Ruth Tanbara Papers

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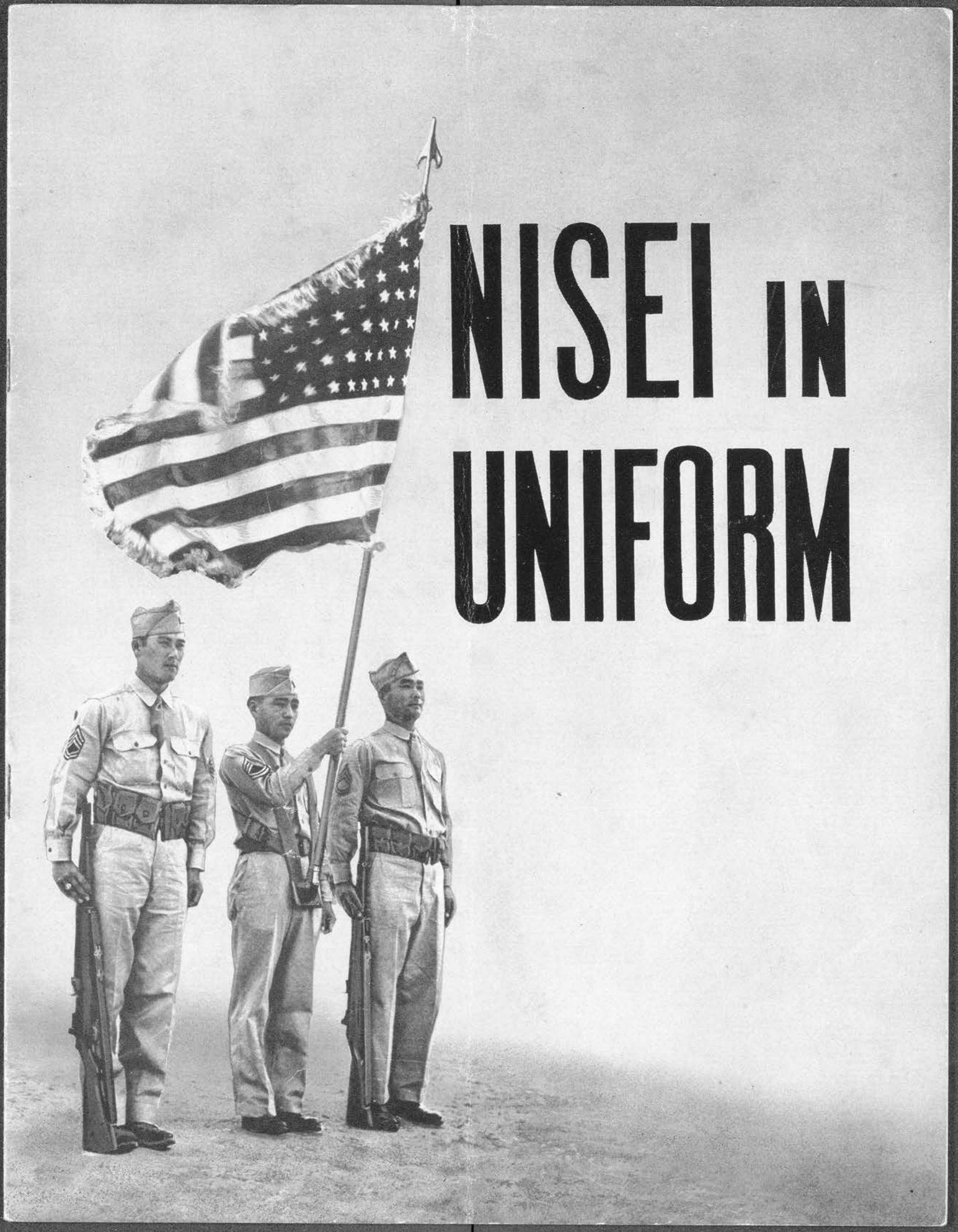

NISEI IN UNIFORM

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

"NO LOYAL CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of his citizenship, regardless of his ancestry.

"The principle on which this country was founded and by which it has always been governed is that Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart.

"Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry.

"Every loyal American citizen should be given the opportunity to serve this country wherever his skills will make the greatest contribution—whether it be in the ranks of our armed forces, war production, agriculture, Government service, or other work essential to the war effort."

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
February 3, 1943

Issued by

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
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In collaboration with the

WAR DEPARTMENT

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AMERICANS, ALL!

AMERICAN fighting men are proving, on battlefields around the world, the truth of President Roosevelt's declaration that Americanism is not a matter of race or ancestry, but a matter of the mind and heart. Every race and nation from which our population has been drawn is represented among the young Americans who are fighting side by side to overthrow the Axis powers. Men of German ancestry have been helping to smash the German Nazis; men of Italian descent have participated in the struggle to drive the Axis forces from Italy; men whose parents came from Japan are showing that devotion to America and gallantry in action are not determined by the slant of the eyes or the color of the skin.

WRA

The Honor Roll at the Minidoka Relocation Center, in Idaho, contains the names of 415 young Japanese Americans who volunteered for combat duty in the United States Army. Many more have been inducted since the memorial was constructed. Miss Fumi Onodera proudly points to the names of her three brothers, inscribed on the roll. One of the brothers, Pvt. Satoru Onodera, was killed in Italy several months after this picture was taken.

NISEI IN THE ARMY

BEFORE Pearl Harbor, Americans of Japanese descent, commonly called Nisei, (pronounced "nee-say") were eligible to volunteer and were subject to induction into the Army through the Selective Service System. Consequently, many young Japanese Americans were already in the Army when the United States went to war with the Axis nations.

After war was declared, however, many Selective Service boards were reluctant to accept the Nisei, while some others continued to induct them. This condition prevailed throughout the spring of 1942 while all persons whose forebears came from Japan were being evacuated from the Pacific Coast and transferred to relocation centers under jurisdiction of the War Relocation Authority. On June 17, 1942—with the evacuation virtually completed—the War Department advised the Selective Service System to discontinue Nisei inductions until further notice. Soon afterward, all Nisei were ordered reclassified to IV–C, not acceptable for service because of ancestry.

The first modification of this policy came in the late fall of 1942, when about 160 Nisei volunteers were recruited from relocation centers. The response to the call for volunteers revealed that many young men at WRA centers were eager to prove their loyalty to the United States.

Meanwhile, in June 1942, a unit composed almost entirely of Nisei from Hawaii, including many men who had served in the Hawaiian National Guard, had been transferred to the mainland for training. This unit—the 100th Infantry Battalion, at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin—was attracting much favorable attention. The evidence was mounting that many Nisei had the spirit and ability to make good soldiers.

On January 28, 1943, the Secretary of War announced that the Army had decided to form a special Nisei combat team, and that volunteers would be accepted both from the continental United States and from the Hawaiian Islands. In February and March, a recruitment program was conducted under Army supervision at all relocation centers. The result of this Nisei recruitment at the WRA centers and elsewhere was the formation of the 442nd Combat Team which began training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi, in April, 1943.

Representatives of the War Department, who were assigned to the relocation centers to conduct the recruitment program, explained the reasons for the formation of a distinctively Japanese American unit in the Army. "If your strength were diffused through the Army of the United States—as has already been done with many other Americans of your blood," they told the young men in the relocation centers, "relatively little account would be taken of your action. You would be important only as manpower—nothing more. But united, and working together, you would become a symbol of something greater than your individual selves, and the effect would be felt both in the United States and abroad. All other Americans would long remember what you had done for the country, and you would be a living reproach to those who have been prejudiced against you because of your Japanese blood."

On December 18, 1943, the War Department, impressed by the "excellent showing" made by the 442nd Combat Team in training and by the "outstanding record" of the 100th Battalion which had been transferred to the Italian battle front, revised its policies so as to provide for the induction of Nisei through regular Selective Service procedures. This action, which was publicly announced by the Secretary of War on January 20, 1944, had the effect of calling upon the Nisei to assume one of the highest obligations of American citizenship. Since that time, Japanese Americans at relocation centers and elsewhere, like other young Americans, have been subject to involuntary induction for Army Service.

By the end of 1943 many families had left the relocation centers, and many more were preparing to leave. Dispersing across the country from the Sierra Nevada Mountains to the Atlantic seaboard, they found new homes and productive employment outside the West Coast exclusion area. These were people who had been carefully screened by the War Relocation Authority. Many of them had husbands, sons, and brothers in the Service. Mainly, they were American citizens by birth, but the aliens who were granted leave, no less than the citizens, had been respectable and law-abiding residents of the communities where they lived before the evacuation. They looked upon the United States as home, and they wanted to continue to live here. Many had remained aliens only because, as Orientals, they could not be naturalized under our laws.

It has been a common comment of Nisei in the Army that they are fighting two battles: one to smash the Axis dictators; the other to prove that Japanese Americans are basically no different in attitude or loyalty from the majority of our citizens whose forebears came from other lands.

442nd COMBAT TEAM

ON JANUARY 28, 1943, the War Department issued a call for 4,500 volunteers to form the 442nd Combat Team which was to be composed, according to the announcement, of men of Japanese descent who qualified for military service. In April, the full complement had been achieved by enlistments from Hawaii and the mainland, and the unit began training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi. It included the 442nd Infantry, the 522nd Artillery Battalion, and the 232nd Engineers Company.

The great majority of the mainland volunteers enlisted from the ten relocation centers where they had been living since the spring of 1942, when all persons of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from the West Coast by order of the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command. Many of them left fathers and mothers, or wives and children, living in the centers.

At Camp Shelby, the men of the 442nd Combat Team quickly won the unanimous respect of the officers who commanded them. They trained hard and were alert to learn the duties and obligations of an American fighting man. Like all top-notch units in the United States Army, the 442nd was strong both in physical stamina and in intelligence. "Good soldiers" was the term invariably used to describe the Nisei volunteers by the military men who knew the record of their accomplishments.

For a slogan they chose a slang phrase, common in Hawaii, "Go For Broke," meaning that they had pledged themselves to go all out for their country—the United States. They would withhold nothing. They were "shooting the works." This was the spirit that they carried through a year of training at Camp Shelby; it was the spirit that sent them eagerly, confidently to a port of embarkation, in April, 1944. They were heading for the battlefields of Europe to join the 100th Infantry Battalion, which had already won high praises for valor and fighting ability.

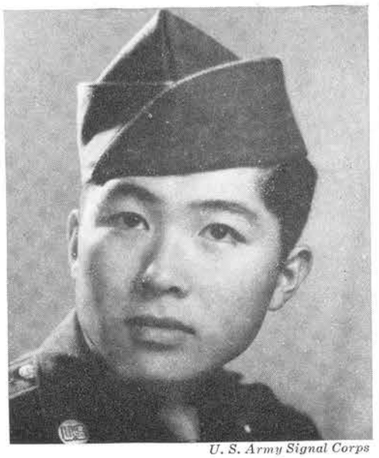
Early in July, reports from Italy began to tell about the exploits of the 442nd Combat Team in action against the enemy. Four days after entering the front lines, these Americans with Japanese faces had advanced some 50 miles. Some of them had fought almost around the clock, averaging as little as 2½ hours of rest each night. Some had got so far ahead of the supply lines that they had been 24 hours without food.

They had paced the thrust, dispatches said, of American troops that "knifed through fiercely defended German lines" in the battle for the important seaport of Livorno. When the city fell on July 19, they were among the first to enter it.

War correspondents reported on the apparently fearless courage and excellent morale of the men. They told of the dismay of German prisoners on learning that they had been captured by Japanese Americans. There could be no doubt, as the fighting record of the unit unfolded, that at last the 442nd Combat Team was showing on the battlefield the real meaning of its slogan — "Go for Broke!"

Three members of the 442nd Combat Team, who are now fighting the Nazis in Italy—Howard Uyehara, Sam Sasaki and David Ito. All native-born Americans, they were evacuated from their West Coast homes in 1942 to relocation centers where they were living when they enlisted during 1943.

U. S. Army Signal Corps



U. S. Army Signal Corps

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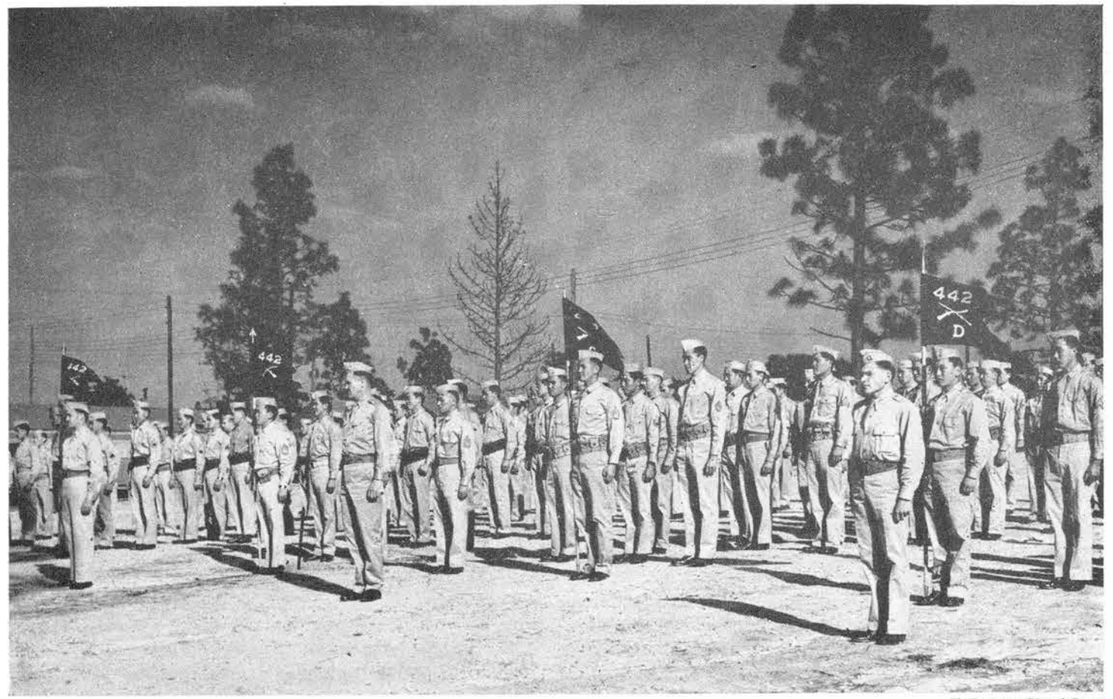
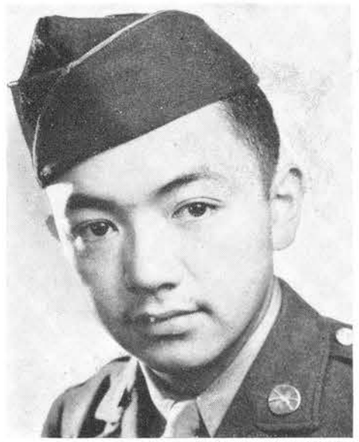


U. S. Army Signal Corps

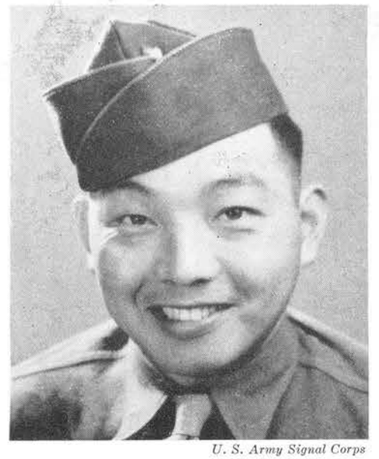
Shown standing at attention on a parade ground at Camp Shelby, Mississippi, these officers and men are members of the 442nd Combat Team which embarked for combat duty in Italy in April, 1944.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

American soldiers with Japanese faces—Edwin Iino, Saburo Ikuta, and Robert Yonemitsu were all born and raised in California where they were educated in American schools. They have never visited Japan. All of them volunteered from relocation centers for service in the United States Army.

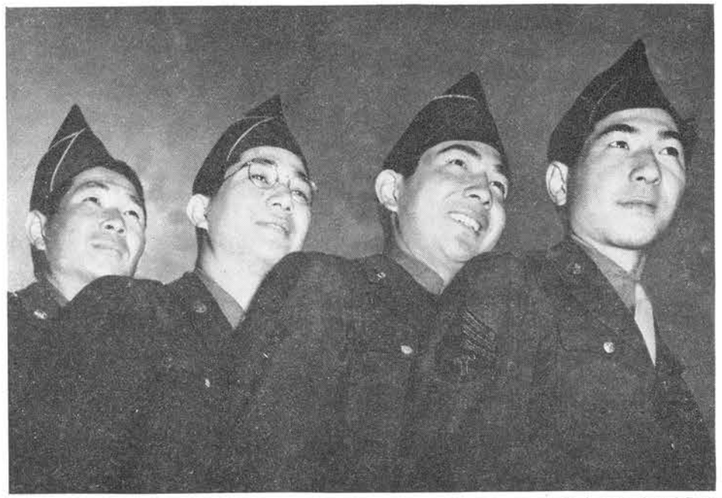


U. S. Army Signal Corps



U. S. Army Signal Corps

U. S. Army Signal Corps



U. S. Army Signal Corps

Four Nisei brothers—Ben, Mike, Tad, and Ike Masaoka—participated in the liberation of Italy as members of the 442nd Combat Team. In July 1944, Pfc. Tad (second from the right) and Sgt. Ike (right) were wounded. Before his induction, Corp. Mike (second from left) was national secretary of the Japanese American Citizens League. Another brother, Hank, is also in the U. S. Army.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

Pvt. Kay Kusumi drives a truck christened "Lil' Amache" to advertise the relocation center where he was living when he joined the Army. Amache is the Post Office designation of the Granada Relocation Center, located on the Arkansas River in southeastern Colorado.

U. S. Army Signal Corps

Sgt. William Sadatake, former student at City College in Los Angeles and more recently a resident of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, establishes contact with an operations base on the field telephone system. He is a member of the 552nd Field Artillery.

U. S. Army Signal Corps

U. S. Army Signal Corps

Two former Los Angeles boys—Staff Sgt. Frank Saito (right) and Pfc. Shigeru Ogawa (center)—prepare to fire a heavy mortar. Both belong to families which were evacuated to the Granada Relocation Center. Pfc. Masao Shigemura (left) was born and educated in Seattle. He volunteered from the Minidoka Relocation Center.

U. S. Army Signal Corps

Three Nisei machine gunners mount the bank of a stream, carrying their equipment. All three volunteered while living in relocation centers after evacuation from their West Coast homes. Left to right: Pfc. Kiyoshi Tomiye, Turlock, Calif.; Pvt. Hiroshi Okawa, Seattle, Wash.; Pfc. Albert Nakashima, Long Beach, Calif.

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A drink of cool water after a long hot march brings a smile of refreshment to the face of Pvt. Richard Chinnen, of Honolulu, former bantam weight boxing champion of the Hawaiian Islands. When the call was made for recruits to fill the ranks of the 442nd Combat Team, 10,000 Hawaiian boys of Japanese ancestry volunteered for service. Assignments in the team were available for only about 2,500.

WRA

WRA

In fox holes and trenches dug into the soil of southern Mississippi, the members of the 442nd Combat Team learned the ways of modern warfare which they later used against Axis foes. These machine gunners were among the 8,000 members of the Nisei unit that trained at Camp Shelby in 1943.

U. S. Army Signal Corps

Searching with an electrical detector for mines is the business of Pvt. Sam Tomiago who enlisted in 1943 from the Central Utah Relocation Center after his evacuation from Berkeley, Calif.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

This cannon squad belongs to the 522nd Field Artillery Battalion which is combined with the 442nd Infantry and the 232nd Engineers to form the 442nd Combat Team. (The unit includes three artillery batteries, a cannon company, an antitank company, and 3 battalions embracing 12 companies of riflemen.)

