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HEART MOUNTAIN

(Visit November 1 - 4, 1942)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Heart Mountain and Utah were the most advanced of the projects I visited. The evacuee government at Heart Mountain is further along than any of the others, I believe. Phil Barber says that the Issei Temporary Council has been very helpful in getting cooperation of evacuees, and he hopes that the issei can continue in some way to have a voice in the government.

The block managers are all nisei, and Barber has also been meeting with that group. They are paid for their work. The Temporary Council is not, and this question has come up.

Most of the block managers and the temporary councilmen were candidates in the Charter Commission election which took place on Election Day. Evidence of their strength, was that of 17 issei councilmen who ran, 11 were elected. Of 16 nisei block managers who ran, 12 were elected. There are twenty blocks altogether at the project.

According to Phil Barber, the Temporary Council at Heart Mountain feels that three things should be watched if control by a clique of evacuees is to be avoided. These are: (a) Police Force; (b) Newspaper; (c) Community Enterprises.

The Community Enterprise leaders at the present time are a group of conservative businessmen. If their control over the paper -- both financial and editorial -- is as strong as the WRA instruction permits it to be, there is danger that editorial freedom will suffer as a consequence. For example, if the Community Enterprise people wanted to change the form of cooperative organization or resist licensing control by the council, or campaign for their own special interests, they could use their paper for this purpose. Barber feels that there should be an editorial board of the evacuees more fully representative of all elements of the project.

Barber says that evacuees have responded very well to pleas that harmony should be preserved. In this way, it has been possible to reconcile somewhat diverse elements. The situation regarding the mess hall which resulted in firing of the chief steward because he was skimping on the amount of food served was solved in this way.

INTERNAL SECURITY

The Police and Fire Departments at Heart Mountain are handicapped because there are virtually no phones in the various project blocks. This is also a disadvantage when people are ill.

Undoubtedly one of the reasons for police strike was the manner in which it was approached by the Chief Internal Security Officer, Griffin. Griffin apparently has capabilities in several directions but was guilty of lack of tact in the situation. Griffin's responsibilities include the police, fire, and welfare sections, although in actuality Miss Payne reports directly to Phil Barber.

In the police strike there was some evidence that the police chief was working in collusion with Kiyochi Doi, the Judicial Commissioner. Doi is the only lawyer on the project. He is a contentious sort of person who apparently revels in the political power which he exercises. He was recently named Chairman of the Charter Commission.

While I was there, the police were back at their posts but on a voluntary rather than paid basis. They went back at the request of and in the service of the Temporary Council.

FIRE

The fire chief is a Japanese, and according to Barber is doing a good job. No Caucasian has been appointed, and he does not think any will be needed.

HEALTH

Dr. Irwin is short on nursing staff. He has a staff of nine physicians including himself, but he expects to lose the services of four evacuees. All six wards in the hospital are in operation. Dr. Irwin estimates that he has eleven nurses, instead of the 35 actually necessary. Foremost needs are the following: (1) a Caucasian assistant, (2) more Caucasian nurses, (3) more evacuee nurses. He needs an assistant because he has been unable to find an evacuee capable of handling hospital administration. There is a pharmacist who would be capable but he is reluctant to step out of his own professional sphere. There is an abundance of dentists, but from time to time they have created something of a problem. Dr. Irwin has eleven and would like to swap some of them for doctors or nurses from other centers. So far Dr. Thompson sent on only one candidate for a nursing job, and

she didn't stick. Manpower shortage has also created a maintenance problem at the hospital.

Certain medical cases have proved difficult to handle. For example, there is one man in a rather advanced stage of cancer. While he is incurable he has requested a certain type of palliative treatment. This isn't available in the hospital so it would mean that the patient would have to spend 27 days at Billings at considerable expense.

Dr. Irwin asks whether there is any budget for the hospital. He has never seen it. He also had difficulty in obtaining necessary x-ray films.

CHILDREN'S DIET

Many small children are served foods which are not appropriate for them. No one has really taken responsibility for diet regulation.

FORMULA KITCHEN

Should the cost of a formula kitchen be charged to the mess hall or the hospital? If the former, it raises the per-capita food cost. Incidentally, there are 41 evacuee workers per mess hall.

EDUCATION

The schools were open at Heart Mountain when I was there, though in some cases crudely improvised furniture was being used. All of the main positions in education were filled.

Mr. Carter says that he needs five additional high school teachers. It turns out that there are 1487 pupils in the upper six classes but only 910 in the lower six classes. Carter is attempting to meet North Central standards of education which are higher than those of the State of Wyoming.

Carter stated that while the evacuees will accept Japanese teachers in the lower elementary grades they did not have the respect of high school students. In the same way, he indicated that the evacuee teachers used needed supervision.

