, Section VIII, are unreasonably delayed, and

WHEREAS, the majority of the people of the community have no access to other funds, and

WHEREAS, the opening of the school program in Poston, needed supplies must be purchased immediately for the children,

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the Community Council of Poston, Unit I, hereby requests your immediate action to alleviate this pressing situation."

Four days prior to its resignation the recommendation of the Council Housing Committee was submitted to the Project Director.

It included requests for heaters, partition and insulation materials, and screens.

The Councils with the help of the Judicial Commission were potent forces in reducing the amount of private enterprise at Poston. By prosecuting in Units I and III a few important cases involving coolers, the numerous products of Unit III Industry Department, fishing equipment and gem polishing, the growth of private enterprise was impeded.

Many visitors to Poston expressed surprise to me at the absence of private enterprise. Former residents of Poston who visited or transferred to other centers wrote or told me of the great amount of private enterprise there. Private enterprises had sprung up in laundry work, barbering, beauty work, watch repairing, photography, sale of liquor, making of ornaments, and in some other fields which neither the residents nor community enterprises regard as detrimental to the community.

In one important field where private enterprise flourished at Poston the Council proposed in a memorandum to the Project Director dated October 17, 1942, the formation of a Personal Service Bureau to furnish to the appointed personnel through Community Enterprises the following services: mothers' helpers, housekeepers, governesses, laundresses and cleaners, garagement, mechanics, servicement, etc. The recommendation read as follows:

"WHEREAS, there is an immediate necessity in this community for a Personal Service Bureau to furnish services such as mothers' helpers, housekeepers, governesses, laundresses and cleaners, garagement, mechanics, servicemen, etc., and

WHEREAS, there is some question of the compensation to be paid for these services and to these employees, and

WHEREAS, the Administrative Instruction No. 27, Section X, subdivision B, Private Employment, states that the Community Council shall convey to the Project Director its recommendations concerning the disposal of the wages earned by evacuees who accept private employment and reside within the relocation center, and

WHEREAS, the Community Council has decided to secure for guidance and information as to the preferences of the evacuees by holding a special election on the question of disposition of these wages earned in private employment, and

WHEREAS, the Administrative Instruction No. 44, Section V, subdivision B, states that special recommendations shall be made in cases of special urgency,

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the Community Council of Poston, Unit I, recommend the establishment of a Personal Service Bureau in the Community Enterprise to fulfill the present need of such workers; that the Personal Service Bureau shall be set up under the following regulations until such a time that the people's wishes can be determined:

1. All requisitions for workers shall be handled by the Employment Office, but the work time shall be charged to the Personal Service Bureau;

2. Prevailing wages for services rendered shall be paid to the Personal Service Bureau by the employer when the statement is rendered;

3. The Personal Service Bureau shall compensate the employees on the WRA wage scale on similar work;

4. And, the difference between the actual wages paid to the Personal Service Bureau and the cash compensation to the employee, minus the cost of operation of such a bureau, shall be deposited in the "Evacuee Trust Fund";

5. The prevailing wages shall be determined with the aid of the U. S. Employment Division in Phoenix, Arizona, the Employment Department and the Service Bureau;

6. The Personal Service employees shall be on the same basis as the other Canteen or Community Enterprise workers and shall come under the Section IX, Employment in Consumer Enterprise of Instruction 27 in which it is stated that subsistence shall be furnished workers in Consumer Enterprise until such a time as the Consumer Enterprise is determined by the Project Director to be financially able to assume these obligations;

7. If the people should decide against the "Evacuee Trust Fund" the temporary "evacuee trust fund" shall be placed in the Community Enterprise fund or returned to the employees--or any other procedure deemed necessary by the Council."

The success with which the councils engineered and secured popular support for the assignment of a substantial amount of the wages of the camouflage net workers and blazed a trail for coopera-

tive efforts, like the cotton picking groups, shows promise that if efficiently run the Personal Service Bureau might have flourished and prevented the flagrant violation of the prohibition on private enterprise which occurs in most centers.

Except for religion, the Council investigated almost every important phases of community life. It was with this in mind that I suggested the committees to the first Temporary Community Council. The original committees suggested by me were kept intact save for a splitting of the Housing and Food Committees into two committees, after an election of a few new members on blocks which had been subsequently settled. They were the following: Law and Order, Public Relations, Social Welfare, Recreation, Community Enterprises, Education, Public Health, Food and Housing, Works Projects, and Building and Landscape. A finance Committee was subsequently appointed to make recommendations regarding the disposition of funds allocated by the community enterprises.