U. S. Army Signal Corps

U. S. Army Signal Corps

Corp. Samuel Hokari, born in Seattle and a graduate of the University of Washington, where he was a star on the wrestling team, volunteered from the Minidoka Relocation Center.

U. S. Army Signal Corps

Corp. Taro Katayama, a graduate of the University of Utah, volunteered from Central Utah Relocation Center. He has a brother in the Army and a wife in Government service.

U. S. Army Signal Corps

Chaplain George Aki, one of the most popular men in the Combat Team, was commissioned while serving as a minister of the Congregationalist Church in a relocation center.

U. S. Army Signal Corps

Pfc. Arthur Fukuoka, from Stockton, has one sister in the WAC and another who is a professional stage dancer in New York City. His family was evacuated in 1942.

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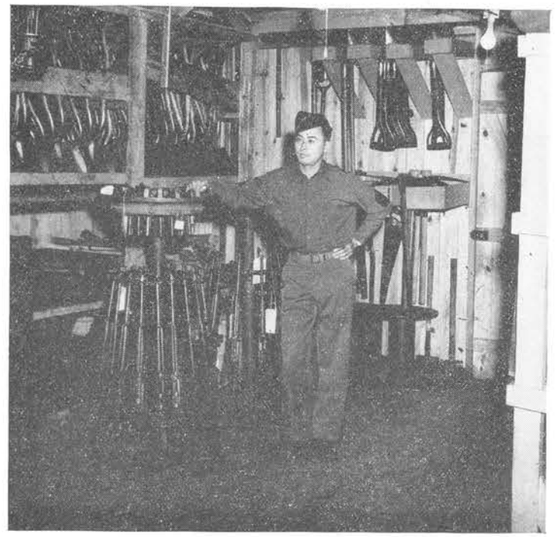
Oldest man in the 442nd Service Company is Mess Sergeant Joseph Itagaki (at left below) who was managing a large restaurant just outside Schofield Barracks at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack. He immediately volunteered for service in the Territorial Guards. Before his induction he was active in Hawaiian civic affairs, a member of the North Oahu Lions Club.

When Maj. Gen. Emil Reinhardt, Commander of the Ninth Army Corps, inspected the 442nd Combat Team just before its departure for overseas, he complimented Sgt. Yutaka Semba on the orderliness of his stockroom. Sergeant Semba was born in Tacoma and attended the University of Washington. His parents were evacuated to the Minidoka Relocation Center in Idaho.

U. S. Army Signal Corps



U. S. Army Signal Corps

U. S. Army Signal Corps

In the stern of a rubber boat, Capt. Pershing Nakada (named for General Pershing) helps a squad of men to paddle across a stream. Captain Nakada commands the 232nd Engineers Company and is the highest ranking Nisei officer (outside the medical detachments) in the Combat Team.

A signpost, bearing the insignia of the Third Army, provides a background for Pfc. Noyama, standing guard at the entrance to the field headquarters of the 442nd Combat Team at Camp Shelby, Mississippi.

WRA

Building pontoon bridges to get the fighting men of the Combat Team across streams and other water obstacles in the briefest possible time is an important responsibility of the 232nd Engineers under Captain Nakada.

WRA

On his tunic, Second Lt. Richard Hayashi (formerly of Stockton, Calif.) displays a campaign ribbon testifying to his service in the South Pacific before he was returned to the United States to receive his commission. His mother, two brothers, and a sister were evacuated to the Rohwer Relocation Center in Arkansas.

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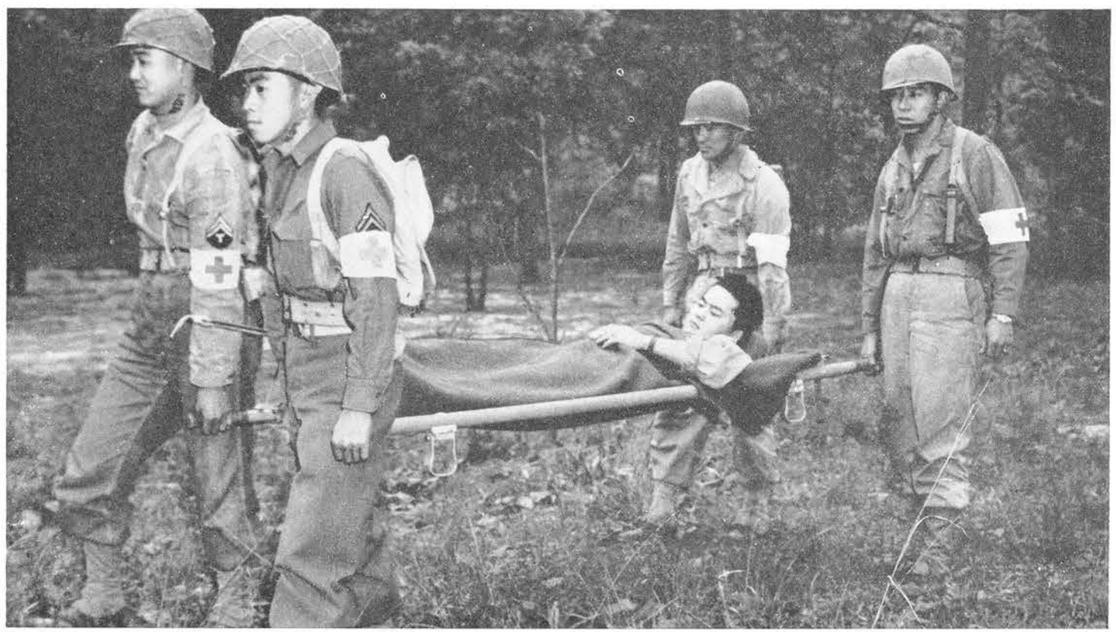
The two medical detachments of the Combat Team are equipped to give services in the field ranging from dental care to transfusions of blood plasma. A number of the Nisei doctors and surgeons in uniform have been transferred to other units of the Army where there was greater need for them than in the Combat Team.

U. S. Army Signal Corps



U. S. Army Signal Corps

WRA

Mail call is just as welcome in the Combat Team as it is in any other branch of the armed forces. Letters from mothers, fathers, wives, and sweethearts—many of them in relocation centers—are received regularly.

U. S. Army Signal Corps

The favorite pastimes of the men in the Combat Team are the same as those that other fighting men enjoy. Pfc. George Tsujimoto, a native of Tracy, Calif., volunteered from the Gila River Relocation Center in Arizona.

Stigma of 'Jap' Is Resented by U. S. Japanese

Troops in Camp Shelby Unit Ask Action in Pacific to Prove Their Loyalty

The intense desire of many loyal Americans of Japanese descent to be called and thought of as Americans rather than Japanese has been voiced by many of them serving in the 442d Infantry Regiment at Camp Shelby, Mississippi. A number of troops from this regiment recently visited the Soldiers' and Sailors' Club, 283 Lexington Avenue, while on furlough, and in a letter of thanks to Miss Lillian Myles, a hostess at the club, one of them has even recorded their hope they could even fight the Japanese, instead of Germans, to prove their loyalty.

"I'm of Japanese ancestry, but by all rights of birth an American," he wrote. "I've always considered myself an American but by reasons of racial color some people have referred to me as a 'Jap.' There are nearly two regiments of us here in Shelby and that remark has hurt every one of us. Why can't Americans (regardless of racial differences) consider us true Americans, like they are?

"America isn't a nation of one nationality. It has a more cosmopolitan population than any other nation in this world. Then why should they have such terrible race prejudice on a minority? Looking back on American history we find that English have fought English and the consequence was the birth of a new nation, America. Then again in 1812 Americans of English ancestry willingly took up arms against Englishmen.

"In the first world war Americans of German and Italian ancestry fought against Germany, now in this war we find Americans of Italian, German and Japanese ancestry more than glad that they can fight the common enemy. Then why can't all Americans see that blood isn't as thick as the principles of democracy. Every single one of us, Americans of Japanese ancestry in the 442d Infantry Regiment, would rather fight the 'Japs' than the Germans to prove our loyalty.

"There already is a battalion of Americans of Japanese ancestry from Hawaii in combat in Italy. Many of the boys in the 442d have brothers and other relatives in that battalion but still we're called 'Japs.' We would like nothing better than to join them right now, but as yet our training isn't completed. Though I haven't a brother in a combat zone yet, there are two of them in service. One a technical sergeant in Camp Savage, Minnesota, and the other in the service company of the 442d.

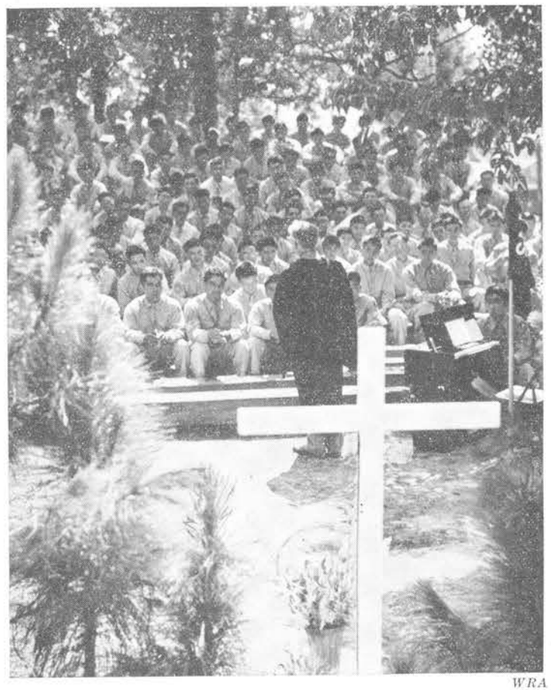
"On Dec. 7, 1941, I saw the havoc and bloodshed at Pearl Harbor and helped bury the dead. I tried to volunteer then but was refused. Then in March of this year the Army called for 1,500 volunteers of Japanese Americans to form a unique combat team. Though quota was set at 1,500 nearly ten thousand men volunteered. Many of my friends actually cried because they were rejected or weren't able to receive an examination because the quota was filled.

"Skeptics insisted that only a couple of hundred would volunteer but they certainly were mistaken. Many here on the mainland of the United States think we were drafted or that we volunteered because we didn't have jobs. I volunteered for one purpose, and that is to do my part, though how insignificant it may be, to preserve American democracy. Incidentally, previous to my induction I received more than $10 a day as an electrician."

On leave in New York City, three boys from the Combat Team take in the sights from the top of a Fifth Avenue bus.

WRA

Easter services at Camp Shelby. All the chaplains of the Combat Team are Christian pastors.



WRA

Sgt. Shug Madokoro, formerly of Alameda, Calif., joins hands with his bride to cut their wedding cake. He entered the Army before Pearl Harbor, and has never been in a relocation center. Mrs. Madokoro lived in Santa Maria, Calif., before she was evacuated to the Gila River Relocation Center with her family.

The USO's in the relocation centers are usually kept busy providing entertainment for Nisei boys on leave to visit their parents, wives, and sweethearts. Red Cross units are also active at the centers, raising funds, assisting the families of service men, and performing practically all the ordinary Red Cross functions.

WRA

WRA

100th BATTALION

THE first Nisei unit to engage in active combat was the 100th Infantry Battalion which had been organized around a cadre of national guardsmen from two Hawaiian infantry regiments. Many of the men in the 100th Battalion had gone through the attack of December 7, 1941, in the Honolulu area. One Nisei soldier had been killed by the attackers. Two others assisted in capturing the operator of a one-man submarine which had grounded on a reef off the island of Oahu—the first Japanese prisoner to be taken by the United States in World War II. Still another led a detachment of soldiers that took into custody a Japanese aviator who landed on the island of Niihau and terrorized the natives there before his capture.

In June, 1942, the 100th Battalion was transferred from Hawaii to the mainland for training, first at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, and later at Camp Shelby, Mississippi. It embarked for Africa in early August, 1943, and joined the invasion army at Salerno, Italy, in late September.

About one month later, on October 21, the War Department issued a release stating that the battalion had come through its "first test under Nazi fire with colors flying." An Army officer, reporting on a visit to the unit, observed that "these soldiers are as far away from the stereotyped picture of the evil-doing sons of Japan as the all-American boy is from a headhunter. It's in their faces. They obviously believe in what they're doing, and look calmly secure because of it."

The 100th Battalion participated in the landing at Salerno and in every major action in Italy after the landing. It made four drives across the Volturno River, and aided in the capture of Cassino. It took an active part in the march on Rome, and spearheaded the American attack on Livorno, in the campaign to expel the Nazis from the upper ranges of the Italian Peninsula.

On July 27, 1944, for its "outstanding performance of duty in action" at Belvedere and Sasseta in breaking up the enemy's defenses, Lt. Gen. Mark W. Clark, Commander of the Fifth Army, conferred on it the War Department's Distinguished Unit Citation. At that time, individual members of the battalion had received 11 Distinguished Service Crosses, 44 Silver Stars, 31 Bronze Stars, and 3 Legion of Merit decorations. Fifteen battlefield commissions had been conferred for superior leadership in combat.

In addition to these citations and promotions for valor and military proficiency, more than 1,000 Purple Hearts had been awarded as a result of the casualties suffered by the Unit. Not all of the men for whom the medals were authorized were able to receive them in person; many had died on the battlefield.

In Honolulu, on March 11, 1944, Col. Kendall J. Fielder, Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence in the Central Pacific, presented Purple Hearts to the nearest of kin of 60 of these Nisei soldiers who had fallen on Italian soil. "This is not a happy occasion for you or for me, but it is a proud one," he said. "You are the mothers and fathers, the wives, the sisters and brothers of American soldiers who gave their lives for our country . . . Your boy was an American and he fought and died as hosts of good Americans have always done and always will do when the cause of freedom is threatened . . . He knew the sweetness of liberty and he knew the foulness of the totalitarian system for he had seen both of them at first-hand.

"He knew also, as you must know, that there are some good Americans who, out of righteous anger, were slow to accept the fact of his whole-hearted Americanism. He didn't need to die to prove it to himself, or to you, or to other Americans that he was fine and loyal and brave. His willingness to serve America by fighting for her proved that."

The officers directly associated with the 100th Battalion have been unanimously enthusiastic about the quality and spirit of the men. Lt. Col. Farrant L. Turner, who commanded them before he was invalided home, stated that he had "never had more whole-hearted, serious-minded cooperation from any troops." War correspondents have reported extensively and in highly complimentary terms on many exploits of the unit in combat with the enemy. These fighting Americans have given proof, far beyond the argument of words, that they are good Americans.

◀— **On a map of Italy, Lt. Shigeru Tsubota points to the spot, near Salerno, where the 100th Infantry landed with the Allied invasion army. Tsubota, a graduate of the University of Hawaii, received a severe leg wound, on September 30, 1943, while directing the placement of machine guns to secure the flank of his unit. He hopes to be able to rejoin his unit when he recovers from his wound.**

Press Association, Inc.

A patrol from the 100th Infantry advancing across a small bridge in Italy with rifles ready. For its performance in action, this battalion was awarded the War Department's Distinguished Unit Citation.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

These 11 men were the sole survivors of a Nisei platoon (normally about 50 men) that captured an important road junction from the Germans in Italy. When the platoon leader was killed by an enemy tank, a sergeant took command. A bazooka gunner disabled the tank, and other members of the platoon shot the escaping crew. Then they stormed the enemy machine-gun nest at the road junction, and overwhelmed it.

Acme

U. S. Army Signal Corps

On a battlefield in Italy, a Caucasian captain and two Nisei soldiers pause for a meal of "K" rations.

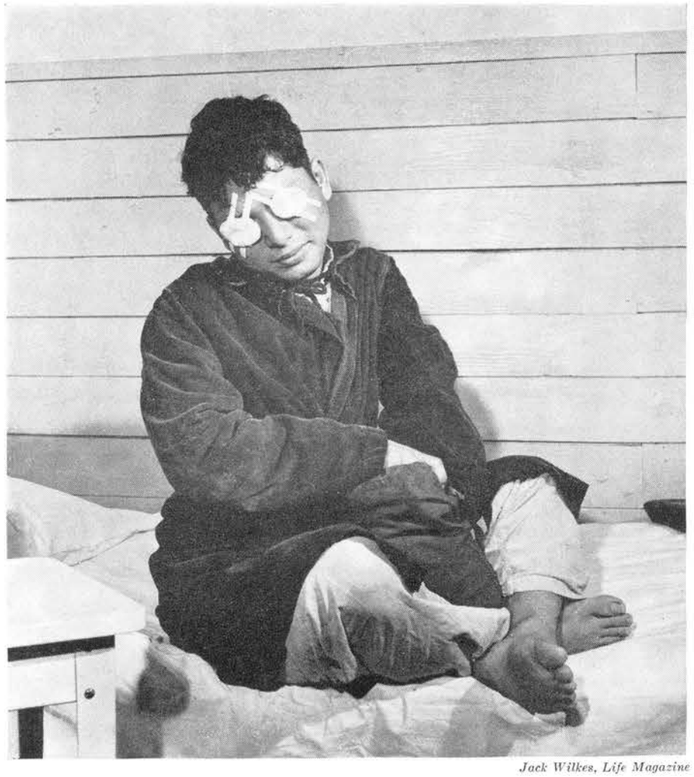
Press Association, Inc.

Christmas packages from home are distributed to these members of the 100th Battalion in Italy.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

On the road to Rome, after the fall of Cassino, which they helped to wrest from the Nazis, a group of Nisei infantrymen from the 100th Battalion move up to a new line of battle in the vicinity of Velletri, Italy.

U. S. Army Signal Corps



Jack Wilkes, Life Magazine

PFC. OMIYA PROVES HIS AMERICANISM

Soldier of Japanese Descent Back Blinded After Brave Role in Italian Fighting

AN EAST COAST PORT, Jan. 17 (U.P.)—Pfc. Yoshinao Omiya of Honolulu, a Japanese-American who fought bravely until both eyes were blown out by a land mine, was among battle wounded of the Tunisian, Sicilian and Italian campaigns who have been flown from this port to the Memphis General Hospital by the troop carrier command of the Army Air Forces.

Private Omiya's parents were Japanese. His father is dead but his mother and two sisters are waiting anxiously for him to return home. He entered the Army before Pearl Harbor. He is 24 years old and his comrades call him "Turtle."

With a smile, he told of his days at McKinley High School and of his interest in sports.

Then, after a pause, he told about advancing with his machine-gun platoon after crossing the Volturno River. He said the first man in the column tripped over a wire which set off a land mine. Private Omiya was the fourth man in the column and the blast caught him full in the face. The first man in the column received only slight scratches.

American-Born Japs Rescue Paratroopers

NEW YORK, Oct. 11 (AP)—The United Nations' radio at Algiers said tonight a detachment of American-born Japanese soldiers, after four days under fire recently near Benevento, finally entered the town and rescued 22 U. S. parachute troops who had been behind enemy lines more than two weeks.

"Capt. Taro Suzuki, a native of Honolulu, was leading his force forward in that hotly disputed area when their fire baptism came," said the English-language broadcast, recorded by the U. S. foreign broadcast intelligence service.

"Three machine guns opened up on us," Suzuki was quoted. "But we took care of them. Subsequently the Nazis opened everything they had—they let go with mortars and artillery, but our mortars subdued all this Nazi wrath."

The honor of taking their first prisoner was shared by Sgt. Edward Kiota of Honolulu and Sgt. Daniel Wada of Kawaihae, as patrol leaders, the broadcast said. It added the squad which rescued the parachute troops was led by Sgt. Yutaka Nazu.

The action marked the first fighting participation of American-born Japanese soldiers in this war.