All children in the school were being examined when I was there - at the rate of 100 a day. Children are in good health. Textbooks are needed - some of those ordered are not yet received. It is rather significant that textbooks are costing \$1500 more because procedure required that they be bought through procurement, rather than direct from the publishers.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

There is a vocational shop course open but they have only hand tools to work with. In time they hope to do woodworking, drafting and ceramics. Mr. Friedman is assisting Mr. Carter in the development of this program. In Friedman's belief, vocational training should be functional insofar as possible. Here are some of the factors he believes should be considered: (1) Use of noncritical materials, (2) Salable products (either on their own artistic merits or for the war effort), (3) Post-war marketability of skills acquired.

The young people on the project desperately want guidance. Even those approaching 40 hope to utilize the experience at the relocation centers to learn a practical skill. This includes many of the professional people such as pharmacists, teachers, etc., who see no immediate post-war outlet for their professional training.

COMMUNITY WELFARE

Miss Virgil Payne has about 25 evacuee workers in a recreation building on the project which serves as the Community Welfare Office. They were concerned mostly with clothing allowances when I was there.

No nursery schools have been established as yet at Heart Mountain.

Miss Payne is anxious to organize a housekeeping service. For example, there is a man now unable to work because he must take care of a 2½ year old child. Another is similarly burdened by a child of 4. A home for the aged is also being considered. There are now six men in the hospital who could be kept in an apartment if housekeeping services were provided. It is planned to have the home for aged men and women. Baths would be built indoors. There would be a living room with comfortable chairs serving a number of bedrooms, and a couple would be in charge.

Thus far assistance grants have been approved on the basis of special grants. Miss Payne said that she regarded it as delightful that the Japanese apparently considered ice cream a necessity for their children.

CLOTHING

Mr. Rachford said that if the new WRA clothing policy discriminates against sugar beet workers it will defeat its purpose. In contrast to

Lindley he said that the men working on the outside had cleared only about \$2.00 a day because of the unfavorable weather and other circumstances. If they have to pay for clothing for their families, he did not think the differential would be liberal enough to attract them to work outside the center.

It was not clear whether "those employed 15 or more days" in July, August, or September included those who worked that time in assembly centers. Also, it was not certain whether sugar beet workers were entitled to clothing allowances. Finally, there was some question whether every person given a public assistance grant or covered by such a grant was not automatically entitled to a full clothing allowance in each case without special examination. At the present time, Miss Payne is giving the grant plus the regular clothing allowance in cases where necessary.

On the basis of 15 days worked at the relocation center, there were 2,098 grants at \$37.54, totaling \$78,758.92. The public assistance for special grants numbered 80 at \$29.98, totaling \$2,398.40.

Douglas Todd wanted to know if Community Enterprises will be required to stock clothing for clothing issue. It will mean ordering a considerable amount. Right now surplus clothing is being distributed from the warehouse under a plan carried out by the Community Service Division.

HOUSING

At the present time Embree in the Employment Division is handling housing in a dogged but uninspired way. He has plans similar to those in Utah for juggling partitions so that there are eight apartments in each barracks instead of six. Twelve extra rooms have thus far been created in this way, but the program is not going forward very rapidly. I told him something of Freidman's more ingenious plan for partitioning, and he is going to try the next few on that basis.

There are 2818 apartments at the project, of which 70 are now being used for school rooms. Here are some figures:

- 41 families of seven occupy two rooms.
- 17 families of eight or more occupy two rooms.
- Families of nine occupying one room - 1
- Families of eight occupying one room - 9
- Families of seven occupying one room - 72
- Families of six occupying one room - 264
- "A" or "F" (end) rooms are occupied at present by eleven single men and seven single women.

Embree's idea is to have only a few people in the largest size rooms so that they realize at the outset that they will not remain permanently. On the other hand, if a family of six is given a large room, they effect improvements and assume a proprietary air, so that it is difficult to dislodge them if it is desired to divide the room into two units.

At present, 241 small families are required to live two families to a room.

There are 2699 families on the project (105 additional are expected). The breakdown is as follows:

Single women	-	170
Single men	-	1094
Families of 2	-	585
" " 3	-	559
" " 4	-	541
" " 5	-	404
" " 6	-	332
" " 7	-	134
" " 8	-	74
" " 9	-	36
" " 10	-	22
" " 11	-	5
" " 12	-	3
" " 13	-	4

CITY PLANNING

At Heart Mountain they have given much attention to city planning. There is a city planning group which meets regularly. It consists of one WRA staff member and about ten evacuees. They have recommended for the project director's approval, an order of priorities for the construction work which needs to be accomplished at the center. They have also proposed a zoning plan for the center. Considerable attention is being given to the improvement of housing. A plan providing for L - shaped partitions has been drawn up. In addition, a home planning clinic has been established to bring together the best suggestions on decoration of apartments. It is planned that several model apartments will be used as demonstration centers.