At present the Local Council in Unit I has the following regular committees composed of three members: Law and Order, Health and Sanitation, Social Welfare, and Community Enterprises. The following regular committees are composed of four members: Public Relations, Agriculture and Industry, Education, Food, Housing, and Community Activities. There are also some administrative bodies such as the Executive Board composed of eight members.

The regular committees of the Unit II Council are as follows: Finance, Agriculture, Housing, Social Welfare, Labor and Employment, Education, Work Projects, Recreation, Water and Irrigation, Law and Order, and Health.

The Unit III Council has the following regular committees: Agriculture, Community Activities, Community Enterprises, Education, Food and Mess Halls, Housing, Industry, Law and Order, Public Health, Public Relations and Publicity, Planning, Social Welfare, Supply and Transportation, Finance, and Labor and Employment.

The regular Community Council Committees have as Chairman a coordinator who is paid as an advisor to Mr. Head. The committees and their distribution between the units are as follows: City Planning Board, seven members; Unit I, four, including coordinator; Unit II, one; Unit III, two; Public Health, eight members; Unit I, three; Unit II, two, including coordinator; Unit III, three; Food Committee, seven members; Unit I, two; Unit II, two; Unit III, three, including coordinator; Public Relations, seven members; Unit I, four, including coordinator; Unit II, two; Unit III, one.

The first temporary community council in Unit I conducted a fairly thorough study of community enterprises and found that many of the attacks on the body were unjustified. The council on August 29, 1942, recommended that the scheduled election of a cooperative congress should be postponed ninety days because the people were not sufficiently prepared to accept the cooperative movement was sound.

Greater recognition of the need of translations to official notices grew out of the recommendations of this meeting although the plans were never consummated in their entirety. The Press on January 6, 1943, were searching. Some of the councilmen felt that the project newspaper failed to serve the purpose of transmitting accurate and sufficient news to the residents.

Members of the appointed personnel who were targets of criticisms by the councils at Poston and at certain other centers were often deserving of condemnation. Certain project officials no longer at Poston who were under criticism include Best, Townsend, James and Henry Smith.

While little or no attention was given to many of the recommendations of the first Temporary Community Council of Unit I, there were a few notable exceptions. For example, on October 7, following an attack in the Press Bulletin by a columnist called "The Voice of the Issei", the Council, acting in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Issei representation passed the following resolution:

WHEREAS, that the Project Director has permitted Mr. Bowers to build a crematory on the grounds of the hospital

WHEREAS, that it is too close to the hospital proper

WHEREAS, that the Japanese people are sensitive and psychologically upset in the building of this crematory

WHEREAS, that traditionally the Japanese people have never accepted such an institution within the confines of their every-day life, and

WHEREAS, that the said news had spread throughout the camp with great deal of criticism and complaint because of its moral obligation to this community

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the building of the crematory be stopped immediately and a more satisfactory site be chosen.

The Project Director promptly ordered a change in the location of the crematorium, which was in the course of construction.

More attention was paid to the recommendations of subsequent councils, because the administration felt that they were more representative of the community and it had gained more confidence in evacuee community government and reached greater recognition of its value. For example, on December 18, 1942, shortly after the election of the Unit I Temporary Community Council, the councilmen emphasized the need for a Japanese translation service and asked that translators be assigned to the Central Executive Board to translate directives of the Project Director and other members of the appointed personnel, interpretations of policies, minutes of meetings, official transactions, and statements.

COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT AS AN AGENCY FOR COMMUNICATION

BETWEEN THE APPOINTED PERSONNEL AND THE RESIDENTS

The communication between administrators and the residents has been insufficient in all of the relocation centers. Similarly, the administrative staffs have been ill-informed about many of the feelings, ideas, and recommendations of the residents. Basic policies and programs have been misunderstood and the functions of various governmental agencies in evacuation have been known to few residents even among the educated Nisei.

Community government offers a medium of accurate communication between the residents and the W.R.A. from and to the people through the blocks and councils and administrators, and in reverse from the administration to the councils and blocks.

Language and cultural differences, especially among the rural groups who in many cases were isolated from the main stream of American life made of vital importance any medium for communication. Thereby needless fears could be quieted and doubts clarified. It was all the more important because some of the administrators favored a "hush, hush" program and endeavored in every way possible to keep the residents ignorant of administrative instructions and other significant information. Their uncooperative attitude angered many of the councilmen who were endeavoring to learn basic policies in order to formulate recommendations, one of their powers.