WRA

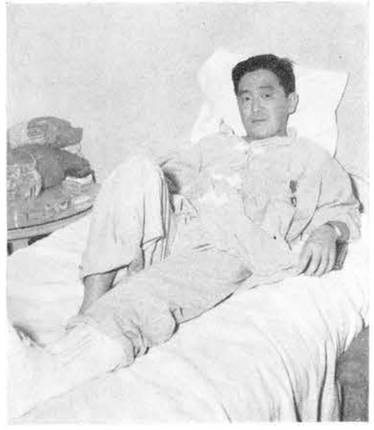
Capt. Taro Suzuki, for 13 years a reserve officer in the United States Army, was the first Nisei officer to be called to active service in World War II. In November 1943, during the battle for Italy, a piece of shrapnel severed a nerve in his right arm and completely paralyzed his hand.

Listening to the radio in the Walter Reed Hospital, Pfc. Kanchi Heyada can forget temporarily that he must go through life with only one leg. He lost the other when a shell burst near him on the Italian battle front.

Near Capriati, Italy, Pfc. Masao Okumura went ahead of his outfit to do reconnaissance work, walked into a mine field. That was the last he remembered until he regained consciousness in a field hospital.

A German dive bomber was responsible for the wounds that brought an award of the Purple Heart to Pfc. Mack Fukusaki. He suffered a serious leg wound, and another in his right arm that paralyzed two of his fingers.

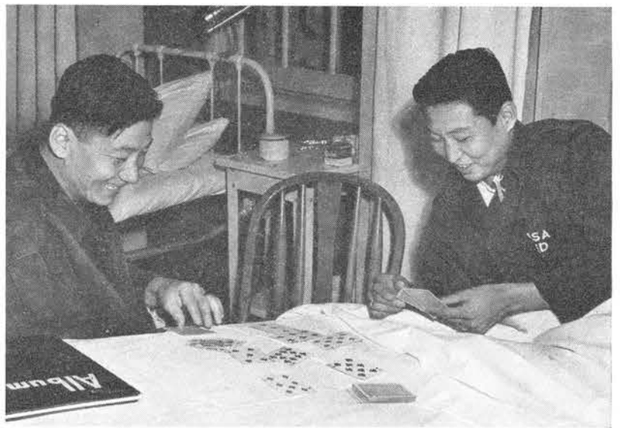
WRA



In the Moore General Hospital at Swannanoa, N. C., Pfc. Kiyoshi Yonemori shares a letter from home with a fellow patient. Yonemori was severely wounded when his company spearheaded an attack on the Germans after crossing the Volturno River in Italy.

WRA

Cassino, the card game, and Cassino in Italy, where Nisei soldiers spearheaded the attack of Lt. Gen. Clark's Fifth Army, have nothing in common but a name for Pvt. Kazuto Yoshioka (left) and Pvt. Wallace Hisamoto. Yoshioka lost an arm in the Italian fighting. Hisamoto, at Walter Reed Hospital, is learning to use an artificial leg.



WRA

There is no envy in the smile of Air WAC Cherry Nakagawara as she admires the chevron on the sleeve of her husband, Sgt. Yosh Nakagawara.

SCATTERED SERVICES

THE unusual spectacle of two Army units composed almost entirely of Americans of Japanese descent has naturally centered attention from the first on those units and on the Italian front, where the 100th Infantry went into action in September, 1943. Many other Nisei soldiers, however, were and still are scattered through other branches of the Army, including the Air Corps, the Parachute Troops, and the Medical Corps, and many are serving in parts of the world far removed from the European war theater.

American soldiers of Japanese ancestry are participating in the struggle to crush the armed forces of Japan, and to drive them from the vast areas that they overran in the Pacific and in Asia. Men whose fathers and mothers came from Japan assisted in the capture of Attu and Kiska in the Aleutian Islands; they helped to rout the enemy from Kwajalein Atoll and other islands in the Marshall group; they are serving with the American forces in India and Burma. Wherever Americans are fighting, Nisei soldiers are among them helping to win victory for the United States and the Allied Nations. Many have been decorated for valor and meritorious service, and many have been killed or wounded.

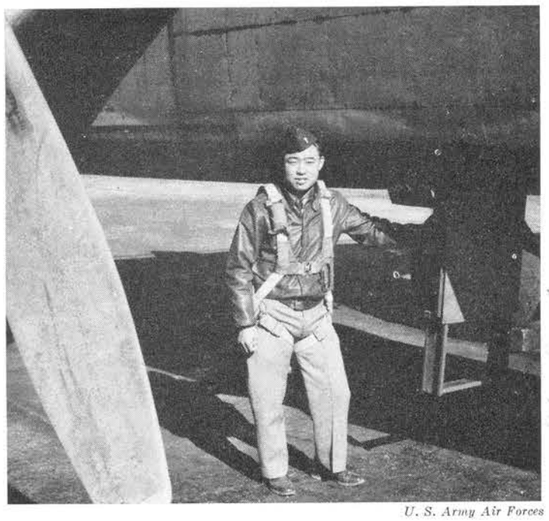
Although the overwhelming majority of Nisei in uniform are in the Army, there are a few in the Marines and the Coast Guard. Furthermore, enlistments in the Army are not limited to men; since July 1943, a considerable number of Nisei girls have joined the Women's Army Corps. Others are serving as Army nurses. These Nisei WAC's and nurses are widely scattered, since no action has been taken to gather them into one unit or one locality. Some of the nurses are overseas.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

U. S. Army Signal Corps

Pfc. Thomas Tsuyuki was one of the first Nisei to earn the right to wear the silver wings of a United States paratrooper. He enlisted from the Colorado River Relocation Center in western Arizona.

Lt. Noboru Tashiro, U. S. Army Air Forces, forecasts the weather and flying conditions for the Army flyers at the La Junta, Colorado, Air Field. He was born in Rocky Ford, Colo., and graduated from the Colorado School of Mines in 1941.



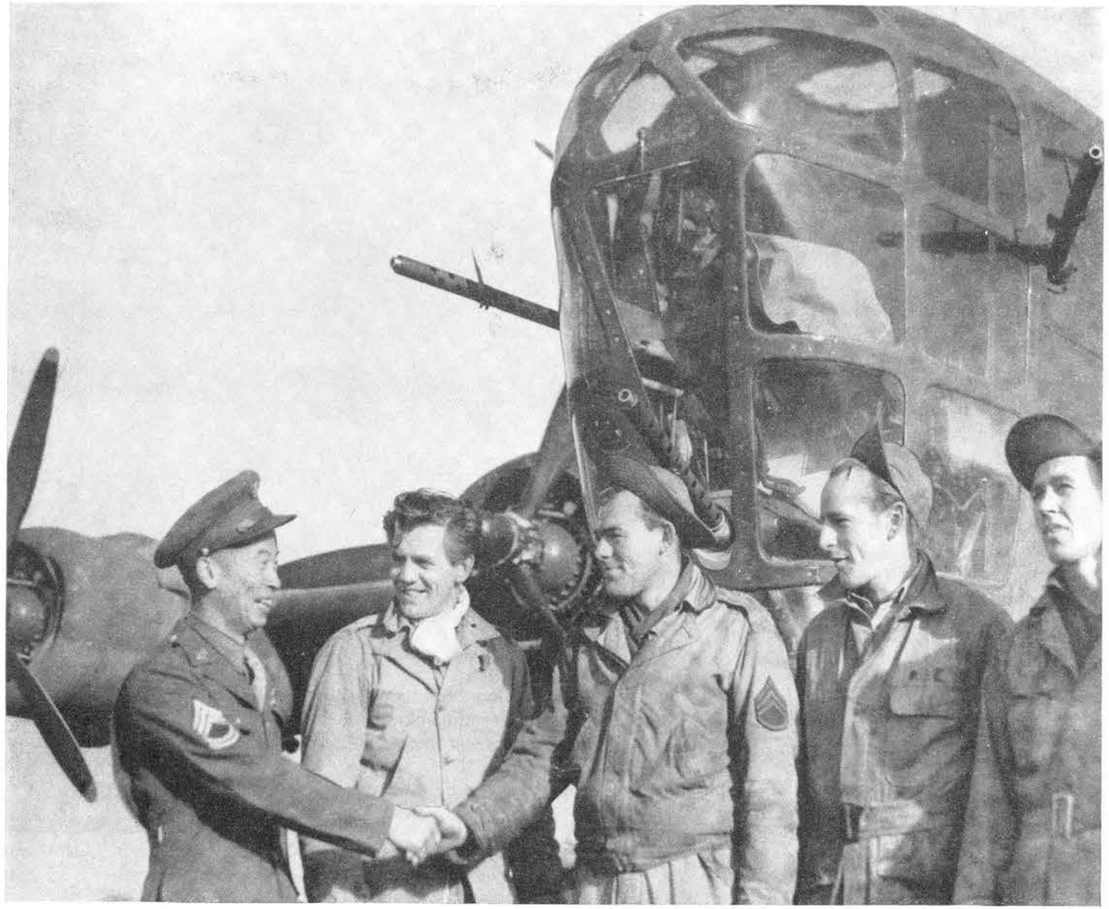
U. S. Army Air Forces

Pvt. Ben Moriwaki and Sgt. Fred Tanakatsubo, back from the desolate, fog-swept Aleutians, where they participated in the military operations that resulted in the recapture of Attu and Kiska Islands, by American forces, visit their families in the Central Utah Relocation Center.

WRA

Pvt. Shizuko Shinagawa joined the WAC from the Colorado River Relocation Center. Assigned to recruiting, she considers it "an opportunity to help my country and my people."

Pvt. Alice Shimoyama, a native of Kent, Wash., carries the guidon at the head of her WAC company at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga. She has a sister who is also in the Women's Army Corps, and a brother in the United States Army.



Press Association, Inc

Sgt. Ben Kuroki, veteran of 30 bombing missions over Nazi-held territory, bids good-bye to his ground crew before returning to the United States for new assignments.

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TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE
February 7, 1944

HEROES

Ben Kuroki, American

West Coast draft boards got orders last week to start reclassifying their U. S.-born Japanese for induction into the armed forces. The announcement was not even of academic interest to one member of the Nisei, 25-year-old Ben Kuroki.

Ben Kuroki is a technical sergeant in the U. S. Army Air Forces, a qualified turret gunner in B-24 Liberator bombers, veteran of 30 heavy bombing missions against the enemy, survivor of the ruthless, costly raid on the Ploesti oilfields of Rumania, winner of two Distinguished Flying Crosses, wearer of the coveted Air Medal with four oak-leaf clusters.

Ben Kuroki may have been the first person of Japanese descent to watch the Pacific surf curl on the beach of Santa Monica since the great evacuation of Japanese from California after Pearl Harbor. He was there last week, with several hundred other battle-weary U. S. airmen, resting in the luxury of the former Edgewater Beach Club, now an Air Forces redistribution center. Like his comrades, he slept late, guzzled orange juice and fresh milk, tried to unwind and get toned up.

Earned Repose. He had earned his rest. Few men can ever have gone through more plain hell trying to find a place in the special hell of battle. Ben Kuroki's father was a seed-potato grower in Hershey, Nebr., a town of about 500 people. Ben and his kid brother Fred (now overseas with an engineer outfit) volunteered for the Army two days after Pearl Harbor, were accepted a month later. Ben landed in the Air Forces and started to run his personal gauntlet at Sheppard Field, Tex.

"It seemed like everybody was cold," Ben remembered. "Maybe I was self-conscious but it kind of got to working on my mind."

He was isolated in a barracks corner. Other soldiers stared at him glumly. He feared the drunks most; they always wanted to fight. Ben tried first for air cadet, then for mechanic. He was sent to clerical school in Colorado, then shipped to Barksdale Field, La., one of 40 new clerks. As usual he was the last to be assigned, spent a miserable 15 days on the dirtiest of K. P. jobs.

Then he got his first break: assignment as communications clerk in one of four Liberator squadrons in Brigadier General Ted Timberlake's group, now famed as "Ted's Flying Circus" (TIME, Oct. 18). Ben kept his fingers crossed, never even went to nearby Shreveport for fear of getting into trouble. Twice when the squadron moved (to Florida, then England) they talked of leaving him behind. Both times he begged to go, made it.

Earned Action. In England he volunteered for gunnery training. Once trained, he coaxed a strictly temporary training assignment. He was good. A month later he was taken on as waist gunner by 23-year-old Major J. B. Epting. On their first combat mission, over Bizerte in Tunisia, the tail gunner was wounded and Ben moved aft. Steady behavior and crack gunnery in combat had done the job. He belonged.

Ben earned one D. F. C. for 25 combat missions, another for the Ploesti raid.

"We went in at 50 feet into terrible anti-aircraft fire," he remembers. "Our planes would crash and we could see our buddies burning in their planes. Our group commander's plane was hit and he gunned it up so his men could get out. I saw three chutes leave, but I don't think two of the men landed alive. Then the commander dove his plane right into the biggest building in town. No man who went to Ploesti will ever forget it."

Only two of the nine Liberators in Ben's "Eager Beaver" squadron came back. The sight of empty bunks and mess lines haunted him; he could not sleep for three nights. Yet when his prescribed 25 missions had been fulfilled, he turned down a chance to fly home, volunteered instead for an extra five.

Four of them were over Germany, and on the last one his luck almost ran out. He was flying as top-turret gunner over Münster when a flak burst hit the turret dome, shattered his goggles, tore off his oxygen mask. Copilot and radioman pulled him down and revived him with an emergency mask. After that, Ben got his orders for home.

When he is ready for combat again, Ben Kuroki hopes to go to the Pacific theater. His roommate at Santa Monica now is Tail Gunner Edward Bates, who lost a brother in the Pacific. Says Ben: "I promised him the first Zero I get will be for his brother."

Editor's note: During the spring of 1944, Sergeant Kuroki received ovations before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco and in three relocation centers.

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Wounded in battle with the Japanese enemy in the South Pacific, Sgt. Kazuo Komoto was returned to the United States for hospitalization. On a visit to his family at the Gila River Relocation Center, he displays his Purple Heart to an admiring younger brother.

WRA

Four stars are in the service flag of Mr. and Mrs. Ichimatsu Matsushita of the Colorado River Relocation Center. They have three sons and one son-in-law, all volunteers, in the Army of the United States. They are former residents of Watsonville, Calif.

NISEI SOLDIERS SERVE IN ALL THEATERS OF WAR

A Selection of Newspaper Clippings

PACIFIC CITIZEN

General Reveals Japanese Americans Took Part In Capture of Kwajalein Atoll

Japanese American soldiers from the United States and Hawaii participated in the invasion of the Marshall Islands and the successful capture of Kwajalein, Maj. Gen. Charles H. Corlett, whose Seventh Army Division participated in the invasion, declared in an Associated Press interview dated February 17 from the U. S. Army Headquarters in the Central Pacific.

General Corlett, whose troops are veterans of Attu, praised the work of Japanese Americans with the invading American forces.

This dispatch, published widely in U. S. newspapers, was the first official Army report of the role of Japanese Americans in the Pacific fighting, although previously published reports have indicated that Japanese Americans are fighting in the South Pacific and took part in the successful recapture of Attu and Kiska.

KLAMATH FALLS HERALD & NEWS

Jap-American Volunteer From Tule WRA Center Fights Nips in India

A Japanese American volunteer from a WRA center is today fighting in the India-Burma theater as a member of the U. S. Army's First Air Commando group, according to an army-censored "dispatch" to the Pacific Citizen from "somewhere in India."

The soldier is Staff Sgt. Tom Taketa, who volunteered for the Army in 1942 from Tule Lake relocation center.

Following is the army-censored "dispatch" from Staff Sgt. Tom Taketa of the First Air Commando group:

"The First Air Commando group—that name would strike a familiar chord in your minds. Surely you have read about the great doings of this outfit. I don't know what the newspapers have said about the First Air Commando group and its undertakings, but whatever was written must have made good reading material. I may be prejudiced because I happen to be one of its members, the only Nisei with this group, but I assure you that whatever I say about this outfit is with the deepest sincerity, and is shared by each and everyone of us.

"A year and a half ago, I was one of the evacuees in Tule and little did I realize at the time of my enlistment that I would be fortunate enough to join such an outfit as the one I'm in now.

"Our 'old man' the C. O., incidently, he isn't very old, and in his thirties—is a hard-fighting leader. He's a go-getter, and that's one of the main reasons that we've accomplished so much in such a short time. Our men are taking the war to the enemy, and I am more than certain that the enemy is feeling the might of our punches. I know it may sound incredible when I say that we're fighting a war of our own, but that's exactly what were doing; that is, with as much free-wheeling as we're allowed."

PM

Japanese-Americans

Dear Editor:

I have just finished reading Harold Lavine's article on West Coast prejudice against Japanese-Americans in the Jan. 21 issue of PM.

I have had constant dealings with Japanese-American boys serving in our Army. When I first arrived in this theater of operations, I was an enlisted man and I shared a tent with one of these boys. There were a number of other Japanese-Americans in the company and there wasn't a single man in that outfit who didn't like and respect these boys. They are all courageous, sincere, loyal and swell fellows.

At my present station where I am serving with a Marine unit, we have a group of these Japanese-American boys. They are, like the previous group I mentioned, good Americans and well liked.

If there are any groups of Americans who have reason to hate and distrust Japs, they are the Marine and Army units who have been in combat with them. Yet, all of these Marines and Army boys will swear by the integrity and loyalty of the Japanese-American soldiers.

Many of these boys have parents and sisters and brothers in relocation centers. They are there not because they aren't loyal Americans, but because the Government has seen fit to put them there as purely precautionary measures. Though they are not happy about it, the Japanese-American soldiers understand and appreciate the necessity for such action under the circumstances.

My own sentiments and that of others with whom I have discussed Mr. Lavine's article are that Japanese-Americans should have the same rights guaranteed to them as are guaranteed to any other Americans—the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I would like to see jailed and convicted for making murderous threats the members of those organizations who wrote District Attorney Houser of Los Angeles County that they have "pledged to kill any Japanese who come to California now or after the war."

2D LT. MORRIS KRITZ

Somewhere in the South Pacific

P.S. Just as I was on the last paragraph of this letter, one of our Japanese-American boys walked in to see how'm I doing.

AMARILLO NEWS

Japanese-Yanks Prove To Be Poison to Germans in Italy

WITH THE FIFTH ARMY IN ITALY, July 9 (Delayed) (AP)—Built up from a single battalion to a full-sized regiment, Japanese-American doughboys are back in the line operating against the Germans with the motto, "go for broke," the crap-shooter's equivalent of shoot the works or bet the roll.

This is the 442nd Regiment, complete with engineers and artillery, which was created by a special War Department order after Selective Service had refused to induct Americans of Japanese ancestry.

The first of these soldiers in action was the now famous 100th Battalion, which made the first actual contact with the enemy in Italy as part of the 34th Division, then distinguished itself at the Anzio beachhead and has continued the same sort of fighting farther north.

For instance, there was the youngster from this outfit who was out with a bazooka the other day, just north of Castellina. A Jerry tank came along and the bazooka went off a couple of times. The score was one kayoed tank, with 20 dead Germans in the neighborhood.

Then there was the outfit consisting of two squads that Lt. Jim Boodry, Clinton, Mass., took out into the red-hot action around Bolgheri, where the enemy put up a blazing battle to keep the doughboys from taking Highway 68. Three Hawaiians went to a ridge from which the Nazis had been throwing a lot of fire.

When the shooting was over the lead trio and their mates had run up a total of some 30 Nazi dead, 46 captured and had a collection of enemy material including 5 machine guns, 30 machine pistols and a few hundred "potato masher" grenades, according to Lieutenant Boodry.

All in all, the regiment charged some 50 miles in 4 days after going into the line. Some of them averaged as little as two and a half hours sleep a night, and some were so far out ahead of the supply lines they were without food for 24 hours.