HOUSING

It is felt that a technical housing division within Maintenance could carry out such suggestions for construction as the housing people might propose. There is value, however, in having the housing unit separate, with some general responsibility for city planning, for design, and for practical living suggestions.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

At present five evacuee supervisors report to Marlin Kurtz in charge of community activities. They handle community entertainment, club activities, athletics, education activities, social activities. At Heart Mountain they have decided that only persons actually instructing activities will go on the WRA personnel list. The only exception to this is those doing maintenance work. This decision came about partly because about 25 residents wanted to be assigned to Judo. At present, the evacuee recreation payroll totals 105.

Community Activities does all scheduling of halls. At present, Scout units are flourishing and a USO is planned. Another popular activity is Japanese penmanship. Kurtz has drawn up a budget of needs excluding labor cost (attached). He was glad to learn that WRA would provide initial equipment, but it was uncertain what this would include.

Some but not all of the surplus pottery equipment has been received. No theatrical equipment has arrived as yet.

Mr. Kurtz would like to have a job description of the Community Activities position. He has never seen one.

Mr. Kurtz informed me that he had been negotiating with Mr. Todd of Community Enterprises concerning their collaboration. The thought is to have Community Enterprises finance the purchase of two four-lane bowling alleys. Residents would be charged for use of these alleys and after amortization the recreation department would operate the alleys and receive all revenue. It is also planned that admission to movies would revert to the recreation program. In this way it is contemplated that these two commercialized amusements would support all other recreation activities.

Mr. Kurtz raised a question about paying members of the dance orchestra. There is a 15 piece band at the present time that play engagements only once or twice a week, but need rehearsal time at other hours. He suggested that while there might not be a full job in this program, the possibility of "split assignments" might be considered.

Mr. Kurtz asked what should be done about organizations which run functions or in other ways raise money for their programs. The Boy Scouts is an example. Should they be permitted to do this? If so, should there be some central accounting of funds received? Should the proceeds of such benefits be kept track of and subtracted from funds which the organization might receive from WRA for the purchase of equipment? If recreation revenue is derived from admissions as suggested above, what obligation does WRA have to control the Disbursement of such funds? What

restriction should be placed on establishment of dues or other collections? Should funds collected be brought to a central place for safe-keeping by WRA.

COMMUNITY FORUM

I attended the Sunday forum led by Caleb Foote of the Fellowship of Reconciliation on the plight of the evacuees. Various opinions were expressed. On the whole the group, felt insecure about the outlook on the outside and were fearful on the question of Anti-Japanese prejudice. They were very glad to hear about the favorable adjustment of the evacuees at Park College and at Keetley. The people on the panel including the editor of the paper and Mary Oyama the writer, were very direct and liberal in their approach. Some of the audience were less so. One man raised the question of whether the evacuees should participate in the election. Was it a truly democratic election or a "WRA stooge plan." Most of the nisei attending said they had registered and were planning to vote. Mr. Doi, the Judicial Commissioner, expressed fear that evacuees would end up as the Indians have - on reservations.

RELIGION

The Reverend H. J. Felsecker, M.M., of the Catholic Church, 10 Nobori Ojicho, Nara, Japan, presented himself at the project gate recently with the statement that he had been assigned to care for the wants of Catholics at the project. Up to now a Catholic priest at Powell has been performing these services, but because of the masses he must conduct at Powell and Cody, he has been unable to give the attention required at the project. Barber did not know how Felsecker was actually appointed, and was uncertain whether he should be given an office at the project. Of course, he understands that he cannot live at the center.

The inter-faith council at Heart Mountain consists of representatives of the following: United Buddhist, United Protestant, Holiness Sect, Salvation Army Church, Catholics, and Seventh Day Adventists.

Barber has several questions concerning religion which he requires answers to:

1. Is it permissible for outside religious leaders to take office space at their own expense and visit the project every day?
2. Concerning the erection of church buildings, what are the WRA regulations on:

- a. Location and size of building;
- b. Use of evacuee labor -

Should such use be at WRA rates?
Should it be at WRA rates with subsistence and clothing aid?
- c. What about the use of project trucks?
- d. Project building supplies?
- e. Use of project engineer for advice?