The Council is not only a medium for conveying to the Administrator the collective thought of the residents, but also for communication between evacuees in the various centers.

An editorial in the "Gila News Courier" of October 28, 1943, discussed the new permanent community councils which were then in the process of organization. The editorial stated in part:

"As representative bodies, the council has a more vital purpose--that of coordinating the functions and the work of the residents and the administration. Most of the dissatisfaction that has risen in the center has originated from imagined or real wrongs imposed by the administration upon the residents.

"If the councils can bring the administration and the residents closer together by ironing out misunderstandings and correcting wrongs, it can do the community and the administration no greater service. This function, we believe is the most vital of all the various duties, and the councils and the administration both have seen this, we believe.

"This involves the bridging of the gap that exists between evacuees and appointed personnel psychology. It is a bigger job than the detail of actual government functions practiced by most cities. It needs the good will and support of the residents and the administration. Give it!"

Community government served as a way whereby administrators became acquainted with some of the leaders among the residents and vice versa. In the words of the Chairman of the first council: "We gained the insight about some administrators. We saw what they were like and then were able to tell others what they were like also."^{1/}

Mistrust and misunderstanding are bred by ignorance. The leaders in their turn could transmit the knowledge they gained to others. There were some administrators who could not stand the test. It was desirable that the residents and the appointed personnel know of these deficiencies and make replacements before more harm was done.

Through its committees, the council acquainted project officials with some of the weaknesses in its personnel and administration. It also educated project administrators to the importance of considering the community and enabled them to gain a keener insight into its hopes and aspirations.

^{1/} Conversation with writer October 1, 1943.

It also acted as a clearing house for interpretations of administrative policies and as a way by which evacuee leaders were trained in politics and relations of human beings and clarified their thinking on evacuation, W.R.A., relocation, and project problems.

Let me illustrate the wide field.

APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS FOR COMMUNITY BETTERMENT OR WELFARE

The Temporary Community Council also served as a medium for the distribution for community welfare of funds of the Community Enterprise. Since there was no appropriation for recreational equipment, a portion of the Community Enterprise profits were allocated by the Board of Trustees for this purpose. The Board of Trustees felt, as appointees of Mr. Head, they did not represent the community but that the elected council did; and they followed in all cases the recommendations of the council on the distribution of funds.

Therefore, shortly after the election of the first Temporary Council the Board of Trustees of the Community Enterprises asked the Council to recommend the use of some of the profits of the enterprises for community betterment and welfare. In all cases the board followed the recommendation of the council. In fact, for many months it allocated a special amount each month for the purpose which varied with the amount of the profits. For example, in August, 1942, \$300 were allocated; in September \$900; in October \$1,000. During the past year Community Enterprises has allocated considerably less money for this purpose than previously.

The expenditures of these funds were to be for institutional advertisement of the Community Enterprises and at the same time they would furnish means for fulfilling community needs for which the government appropriations did not cover.

A similar theory expounded by the Project Attorney had been used as justification for the use of funds for the payment of movies. Poston was the only center which did not require some admission charge. Advertisements of products appeared on the screen during periods in which the films, which would sometimes break, were being repaired. Sometimes such advertisements also appeared before the beginning of the performance.

The board felt that the council as elected representatives of the people were in a better position than the members of the

board who were temporary appointments of the Project Director to determine what the residents desired and what needs should be fulfilled within the limit of funds. Community Activities were the recipient of most of this money.

The Temporary Community Council lacked any power to levy taxes or licenses, but this plan enabled them to take care of many of the basic needs of the community such as the purchase of recreational material.

At times the councils have been asked to decide on the distribution of other funds. For instance, a gift of \$232.09 received by the Chief of the Community Services Branch was turned over by her to the council on December 24, 1942, to be used as they thought fit. The councils also decided on the distribution of the camouflage net trust fund which was made up of a portion of the salary of the workers assigned to the trustees of a camouflage net fund in each of the units to be appointed by the council.

This money for the three units together with the Community Enterprises funds amounted to well over \$100,000. The council frequently went back to the blocks to determine community sentiment in the disposition of this money. For example, the block managers in Unit III sought the suggestions of the blocks through the block manager on the disposition of the camouflage net fund.