THE DENVER POST
October 13, 1943

JAPANESE-AMERICAN FOUGHT NIPS ON ATTU

U. S.-Born Sergeant, Home From Alaska to Take Bride, Tells of Fighting on Visit to Parents At Heart Mountain

Heart Mountain, Wyo., Oct. 13.—(I. N. S.)—Japanese soldiers of American birth, in addition to fighting Nazis in Italy, have fought against Nipponese soldiers in the Pacific theater of war, it was disclosed Wednesday.

Sergt. Kunihiro Nakao, a Japanese-American formerly of Sacramento, Calif., arrived at the war relocation center at Heart Mountain as a veteran of hand-to-hand combat at Attu.

Sergeant Nakao and his bride of a few days, the former Kuni Muto of San Fernando, Calif., spent part of their honeymoon at the WRA camp visiting his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Kamjiro Nakao, recent transferees from the Tulelake, Calif., camp of the WRA.

Despite his reluctance to talk of his experiences, Sergeant Nakao revealed to fellow Japanese that he had been stationed in Alaska for about a year, and that he was among those who landed on Attu where he said he was frequently under fire.

"Captured Japanese rations proved a welcome addition to the emergency fare on which Sergeant Nakao and his buddies were existing, and the Caucasians learned to relish enemy delicacies," the camp newspaper reported, in disclosing Nakao's return to the United States via plane to become a bridegroom. The marriage took place at Salt Lake City. Following the honeymoon, Sergeant Nakao will return to his army post in Alaska.

CLEVELAND PRESS

Reveal Husband of Cleveland Japanese Saved U. S. General

A 26-year-old Japanese-American sergeant, whose wife and brother are living in Cleveland, today was credited with helping to save the life of an American general in hand-to-hand combat with Japanese forces in the South Pacific.

Sgt. Tomas Sakamoto, whose wife is a civil service employee of the War Department, has been mentioned in dispatches from the South Pacific as the first of his race to be cited for action against the Japanese. Mrs. Sakamoto, 23, lives at 11102 Lorain avenue, while Sgt. Sakamoto's brother, Frank, 22, lives at 1906 E. 93d street.

Sakamoto was the only non-commissioned officer in an assault party led by Brig. Gen. William Chase. The party was attacked by a Jap group, headed by the Japanese island commander.

In the ensuing fighting the entire Jap group except two were killed.

Sgt. Sakamoto is a native of San Jose, Cal. He has been in the Army three years and met his wife in Minneapolis, Minn., while he was at Camp Savage.

SUN (Baltimore, Md.)
November 20, 1943

JAPANESE TELLS OF PACIFIC WAR AT RIVERS CAMP

One Jap sniper who tried his best to kill a Japanese American "doughboy" never lived to tell of his failure.

The Japanese American soldier, Staff Sgt. Kazuo Komoto, is back in America after a slug from the sniper's machine gun had shattered his knee. He visited his parents at the Rivers Relocation Center last week.

The sergeant in recounting his experience in the "toughest fighting in the world" said that he had been without sleep for a week, and had climbed out of his fox hole behind the front lines to rest. Some twenty minutes later the sniper, who had infiltrated and camouflaged himself in a tree, opened on him and several other American soldiers near him. A few seconds later the sniper was riddled by American fire.

Later, on a hospital ship, his commanding general presented him with the Purple Heart award. With a soldier's disdain for what he terms a "cripple's medal," Komoto shrugs off congratulations. Completely recovered from his knee wound, he is ready for action again.

WASHINGTON POST

On the Line

With CONSIDINE

We were down here to appear on the Army's radio program which is called "Vising Hour"—written by our old pal, Sergt. Jerry Lewis, and produced by Maj. Andre Baruch, one of the better men of radio. The program, one of the best on the air, we think, is the idea of Maj. Gen. Norman T. Kirk, Surgeon General of the Army. General Kirk is using this program to introduce the wounded veteran to the public. He is doing just that.

There was one boy on the program who startled even the legless, armless boys in the audience. He was (and is) a Japanese-American, born in Honolulu.

His mother and father were born in Japan. His name is Wallace Y. Hisamoto. We asked him what was on his mind—one of the lively stock questions of the program.

"Well," he said, "Tomorrow is 'I Am An American Day,' and I'd like to say that despite the fact that both of my parents were born in Japan, I'm an American, too."

Wallace lost his leg in the battle that followed the crossing of the Volturno River, in Italy. He served with the 100th Infantry Battalion of the Thirty-fourth Division, composed mainly of Japanese-Americans. Wally yesterday was carried on to the stage, as a baby is carried, by Corpl. Mark Austaad of Ogden, Utah.

"When my people tried to settle down in some places in this country they were driven out," the legless boy protested. "I went to war because the Japanese rulers and the Nazis were trying to prove that there is a super-race. America doesn't believe that, and yet my people, who are American like me, can't stay put because their skin isn't white. It doesn't make sense."

The inconsistency of it all reminded him of his favorite athlete, Sergt. Joe Louis.

"Our people feel just like Louis does," he said. "When the heavyweight champion landed in England, somebody said to him 'Why are you so happy to be in uniform, your country isn't so nice to your people.' Joe looked at the man and said, 'Mister, I know that there are things wrong with my country, but it's nothing Hitler can fix.' We Americans whose parents were born in Japan feel the same way. Maybe there is something wrong in America, but it's nothing Tojo can fix, either."

DES MOINES REGISTER,
March 24, 1944

High Praise for Doughboy and the Nisei

By C. C. Clifton.

Maj. James J. Gillespie, 32, who fought with the famous 34th Division from the beach landing at Algiers to the mountains before Cassino, came home Thursday singing the praises of the infantry and the Hawaiian Japanese he commanded in Italy.

Landed at Salerno.

Major Gillespie, who went into Italy at Salerno beach in the battalion commanded by Lt. Col. Lloyd Rockwell of Council Bluffs which took the key road center of Benevento, was placed in command of the Hawaiian Japanese battalion after Benevento.

These Hawaiians, all of Japanese descent and American citizens came in to replace a battalion which was removed from the division before the North African invasion.

They were flanked in all their fighting, which included two crossings of the Volturno river and the mountain fighting before Cassino, by two battalions of Iowans.

On one side was Rockwell's third battalion of the 133d infantry and on the other was the first battalion of the 133d.

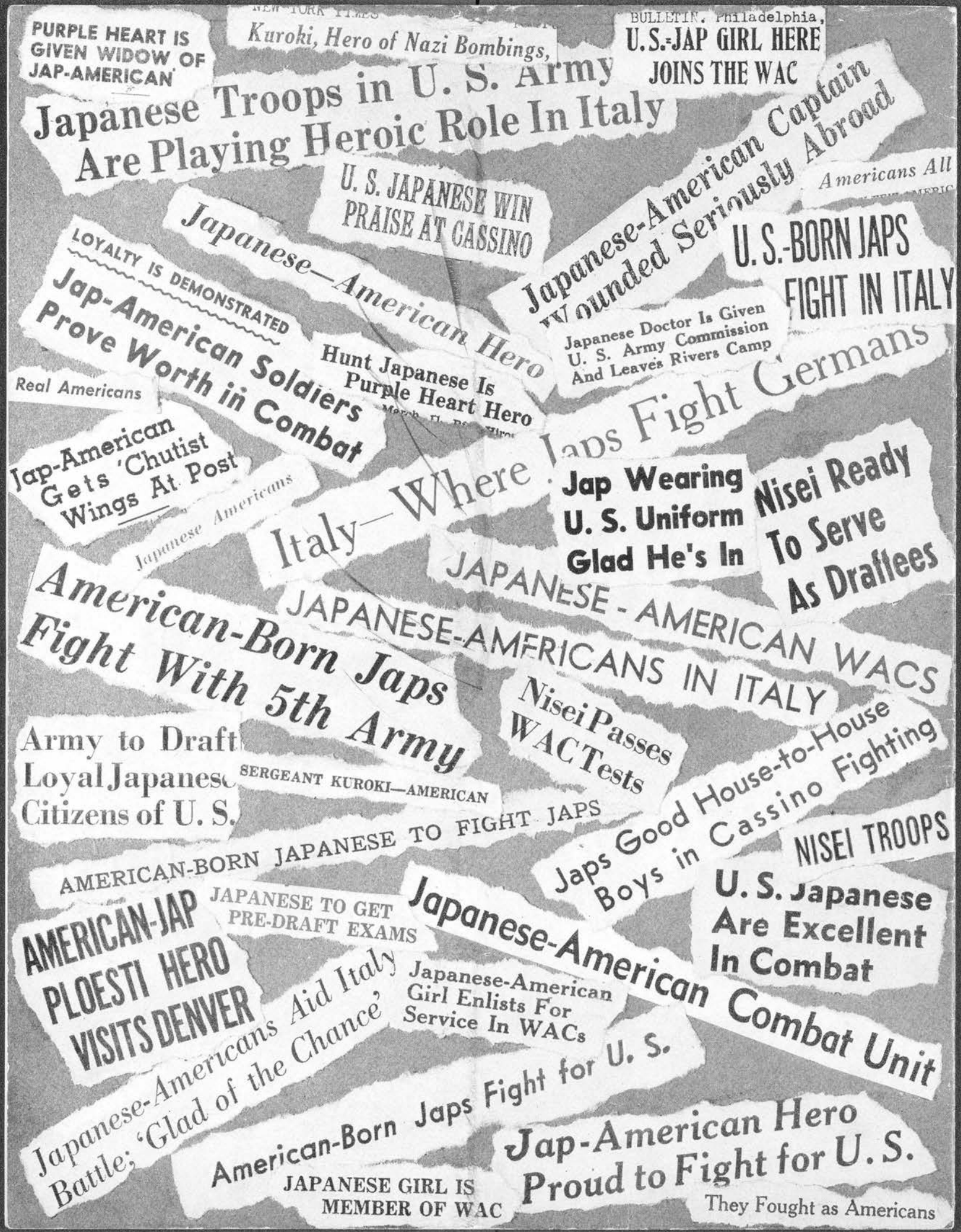
"These Hawaiian Japanese," Gillespie said, "call themselves Hawaiians or just plain Americans. They've earned the right to call themselves anything they damn well please. I've never been so mad in my life as I have been since I returned to the United States and have heard cracks made about Japs fighting on our side in Italy.

Loyal Americans.

"Anybody who calls these doughboys Japs is the most narrow minded person I know of. These kids, so far as I'm concerned, are just as much Americans as I am. I'd like to hear anybody foolish enough to disparage them do it when the two Iowa battalions that fought with them and got shot at with them could hear it.

"The men of these battalions will tell anybody what good men they are and how extremely loyal they are. They're as good as any outfit I've ever been with."

The Hawaiian battalion was organized in Hawaii, trained 15 months in the United States, and joined the 34th Division at Oran, Africa, before the division went to Italy. At the front they were under constant fire, day in and day out, battling mud and rain and terrific terrain.



PURPLE HEART IS GIVEN WIDOW OF JAP-AMERICAN

Kuroki, Hero of Nazi Bombings,

BULLETIN, Philadelphia,

U.S.-JAP GIRL HERE JOINS THE WAC

Japanese Troops in U. S. Army Are Playing Heroic Role In Italy

U. S. JAPANESE WIN PRAISE AT CASSINO

Japanese-American Captain Wounded Seriously Abroad

Americans All

Japanese—American Hero

LOYALTY IS DEMONSTRATED

Jap-American Soldiers Prove Worth in Combat

U.S.-BORN JAPS FIGHT IN ITALY

Japanese Doctor Is Given U. S. Army Commission And Leaves Rivers Camp

Hunt Japanese Is Purple Heart Hero

Real Americans

Jap-American Gets 'Chutist Wings At Post

Japanese Americans

Italy—Where Japs Fight Germans

Jap Wearing U. S. Uniform Glad He's In

Nisei Ready To Serve As Draftees

JAPANESE - AMERICAN WACS

American-Born Japs Fight With 5th Army

JAPANESE-AMERICANS IN ITALY

Nisei Passes WAC Tests

Army to Draft Loyal Japanese Citizens of U. S.

SERGEANT KUROKI—AMERICAN

Japs Good House-to-House Boys in Cassino Fighting

AMERICAN-BORN JAPANESE TO FIGHT JAPS

NISEI TROOPS

U. S. Japanese Are Excellent In Combat

AMERICAN-JAP PLOESTI HERO VISITS DENVER

JAPANESE TO GET PRE-DRAFT EXAMS

Japanese-American Combat Unit

Japanese-Americans Aid Italy Battle; 'Glad of the Chance'

Japanese-American Girl Enlists For Service In WACs

American-Born Japs Fight for U. S.

Jap-American Hero Proud to Fight for U. S.

JAPANESE GIRL IS MEMBER OF WAC

They Fought as Americans

OUR WORST WARTIME MISTAKE

by

EUGENE V. ROSTOW

Reprinted from

HARPER'S MAGAZINE

September 1945

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VOL 191 *No* 1144 *September* 1945

OUR WORST WARTIME MISTAKE

EUGENE V. ROSTOW

Mr. Rostow, professor of law at Yale, formerly practiced in New York. He has served in the State Department as adviser on Lend-Lease affairs.

TIME IS often needed for us to recognize the great miscarriages of justice. The Dreyfus case had lasted four years before public opinion was fully aroused. The trials of Sacco and Vanzetti endured six years. As time passes, it becomes more and more plain that our wartime treatment of the Japanese and the Japanese-Americans on the West Coast was a tragic and dangerous mistake. That mistake is a threat to society, and to all men. Its motivation and its impact on our system of law deny every value of democracy.

In the perspective of our legal tradition, the facts are almost incredible.

During the bleak spring of 1942, the Japanese and the Japanese-Americans who lived on the West Coast of the United States were taken into custody and removed to camps in the interior. More than one hundred thousand men, women, and children were thus exiled and imprisoned. More than two-thirds of them were American citizens.

These people were taken into custody as a military measure on the ground that espionage and sabotage were especially to be feared from persons of Japanese blood. The whole group was removed from the West Coast because the military authorities thought it would take too long to conduct individual investigations on the spot. They were arrested without warrants and were held without indictment or a statement of charges, although the courts were open and freely functioning. They were transported to camps far from their homes, and kept there under prison conditions, pending investigations of their "loyalty." Despite the good intentions of the chief relocation officers, the centers

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were little better than concentration camps.

If the evacuees were found "loyal," they were released only if they could find a job and a place to live, in a community where no hoodlums would come out at night to chalk up anti-Japanese slogans, break windows, or threaten riot. If found "disloyal" in their attitude to the war, they were kept in the camps indefinitely—although sympathy with the enemy is no crime in the United States (for white people at least) so long as it is not translated into deeds or the visible threat of deeds. On May 1, 1945, three years after the program was begun, about 70,000 persons were still in camps. While it is hoped to have all these people either free, or in more orthodox confinement, by January 1, 1946, what is euphemistically called the Japanese "relocation" program will not be a closed book for many years.

THE ORIGINAL program of "relocation" was an injustice, in no way required or justified by the circumstances of the war. But the Supreme Court, in three extraordinary decisions, has upheld its main features as constitutional. This fact converts a piece of wartime folly into national policy—a permanent part of the law—a doctrine enlarging the power of the military in relation to civil authority. It is having a sinister impact on the minority problem in every part of the country. It is giving aid to reactionary politicians who use social division and racial prejudice as their tools. The precedent is being used to encourage attacks on the civil rights of both citizens and aliens. As Mr. Justice Jackson has said, the principle of these decisions "lies about like a loaded weapon ready for the hand of any authority that can bring forward a plausible claim of an urgent need." All in all, the case of the Japanese-Americans is the worst blow our liberties have sustained in many years. Unless repudiated, it may support devastating and unforeseen social and political conflicts.

II

WHAT WAS done in the name of military precaution on the West Coast was quite different from the security measures taken in Hawaii or on the East Coast, although both places were active theaters of war in 1942.

On the East Coast enemy aliens were controlled without mass arrests or evacuations, despite their heavy concentration in and near shipping and manufacturing centers. Aliens had been registered, and the police had compiled information about fascist sympathizers, both aliens and citizens. "On the night of December 7, 1941," Attorney General Biddle reported, "the most dangerous of the persons in this group were taken into custody; in the following weeks a number of others were apprehended. Each arrest was made on the basis of information concerning the specific alien taken into custody. We have used no dragnet techniques and have conducted no indiscriminate, large-scale raids." General regulations were issued, somewhat restricting the freedom of all enemy aliens over fourteen years of age. They were forbidden to enter military areas; they had to get the District Attorney's permission before traveling; they were forbidden to own or use firearms, cameras, short-wave radio sets, codes, ciphers, or invisible ink. This control plan kept security officers informed, but otherwise allowed the aliens almost their normal share in the work and life of the community.

Enemy aliens under suspicion, and those who violated the regulations, were subject to summary arrest, and were then promptly examined by one of the special Alien Enemy Hearing Boards. These boards could recommend that the individual alien be interned, paroled, or released unconditionally. The examinations were smoothly conducted, and they did nothing to lower prevailing standards of justice. Of the 1,100,000 enemy aliens in the country, 9,080 had been examined by the end of June 1943, about 4,000 of them being then interned. By June 30, 1944, the number interned had been reduced to approximately 2,500.

In Hawaii a different procedure was followed, but one less drastic than the evacuation program pursued on the West Coast, although Hawaii was certainly a more active theater of war. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, martial law was installed in Hawaii, and the commanding general assumed the role of military governor. Yet, although about one-third the population of Hawaii is of Japanese descent, and although the tension was great after the Pearl Harbor raid, there was no mass roundup on the islands. Fewer than 800 Japanese aliens were sent to the mainland for internment, and fewer than 1,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, 912 of them being citizens, were sent to relocation centers on the mainland. Many of the latter group were families of interned aliens, transferred voluntarily. Those arrested in Hawaii were taken into custody on the basis of individual suspicion, resting on previous examination or observed behavior. Even under a regime of martial law, men were arrested as individuals, and not because of the color of their skins. Safety was assured without mass arrests, or needless hardship.

ON THE West Coast the security program was something else again. Immediately after Pearl Harbor there were no special regulations for persons of Japanese extraction. Known enemy sympathizers among the Japanese, like white traitors and enemy agents, were arrested. There was no sabotage by persons of Japanese ancestry. There was no reason to suppose that the 112,000 persons of Japanese descent on the West Coast, less than 2 per cent of the population, constituted a greater menace than such persons in Hawaii, where they were 32 per cent of the population.

After a month's silence, the organized minority whose business it has been to exploit racial tensions on the West Coast went to work. They had strong support in the Hearst press and its equivalents. Politicians, fearful of an unknown public opinion, spoke out for white supremacy. West Coast Congressional delegations led by Senator Hiram Johnson, urged the administration to exclude all persons of Japanese blood from the coast states. Anti-Oriental spokesmen appeared before special hearings of the Tolan Committee, and explained the situation as they conceived it to Lieutenant General J. L. DeWitt, commanding the Western Defense Command. Tension was intensified, and doubters, worried about the risks of another Pearl Harbor, remained silent, preferring too much caution to too little. An opinion crystallized in favor of evacuating the Japanese.

After some hesitation, General DeWitt proposed the policy of exclusion on grounds of military need. The War Department backed him up. No one in the government took the responsibility for opposing or overruling him.

Despite the nature of the emergency, the Army's lawyers wanted more legal authority before action was taken. The President issued an Executive Order in February 1942, and in March Congress passed a statute, authorizing military commanders to designate "military areas" and to prescribe the terms on which any persons could enter, leave, or remain in such areas. A policy of encouraging the Japanese to move away individually had shown signs of producing confusion. It was therefore decided to establish a compulsory system of detention in camps, to simplify the process of resettlement, and to afford the fullest measure of security.