Buddhists outnumber Protestants at the Heart Mountain center. Protestant church attendance for the weeks given was as follows:

October 4	-	1330
October 11	-	2051
October 18	-	1498
October 25	-	1410

COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES

At present the Community Enterprises staff consists of two Caucasians, Douglas Todd and Scott Taggart, and 82 evacuees, including 56 women and 26 men. The auditors and store managers are well experienced, and many of the clerks have also had sales training. Salesmen come out to place their orders and are interviewed by evacuee buyers. Some orders are also placed by mail. Two classes on co-ops are being conducted each week. This is coordinated with the adult educational program. One of the teachers is conducting these courses. Attendance was slow at first, but it is picking up.

At Heart Mountain they obtained \$100,000 credit on sixty day terms. They have started already to take discounts. The first six weeks represented a profit of \$9,000, mostly in inventory.

Each block has named three preliminary delegates to the community association. This means a group of about sixty all told. They have in turn names seven who are acting at present as the community association. The seven are mostly old merchants who conduct their meetings in Japanese and who are more interested in selling at cost than they are in cooperative methods. Among the young people actually employed by community enterprises are a number with a real interest in cooperatives, but they are check-mated at every step by the older men. Some weeks ago a committee of elders called on Todd and informed him that they were now ready to take over the community enterprises. He feels that, so far as operations are concerned, the enterprises are now about ready to be turned over to the evacuees, but he is reluctant to do

so because of the feeling on the project that these seven men may not be representative. He is also fearful that there will be incorporation difficulties and difficulties in bonding, and also that the credit line which they have established may be broken. Moreover, he is afraid that if the Issei are the incorporators, the enterprises will not be able to get fire insurance. This raises the question of whether a provision similar to that existing for the membership of the council should not be imposed by WRA on the membership of the community association. For example, this might be to limit membership to Nisei, or at least a majority of Nisei. In any case the Issei could be retained as a merchandising advisory council.

COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES

*Wanda
Guthrie*
No barber shops have been set-up yet at Heart Mountain, although a lot of bootleg hair cuts are being given. Todd wants to place the shops in laundry buildings and has plans worked out accordingly. There would be three shops for the project, each using about one-third of a laundry building where water is available. In each there would be four barber chairs and a beauty shop.

Radio repair has not worked out very well. There is not a great deal of demand for the service there and it is difficult to handle the orders now received because of the impossibility of getting parts.

Todd appears willing to cooperate with Community Activities on the operation of paid entertainments. So far, Community Enterprises has purchased one projector and another is lined up. When movie admissions repay the cost, later revenue can be used for recreational purposes.

Todd says that eight bowling alleys are available on a rental-option basis. They are in good condition. It is hoped that CCC buildings can be made available to house them. After admissions have been sufficient to retire indebtedness on these alleys, they would be operated by the recreation department, which could use the proceeds for such purposes as they see fit.

In a building 20 x 100 it is planned to consolidate a number of Community Enterprises. One corner would be devoted to a dry cleaning desk; shoe repair would account for another space 20 x 40; and watch repair, radio repair, and possibly the handling of some laundry would also be contained in it. Altogether, Todd hopes to have five buildings devoted to Community Enterprises.

It has been decided not to have a separate store for the administrative staff. Instead they will share in the patronage refunds of the evacuee store. However, they will not take any part in the management of Community Enterprises. It is planned that the Caucasians will have a

separate credit union.

Is it permissible for Community Enterprises to sub-lease a dry cleaning plant built by a Powell concern? They would operate on a percentage of the take. At present, they set a percentage and all the work is done in Powell, with just a delivery desk at the project.

EMPLOYMENT

No regularized system of interviewing of employment applicants is available at Heart Mountain, and evacuees who want jobs merely file their qualifications. William Friedman of Phil Barber's office, although it is not his regular function, has interviewed perhaps 300 residents for ceramic and other work, and has kept a card file, but there is real need for an interviewing and counseling service.

There is also need to clarify the wage rates. At Heart Mountain they feel that the pay should be \$16.00 for all evacuees after an initial period of 30 days.

Should a time-keeper assigned to a division work for that division or be considered in the employ of a time-keeping unit? This should be a uniform system.

In the Heart Mountain Post Office was a regular announcement for Federal Civil Service exams. Actually, what opportunities if any are given residents to take these exams, and if they pass them successfully to be employed by Civil Service in other cities? Can this be explained?

MISCELLANEOUS

Visits to Cody

Mr. Rachford said that some of the work crews were stopping off in Cody to make purchases. There has been too much of this and while the store managers are pleased, the clerks behind the counters have expressed their resentment. No more work parties are to stop there.

Storage

There is a problem here, as well as at Granada because household effects of the residents are arriving. (Incidentally, Heart Mountain seems disinclined to use evacuees in store keeper or warehouse checking work.)