Furthermore, the council often relied heavily upon the department concerned such as the Community Activities Division for the apportionment between various community activities. Dr. Ishimaru, the Chairman of the first Temporary Community Council suggested that councilmen hold meetings in their own blocks to get important ideas and suggestions. (Meeting of July 29, 1942.)

The councils, especially the second, third, and fourth councils, frequently delayed acting on a measure until they had had a chance to determine community feeling in the blocks. For example, the Temporary Community Council in Unit I after the defeat on the first vote of the camouflage net problem, went back to the blocks to determine community sentiment. Some of the councilmen were fearful of broaching the subject again and neglected to follow out the mandate of the council.

Let me cite a few other examples of the action by the council in seeking the advice of the blocks. At the meeting of the Unit II Temporary Community Council held on November 2, 1942, the dangers of burning charcoal in the house were discussed. The council decided that since a regulation was for the protection of

the people the members should secure the opinions of the residents before taking any action. The block manager supervisor was asked to obtain the opinions of the people in each block. At the time of the general strike in Unit I, the executive committee of the de facto evacuee government also sought the advice of the blocks on the acceptance of terms relating to the release of Isamu Uchida whose holding in the Poston Jail was the immediate cause of the strike.

Sometimes the councils as in the case of a portion of the camouflage net funds distributed money to the blocks and block councils or block advisory boards and they decided what use to make of this money. For example, Block 45 spent part of this fund for the purpose of buying films for children.

In my opinion, this portion of the work of the council has been highly successful. In a community in which criticism was at first quick to be raised, I have never heard any adverse criticism of these appropriations.

Many residents who feel the councils have done nothing (even as many citizens feel towards Congress, State Legislatures, or City Councils) or who follow the American pattern of feeling that many of their representatives are guided by political considerations and are not always high-minded, are not familiar with much of the fine work of the council. The Community Council Advisor, Haas, stressed the need for a Public Relations Committee in the first Temporary Council. Although some information on the work of the council was conveyed by this committee and subsequent committees, a great deal was missed by the failure of councilmen to portray adequately their accomplishments to their constituents.

IMPROVEMENT IN MORALE AND INITIATIVE

Evacuation not only created an undemocratic situation, but also the necessary reliance by the evacuees on the Federal government for almost every type of service including education, food, shelter, hospital, medical and legal services. This condition has done much to cause a self-reliant, independent, enterprising people to assume the attitude of wardship, of dependence, of fear and insecurity. Abnormal war conditions and the attitudes of certain groups in California which are reflected in the papers they read such as the "Los Angeles Times" and the "Los Angeles Examiner" accentuated some of these tendencies.

Many of the residents recognize the degeneration and deterioration of mind, spirit, and character which enveloped some of them

by the very nature of the centers. Some of them said that they relocated because they feared that they would be unable to meet competition at the end of the war if they remained in projects for the duration.

The participation on the part of the residents in community planning and government and administration, the solution by them of most law and order problems and decisions of the project policies within the framework of national W.R.A. policies would do much to counteract some of these enervating influences. No longer are they before administrators--they become participants in an unusual experiment. Isolated from the main stream of American life on the desert far from any big city, they can shape a new culture composed of portions from both the American background and of the Japanese culture which they carried with them to the new land 20 or 30 years ago. Community government and evacuee participation in the administration especially in responsible positions can serve as an education and training and a bolsterer of morale. It will permit many of the residents to feel less afraid of facing the outside and be more prepared to meet the problems of relocation and to be reintegrated and assimilated in the main stream of American life.

TRAINING IN DEMOCRACY

There were some who were inclined to think that the residents lacked sufficient knowledge and experience to enable them to be successful in self-government. They were unaware that although few had held public offices, the Japanese communities had many organizations and had solved by themselves most of their internal problems such as crimes, delinquencies, poverty, without resorting to courts or private or governmental relief agencies. No Roberts' Rules of Procedure, a few copies of which were sent to the projects, were needed for an orderly meeting.

It is true that some of the older people, especially from certain rural regions, were not versed in American history and political science. Community government offers a way whereby they can gain experience in democratic government through actual participation and elections. This is exemplified by the conduct of elections. Election rules were first established by the community council advisor after submission to two members of the law division who approved the draft. After a year in which several elections had taken place, the community government was able to handle the second community council election held under the charter without the help of the legal division, save for a few questions of interpretation. The passing of penal and traffic rules, recommendations of various kinds and committee reports

gave many of the residents an opportunity to learn about the administrative policies.