III

THE HISTORY of law affords nothing more fantastic than the evidence which is supposed to justify this program. General DeWitt's final recommendation to the Secretary of War, dated February 14, 1942, but not made public until early in 1944, explains the basis of his decision.

"In the war in which we are now engaged," he said, "racial affinities are not severed by migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become 'Americanized,' the racial strains are undiluted." From the premise of a war of "races," the general had no difficulty reaching his conclusion. There is "no ground for assuming," he said, that Japanese-Americans will not turn against the United States. So much for the idea that men are presumed innocent until proved guilty, and that American citizens stand on an equal footing before the law without

regard for race, color, or previous condition of servitude! "It therefore follows," the general added, "that along the vital Pacific Coast over 112,000 potential enemies, of Japanese extraction, are at large today. There are disturbing indications that these are organized and ready for concerted action at a favorable opportunity. The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken."

There was somewhat more evidence than the absence of sabotage to prove its special danger. The Japanese lived closely together, often concentrated around harbors and other strategic areas. Japanese clubs and religious institutions played an important part in their segregated social life. Japanese language schools existed, to preserve for the American born something of the cultural heritage of Japan. The Japanese government, like that of many other countries, asserted a doctrine of nationality different from our own, which gave rise to possible claims of dual citizenship. Thus a long-standing conflict in international law, involving many countries other than Japan, was invoked to cast special doubt on the loyalty of American citizens of Japanese descent.

Much of the suspicion inferentially based on these statements disappears on closer examination. In many instances the concentration of Japanese homes around strategic areas had come about years before, and for entirely innocent reasons. Japanese cannery workers, for example, had had to live on the waterfront in order to be near the plants in which they worked. Japanese truck gardeners had rented land in the industrial outskirts of large cities to be close to their markets. They had rented land for gardening under high tension lines—regarded as a very suspicious circumstance—because the company could not use the land for other purposes; the initiative in starting this practice had come from the utility companies, not from the Japanese.

Despite discrimination against the Japanese, many had done well in America. They were substantial property owners. Their children participated normally and actively in the schools and universities of the West Coast. Their unions and social organizations had passed resolutions of loyalty in great number, before and after Pearl Harbor. It is difficult to find real evidence that either religious or social institutions among the Japanese had successfully fostered Japanese militarism or other dangerous sentiments. The Japanese language schools, which the Japanese-Americans themselves had long sought to put under state control, seem to represent little more than the familiar desire of many immigrant groups to keep alive the language and tradition of the "old country"; in the case of Japanese-Americans, knowledge of the Japanese language was of particular economic importance, since so much of their working life was spent with other Japanese on the West Coast.

Some elements among the Japanese were, of course, suspect. They were known to the authorities, who had for several years been checking on the Japanese-American population. Many had been individually arrested immediately after Pearl Harbor, and the others were under constant surveillance.

It is also true that a considerable percentage of the evacuees later gave negative answers to loyalty questions in the questionnaires they were asked to fill out while in camps. Many of those answers were expressly based upon the treatment the individuals had received; the same shock of evacuation and confinement undoubtedly was responsible indirectly for many more. Basically, however, the issue of abstract loyalty is irrelevant. Disloyalty, even in the aggravated form of enthusiastic verbal support for the Axis cause, is not a crime in the United States. At most, it is a possible ground for interning enemy aliens. Citizens must do more than talk or think disloyal thoughts before being arrested and jailed.

Apart from the members of the group known to be under suspicion, there was no evidence beyond the vaguest fear to connect the Japanese on the West Coast with the unfavorable military events of 1941 and 1942. Both at Pearl Harbor and in sporadic attacks on the West Coast the enemy had shown that he had knowledge of our dispositions. There was some signaling to enemy ships at sea, both by radio and by lights, along the West Coast. There were several episodes of shelling the coast by submarine—although two of the three such cases mentioned by General DeWitt as tending to create suspicion of the Japanese-Americans took place *after* their removal from the coast. (These were the only such items in his report which were not identified by date.) And those subsequently arrested as Japanese agents in the Pearl Harbor area were all white men.

The most striking comment on the quality of the evidence produced by General DeWitt to support his proposal was made by Solicitor General Fahy, whose job it was to defend the general's plan before the Supreme Court. He relied upon the general's report "only to the extent that it relates" statistics and other details concerning the actual evacuation and the events which took place after it. But the briefs that he himself presented were identical in the substance of their argument. The Japanese-Americans were an unknown, unknowable, foreign group, living together, and moving in mysterious ways, inscrutable to puzzled white men. Therefore, let them be imprisoned; let their property be taken into custody, sold off at bargain prices, dissipated, and lost; let their roots be torn up, let their children suffer the irreparable shock of life in a concentration camp; let their relation to society be distorted by the searing memory of humiliation, rejection, and punishment.

The evidence supports one conclusion only: the dominant element in the development of our relocation policy was race prejudice, not a military estimate of a military problem.

IV

By the time the issues raised by this program reached the Supreme Court, the crisis which was supposed to justify it had passed. The first cases came up in June 1943, the second and third in December 1944. The course of the war had changed completely; the Japanese were no longer prowling off California, but fighting defensively among the islands of the Western Pacific.

The problem presented to the Supreme Court was thus completely different from that which confronted worried soldiers, legislators, and executive officials in the melancholy months after Pearl Harbor. Invalidation of the relocation scheme would do no possible harm to the prosecution of the war. The Supreme Court could afford to view the issues in perspective, giving full weight to its own special responsibilities for the development of constitutional law as a whole.

Moreover, the issue for the court was infinitely more complex than that which faced General DeWitt in 1942. The court had to decide not only whether General DeWitt had acted within the scope of his permissible authority, but whether it should validate what had been done. As many episodes in our constitutional history attest, those are different issues. The court could not escape the fact that it was the Supreme Court, arbiter of a vast system of customs, rules, habits, and relationships. Its decision inevitably would have far-reaching effects—on the power of the military, on our developing law of emergencies, on the future of those demagogues and political groups which live by attacking minorities, and on the future decision of cases in lower courts and police stations, involving the rights of citizens and aliens, the availability of habeas corpus, and like questions.

The question of how and on what grounds the Supreme Court should dispose of the cases also was one of broad political policy. Would a repudiation of Congress, the President, and the military in one aspect of their conduct of the war affect the people's will to fight? Would it create a campaign issue for 1944? Would it affect the power and prestige of the Supreme Court as a political institution?

In a bewildering and unimpressive series of opinions, relieved only by the dissents of Justice Roberts and Justice Murphy in one of the three cases—*Korematsu* v. *United States*—the court chose to assume that the main issues did not exist. In avoiding the risks of overruling the government on an issue of war policy, it weakened society's control over military power—one of the controls on which the whole

organization of our society depends. It failed to uphold the most ordinary rights of citizenship, making Japanese-Americans into second-class citizens, who stand before the courts on a different legal footing from other Americans. It accepted and gave the prestige of its support to dangerous racial myths about a minority group, in arguments which can easily be applied to any other minority in our society.

The reasoning of the court was simple and direct. The problem was the scope of the war power of the national government. Both Congress and the executive seemed to have decided that special measures were required because espionage and sabotage were especially to be feared from persons of Japanese descent on the West Coast in the spring of 1942. It was not the job of the Supreme Court to decide such questions for itself. Its task was that of judicial review—to uphold the judgment of the officers directly responsible for fighting the war if, the court said, there was "any substantial basis" in fact for the conclusion that protective measures were necessary.

Two propositions which the court accepted as "facts" were held to afford a sufficiently "rational basis" for military decision. The first was that in time of war "residents having ethnic affiliations with an invading enemy may be a greater source of danger than those of different ancestry"—a doctrine which belongs with the race theories of the Nazis and, moreover, is contrary to the experience of American society in both our World Wars. (The weight of scientific evidence is that the most important driving urge of such minority groups is to conform, not to rebel.) The second was that on the West Coast in 1942 there was no time to isolate and examine the suspected Japanese on an individual basis—although of the 110,000 persons subject to the exclusion orders, 43 per cent were over fifty or under fifteen years old; they had lived in California without committing sabotage for five months after Pearl Harbor; in the country as a whole, thousands of aliens were examined individually without substantial delay; and in Britain 74,000 enemy aliens were checked in a few months.

By accepting the military judgment on these two points, without any evidence in the record to back it up, without requiring any testimony from the military, and even without adequate discussion by the court itself, the court has taken "judicial notice" of doubtful and controversial propositions of fact, as if they were as well-established as the census statistics or the tide tables. The court could have sent the cases back for a full trial on the justification for General DeWitt's decision. Instead, it upheld his ruling. Thus it created a profound question as to the position of the military power in our public life.

V

THE CONCEPTION of the war power under the American Constitution rests on the experience of the Revolution and the Civil War. It rests on basic political principles which men who had endured those times of trouble had fully discussed and carefully set forth. The chief architects of the conception were men of affairs who had participated in war, and had definite and well-founded ideas about the role of the professional military mind in the conduct of war.

The first and dominating principle of the war power under the Constitution is that the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces must be a civilian, elected and not promoted to his office. In no other way can the subordination of the military to the civil power be assured. And in every democracy, the relationship between civil and military power is the crucial issue—the issue on which its capacity to survive in time of crisis ultimately depends.

The second principle governing the war power in a democracy is that of responsibility. Like every other officer of government, soldiers must answer for their decisions to the nation's system of law, and not to the Chief of Staff alone. Where military decisions lead to conflicts between individuals and authority—as in the Japanese exclusion program—the courts must adjudicate them. It is essential to every democratic value in society that official action, taken in the name of the war power, should be held to standards of responsibility under such circumstances.

The courts have not in the past, and should not now, declare such problems to be beyond the reach of judicial review. The present Supreme Court is dominated by the conviction that in the past judicial review has unduly limited the freedom of administrative action. But surely the right answer to bad law is good law, rather than no law at all. The court must review the exercise of military power in a way which permits ample freedom to the executive, yet assures society as a whole that appropriate standards of responsibility have been met.

The issue for judicial decision in these cases is not lessened or changed by saying that the war power includes any steps required to win the war. The problem is still one of judgment as to what helps win a war. Who is to decide whether there was a sensible reason for doing what was done? Is it enough for the general to say that when he acted, he honestly thought it was a good idea to do what he did?

Unless the courts require a showing, in cases like these, of an intelligible relationship between means and ends, society has lost its basic protection against the abuse of military power. The general's good intentions must be irrelevant. There should be evidence in court that his military judgment had a suitable basis in fact.

THE HISTORY of this question in the Supreme Court is unmistakable. The earlier decisions of the court had vigorously asserted that "what are the allowable limits of military discretion, and whether or not they have been overstepped in a particular case, are judicial questions"; and that there must be evidence enough to satisfy the court as to the need for the action taken. They had made it clear that the law is not neutral in such issues, but has a positive preference for protecting civil rights where possible, and a long-standing suspicion of the military mind when acting outside its own sphere.

Yet in the Japanese-American cases there was literally no evidence whatever by which the court might test the responsibility of General DeWitt's action. Dozens of Supreme Court decisions had said that the court would not pass on serious constitutional questions without a record before it, establishing the essential facts. Those cases were all ignored. One hundred thousand persons were sent to concentration camps on a record which wouldn't support a conviction for stealing a dog.

The earlier cases not only established the rule that there must be an independent judicial examination of the justification for a military act. They went much further. They declared a simple rule-of-thumb as a guide in handling cases involving military discretion, in which the military undertook to arrest, hold, or try people. So long as the civil courts were open and functioning, the Supreme Court had previously held, there could be no military necessity for allowing generals to hold, try, or punish people. The safety of the country could be thoroughly protected against treason, sabotage, and like crimes by ordinary arrest and trial in the civil courts, unless the courts were shut by riot, invasion, or insurrection.

THAT WAS the moral of the great case of *Ex Parte Milligan*, decided in 1866. *Ex Parte Milligan* is a monument in the democratic tradition, and until now it has been the animating force in this branch of our law. To be sure, there is a tendency nowadays to treat *Ex Parte Milligan* as outmoded, as if new methods of "total" warfare made the case an anachronism; but those who take this view have forgotten the circumstances of the Civil War, when fifth columns, propaganda, sabotage, and espionage were rife.

Ex Parte Milligan illustrates the point. Milligan was convincingly charged with active participation in a fifth column plot worthy of Hitler. A group of armed and determined men planned to seize federal arsenals at Columbus, Indianapolis, and at three points in Illinois, and then to release Confederate prisoners of war held in those states. Thus they would create a Confederate army behind the Union lines in Tennessee. Milligan and his alleged co-conspirators acted in Indiana, Missouri, Illinois, and in other border states. Their strategy had a political arm. The Union was to be split politically, and a Northwest Confederation was to be declared, friendly to the South, and embrac-

ing six states. This was not an idle dream. It was sponsored by a well-financed society, the Sons of Liberty, thought to have 300,000 members, many of them rich and respectable, and the planned uprising would coincide with the Chicago convention of the Democratic Party, which was then sympathetic to abandoning the war and recognizing the Confederacy.

The unanimous court which freed Milligan for civil trial was a court of fire-eating Unionists. Mr. Justice Davis, who wrote for the majority, was one of President Lincoln's closest friends. The Chief Justice, who wrote for the concurring minority, was a valiant supporter of the war, whatever his shortcomings in other respects. Yet the court had no difficulty in freeing Milligan, and facing down the outcry provoked by the decision.

The court held in Milligan's case that it was unconstitutional to try him before a military commission, rather than a court of law. There was little doubt of his guilt. But it was beyond the powers of the military to measure or punish it.

The court's vigorous peroration is worth recalling:

> It is claimed that martial law covers with its broad mantle the proceedings of this military commission. The proposition is this: that in a time of war the commander of the armed force (if in his opinion the exigencies of the country demand it, and of which he is to judge), has the power, within the lines of his military district, to suspend all civil rights and their remedies, and subject citizens as well as soldiers to the rule of *his will;* and in the exercise of his lawful authority cannot be restrained, except by his superior officer or the President of the United States.
>
> If this position is sound to the extent claimed, then when war exists, foreign or domestic, and the country is subdivided into military departments for mere convenience, the commander of one of them can, if he chooses, within his limits, on the plea of necessity, with the approval of the Executive, substitute military force for and to the exclusion of the laws, and punish all persons, as he thinks right and proper, without fixed or certain rules.
>
> The statement of this proposition shows its importance; for, if true, republican government is a failure, and there is an end of liberty regulated by law. Martial law, established on such a basis, destroys every guarantee of the Constitution, and effectually renders the "military independent of and superior to the civil power"—the attempt to do which by the King of Great Britain was deemed by our fathers such an offence, that they assigned it to the world as one of the causes which impelled them to declare their independence. Civil liberty and this kind of martial law cannot endure together; the antagonism is irreconcilable; and, in the conflict, one or the other must perish.

YET IN the cases of the Japanese-Americans the Supreme Court held the precedent of *Ex Parte Milligan* inapplicable. The reasoning is extraordinarily dangerous. The Japanese-Americans, the court said, were detained by a civilian agency, not by the Army. The program was not exclusively a matter for military administration, and it was enforceable under a statute by ordinary criminal remedies. Therefore, it did not present the question of the power of military tribunals to conduct trials under the laws of war.

But the Japanese-Americans were ordered detained by a general, purporting to act on military grounds. The military order was enforceable, on pain of imprisonment. While a United States marshal, rather than a military policeman, assured obedience to the order, the ultimate sanction behind the marshal's writ is the same as that of the military police: the bayonets of United States troops. It is hardly a ground for distinction that the general's command was backed by the penalty of civil imprisonment, or that he obtained civilian aid in running the relocation camps. The starting point for the entire program was a military order, which had to be obeyed.

In *Ex Parte Milligan* the Supreme Court had said that the military could not constitutionally arrest, nor could a military tribunal constitutionally try, civilians charged with treason and conspiracy to destroy the state by force, at a time when the civil courts were open and functioning. Yet under the plan considered in the Japanese-American cases, people not charged with crime are imprisoned without even a military trial, on the ground that they have the taint of Japanese blood. It would seem clear that if it is illegal to arrest and confine people after an unwarranted military trial, it is surely even more illegal to arrest and confine them without any trial at all. But the Supreme Court says that the issues of the *Milligan* case were not involved in this case because the evacuees were committed to camps by military orders, not by military tribunals, and because their jailers did not wear uniforms!

There are, then, two basic constitutional problems concealed in the court's easy dismissal of *Ex Parte Milligan:* the arrest, removal, and confinement of persons without trial, pending examination of their loyalty; and the indefinite confinement of persons found to be disloyal. On both counts, at least as to citizens, the moral of *Ex Parte Milligan* is plain.

AS FOR the Japanese *aliens* involved in the evacuation program, the constitutional problem is different. In time of war, the government possesses great powers over enemy aliens, which are to be exercised, the courts say, for the "single purpose" of preventing enemy aliens from aiding the enemy. They may be interned if dangerous and their property in the United States may be taken into custody. Yet they are entitled to our general constitutional protections of individual liberty —to trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus, and the other basic rights of the person. Is it permissible to intern all the Japanese who live on the West Coast, but to allow German and Italian aliens, and Japanese who live elsewhere, general freedom? Surely the control and custody of enemy aliens in wartime should be reasonably equal and even-handed.

THE JAPANESE exclusion program rests on five propositions of the utmost potential menace:

1. Protective custody, extending over three or four years, is a permitted form of imprisonment in the United States.
2. Political opinions, not criminal acts, may contain enough danger to justify such imprisonment.
3. Men, women, and children of a given racial group, both Americans and resident aliens, can be presumed to possess the kind of dangerous ideas which require their imprisonment.
4. In time of war or emergency the military—perhaps without even the concurrence of the legislature—can decide what political opinions require imprisonment, and which groups are infected with them.
5. The decision of the military can be carried out without indictment, trial, examination, jury, the confrontation of witnesses, counsel for the defense, the privilege against self-incrimination, or any of the other safeguards of the Bill of Rights.

The idea of punishment only for individual criminal behavior is basic to all systems of civilized law. A great principle was never lost so casually. Mr. Justice Black's comment was weak to the point of impotence: "Hardships are a part of war, and war is an aggregation of hardships." It was an answer in the spirit of cliche: "Don't you know there's a war going on?" It ignores the rights of citizenship, and the safeguards of trial practice which have been the historical attributes of liberty.

We believe that the German people bear a common political responsibility for outrages secretly committed by the Gestapo and the SS. What are we to think of our own part in a program which violates every principle of our common life, yet has been approved by the President, Congress, and the Supreme Court?

Three chief forms of reparation are available, and should be pursued. The first is the inescapable obligation of the federal government to protect the civil rights of Japanese-Americans against organized and unorganized hooliganism. If local law enforcement fails, federal prosecutions under the national Civil Rights Act should be undertaken.

Secondly, generous financial indemnity should be sought. Apart from the sufferings of their imprisonment, the Japanese-Americans have sustained heavy property losses from their evacuation.

Finally, the basic issues should be presented to the Supreme Court again, in an effort to obtain a prompt reversal of these wartime cases. The Supreme Court has often corrected its own errors in the past, especially when that error was occasioned by the excitement of a tense moment. After the end of the Civil War, several earlier decisions were reversed by *Ex Parte Milligan.* The famous flag-salute case of 1940 has recently been overruled in the decision of *West Virginia* v. *Barnett.* Similar public expiation in the case of the Japanese-Americans would be good for the court, and for the country.

RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN

February 1944 NEW YORK Vol. II. No. 2.