CCC Buildings

22 of these are available nearby and the city planning commission is determining how they should be used. Perhaps two of them will be auditoria for the elementary schools. Others will be used by Community Enterprises, and some may be used to relieve housing conditions.

QUARTERLY REPORT

WAR RELOCATION
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

October 1,- December 31, 1942

HEART MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

by Phil Barber

I. SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF COMMUNITY LIFE.

Certain special conditions of community life affected the development of community government. The split, bi-lingual community divided between Issei and Nisei, all of whom were more or less resentful of the hardships and unfairnesses of evacuation and disillusioned with democracy, made a difficult ground for the development of self-government.

The evacuee community had developed in Assembly Centers two major tactics of self-protection against injustices: direct and indirect resistance to the administration, taking the forms of beatings of suspected "stooges," riots, etc. and passive resistance, taking the form of non-cooperation. A general suspicion as to the sincerity of the government in view of what was regarded as broken promises during the period of evacuation resulted in antagonism toward those who did cooperate with the administration.

A small, inexperienced administrative staff, lacking a knowledge of the dominant language of the

people and with a defensive psychology early developed a tendency to counteract evacuee resistance by arbitrary action.

Two other factors not particularly related to evacuation also discouraged an effective self-government. The majority of responsible Nisei and some of the Issei shrunk from political responsibility because of fear of its bad effect on their economic future. This, of course, is the same motivation as that of the average American business man who refrains from too active concern over political matters: he fears to make enemies. There was also a carry-over into the Relocation Center life of the dominance of the Issei over Nisei in the former Japanese communities.

One major factor favored development of the democratic process: the artificial economic equality in the Centers and absence of economic competition.

II. ELEMENTS OF HEART MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

Most of the elements of community government were established during the month of September in the previous quarter. The Charter Commission was the only new development in this quarter.

The following outline will serve as a guide and reminder preliminary to the general discussion of community government at Heart Mountain.

A. WRA Administration

1. Retains all final authority in theory.
2. In practice has consulted Block Chairmen and received approval on every administrative action. Very important policies have also been submitted to Block Administrative Officers for approval.
3. Has, through Chief of Community Services, kept close contact with proceedings of Block Chairmen and Block Administrative Officers.

B. Council of Block Chairmen.

1. Issei in fact but not restricted to Issei in theory.
2. Chief role - to act as shock absorber in problems involving evacuees and administration.

Examples:

- a. Mess disputes
- b. Coal unloading problem
- c. Sugar beet employment
- d. Police situation
- e. Clothing problems

3. A channel for communication between evacuees and administration and vice versa.
4. Frequently working as much as sixty hours a week without pay. Only a small proportion of this time spent in Council meetings. Personal contact maintained with all evacuees in their blocks (about 500 persons) to settle problems and maintain peace.

C. Block Meetings ("Town Hall Meetings")

1. Held every Monday night in each block under Block Chairmen.
2. Attendance varies from 15 to 400, depending on block political development, and on current issues. (Average about 80).
3. Serve as link in communication between administration and evacuees and vice versa.
4. Important as a safety valve.
5. Backs Block Chairmen in dealings with administration and keeps Block Chairmen truly representative of point of view of evacuees.

D. Block Committees (Elected at Block Meetings)

1. Vary from block to block, type selected by block.

Type a.

4 committeemen (1 to each 6 barracks)

serving as advisers and consultants to Block Chairmen on all matters from economic to political.

Type b.

Committee of barrack heads - 24 committeemen to each block. Function same as above, but each individual less importance.

Type c.

Special committees (3 or 4 evacuees to each committee) such as mess, welfare, recreation, etc.

Block Committees of whatever type are essential links in the communication system between the administration and evacuees.

E. Block Administrative Officers

1. Nominated by block, "appointed" by administration.
2. Nisei in fact though not limited to Nisei in theory.
3. Nominal duties - those of Block Managers.
4. Are regarded by Community as representative of Nisei in the Center and encouraged in political development by Chief of Community Services through round table discussions of evacuee problems and theory

of community government.

5. Important policies submitted to Block Administrative Officers by administration as well as to the Council of Block Chairmen.
6. Developing tendency of Block Chairmen to work with Block Administrative Officers through joint committees on community problems and joint sessions. Initiative for this joint operation largely from Issei.

Note:

Election of a Charter Commission in November containing over half of the Block Administrative Officers tended to eliminate need for political discussion. Near end of quarter, Block Administrative Officers were transferred to supervision of Assistant Director, re-christened Block Managers, and cut off from all political activity. This was possible because of belief of Block Administrative Officers that adoption of Charter was imminent, and that a majority of them would be elected to the new all-Nisei Council.