It also caused them to work together. While it is true that many knew each other intimately before they came to Poston, the three communities contained people from various parts of California and Arizona, a few scattering from other states. The give and take of political discussion was means whereby the leaders became acquainted with each other's personalities and views. Narrow sectionalism which is always likely to appear and which was emphasized by the division into blocks and units was lessened as the residents saw that vital problems were the concern of all the communities alike. Unfortunately, especially at the beginning, some of the administrators were provincial themselves and set unit against unit not only from a competitive standpoint, but also from the viewpoint of making some groups believe that they were superior to others.

Furthermore, although some of the administrators realized the value of training in democracy, they had a paternalistic approach. For example, one of the most idealistic administrators very ably described how residents in an evacuation were given an opportunity to elect and activate a cultural structure, a realistic democracy of their own design. He also envisaged that they would become better citizens and more realistically democratic in thought. At the same time he was reluctant to have the evacuees elect block managers and at the beginning to trust the councils with power.

THE SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

Since their inception the schools of Poston were operated as community institutions. The students formed a temporary student council a few weeks after the opening of schools, composed of the executive offices of each class which met with teachers and administrative staff to study and solve school problems. Constitutional conventions were held in the units to form a permanent student council.

Many talks were delivered by the Project Attorney and several by the Chairmen of the Councils to school classes and teachers regarding the judicial commissions, police department, evacuee administrative agencies and the community and local councils.

COOPERATION BETWEEN DIVISIONS AND COMMUNITY COUNCILS

Two notable examples of divisions which cooperated well with the Councils are the Employment Division and the Community Services

Division (now called the Community Management Division). A liberal, Mr. Kennedy, Chief of the Employment Division during the latter part of 1942 and the early part of 1943, readily followed the advice of the Project Attorney and consulted the Council or the proper committee on many important problems. For example, in the fall, at the request of the Assistant Project Director he sought volunteers from the block managers to unload camouflage net materials. None responded. Through my efforts and later with the support of the council, he subsequently secured all the volunteers he needed.

The Administrative Circular No. 1 of the Community Activities Division prepared towards the close of 1942 describes the relation between the division and the community councils:

"The Community Council is in each center, and for the Project as a whole, the source of authority for the programs which the Division carries on. In each Center, the Cabinet representatives are expected to meet with, talk with, and work with the Recreation Committee of the local council.

"At the present time, two major policy decisions are being referred to the council:

1. Priorities on the use of working personnel: Where a choice must be made between recreational and productive use of manpower, or among different types of community activities, the final arbiter will be the council.
2. Regulation of fees, admissions, and other charges made for recreational events; and, in general, the problem of self-support for recreation and other community activities within the Division's scope.

"It is obviously imperative that the working departments and especially the cabinet enlist the recreation committees of the council in close and continuous acquaintance with, and participation in, the development of both programs and policies.

"The ultimate objective of the Division and the Director is to transfer the leadership and responsibility for the Division to self-governing representative bodies under the general community government, rather than appointive executives under the Project administration."

INTERNAL SECURITY

This supplements the portion of the annual report of the Legal Division relating to law and order. It emphasizes the part

played by the Community Council in making Poston one of the most law abiding communities of its size in the United States.

First, let us consider some of the general conditions in Poston because criminologists are more and more recognizing the fact that the relationship between the criminal and the community is a total and not a partial one.

It has been known for some time that overcrowded regions in the cities produce a much higher proportion of criminals than do sections with more commodious housing. On December 16, 1942, Poston, Unit I, which had the highest degree of overcrowding of the three units had over 500 families living with other families in a single room. There was 394 cases of two families living together, 82 of 3 families living together, and 16 of 4 families. This condition was a constant source of irritation and friction. More than 60% of all changes in addresses in September and October were due to overcrowding, lack of privacy and incompatibility. Other reasons given were proximity of employment, relatives or friends.

The lack of privacy, the over-crowding, the decline of ordinary social and family control, the unusual social and economic condition, the insecurity and fear arising out of evacuation and the war, the artificial nature of the centers which were akin in some way to slum conditions and which caused a breakdown of morale and the heterogeneous nature of the population were some of the many factors which caused increase in crimes at the beginning. The residents who had excellent records for hard work and pride through achievements prior to evacuation later helped overcome these early difficulties.