An Editorial:

"TO THE 96"

The War Department's casualty list of January 20, 1943, with figures of 96 Japanese Americans killed, 221 wounded, and 17 missing in Italy, was an announcement which bore no special meaning to the casual reader. But to those who have watched its performance with breathless anxiety, the 100th Infantry Battalion is the spearhead of fighting loyalty to the land of their birth. We dedicate this editorial to those who gave their lives on that front.

What were your thoughts as you entered the battle which ended your lives? You believed you were doing your job. But when you were not facing fire and steel, you thought of your folks at home, as all soldiers do.

You were the men who made up the National Guard Unit in Hawaii, because you wanted to guard your home-land, Hawaii; and with Hawaii, the mainland of the United States. But because the enemy that attacked you was the country of your ancestors, you and your brothers lost the right to serve your country for a while.

Yet the sense of fairplay and justice did not die completely. Impressed by your determined demonstration of loyalty, the country of your birth accepted your services and the 100th Infantry Battalion was born when thousands of Japanese Americans volunteered for combat training.

When you first signed up for the combat team, you knew how slim were your chances of coming back. But your country was worth your blood.

You were the first to go to an actual battlefield, and you shared in the honor of being the first Americans to land on enemy territory.

Your pride must have been great. They called you "the laughing battalion," because you went into the fighting with a smile. You laughed in the grim business of war. It was natural, because for you the responsibility was also a privilege you had fought for and won. You were happier than others.

But now you will laugh no more. Where you marched but yesterday stand white crosses. Your comrades in the hills beyond guard the soil in which you rest. Rest in peace! No one can give his country more than his life, and you have done that.

Like all other loyal Americans, you wanted to keep your country free. The freedom for which you died fighting will be a lasting reality only as we establish human freedom both within and without the United States. You knew that very well. Since you who died are saying that, we shall not forget it.

We shall here at home live and work for that for which you died - for freedom, the rights of your parents, brothers and sisters, and all others whom you loved - the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Selective Service for Nisei

Once again, Japanese Americans will be called for military service, the same as all other Americans. This announcement was made by the War Department on January 20, 1944. It is widely known that the excellent showing of Japanese American volunteers in combat and training influenced this latest decision of the government.

Induction will apply to males of 18 to 37 years of age who are qualified, regardless of residence.

God's Design for Living, or Americanism and Christianity Begin at Home

by Dr. Albert Edward Day, First Methodist Church, Pasadena, California.

The following are excerpts from a sermon given by Doctor Day on November 7, 1943. Permission has been obtained from him to reproduce them in this issue. - Editor.

God commandeth men everywhere to repent of their sins against brotherhood; the Army and Navy to repent of their Jim Crow regulations; the Red Cross to repent of its surrender to superstition by its segregation of Negro blood in its blood banks; industry and labor unions to repent of their racial discrimination on the assembly lines in American factories; the Methodist Church to repent of its isolation in a separate jurisdiction of Negro Methodist churches and their pastors; Southern states to repent of the absurd lengths to which their orthodoxy of white supremacy has led them, by enacting statutes which require for Negroes separate busses and bus drivers, separate teachers and schools, separate hospitals and prisons, even separate boxes on which passengers step on entering trains and separate Bibles in the court whereon they must swear to tell the truth the whole truth and nothing but the truth!

But we, Californians, should not waste any time repenting of the sins of the Army or Navy or the Red Cross or of industry or of the deep South. This is not repentance; that is accusation. It is accusation of the most unjustifiable kind, the kind in which, in the language of the proverb, the pot says to the kettle, "You are black;" or, in the idiom of the New Testament, it is the folly of the man with the huge plank in his own eye who is greatly agitated over the little splinter in some one else's eye. Repentance means turning from the ungodly, un-God-like way in which we ourselves have been walking. It is folly to evangelize others until our own hearts are right.

One of California's sins against brotherhood is in her treatment of and her attitude toward the Orientals. After Pearl Harbor, under the plea of military necessity and national safety, one hundred thousand Japanese were uprooted from their homes, were exiled from their business and, without a single crime being proved against them, were deprived of their liberties and incarcerated behind barbed wire fences.

The deed is done. Much as I think we shall in the days to come regret it, I am not here to condemn those who instigated and executed it. It is one of those things which can happen in a time of peril. America was frightened after Pearl Harbor. Our navy was crippled; how badly we did not know. Treachery had destroyed our faith in anything Japanese. We were apprehensive whenever we saw a yellow face or a flat nose. We knew some Japanese were still Japanese in their sympathies. Action seemed imperative. Time was of the essence. We believed we could not afford the risk involved in attempting to sort out the disloyal from the loyal. Mass removal for a certainty would eliminate danger. We could not toy with uncertainty. There was excuse for what happened.

But there is no excuse for what is happening now. There are not only a few fanatics at work here and there. There are well organized efforts to exclude all Japanese from California forever and to deport them from America, amending the Constitution if necessary to make legal so great a sin against brotherhood.

The reasons offered for such action are not such as will stand scientific investigation nor can they commend themselves to the conscience of any man who wants to walk God's way.

The whole business of race is badly overdone.

The real differences which separate men are differences in culture and training. Japanese culture and training have been wrong in many respects -- wrong politically, wrong morally. They have had some wrong national and international ideals. So have we. So have our Allies. The way to change the situation is not by exterminating the Japanese, any more than it is by exterminating Americans or British or Russians, but by changing ideals through culture -- through education, art, religion.

American culture and Christianity have already wrought effectively among the second generation of Japanese who are American citizens. By ancestry Japanese, they are American in spirit and often Christian in their outlook. That is a matter of record. They have been a credit to our country. There has never been a crime problem among them. They have been conspicuously honest in business. They were never dependent upon the WPA or the PWA, or any other alphabetical means of redemption from poverty. Their cleanliness is proverbial. No group has made more far-going concessions to overcome prejudice. They are industrious. They have made many a wilderness blossom as a rose.

It has been charged that they are unassimilable. We are largely to blame for that. We have refused them services in barber shops, hotels, restaurants. By an Alien Land Act we made it difficult for them to root in rural communities. By social pressure and restrictive legislation we compelled them to live in Little Tokyos.

The record of these citizens of Japanese ancestry since the outbreak of the war, in spite of the denial of their rights as citizens, their loss of home and business, their incarceration behind barbed wire, their many temptations to lose faith in American justice and democracy, has nevertheless been exemplary. From these Japanese, born in America, growing up under American culture, touched by the influence of Christianity, we have every reason to expect in the future what we have had in the past -- a worthy citizenship, law-abiding, courteous, loyal, energetic, faithful.

The real question before us is not of their loyalty to America, but of our loyalty. Do we believe in the Constitution, with its clearly defined conceptions of justice and freedom? Do we believe in the Bill of Rights? Do we believe in Democracy? Do we believe that every individual has a right to be judged by his own performance? Do we believe in equality before the law regardless of race? Governor Carr, of Colorado, said, with devastating truthfulness: "If we do not extend humanity's kindness and understanding to these people, if we deny them the protection of the Bill of Rights; if we say they may be denied the privilege of living in any of these forty-eight states, without hearing or charge of misconduct, then we are tearing down the whole American system."

It is not a question of their capacity for Christianity. Nearly half of the evacuees are Christians. It is a matter of our denial of Christianity. Bishop Kern, of the Methodist Church, himself a southerner, has said something which every one of us ought to take to heart: "You may have race prejudice if you want it; you may have Jesus Christ if you want Him. You can't have both."

Rochester, New York

by Mrs. R. M. Corbin,
Chairman, Rochester Committee.

The War Relocation Authority, having heard of the work of the Rochester Committee for the Resettlement of Japanese Americans, has recently investigated this section and has found jobs available, and the community as a whole, friendly and anxious to have evacuees come.

There are, within the city, a wide variety of industries requiring both skilled and unskilled laborers; draftsmen, engineers, and other skills. Also in the city, there are the University, with its Arts courses, the Eastman School of Music, and technical schools.

The surrounding territory is of soil of various types; to the east there are muck lands, to the north along the lake there is a wide belt of finest fruit lands; to the south the hills and grapes. Diversified farming and dairying come into their own. Through this section there are several large nursery and seed companies from which specific offers of jobs may come later.

We, as a Committee, agree that housing is a very difficult problem, yet we feel confident, on the basis of offers of homes for students, temporary housing for families, and the limited experience with finding apartments and houses, that the problem is not insoluble if evacuees come in small numbers. We feel, too, that for many, freedom may be worth inconvenience of a temporary nature, and hope that some evacuees will feel that Rochester has enough to offer to make it worthwhile to come to us and make their home among us.

Christmas Parties at Relocation Centers

GIFTS FROM UNKNOWN FRIENDS

Of all the gifts we've ever received
And of all we'll ever get
We will treasure most the ones from you
You, whom we've never met!

Our eyes will fill with tears of thanks
For the kindly thoughts behind
For we know in you we've found a friend
You're a friend to all mankind.
- Lily Matsuura

MANZANAR, California.

CHRISTIAN GIFT COMMITTEE. - The sending of Christmas gifts by the Protestant Churches to the various relocation centers last year, and again this year, is one of the most realistic showings of the Christmas spirit ever given. Last year the gifts arrived and were distributed soon after a very ominous incident which disrupted the life in the Center very much. It is generally acknowledged that the advent of the Christmas season, and the disposition of the gifts, were the biggest factors in causing the return of normal life at Manzanar. A study of the groups who donated the gifts indicates that the following were most largely represented, in the order given - Methodist, Congregational-Christian, Brethren, Protestant Episcopal and the Young Women's Christian Associations.

TOPAZ, Utah.

CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT. - I have the honor in behalf of the residents of Topaz in thanking your organization for the many gifts sent us. We feel most kindly to you for making our Christmas Season a joyous one, and for your constructive contribution in uplifting the morale of our people in these troubled times.

TOPAZ PROTESTANT CHURCH. - Enough Christmas gifts were received to make up packages for 2,000 children in the Center, up to 16 years of age. About 350 societies and individuals sent us gifts, in the form of presents and money. The main organizations sending gifts were the Methodist and United Brethren Churches.

JEROME, Arkansas.

COMMUNITY CHRISTIAN CHURCH. - Approximately 250 packages have come in privately and about 140 through various church organizations, namely Methodist, Church of the Brethren, Evangelical, Presbyterian, etc. We have written a letter of thanks to all these people, but some of the senders have written insufficient addresses and a few letters have come back. We do not know what to do about it.

AMACHE, Colorado.

GRANADA CHRISTIAN CHURCH. - The people all expressed their appreciation for the gifts sent them by their Christian friends, and the children were overjoyed. Our Sunday School children brought white gifts of money to the Christmas night program, which totaled $68.00. This money was sent to an orphanage in India. They also sent gifts to a crippled children's hospital in Denver. In this way, we felt that we would be fostering the spirit of giving in a missionary program among the children instead of their being just recipients.

TULELAKE, California.

CAMP TULELAKE. - Gifts are still coming in from all parts of the United States; 4,125 young Japanese Americans, 15 and under, received gifts.

POSTON, Arizona.

THIRD CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF POSTON.- We are happy to report that there were ample gifts for all the children, from babies to High School age, approximately 1,000 in the entire center. It truly has been a wonderful Christmas for the youngsters this year.

Thank You Letters to Home Missions Council of N.A.

FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF POSTON. - The gifts, as you may know by this time, were distributed among the children of the community irrespective of their religious affiliation. In each block party it was made clear that the gifts were from the Christian people on the outside. The fact was also made known through the newspaper articles published here. The residents, regardless of their religious faiths, immensely appreciated the thoughtfulness of the American Christians. The good it did cannot be shown by figures by nature of the thing, but I am confident that it greatly heightened the morale of the residents and showed clearly the goodness of the Christian people who truly believe in the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man.

McGEHEE, Arkansas.

ROHWER FEDERATED CHRISTIAN CHURCH. - Gifts were sent in from outside friends. The Home Missions Council assigned to the various denominations the responsibility of providing gifts for different centers. Our center received the bulk of gifts from the American Friends Service Committee and the Reformed Churches of New York State. Other gifts arrived in care of the Community Activities.... We encouraged all recipients to begin friendship correspondence through this contact wherever possible.

RIVERS, Arizona.

CANAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH. - We held a special Christmas program at the outdoor stage on Christmas eve. Dickens' "Christmas Carol" was dramatized. The Nurses' Aides sang Christmas carols. At the conclusion of the program Santa Claus appeared and handed the gifts from Christian friends on the outside to the block managers. The community council chairman explained how these gifts came and from whom they came. Then the Block Managers took the gifts to their respective mess halls where they held their own Christmas parties. Some parents shed tears of gratitude as their children went forward to receive their gifts from Christian friends on the outside. These gifts were mute testimony that there were many friends -- thousands and thousands -- on the outside who are in sympathy with us, and that the outside world is not as hostile to us as some papers and propagandists seem to make it appear. Our hearts were really warmed and took on new courage.

RIVERS CHRISTIAN CHURCH. - The Christmas Present Committee in behalf of the Gila River Relocation Center wishes to thank you for extending to us your warm Christian friendship with gifts and by your prayers. The thousands of gifts sent to us were distributed in the thirty-three blocks of our camp. My, how the children rejoiced when Santa Claus made his appearance! Not only children were made happy, but parents, lonely widows, bachelors, young men and women, also experienced the spirit of Christmas joy. One bachelor said, "I have been in America thirty years but this is the first time I have received a gift from a Christian."

~

The Y.W.C.A. and the Girl Reserve Clubs of the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California (a government Indian School) sent gifts at Christmas time to the Girl Reserve Clubs in the relocation centers.

~

"I got a package with magic black-board for Christmas. I like it very much cuz it spells the animal name. Thank you." (Don, age eight).

Personalities in Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Helen Seo is one of the few Issei thus far relocated in the Washington, D.C. area, but she thinks there is room for many more and that they would have no trouble in finding jobs. She and her son Henry came to Washington in June from the Minidoka center and both are employed by one of the nation's most famous news columnists, Mrs. Seo as cook and housemaid, Henry on the farm a short distance from the city. She was similarly employed prior to evacuation, working at Beverly Hills, California, and Seattle.

Mrs. Seo will never forget her first day in Washington. It was hot and humid and she was tired after the long trip East. It was a pleasant surprise, therefore, when her employer took her to the farm where she spent the entire summer. Thus she avoided most of the Washington heat, and came back to the city in September, in time to enjoy beautiful fall weather. Henry remained on the farm.

Mrs. Seo is happy in her new surroundings and said that for the first time since evacuation, she feels like a normal person. She appreciates the kindness of her employers, and has found folks in Washington helpful and considerate. If her son decides to settle here after the war, Mrs. Seo will be perfectly content to remain in Washington permanently.

~

With six members of the family successfully relocated, the Kobayashis of Poston have proved to their own satisfaction that life "on the outside" is not as difficult as they were led to believe. Five sons and a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Sahichiro Kobayashi have left the center during the past year and the parents expect to follow their example as soon as a suitable opportunity presents itself. They operated a poultry farm at Santa Ana, California, prior to evacuation.

The boys went out first, and in August their sister Mary also said goodbye to Poston to take a job as housekeeper in one of the fine homes in Washington, D.C. Three of the Kobayashi boys also make their homes in the Washington area. Fred is teaching judo at the University of Maryland, located a few miles from the city. Joe is also working temporarily at the University as an assistant on the Agricultural Experimental Farm. Bill works on the poultry farm of Sam Rice, former big league baseball player. Roy has a job at a Toledo, Ohio, defense plant, while James, the youngest boy, is in Salt Lake City awaiting acceptance into the Army Air Corps. He has completed the Civil Aeronautics Authority primary flight training course and looks forward to further Army training.

Mary, youngest of the family, and last to relocate, is working to accumulate funds with which to complete her college course in interior decorating and home economics which she started at Santa Ana Junior College. She likes Washington and has had no difficulty in adjusting herself to her new surroundings. She usually spends her days off with friends or rides out to the University to visit her brother Fred.

"At first I was a little homesick for California and particularly missed the sunshine. However, people are very friendly here and I have made many new friends. It certainly is a lot better than life at a relocation center."

~

Kay Onomiya has been so busy since coming to Washington two months ago, that she hasn't even had time to visit the famous sights of the Nation's capital. Now that she has become more settled in her new job and made new friends, she hopes to visit the Capitol Building, Washington Monument, Mount Vernon, and many other historic places.

Kay arrived in Washington on August 22 from Granada center. Before evacuation, she lived in Ukiah, California, and later in Oakland, California, where she worked as a beauty operator. She might never have come to Washington had it not been for the urging of her sister Suzy who came first and then wrote back to tell of the many opportunities here and the excitement of Washington in wartime.

Kay thoroughly enjoys her work as a beauty operator in a fine Washington shop. "I've never been more satisfied in my life," she said. "The Caucasian girls at the shop have been swell to me. We've had dinner parties, gone to the movies, taken walks, and spent a lot of time together."

National Japanese American Student Relocation Council

by Dr. C. V. Hibbard, Director.

Up to December 31, 1943, this Council had relocated 2099 students and assisted 700 others to enter college. These students are in 43 states, about 400 colleges and, with astonishing uniformity, they have made good scholastic records and been well received.

While a considerable number of colleges throughout the country have been closed to students on the basis of their own policy, a more significant group have been closed by government mandate, because of classified activities which in the opinion of the authorities concerned made it inexpedient for Japanese American students to attend. The government has now modified its policy in this regard, and, save on the Pacific Coast, there is no college or university hermetically closed to Japanese American students by a government order. A special procedure similar to that involved in clearance to work in war industries is required in certain cases, but at this time the only colleges which decline to receive all Japanese American students do so entirely on the basis of their own judgment.

By request, this Council has undertaken to give all necessary assistance to students whose choice of a college or university makes it necessary to secure the special clearance above mentioned. The number of universities requiring special clearance is not very large, but it does include colleges where courses are offered which it would be difficult or impossible to duplicate elsewhere.

It has now been determined to continue the work of this Council, with reductions where practicable, through 1944. Should Selective Service again be applied* to the young men of Japanese race, the number of students who need the help of this Council will be greatly diminished. The number of students already placed and those being placed from day to day constantly diminish the number of those to be placed. Over against those is the fact that each year there graduate from the Project High Schools students in such numbers that there are likely to be 400 to 500 new candidates each year. There remain older students who for various reasons have not yet been placed in college, or who have deferred college in order to seek employment to accumulate money for college expenses. There is the need to give continued guidance and help to students already in college who may find it necessary to change colleges as they get into their professional stage or take up graduate work. These latter considerations indicate that the work of the Council should be continued. In the last analysis, the policy of the Council will be determined in large part by the money available (a) to meet the operating expenses of the Council itself, and (b) to assist students with cash grants whose own resources and earnings are insufficient to enable them to remain in college.

*(It is now applied. - Editor)

Detroit, Michigan

by Dr. T. T. Brumbaugh
Detroit Council of Churches.

Here in Detroit and vicinity Japanese Americans are helping to meet the manpower shortage. There are about seven hundred of them in Greater Detroit and four hundred in Ann Arbor. Employers find them good and willing workers and often ask for more from wherever they came from: Poston, Arizona; Manzanar, Californis; Topaz, Utah, or any other of the dozen such camps in the West. The only trouble we have heard about is over the fact that some of the boys, after getting out of camp and feeling again the glad freedom of American democracy, have left their jobs to join the U. S. Army. I guess no one would call that disloyalty.

But new ones are coming every day to Detroit and the local War Relocation Authority in the Penobscot Building with other government offices, has been finding it difficult to locate them temporarily until they secure regular lodging. Therefore the Detroit Council of Churches decided to do something about it. Rev. Shigeo Tanabe has been with the Council as Chaplain of our so-called United Ministry to Resettlers since last September. He and his wife, who were seeking a home for themselves and their small son, agreed to superintend a hostel if a suitable size and location could be found. Some communities in Detroit objected to neighbors of a different race but finally a large, old residence was secured on East Grand Boulevard. At first the heavy

monthly rental fee seemed prohibitive, but the Friends Service Committee and the Congregational Home Missions board, along with a host of Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and other church groups throughout Detroit, rallied to support the project, and it became a reality.