F. Judicial Commission.

1. Seven Commissioners and two alternates selected by Temporary Council of Block Chairmen and ratified by vote of community.
(Vote 10 to 1 for ratification.)
2. Court held in converted Recreation Hall, properly equipped as a courtroom. Dignified formal procedure.
3. Court has handled all misdemeanors including fights between evacuees.
4. The participation of outstanding community leaders in self-government as Judicial Commissioners has strengthened Council's position and minimized non-cooperation.

G. Charter Commission.

1. Composed of 40 members, 1 Nisei and 1 Issei to each block.
2. Candidates were nominated by petition. Election by written ballots at polling places in blocks supervised by Block Election Boards. (Registration of voters preceeded elections.) Registered voters, 3500, - voting in elections, 2700.
3. The Charter Commission organized itself into 8 study committees and an executive committee of 12 to do actual writing of

charter.

4. About half of elected Charter Commissioners were Block Chairmen and Block Administrative Officers, and much political discussion was transferred from Temporary Council and meetings of Block Administrative Officers to Charter Commission meetings.
5. By end of quarter, Charter had not been drafted due to lack of agreement on provision for Issei participation.

III. FUNCTION OF HEART MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

The effectiveness of the Block Chairmen in settling the mess hall difficulty at the end of September as mentioned in the previous quarterly report has contributed greatly to their prestige in the community.

It was fortunate that this precedent was established before the adjustment period of October and November. A succession of problems rose to challenge the new community. Any one of these problems might have developed into "incidents" except for their handling by the Block Chairmen.

The technique used was simple. Problems originating among the evacuees such as the clothing problem and the police situation were immediately brought to the attention of the administration by the Block Chairmen. After discussion as to causes

of the difficulty, agreement would be reached as to a solution. This was promptly transmitted to the entire community by the Block Chairmen through block meetings and through personal contact. The Chairmen were assisted by the Block Committees.

Exactly the same process was followed in regard to problems originating with the administration, such as the unloading of coal, collection of garbage, and recruiting of sugar beet workers. These cases were promptly brought to the Block Chairmen and the proper action decided upon. This discussion was carried to the community by the Block Chairmen (through the block meetings and with the aid of the Block Committees). It is worth noting that the Chairmen although men of years and dignified position in the community unhesitatingly tackled actual work in order to set examples for the community. Thus, during the crucial period of the coal situation, a considerable number of the Chairmen turned out and worked with the coal crew without compensation until (their example had dignified the work) the crisis was passed. The action was the cause of some criticism from the community, but the example was accepted. The Chairmen took active responsibility for law and order in the community during the police situation

and on occasions have personally guarded government property such as the high school lumber pile.

It is doubted whether any younger group no matter how capable could have absorbed the emotional shock of the adjustment period as did these elders of the community. It should be stressed that they retained their position of leadership not solely because of their previous standing but because they subjected themselves to the criticism and suggestions of the block residents each Monday night at the block meetings.

The block meetings were originally suggested by the Nisei as a guarantee of preservations of democratic control. However, it was mainly Issei who utilized them, for they welcomed the opportunity of expressing, criticising, and blowing off resentments; and were guided by the constructive chairmanship of the Block Chairman. They gradually learned to express constructive ideas rather than destructive. As far as can be determined, no "secret" meetings of Issei have been held, such as were common at Assembly Centers. The open expression of opinion at block meetings has been a more than satisfactory substitute. In no case has a Block Chairman allowed a block meeting to take on a rabble-rousing aspect.

Much pent-up desire for action was expressed in each block through Block Committees and their work. The more politically restless blocks have canalized their activities into vigorous work for the welfare of the block, first of all through the celotexing of all apartments and then in the form of voluntary fire brigades, recreational programs for children, welfare activities, block parties, etc.

A factor in maintaining peace in the community was the close cooperation developed in a latter part of the quarter (after the termination of Chief of Internal Security, Griffin) between the Welfare Department, the Police Department, the Chairman of the Judicial Commission and the Block Chairman. Potential irritations or trouble patterns were made the subject of informal discussions. The action decided upon to remove the cause of difficulty was usually executed by the Recreation or Welfare Departments, with the advice of the Chief of Police and Chief Judicial Commissioner.

A notable example was the control of the many boys and young men's gangs, inherited from the Assembly Centers and in some cases from communities preceding the Assembly Center. By the

end of the quarter almost every gang had been transformed into a properly supervised boy's club with a healthy program.

While the conditions upon which this experiment in democracy were developed were extremely unfavorable as has been noted, a complete, self-expressive pattern of community government is emerging. Everyone in the community is proud that there has been no case of a beating or riot or inciting to riot or proven threat. To quote a member of the Council, "Heart Mountain is a civilized community. We have outlawed barbaric methods of settling disputes."