For the past year, Poston has had an enviable record in law and order. It is true that there have been some youthful gangs who have broken into dances, started fights, ^{committed} ~~created~~ vandalism on public property and caused many of the residents to be afraid. The community determined to stop this condition. The judicial commission also showed a determination to mete out more severe punishment to those who disturbed the public peace. In many cases, minor offenses caused considerable commotion in the blocks. With the help of the Block Managers and the Block Advisory Boards and friends, most of these minor offenses are settled.

Many residents, especially those who formerly lived in cities, early asked the administration to establish a Police Department. They argued that there were bound to be hoodlums in a large community.

The Police Department was one of the first departments organized in Poston. Chief of Police Shigekawa was appointed on May 15. The first Chief of Police had hoped that he would serve as Police Commissioner of the whole center, and substations would be established in Units II and III with assistant chiefs as heads of those departments. He feared that if fines were meted out to offenders they might not be able to pay for them. Most of the residents were law abiding, but gambling caused some disturbances at night. There were also some early cases of trespassing and petty thievery.

On May 17, after being sworn in by Dr. Kimball, the Chief swore in other members appointed to the force. The following oath was administered: "I, on this _____ day of _____, 1942, do hereby solemnly swear from this date hereafter that I will carry out my duties to the best of my ability as officer of the Poston Police Department. I will render any aid to this department in a courteous and considerate manner befitting a police officer. I will not be bribed or show any partiality in the course of my duties. Subscribed to and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 1942."

On May 20, the following notice was read to all block managers: "The Police Department has been engaged and is functioning at this time. The headquarters are located at Block 28, Barrack 1. All thefts, misconducts, misbehavior by residents should be directed to the Police Department."

To make room for the canteen, the department was later moved to the east side of the adjoining barrack. During the early months the crew consisted of less than 20 patrolmen with two desk sergeants, three lieutenants, and a captain and chief. Besides patrolling the project, they performed intake duties and rendered other services such as carrying messages and aiding women and children. The patrolmen were directed to stop all speeding vehicles and "if they give any back sass, run them in." In those days every gust of wind, every moving vehicle, or pedestrian stirred up a cloud of dust. Hence, a low speed limit of around 10 miles was established.

Dissatisfaction with lack of equipment, transportation, and uniforms was manifested early. The lack of proper uniforms for the police has been a continual source of complaint by the Police Department and the councils. The failure to adopt the early recommendations of the council to secure uniforms for the Police Department was the subject of Community Council action in December, 1943.

One of the first tasks of the Council was to endeavor to improve law and order. At the request of Assistant Project Director

Evans, the Project Attorney had drawn up specific suggestions for his speech to the council. He mentioned among other things the establishment of the Police Department, including a system of investigation of crime and determination of the guilt or innocence of the accused, as one of the essential problems of the first Temporary Council, and Assistant Project Director Evans had iterated this idea in his address. Yet when the Council endeavored to determine the needs of the Police Department and to improve its efficiency, the Project Director issued an order removing law and order from its purview. He placed the Police Department under the Unit Administrator and the Council was advised that this was not its business. This order ignored the fact that the Council was authorized to make recommendations on law and order. In my opinion, no progress was made on law and order during this period; lawlessness ensued as threats and assaults were perpetrated without being discovered or punished. In my opinion, a serious mistake was made by this move, which required many months to remedy even partially.

Another question which has been the cause of some friction between the Director of Police or Chief of Internal Security, as he was first called, and evacuee police has been the failure at times to call upon the evacuee police for assistance in certain criminal matters. Mr. Yamamoto, Chairman of the Judicial Council, addressed a memorandum to Project Director Head and Director of Police Harper, dated December 16, 1943, expressing the views of the Judicial Council that a gradual deterioration of the present peace and harmony would result if the evacuee police were relegated to minor jobs and with three Internal Security officers in the past month, the largest at any time, there was a fear that by disregarding the evacuee police they would lose prestige with the residents.

In Poston, it was realized early that the best way to achieve discipline and order in the center and to achieve executive administration was through evacuee participation and cooperation. This was one of the reasons why I declined on behalf of Mr. Head and myself the suggestion that we serve as judges. In August, 1942, the Temporary Community Council passed a Penal Code which was approved by the Project Director. It was drafted by a Law and Order Committee composed of the lawyers of Unit I, including myself, the Police Chief and a member of the Council, Mr. Nomura.