"Fellowship House - Auspices: The Detroit Council of Churches" is the way the sign reads over the door. There are about twenty Nisei living there now and others coming and going all the time. There's a Service flag in the window, modestly showing a single star, though almost every one there has a brother or sister in the service. The house was opened on December first, and soon room-rent at $6.00 per week gave evidence of early self-support. However, before it could be occupied, it had to be furnished. And furnishing a fifteen room house for lodgers is no small task these days. Nevertheless local committees of Detroit's church women have done wonders with the old structure, and now it presents a cheery appearance both externally and internally to all comers.

And what a beehive of activity Fellowship House has become! Young people are busy at all hours these days, and therefore a regular schedule had soon to be adopted - yes, and even with a curfew - for this is a Christian institution, to say nothing of the need for sleep. What they need in Detroit is a Christian environment and devoted leadership. Rev. Mr. Tanabe's approach to them is genuinely Christian, though non-denominational. Since so many of them are Christians and all are aware of what the Church stands for, it is felt that every congregation in the city should be willing to accept these most recent of Detroit in-migrants into fellowship and into whatever features of the church's life they may find attractive. Already a number of Nisei have brought their "letters" to Detroit churches; some have been recently baptized; some are singing in choirs, and others have identified themselves with Christian Endeavor, Methodist Youth Fellowship, B.Y.P.U., and other Youth groups. The purpose of our United Ministry is of course to integrate them as quickly and as normally as possible into the regular church and social life of the community; and for this we need the full cooperation of Christians and churches in every district where the Nisei are finding homes.

They ask me to assure their friends in the churches of Detroit that "The latch string is out" at 130 E. Grand Boulevard. They want and they need the fellowship of all American Christians, for they too are Americans and most of them Christians too.

In Reply.....

Thirty-five Japanese Americans, native Coloradoans and evacuees from the West Coast, registered at the American Red Cross blood donor center, Friday and volunteered to give their blood as an expression of what a spokesman termed "our intense indignation at the reported atrocities committed on Americans in the Philippines," according to the Colorado Times. (Granada PIONEER 2/2/44)

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RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN, published monthly, George E. Rundquist, Editor.

by the

COMMITTEE ON RESETTLEMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

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RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN

March 1945 NEW YORK Vol. III, No. 2.

ANNOUNCEMENT

With this issue the RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN appears under altered auspices and a new editor. This is due to the fact that by mutual agreement between the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans and the Administrative Committee for Japanese Work of the Home Missions Council of North America, the latter body on March 1st undertook the task of administering the work of the Committee. This is with a view of coordinating and unifying the administration of all organized work done by church bodies acting together in relation to people of Japanese ancestry in America. Included in such work are the activities of the Protestant Church Commission for Japanese Service, whose headquarters are in San Francisco.

The tasks hitherto undertaken by the Committee on Resettlement will continue through 1945 substantially as before, under the supervision of Dr. Mark A. Dawber, an Executive Secretary of the Home Missions Council of North America.

Mr. George E. Rundquist, whose much appreciated services led the way to active cooperation by churches and Church Councils in various localities, is retiring from his position as Executive Secretary, also on March 1st.

George Q. Morland
Chairman of Committee on
Administration of Japanese Work.

Just as we were going to press the news reached us that the American Legion Post at Hood River, Oregon, had restored the names of the fifteen American soldiers of Japanese ancestry on its honor roll. We take this occasion to express that must be in the minds of the readers of the Bulletin, namely, a sincere commendation for this action. As the New York Times commented editorially on March 7, 1945, the Post acted in the American tradition in the restoration of the names.

The outlook on resettlement for the rest of the Pacific Coast does not as yet permit complete optimism. Though public sentiment has been found to be more favorable than anticipated, with the exception of a few isolated cases, there are other factors which discourage the evacuees, all of which are not necessarily those found on the outside.

Not all the evacuees could or would return to their former homes. The tremendous task of assisting seventy thousand individuals remains to be carried out by all the people in all the United States. The Home Missions Council makes a special appeal to the Christians of the land.

Southern California Council of Protestant Churches and Church Federation of Los Angeles

The following is from the statement which was authorized by the Southern California Council of Protestant Churches and the Church Federation of Los Angeles, of which Rev. E.C.Farnham is Executive Secretary. - Editor.

We are convinced that the rescinding of the evacuation order will strengthen American prestige and leadership in other lands. In keeping with Christian teachings, and with our experience as church workers, we have held that these people are children of God, personalities having capacity and worth, comparable to all mankind, many of whom have distinguished themselves in scholarship, industry, science, religion, the arts and humanities, and as members of our military forces. Although of Japanese background, they are of America, the great democratic melting pot, and are therefore to be differentiated from natives and citizens of Japan who are now at war with us because they hold to a different ideology. We have held that the agencies of our government were capable of discovering those with disloyal attitudes, that the disloyal should be kept in custody, and that those who are permitted to return after this investigation process of two years' duration should be received generously. We hold that as Americans they are entitled to a place of dignity and opportunity, and that it is possible to give them such a place in the life of our commonwealth just as much as to any other people.

Now that the evacuation order has been discontinued and these people will soon be free to seek a place of normal abode and activity, we urge that all civic and community leaders, the press, and all citizens and particularly those of Christian confession take a positive stand for a true demonstration of Christian and democratic principles. We should not countenance the thought of disorder or violence, nor give encouragement to it by suggesting its inevitability, but we should, rather, encourage order and goodwill by making clear the principles and duties of American citizens. We should give ourselves resolutely likewise to the solution of problems of housing, employment and social adjustment.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT RETURNING AMERICANS OF JAPANESE DESCENT

The Church Federation Race Relations Commission recommends:

That every church undertake to become a SPONSOR of at least one returning Japanese American family, to include provision of FELLOWSHIP, of temporary HOUSING, of temporary EMPLOYMENT, until they establish themselves. That every church so willing, place itself on record for that purpose with one or more of the following organizations:

FRIENDS OF THE AMERICAN WAY,
Mr. William C. Carr, (SYC.2-4387)
1360 W. Colorado St.,
Pasadena 2, Calif.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
Miss Esther Rhoades (SYC.6-8159)
544 E. Orange Grove Ave.,
Pasadena, Calif.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY (PR. 4711, Ext. 110)
Mr. G. Raymond Booth, Relocation Officer,
1031 S. Broadway,
Los Angeles 15, Calif.

From:
Pastor's Bulletin on Race Relations
Issued by
The Church Federation of Los Angeles

Sacramento Council of Churches

The Council pledges itself to full cooperation in helping to integrate the returning individuals into our community life, and calls upon the churches and church people of this area to recognize their Christian responsibility and to help in welcoming the returning evacuees into our community and Christian fellowship.

Finally, the Council hereby registers its conviction that the revocation of the evacuation order will serve to strengthen the moral position of our country in the eyes of the world, both of friendly and enemy peoples, and will give to the United States of America a clearer title to leadership in the family of nations.

Stockton, California

A statement by eighteen West Coast Unitarian and Universalist ministers:

"We believe that this Order will help to win the peace, by renewing the confidence of people, here and abroad, white and colored, in American democracy and fair play. The loyalty of the vast majority of Japanese Americans to this country is no longer questioned by informed and fair-minded persons... We believe that a grave and largely irredeemable injustice has been done to these loyal American citizens, and that America owes it to herself, as well as to them, to make such reparations as are possible. The removal of the Exclusion Order is the first big step in that direction."

Hood River, Oregon

"We are agreed that if any serviceman is willing to suffer and die for the principles of the United States, he is worthy of having his name on any service honor roll and to have unhindered freedom to live among us.

"We consider it unjust, un-American and un-Christian to deprive them of their privileges and rights. It can only make more difficult the solution of racial problems and bring trouble and shame upon Hood River valley."

- Statement by the Hood River County Ministerial Association.

California Women Voters

Statement by the Executive Board of the California League of Women Voters:

"The California League of Women Voters urge that these Japanese Americans receive impartial treatment by all local authorities and that they have unimpeded opportunities for re-employment, housing, education and a reintegration into the community to which they return. Those of the group who are citizens should enjoy their full rights of citizenship as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment of the Constitution."

Seattle, Washington

It was moved and seconded that the Seattle Council of Churches go on record as definitely favoring the integration of the Japanese people into our regular, established denominational churches with a ministry to meet special needs as they may arise, such as, holding special services for those who cannot speak the English language, rather than reverting to the re-establishment of denominational racial churches; that where needed the Japanese ministers be added to the present staff of the existing churches; that in exceptional cases where the need cannot be met in any other way, an interdenominational racial church be set up rather than a denominational racial church; and that we most earnestly request our national denominational leaders to give careful consideration to this matter immediately, and in the interest of the total Christian program, to do everything within their power to develop the kind of program suggested above and to formulate a policy which will make this possible as the Japanese return to the West Coast. Unanimously passed.

From the churches, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and many other organizations on the West Coast have come numerous statements on the return of the evacuees. We have selected here only a few of them, as there is not enough space for all. - Editor.

Denominational Report No. 3.

American Friends Service Committee

by
Robertson M. Fort
Secretary, Japanese American Relocation

The American Friends Service Committee represents the Society of Friends in fields of social action. As the expression of a small religious group, its undertakings normally would be small but for the fact that they enlist the support of many other like-minded people. Today, the work of the Committee, made possible by the spiritual and material assistance of these "friends of the Friends", encompasses a wide range of projects both at home and abroad. It is for those who share in the work, and for those who would know more about it, that this brief account is prepared, of the history, policies, and methods of the service carried on under the Red and Black Star, the emblem of the Service Committee.

Whatever concerns human beings in distress, whatever may help free individuals, groups and nations from fear, hate or narrowness--these are subjects for the Committee's consideration.

The Committee was started in 1917 by Friends who were deeply concerned for the spiritual values endangered by the World War. It enrolled the youth of the Society of Friends and others anxious to make a constructive and non-military contribution to the world, through relief and reconstruction activities in the devastated regions of France.

The American Friends Service Committee was engaged in the following activities during 1944: relief in France, China, and India; working with displaced persons in Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, North Africa, and the Middle East. Ten thousand individuals throughout the United States and Hawaii, many of whom represented groups, are sewing and collecting garments for our Clothing Committee. Clothing valued at more than $200,000 was shipped abroad, and to the Japanese Americans in relocation centers during the year. The Service Committee has worked in many ways to promote racial understanding and fellowship. Some of the projects include interracial work camps and work among the Japanese Americans and Negroes and other minorities. Civilian Public Service is one of the major problems in which the Committee has been engaged. At the close of the year 1,733 men were enrolled in Friends Civilian Public Service carrying on a wide variety of projects. Peace education is also a prominent part of the Service Committee's activities. The Committee sponsored 300 conferences on international problems, which attracted over 50,000 people, and 13 institutes, which attracted over 100,000 persons. Many other peace activities were carried on also.

One of the casualties of the war in this country is the group of Japanese Americans who lived on the West Coast, 70% of whom are American citizens.

The Committee felt that something needed to be done to help these people keep their faith in America and in other Americans. It wanted to do something for those of the evacuees who felt that the country in which they trusted had turned against them and who felt that they had no friends. Although the Committee knew that in time the Japanese Americans would realize this was not so, yet this organization knew also that the friendliness and trust of other Americans must be proven by acts of friendship.

After the outbreak of the war the Service Committee was very active in working to prevent the evacuation until the government ordered the removal of all persons of Japanese ancestry. The Committee then turned its activities toward helping the evacuees solve their personal problems of disposing their property, settling their affairs, and helping them in their legal difficulties as well as aiding them in trying to alleviate the suffering caused by the evacuation.

Early in 1943 the first hostel to open its doors to the Japanese American resettlers was sponsored by the Service Committee in Chicago. During the same time the office staff of the Committee in Chicago was augmented by additional workers provided by both the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the American Friends Service Committee to aid the incoming evacuees with their problems. Shortly thereafter another hostel was opened in Chicago by the Brethren Service Committee.

During the time of the operation of both hostels in that area (a ten months' period) the combined total of evacuees to be housed by the hostels was approximately 1,000 resettlers or a third of the total population of the new Chicagoans. On December 1, 1943, the Friends' Hostel consolidated its facilities with the larger Brethren Hostel. Our office in Chicago continued its work in assisting the relocatees. Over one-half of the evacuees in that area have contacted the office for aid since early 1943. The work with Japanese Americans is headed up by William McKee of the Committee, and Togo Tanaka of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

In May and September 1943 additional hostels were opened in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Des Moines, Iowa. Ann Schneider is the Director of the Cincinnati Hostel; Ross and Elizabeth Wilbur are co-Directors of the Des Moines Hostel. The combined total number of evacuees to use all three Friends Hostels as of January 1, 1945, is 1,452.

During the time that this work was being done in the Mid-West, the other offices of the Service Committee also continued to be busily engaged in work to assist the Japanese Americans. The Southern California Branch of the Service Committee, located in Pasadena, has been very active in the Japanese American work which is directed by Esther Rhoads. Some of the many activities carried on by that office include visiting families in the centers, counseling the evacuees in order to help them work out their own problems of relocation, visiting patients in California sanitariums; sending gifts to the centers; counseling returning evacuees in an attempt to help solve the difficulties facing those who desire to resettle in Southern California; helping to locate housing and working on the problem of integration for the evacuees.

Recently, a hostel has been opened in Pasadena by the Southern California Branch, in cooperation with the Federated Missions and the many friends of the evacuees in Pasadena. The hostel will accommodate 10 to 12 persons. It is hoped later that the Union Church will take over the management. The Southern California Branch is contemplating opening a hostel in Los Angeles to provide temporary housing for the returning evacuees as well as providing a home for the aged and infirm.

The Northern California Branch of the Service Committee, located in San Francisco, has also been active, under the leadership of Josephine Duveneck. Some of the activities include visiting the centers and helping the evacuees work out their personal problems in regard to relocation; paving the way for returning evacuees in attempting to find housing; sending gifts to the centers; counseling; job placement; and other activities. Josephine Duveneck acts as coordinator between other groups in San Francisco working towards the return of the Japanese Americans.

The Seattle office of the Service Committee, whose Japanese American work is directed by Floyd Schmoe, has also been active in work with the returning evacuees, counseling, locating jobs and housing, helping the evacuees in their readjustment, collecting information, answering many inquiries, working on public relations, sending gifts to the centers, and visiting sanitariums and families in the centers and aiding them with their problems.

A great deal of the work of all the West Coast branches has been in trying to interpret the Japanese Americans to the West Coast communities and preparing the way for those evacuees who wish to return.

In Honolulu, Hawaii, the American Friends Service Committee work on Japanese Americans, headed by William M. Maier, has been busily engaged in counseling, personal visitation in homes or in the office, readjustment for returning Japanese Americans, both soldiers and civilians alike, working on the racial problems, stimulating increased social intercourse, advising on student relocation possibilities on the mainland, and teaching an English class for aliens.

The Service Committee in May, 1944, put a full-time secretary, Robertson M. Fort, on its Philadelphia staff to handle the many problems involved in relocation in the Philadelphia area, the hostels, the other phases of the work locally and nationally; coordination of the Service Committee on Japanese American work with all other agencies, both government and private church groups on the national scale; coordination of the work of all the hostels in the country and their relationship with the camps. The Service Committee and its Branches sent approximately 14,000 gifts and layettes to the camps.

The American Friends Service Committee will continue its efforts to aid and assist the evacuees in their relocation problems.

Memorable Reading

PRIVATE HACHIYA, AMERICAN

The members of the Hood River, Ore., Legion post who removed from their county war memorial the names of sixteen Americans of Japanese ancestry would do well to heed the case of Frank T. Hachiya, whose name was one of the sixteen.

Japanese treachery at Pearl Harbor reacted upon Hachiya as upon other patriotic Americans. To be sure, his eyes slanted, his skin was yellow, his name different. But Hachiya was an American. He enlisted at once, and it must have been a dramatic moment when he told his Japanese father of his plan. The son went to the front; the father was removed to a War Relocation Authority camp.

As a soldier, Private Hachiya saw action at Kwajalein, at Eniwetok, at Leyte. There he lay in a little valley under withering Japanese fire. Bullets cut up the ground. Men were killed and wounded beside him. The attack was stopped. Information on the enemy's strength was essential. The commanding officer asked for a volunteer to reconnoiter the position. Private Hachiya volunteered. He crept forward through the grass, now crawling, now running quickly through the open from cover to cover. The men behind watched him descend the slope and work into the valley. Then they saw him drop. A Japanese sniper had got him.

But Private Hachiya, mortally wounded though he was, could not lie there. The battalion wanted the information he had gathered. He must get back. So he crawled bleeding and in agony, out of the valley and up the hill, through the grass and scrub and around the merciful protection of little hillocks. He was dying when he reached his lines. He made his report while they bound his wound. Then about a month after his name had been removed from the Hood River war memorial, Private Hachiya died.

Perhaps Private Hachiya never knew that the Legion post had dishonored him back home. Perhaps some day what is left of him may be brought back to this country for reburial among the honored dead.

- The above article appeared as an editorial in the NEW YORK TIMES, February 17, 1945, and has been reprinted here with the said paper's permission.

IT HAPPENED IN CHICAGO

A war worker wanted to quit when his plant employed Japanese Americans. A friend took him to the First Baptist Church to hear the Rev. Jitsuo Morikawa. Recently, the Nisei minister baptized the "Jap hater."

Sunday the church, at 935 E. 50th St., will celebrate the first anniversary of Japanese Americans as an integral part of its congregation. Also this is the first anniversary of the Rev. Jitsuo Morikawa as minister there.

You hear about it when Californians ambush a Nisei farmer. The Chicago Baptists believe they have an answer to racial prejudice.

* * *

The Rev. Dr. Eric L. Titus, then pastor, urged church members to invite the Rev. Mr. Morikawa, relocated from the West Coast, to minister to them and to welcome relocated Nisei into the congregation.

Members hesitated. **There was fear the Nisei would split the church, that membership would drop off. Instead Caucasian membership has increased considerably.**

"We gave the step a great deal of consideration," said Francis W. Gallant, chairman of the board of deacons. "We took a vote one Sunday morning. No one dissented to accepting them."

* * *

In October Dr. Titus was called to the University of Southern California as professor of the New Testament. The Rev. F. Robert Steiger will arrive as pastor in February. Meanwhile the Rev. Mr. Morikawa, assistant minister, is carrying on all the functions of the church.

Although born and educated a California Baptist, the Rev. Mr. Morikawa knows the meaning of prejudice. And he is very proud of the fact that a South Pacific veteran picked him to perform his marriage.

Most of the 150 Nisei members joined the young people's group. Few children or older Nisei were sent here from relocation centers. More than half of them are college students or graduates.

- Chicago Daily News
January 27,1945.
Reprinted by permission

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE of Boston, Inc.

by { Marion Blackwell, Executive Secretary
Mary Saito, Member of Board of Directors
Nisei Hospitality Committee of Boston.

* * *

In the summer of 1943 the Boston Nisei Hospitality Committee was organized for the purpose of giving the Nisei who had resettled in Boston and its suburbs an opportunity to meet each other and to greet newcomers to this area. The International Institute took a great interest in this group and offered its very capable counselling service in problems of housing, employment, etc., as well as the facilities and the use of the House. The Hospitality Committee holds its meetings on the last Saturday of each month, and is now a member of the Inter-Club Council of the Institute, which includes groups of many nationality backgrounds.