Report prepared by Philip W. Barber with the assistance of Chairman Hoyashida of the Temporary Council and Joe Koide, Block Chairman from Block 29.

Unanimously approved by the Temporary Council Feb. 27, 1943

COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT
Quarterly Report - February 1943

Certain special conditions of community life affected development of Community Government. The split, bi-lingual community divided between Issei and Nisei, all of whom were more or less resentful of the hardships and unfairness of evacuation and disillusioned with democracy, made a difficult ground for the development of self-government. The evacuee community had developed in assembly centers to major tactics of self-protection against injustices: direct and indirect resistance to the Administration, taking the forms of beatings suspected "stooges", riots, etc., and passive resistance, taking the form of non-cooperation. A general suspicion as the sincerity of the government in view of what was regarded as broken promises during the period of evacuation resulted in antagonism toward those who did cooperate with the Administration. A small, inexperienced administrative staff, lacking a knowledge of the dominant language of the people and with a defensive psychology early developed a tendency to counteract evacuee resistance by arbitrary action.

Two other factors not particularly related to evacuation also discouraged an effective self-government. The majority of responsible Nisei and some of the Issei shrunk from political responsibility because of fear of its bad effect on their economic future. This, of course, is the same motivation as that of the average American businessman who refrains from too active concern over political matters - he fears to make enemies. There was also a carry-over into the relocation center life of the dominance of the Issei over Nisei in the former Japanese communities.

One major factor favored development of the democratic process: the artificial economic equality in the Centers and absence of economic competition.

Elements of Community Government

Most of the elements of Community Government were established during the month of September in the previous quarter. The Charter Commission was the only new development in this quarter.

The following outline will serve as a guide and reminder preliminary to the general discussion of Community Government at Heart Mountain.

A) WRA Administration

- 1) Retains all final authority in theory.
- 2) In practice has consulted Block Chairmen and received approval on every administrative action. Very important policies have also been submitted to Block Administrative Officers for approval.
- 3) Has, through Chief of Community Services kept close contact with proceedings of Block Chairmen and Block Administrative Officers.

B) Council of Block Chairmen

- 1) Issei in fact but not restricted to Issei in theory.
- 2) Chief role: to act as shock-absorber in problems involving evacuees and Administration.

Examples:

- a) Mess disputes
 - b) Coal unloading problem
 - c) Sugar beet employment
 - d) Police situation
 - e) Clothing problems
- 3) A channel for communication between evacuees and Administration and vice versa.
 - 4) Frequently working as much as sixty hours a week without pay. Only a small proportion of this time spent in Council meetings. Personal contact maintained with all evacuees in their blocks (about 500 persons) to settle problems and maintain peace.

C) Block Meetings ("Town Hall Meetings")

- 1) Held every Monday night in each block under Block Chairmen.
- 2) Attendance varies from 15 to 400, depending on block political development, and on current issues. (Average about 80.)
- 3) Serve as link in communication between Administration and evacuees and vice versa.
- 4) Important as a safety valve.
- 5) Backs Block Chairmen in dealings with Administration and keeps Block Chairmen truly representative of point of view of evacuees.

D) Block Committees (Elected at Block Meetings)

- 1) Vary from block to block, type selected by block.

Type a.

Four committeemen (one to each six barracks) serving as advisors and consultants to Block Chairmen on all matters from economic to political.

Type b.

Committee of barrack heads - 24 committeemen to each block. Function same as above, but each individual less important.

Type c.

Special committees (three or four evacuees to each committee) such as mess, welfare, recreation, etc. Block Committees of whatever type are essential links in the communication system between the Administration and evacuees.

E) Block Administrative Officers

- 1) Nominated by block, "appointed" by Administration.
- 2) Nisei in fact though not limited to Nisei in theory.
- 3) Nominal duties - those of Block Managers.
- 4) Are regarded by community as representative of Nisei in the Center and encouraged in political development by Chief of Community Services through round table discussions of evacuee problems and theory of community government.

- 5) Important policies submitted to Block Administrative Officers by Administration as well as to the Council of Block Chairmen.
- 6) Developing tendency of Block Chairmen to work with Block Administrative Officers through joint committees on community problems and joint sessions; initiative for this joint operation largely from Issei.

Note:

Election of a Charter Commission in November containing over half of the Block Administrative Officers tended to eliminate need for political discussion. Near end of quarter, Block Administrative Officers were transferred to supervision of Assistant Director, re-christened Block Managers, and cut off from all political activity. This was possible because of the belief of Block Administrative Officers that adopting of Charter was imminent, and that a majority of them would be elected to the new all-Nisei Council.