A traffic code was also passed at this time, and a Judicial Commission composed of three members of the Law and Order Committee from the Council were appointed by that body. Units II and III established judicial commissions. The latter had difficulty in

securing reputable residents to serve on the Commission, but succeeded in forming a five-man Judicial Commission toward the end of January, 1943. This unit also followed the plan of the other Units of having three Judicial Commissioners sit together. The need for a Commission in Unit III had been clearly demonstrated by some juvenile cases which were referred to the Unit II Commission in the absence of a judicial body in three.

The evolution of the Judicial Commission is interesting. At the beginning, the Council asked the Project Director and Project Attorney to serve as a judge. The latter declined with thanks on behalf of Mr. Head and himself, indicating the undesirable situation of such a system. The Committee then thought in terms of having a jury of twelve and a judge 21 years of age or over who understands English. Although originally a person accused of a crime could ask for a jury, this was done only in one case which was not tried because the complainant decided not to press it, since they desired the case to be tried in the State Court. At the beginning there was no prosecutor, but after the adoption of the charter a city attorney was appointed who acted usually as prosecutor and deputy prosecutors were appointed in Units II and III. They communicated with the City Attorney on doubtful points of law.

The accused was allowed bail pending trial on his own recognition or that of his attorney or a friend, or in a few cases upon the posting of security. Although the jurisdiction of the Judicial Commission was limited to minor offenses committed on the project, the Poston officials had asked for recommendations regarding certain minor offenses committed by residents of Poston while on group, seasonal, or short-term leaves.

A report of the Judicial Commission, Unit I, covering the period of August 31, 1942 to November 30, 1942, by Franklyn S. Sugiyama then Clerk of the Court, and Lily Y. Yoshimi, Deputy Clerk, showed that 52 cases had been heard. There were 26 convictions and 13 dismissals with one case pending and one referred to the Project Director and the Social Welfare Department. Thirty-two of the convictions were traffic violations, while the others included one each of the following crimes: theft, gambling, assault and battery, and malicious mischief. Most of the dismissals constituted traffic violations in which there was conflicting evidence between arresting officer and the accused.

By February, 1943, after the Judicial Commission in Unit I had served for about six months, a total of 72 cases had been heard. Conviction resulted in about two-thirds of trial, but the guilty were usually freed on probation. In a few cases, sentences of two or three days were rendered out. Most of the cases were violations of traffic laws.

At first, there was resistance to the authority of the Judicial Commission on the part of some of those served with tickets or subpoenas. The strike of a road crew against the serving of the first ticket to one of the members illustrated this attitude. During this period, which coincided with a series of criticisms against the police, a handful of persons refused to attend the Judicial Commission hearings. They were promptly brought in by the police and no such difficulty occurred in the future.

In most of such convictions the offender was compelled to report once a week to the Police Department and warned that if he violated the traffic rules again, he would lose his permit to drive and might be incarcerated. The traffic safety campaign proved successful, and speeding and other violations decreased. Many of the other crimes heard during this period and subsequently were not of a serious nature. Some of the arrests made for gambling were dismissed because of lack of evidence. One case which was widely discussed occurred in Unit III. Slight wounds were inflicted on two complainants by an instrument which might have been a can opener, but which was never found. This case was discussed with the Sheriff and County Attorney of Yuma County in a conference attended by the full galaxy of the attorneys of Poston, two of whom were representing the defendant, two the complainants, and one was advising the Judicial Commission. I was in the office giving advice when asked to the administrators, Judicial Commission, lawyers, complainants, and defendant. After setting four trial dates and calling a jury, the Judicial Commission dismissed this case because the complainants showed they did not intend to prosecute it. There was some evidence of provocation and self-defense in this case.

For several weeks, some of the more serious crimes, such as assaults by groups went unpunished because the malefactors were not found. In one case involving Mr. Saburo Kido who turned over his ankle after a gang of boys had seized him with the intention of shaving his head or perhaps frightening him, the leader of a group was discovered and prevented from leaving on a short-term leave for the beet fields. This punishment constituted a reversal by the Acting Project Director of the recommendation of the newly formed Judicial Commission of Unit II which had recommended that the culprit be allowed to leave.

On the whole the serious criminals were not uncovered during this initial period, and the minor crimes were not punished severely on the theory that some might commit crimes because of a shock of evacuation and other new factors in the pioneer com-

munity who might otherwise have been law abiding. Furthermore, in many of the minor crimes, the complaining witnesses were reluctant to press the case.