F) Judicial Commission

- 1) Seven Commissioners and two alternates selected by Temporary Council of Block Chairmen and ratified by vote of community. (Vote ten to one for ratification.)
- 2) Court held in converted Recreation Hall, properly equipped as a courtroom. Dignified formal procedure.
- 3) Court has handled all misdemeanors including fights between evacuees.
- 4) The participation of outstanding community leaders in self-government as Judicial Commissioners has strengthened Council's position and minimized non-cooperation.

G) Charter Commission

- 1) Composed of 40 members, one Nisei and one Issei to each block.
- 2) Candidates were nominated by petition. Election by written ballots at polling places in blocks supervised by Block Election Boards. (Registration of voters precede elections.) Registered voters, 3,500 - voting in elections, 2,700.
- 3) The Charter Commission organized itself into eight study committees and an executive committee of twelve to do actual writing of charter.

- 4) About half of elected Charter Commissioners were Block Chairmen and Block Administrative Officers, and much political discussion was transferred from Temporary Council and meetings of Block Administrative Officers to Charter Commission meetings.
- 5) By end of quarter, Charter had not been drafted due to lack of agreement on provision for Issei participation.

Function of Community Government

The effectiveness of the Block Chairmen in settling the mess hall difficulty at the end of September as mentioned in the previous quarterly has contributed greatly to their prestige in the community. It was fortunate that this precedent was established before the adjustment period of October and November. A succession of problems rose to challenge the new community. Anyone of these problems might have developed into "incidents" except for their handling by the Block Chairmen. The technique used was simple. Problems originating among the evacuees such as the clothing problems and the police situation were immediately brought to the attention of the Administration by the Block Chairmen. After discussion as to causes of the difficulty, agreement would be reached as to a solution. This was promptly transmitted to the entire community by the Block Chairmen through block meetings and through word of mouth. The Chairmen were assisted by the Block Committees. Exactly the same process was followed in regard to problems originating with the Administration, such as the unloading of coal, collection of garbage, and recruiting of sugar beet workers. These cases were promptly brought to the Block Chairmen and the proper action decided upon. This discussion was carried to the community by the Block Chairmen through the block meetings and with the aid of the Block Committees. It is worth noting that the Chairmen although men of years and dignified position in the community unhesitatingly tackled actual work in order to set examples for the community.

Thus, during the crucial period of the coal situation, a considerable number of the Chairmen turned out and worked with the coal crew without compensation until (an example had dignified the work) the crisis was passed. The action was the cause of some criticism from the community, but the example was accepted. The Chairmen took active responsibility for law and order in the community during the police situation and on occasions have personally guarded government property such as the high school lumber pile.

It is doubted whether any younger group no matter how capable could have absorbed the emotional shock of the adjustment period as did these elders of the community. It should be stressed that they retained their position of leadership not solely because of their previous standing but because they subjected themselves to the criticism and suggestions of the block residents each Monday night at the block meetings.

The block meetings were originally suggested by the Nisei as a guarantee of preservation of democratic control. However, it was mainly Issei who utilized them for they welcomed the opportunity of expressing, criticizing, and blowing off resentments; and were guided by the constructive chairmanship of Block Chairmen. They gradually learned to express constructive ideas rather than destructive. As far as can be determined, no "secret" meetings of Issei have been held, such as were common at assembly centers. The open expression of opinion at block meetings has been a more than satisfactory substitute. In no case has a block chairman allowed a block meeting to take on a rabble-rousing aspect.

Much pent-up desire for action was expressed in each block through Block Committees and their work. The more politically restless blocks have centralized their activities into vigorous work for the welfare of the block,

first of all through the celotexing of all apartments and then in the form of voluntary fire brigades, recreational programs for children, welfare activities, block parties, etc. A factor in maintaining peace in the community was the close cooperation developed in a latter part of the quarter (after the termination of Chief of Internal Security, Griffin) between the Welfare Department, the Police Department, the Chairman of the Judicial Commission and the Block Chairmen. Potential irritations or trouble patterns were made the subject of informal discussions. The action decided upon to remove the cause of difficulty was usually executed by the Recreation or Welfare Departments, with the advice of the Chief of Police and Chief Judicial Commissioner.

A notable example was the control of the many boys' and young men's gangs, inherited from the assembly centers and in some cases from communities preceding the assembly center. By the end of the quarter almost every gang had been transformed into a properly supervised boys' club with a healthy program.

While the conditions upon which this experiment in democracy were developed were extremely unfavorable as has been noted, a complete, self-expressive pattern of community government is emerging. Everyone in the community is proud that there has been no case of a beating or riot or inciting to riot or proven threat. To quote a member of the Council, "Heart Mountain is a civilized community. We have outlawed barbaric methods of settling disputes."