The great assistance rendered by the Judicial Commission to the Project Director and his staff was demonstrated by two interim periods. On both these occasions, the Project Director found a large portion of his time was consumed by internal security problems. During the first period, Wade Head appointed on December 14, 1942, a judicial commission in Unit I to hear minor offenses pending the election of a new council and its appointment of a new commission. Decisions were reviewable by the Project Director within twenty-four hours. The Council was elected on December 15 and six days later George Fujii, a councilman, was designated Clerk of the Commission and Lily Yoshimi, Deputy Clerk.

The second period was between the date of the election and the permanent Community Council and its adoption of a penal code. Again the Project Director found much of his time spent on internal security hearings. He was aided even then by recommendations of the Judicial Commission in several cases.

Representatives of these commissions met on September 15, 1943, and determined to continue to act until their successors were elected. At this meeting, it was determined to impose more severe penalties.

The first Penal Code was soon amended to include additional offenses including libel, slander, and private enterprise. The first two offenses reflected a growing wave of threats in some cases directed to councilmen and other Nisei leaders which characterized the first six months of the project history. During this period, there were also several beatings or attempted beatings.

One of the first tasks of the first Community Council elected under the Charter was to pass a new Penal Code. A special meeting of the Community Council held on July 22 resulted in the unanimous adoption of the code which contained the offenses set forth in the Administrative Instruction No. 85 plus several additional crimes. The Code also provided for a Youth Counselling Board to which the Judicial Commission could refer for recommendation of any persons under 16 charged with an offense. After its passage, Councilman Kubota of Unit III called attention to several defects in the draft and it was decided to reconsider the code which was referred to a committee of five, with Mr. Kubota as Chairman and Mr. Masuda as a member. The next meeting of the Council held on August 5 passed the original draft with a few changes recommended by the

committee. The code was readopted on August 24 together with the Traffic Code in order to make several amendments recommended by the Project Attorney. The Traffic Code which was also passed substantially followed the first code. A subsequent amendment increased the speed limit between the units from 25 to 35 miles.

The first important case showing a changed attitude toward law and order on the part of most of the residents occurred at the beginning of the summer of 1943. A group of 12 or 15 boys started fights, crashed dances, made threats in order to get food, and destroyed property. Substantial evidence was adduced against four ringleaders of these Pachuco gangs, three of whom were reputed to have been trouble-makers in Santa Anita Assembly Center and Los Angeles.

Three gang leaders were transferred to Gila and a fourth, a visitor from Heart Mountain, was returned to that project. One of the three transferred to Gila was permitted to return. Incidentally, the Gila Relocation Center has very frequently sent the causes of some of its law and order troubles to Poston.

About 20 or 25 boys were involved in minor roles. Most of their parents were unaware of their children's malefactions. In some cases interviews of the block manager with the parents helped cause a reformation. For instance, the able block manager from 45 states that five members of a gang from his block whose folks were visited are now making good as seasonal workers.

The block managers are publicizing preventive measures by sending representatives to discuss problems facing the residents, especially the decline of juvenile conduct, on all suitable occasions. Numerous hair cuts and a change in apparel also characterized the end of several Pachuco gangs. The changed attitude on the part of the residents during the campaign to end juvenile delinquency contrasted with the former unwillingness to punish offenders, which was part of the disintegration of group morale and the anarchistic tendencies of many groups.

A second significant case illustrating the determination to preserve law and order by the imposition, if necessary, of more severe penalties was heard by the Judicial Commission and Youth Counseling Board of Unit I in a joint session of November 27, 1943. Four boys, one aged 21 and the others from 15 to 17 years pleaded guilty to the charge of assault and battery and rioting. The evidence showed that the defendants were members of a gang of six who had habitually crashed parties and endeavored to terrify the leaders of school activities in order to take them down a "notch

or two". The adult was sentenced to ten days in the Parker Indian Jail though his sentence was subsequently commuted to five days, probation for a period of 30 days and required to report every day to the Chief of police in Unit I and confined within the limits of his block from 8:30 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. The minors were sentenced to five days in jail which were suspended. They were also placed on probation for 30 days. They must report every day to the Director of Education or to a substitute designated by him. They were also confined to their blocks during the same hours as their adult accomplice.

The community now wants to be at peace and is far less sympathetic than before to those who violate the rules of decency and good conduct. Furthermore, community sentiment, which at one time was sympathetic with the more serious offenders, such as assaults on so-called informers, condemns severely the acts of gangs.