Considering the fact that the Nisei have been here in Boston for only a year and a half, they seem to have become assimilated very well, taking part in various activities here at the Institute and elsewhere, mostly in church groups. A large number of the Nisei here are students, most of them enrolled at Boston University and Harvard. The Nisei who come to this area are cordially invited to become members of the Hospitality Committee and attend as they desire. There are about 125 people on the mailing list, and the average attendance at the meetings is from 60 to 100. It is interesting to note that at each meeting there is a large number of new faces. We presume that the Nisei who have been here longer have found their places in the communities in which they live and in the various activities at school, which is the thing we are encouraging.

Programs planned by the Nisei have included the Issei, because of the small number of the latter in Boston and their difficulty in getting together. Mr. and Mrs. Junzo Hibino, an Issei couple employed by the Institute, have acted as hosts to the Issei upon occasion. Once the Institute sponsored a Tea for the Issei, so that they might meet one another, as well as people of other nationality backgrounds who were interested in meeting and talking with them. However, for future meetings, it was decided to have them come with their children to the Nisei gatherings and get together then.

The responsibilities of the leadership of this group are divided among five members of the Board of Directors and two secretaries elected by ballot, the board choosing its own chairman. A "Service Committee" has been added to the group to bring cheer to those who become ill or have had sorrow in their lives. The senior advisors of the Hospitality Committee are two Boston Nisei; Miss Chitose Nishimiya, the director and owner of the Copley Secretarial Institute, and Miss May Onishi, a business woman, who have been instrumental in the organization and the promotion of this group. Miss Onishi is a very active member of the Junior Advisory Council of the Institute.

Recently, when a new and purely democratic USO Center, where there is to be no discrimination as to race, creed, or color, was organized in Boston, the Institute was instrumental in the selection of its hostesses. We are pleased to have several Nisei girls as Junior Hostesses of this center, going on duty on different nights during the week, and they are very popular and well received. Through these contacts we hope that the girls may, in some measure, promote goodwill and understanding among the Service men and other people of various nationality backgrounds with whom they come in contact. According to reports from the girls, they have been received favorably by the Service men and other Junior Hostesses and have had many interesting and encouraging experiences. Not only at this Center, but they serve as hostesses at all the Institute dances and entertainment for Service men.

Publicity in the New England area, with the exception of one or two incidents, has been favorable for the Nisei. Recently when a protest was made about a group of Nisei who had donated blood to the Red Cross, letters, including several from Caucasian Service men, to the editor of the newspaper that printed the article were all in favor of the Nisei. This shows the general feeling of the public in this area in regard to the Nisei.

At the 24th annual U.S. Citizenship Meeting to be held at the Institute on February 22, Henry Aramaki, an honorably discharged Nisei Service man now attending Tufts Dental College, will take part in the program with citizens of other nationality backgrounds and tell what his United States citizenship means to him. The Institute has given the Nisei many opportunities to meet people of the many nationality backgrounds that make up the United States and is truly an example of democracy at work.

There is no residence requirement for assistance under the Resettlement Assistance Program of the Social Security Board, Evacuees who need assistance will be entitled to receive it under that program, regardless of whether or not they are residents of the community.

.....Bits of News.....

Pittsburgh Committee

Wholeheartedly endorsing the program to assist evacuees in getting established in Pittsburgh, a group of forty leading residents met in that Western Pennsylvania industrial city on Wednesday, December 20, and formed the Pittsburgh Citizens Committee on Resettlement.

Among the Committee members were representatives of labor, industry, social and welfare agencies, governmental bureaus and churches of several denominations. Also a member is the wife of the mayor of the city.

Speakers at the meeting, which was attended by reporters from each of the city's three newspapers, included Dr. A. B. Kinsolving, chairman of the Committee and leading Episcopal clergyman; Rev. Shunji F. Nishi, also an Episcopal clergyman, who works with the Cleveland Federation of Churches on relocation problems; and Robert M. Cullum, Great Lakes Area Supervisor of the WRA. Mr. Cullum discussed the Government's program; Rev. Nishi, the evacuees' viewpoint; and Dr. Kinsolving, the attitude of the residents of Pittsburgh.

Outcome of the meeting was the appointment of a nominating committee which was empowered to formulate sub-committees on housing, public information, community participation and employment.

The papers reported the proceedings very favorably and one prominent person in attendance commented that he had rarely seen so representative and influential a group take so determined a stand on a program as had been taken at this meeting. The only other person of Japanese extraction present besides Rev. Nishi was Miss Minna Iwamoto, formerly of Tule Lake and Sacramento, temporarily loaned to the Pittsburgh office from Cincinnati, where she is employed as a WRA secretary.

Brooklyn Hostel

We continue the same policy of accepting both families and single persons.

We have one room which would hold five people of a family group and two or three smaller rooms that could take care of a family of three or four, the latter number if the children were small. This would leave twelve other places for single people.

Nisei in Detroit

Nisei are participating in bowling leagues, basketball leagues, church youth groups, Red Cross activities, orchestra, church sponsored summer camps for youth, international club, Christian youth council, professional organizations for teachers, doctors, dentists, engineers, librarians, labor organizations, forums, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.

Housing in Detroit

The new housing now open to war-working evacuees is within the limits of two war housing projects: one at the famous Willow Run offering temporary or semi-permanent housing and situated 24 miles west of the city limits; and the other at Norwayne, offering housing to 20 families in permanent type dwellings. There is frequent and rapid bus service from both of these projects.

New York

The Resettlement Council of Japanese American Organizations in New York City, Masumi Toyotome, General Director, Room 1101, 150 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y., has issued a brochure "When You Arrive in New York" in Japanese and English.

RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN

Published monthly by

THE HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL OF NORTH AMERICA

Mark A. Dawber, Executive Secretary.
Toru Matsumoto, Editor.

297 Fourth Avenue New York 10, N.Y.

Japanese Student Relocation

ANY WAR situation brings hardship into the lives of many people, the innocent and unoffending being involved in the general disruption, along with those responsible for the social catastrophe. A major obligation therefore rests upon each one of us to render the greatest possible service to all the direct or indirect victims of war in any of its aspects.

This touches us very closely as we look at our own Pacific Coast, where the mass evacuation of all people of Japanese ancestry, as a war emergency measure, meant the removal from their homes and occupations of more than one hundred thousand persons. They are now being transferred to a number of relocation colonies, where, under the War Relocation Authority, steps are being taken to institute as quickly as possible, an approximation of normal life. Agricultural and industrial projects are getting under way, along with basic educational and recreational activities.

Among the evacuees are approximately twenty-five hundred American-born Japanese students, who were enrolled in colleges and universities, or were just finishing high school and intending to go on to college. These young people are not "aliens," but Americans by birthright, brought up in our American schools, eager to demonstrate their loyalty to American ideals, and go on with their education in preparation for useful service and still fuller assimilation into our national life. The Government recognizes the particular problem facing this group, and is endeavoring to work out a plan which will make it possible for many of them to transfer and re-enroll in comparable institutions outside the proscribed areas.

At the time of the evacuation, the administrative officers of the colleges where these students were enrolled, national student organizations, church bodies, and many other

groups and individuals undertook active measures in their behalf. But the problem proved so complex as well as so extensive, that the War Relocation Authority requested, under the sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee, the formation of a nation-wide committee of educators and other leaders, to coordinate all these efforts, and devise and administer some feasible plan for the academic relocation of these young American citizens.

A National Japanese American Student Relocation Council has now been established representing both the east and the west, and including college presidents, and leaders of various organizations that have shown an interest in this matter. Dr. ~~Robbins W. Barstow, President of the Harford Seminary Foundation,~~ Robert W. O'Brien, Assistant Dean, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, is serving as Director. A West Coast Committee with offices at ~~2538 Channing Way, Berkeley,~~ California, is assembling data with respect to students wishing transfer to other schools. The eastern office is compiling a list of opportunities for enrollment in various colleges and universities throughout the country. Both offices are working with the several governmental departments which are involved in various details of this project, so that every student placement recommended by the Council will have full approval of the government both as to the individual student, and the institution to which the transfer is being made.

This significant undertaking is commended to the thoughtful consideration of the American people. There must be full and sympathetic understanding of the dilemma facing these young people in the land of their birth, by reason of tragic world events. There must be financial help afforded them, because of the losses they have suffered through evacuation and the dislocation of their resources. Our colleges and college communities have in this situation an opportunity to demonstrate in a very tangible way the finest American traditions of freedom and democracy. Good-will evidenced toward these young people of Japanese descent may well have a conciliatory influence in the Orient and throughout the world that will prove to be as significant in the future as the use of the Boxer Indemnity Fund to educate Chinese students has been in the past. Here then, in the midst of so much destructive activity, is a constructive opportunity for service in which all Americans may have a share.

A Letter from the War Relocation Authority

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

May 5, 1942

Mr. C. E. Pickett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Pickett:

The American Friends Service Committee can make a significant contribution to the program of the War Relocation Authority.

As you know, evacuation of Japanese aliens and American-citizen Japanese is now under way on the Pacific Coast. Most evacuees will move from the prohibited zone to relocation centers managed by WRA. At these centers we shall be able to provide for elementary and high school education. We cannot, of course, establish new universities.

Many eminent educators have urged that university students in the prohibited zone be permitted to transfer to midwestern colleges and universities where they may continue their education. Certainly I agree that this would be desirable.

It is not feasible for the War Relocation Authority to undertake such a university program for American-citizen Japanese, but this is no way detracts from the desirability of such an accomplishment. Consequently, I should like to ask that you establish a committee which would aid you in formulating a set of policies and program. Such a program will involve the selection and certification of students at assembly or relocation centers, a phase of the task that must, of course, be handled by the Federal Government. It will involve transportation of students from the prohibited zone to a designated university, a function which I think may also be handled by WRA, just as it transports all evacuees from the prohibited zone to their war-duration homes. It involves the development of true understanding of this whole problem in many universities as a prerequisite to the students and faculty of those universities making arrangements for the reception of American-citizen Japanese. Finally, it involves either work opportunities or non-Federal funds for the support of students at the universities.

I should like to have you not only to bring together a committee to formulate a program but also to do the necessary follow-through work which will be necessary if this program is to be realized. Let me emphasize that the Federal Government for the protection of the students themselves and to re-assure the public will make individual examinations and give individual certifications. This, however, is only half of the matter. It is equally necessary to see to it that difficulties would not develop in the new locations to which the students would go.

I handed to Mr. Morris the roughest sort of suggested press release. I am anxious that some announcement be made early this week so that the people on the Coast who are concerned about this problem will not be completely discouraged.

Sincerely yours,

M. S. Eisenhower
Director

A Letter from the Assistant Secretary of War

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 21, 1942.

Mr. Clarence E. Pickett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Pickett:

Mr. M. S. Eisenhower, Director of War Relocation Authority, has sent me a copy of his letter of May 5th to you, regarding the working out of a program of university education for Japanese-American citizens who are now being evacuated from the Pacific Coast. He has suggested that you and your committee would find it helpful to receive from me an expression of approval of a properly conceived and carefully executed program in this respect.

Accordingly, I take pleasure in advising you that I am in complete sympathy with the suggestions made by Mr. Eisenhower in his letter to you of May 5th. Anything that can legitimately be done to compensate loyal citizens of Japanese ancestry for the dislocation to which they have been subjected, by reason of military necessity, has our full approval. In particular, the suggestion for the establishment of a committee of distinguished educators to work out a program of university education in other parts of the country for Japanese-American citizens evacuated from the Pacific Coast meets with my hearty approval.

I am happy to know that this committee is being formed under your sponsorship and that of the American Friends Service Committee.

Sincerely yours,

John J. McCloy

Assistant Secretary of War

National Japanese American Student Relocation Council
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 South Twelfth Street
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

This statement replaces one of similar format, No. 210, issued June 15, 1942

No. 210A—5M—8-42

C

DIGESTS
of
Myrdal's "AN AMERICAN DILEMMA"
and
THE REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
on
CIVIL RIGHTS

PREPARED BY

Samuel S. Wyer

CONSULTING ENGINEER

COLUMBUS, OHIO

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"MYRDAL"
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This 1483 page study of race relations in the United States with their international implications is "the most penetrating and important book on our contemporary civilization that has been written." Study financed by Carnegie Corporation of New York City, published and copyrighted by Harper & Bros., New York City who have granted permission for the use of the quotations in this digest.

INTRODUCTION

In 1931 the late Newton D. Baker joined the Carnegie Corporation Board. He was "the son of a confederate officer" and deeply concerned about the Negro problem in America. He said "that more knowledge and better organized and interrelated knowledge was essential before the corporation could intelligently distribute its own funds." This led to the following exhaustive study.

"The whole question had been for nearly a hundred years so charged with emotion that it appeared wise to seek as the responsible head of the undertaking someone who could approach his task with a fresh mind, uninfluenced by traditional attitudes or by earlier conclusions, and it was therefore decided to 'import' a general director. ... And since the emotional factor affects the Negroes no less than the whites, the search was limited to countries of high intellectual and scholarly standards but with no background or traditions of imperialism which might lessen the confidence of the Negroes in the United States as to the complete impartiality of the study and the validity of its findings. Under these limitations, the obvious places to look were Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, and the search ended in the selection of Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, a scholar who despite his youth had already achieved an international reputation as a social economist, a professor in the University of Stockholm, economic adviser to the Swedish Government, and a member of the Swedish Senate." vi*

"It was understood that he should be free to appoint and organize a staff of his own selection in the United States and that he should draw upon the experience of other scholars and experts in less formal fashion, but that the report as finally drawn up and presented to the public should represent and portray his own decisions, alike in the selection of data and in the conclusions as to their relative importance." vii

The study was begun in October, 1938 and completed in October, 1942.

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* Page number location of quotation.

SUMMARIZED FINDINGS

Changes Ahead

"One main conclusion"—"which should be stressed" "is this: that not since Reconstruction has there been more reason to anticipate fundamental changes in American race relations, changes which will involve a development toward the American ideals." [xlx]

American Creed

The label "American Creed" stands for "liberty, equality, justice, and fair opportunity for everybody." [xliv]

"The American Creed does not demand equality of economic and social rewards independent of an individual's luck, ability and push. It merely demands equality of opportunity." [671]

Meaning of "American Dilemma"

"The 'American Dilemma,' referred to in the title of this book, is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the 'American Creed,' where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook." [xliii]

Inner Personal Conflicts

"The Negro problem in America would be of a different nature, and, indeed, would be simpler to handle scientifically, if the moral conflict raged only between valuations held by different persons and groups of persons. The essence of the moral situation is, however, that the conflicting valuations are also held by the same person. The moral struggle goes on within people and not only between them. As people's valuations are conflicting, behavior normally becomes a moral compromise. There are no homogeneous 'attitudes' behind human behavior but a mesh of struggling inclinations, interests, and ideals, some held conscious and some suppressed for long intervals but all active in bending behavior in their direction." [xliii]

"We shall find that even a poor and uneducated white person in some isolated and backward rural region in the Deep South, who is violently prejudiced against the Negro and intent upon depriving him of civic rights and human independence, has also a whole compartment in his valuation sphere housing the entire American Creed." [xliv]

White Man's Problem

"Although the Negro problem is a moral issue both to Negroes and to whites in America, we shall in this book have to give primary attention to what goes on in the minds of white Americans." [xlvii]

"As a matter of fact, in their basic human traits the Negroes are inherently not much different from other people. Neither are, incidentally, the white Americans. But Negroes and whites in the United States live in singular human relations with each other." [xlvii]

". . . the main difficulty of the race question does not lie so much in the actual condition of the blacks as it does in the mental attitude of the whites." [43]

"The race question involves the saving of black America's body and white America's soul." [43]

"It keeps coming to me that this is more a white man's problem than it is a Negro problem." [43]

"The real problem is not the Negro but the white man's attitude toward the Negro." [43]

Southerner's Split Personality

"The conservative Southerner is not so certain as he sometimes sounds. He is a split personality. Part of his heart belongs to the American Creed. And if one argues that this is mere hypocrisy, he is entirely missing the point. The Southern conservative white man's faith in American democracy, which he is certainly not living up to, and the Constitution, which he is circumventing, are living forces of decisive dynamic significance." [461]

Lack of Serious Education

"We do not share the skepticism against education as a means of mitigating racial intolerance which recently has spread among American sociologists as a reaction against an important doctrine in the American Creed. The simple fact is that an educational offensive against racial intolerance, going deeper than the reiteration of the 'glittering generalities' in the nation's political creed, has never seriously been attempted in America." [48, 49]

Views on Amalgamation

"Every widening of the writer's experience of white Americans has only driven home to him more strongly that the opinion that the Negro is unassimilable, or, rather, that his amalgamation into the American nation is undesirable, is held more commonly, absolutely, and intensely than would be assumed from a general knowledge of American thoughtways." [57]

"This attitude of refusing to consider amalgamation—felt and expressed in the entire country—constitutes the center in the complex of attitudes which can be described as the 'common denominator' in the problem." [58]

Amalgamation Results

"Miscegenation between American Negroes and whites is commonly believed to be on the decrease. Even if it is not certain that sex relations between members of the two groups are decreasing, there is more reason to feel confident that children of white-Negro unions are becoming rarer, in both absolute numbers and relative proportions." [133]

"Internal miscegenation within the Negro group between individuals with a varying degree of white ancestry is, and will in the future be, going on. The result is a tendency toward a slow but continuous equalization of Negro and white genes in the Negro people, decreasing the relative numbers at both the black and white extremes and concentrating the individuals ever closer to the average." [135]

"We can, however, state confidently that there are no reasons to believe that a more complete amalgamation between whites and Negroes will occur within the surveyable future. . . . Finally, we remind the reader again that the concept of the American Negro is a social concept and not a biological one. Even considerable changes in the genetic composition of the Negro people may leave the social problems, around which this inquiry is centered, unchanged." [136]

"The fair-skinned house girls were more frequently used as mistresses by men of the planter class than were the plantation hands. They became the mothers of successive generations of even whiter children. Many white fathers freed their illegitimate mulatto offspring and often also the children's mothers, or gave them the opportunity to work out their freedom on easy terms. Some were helped to education and sent to the free states in the North. Some were given a start in business or helped to acquire land." [696]

Rank Order of Discriminations

"The white man's rank order of discriminations:

1—Intermarrigae
2—Social equality
3—Segregation
4—Political rights
5—Equality before law
6—Economic equality." [60]

"The Negroe's own rank order is just about parallel, but inverse, to that of the white man. The Negro resists least the discrimination on the ranks placed highest in the white man's evaluation and resents most any discrimination on the lowest level." [61]

Negro Handicaps

"The Negro has never, during the whole course of history, been surrounded by those influences which tend to strengthen and develop the mind. To expect the Negroes of Georgia to produce a great general like Napoleon when they are not even allowed to carry arms, or to deride them for not producing scholars like those of the Renaissance when a few years ago they were forbidden the use of letters, verges closely upon the outer rim of absurdity. Do you look for great Negro statesmen in States where black men are not allowed to vote?" [95]

Negro Not Unique

"The Negro in America and in general is an average and ordinary human being, who under given environment develops like other human beings." [96]

"One most important result is, however, that it is now becoming difficult for even popular writers to express other views than the ones of racial equalitarianism and still retain intellectual respect." [96]

"Without any doubt there is also in the white man's concept of the Negro 'race' an irrational element which cannot be grasped in terms of either biological or cultural differences. It is like the concept 'unclean' in primitive religion. It is invoked by the metaphor 'blood', when describing ancestry." [100]

Significance of Beliefs

"So through the generations, strengthened by tradition and community consensus, a public opinion among whites is formulated which is plainly opportunistic in the interest of the majority group." [102]

"The dominant interest in rationalizing and defending the caste system can be specified in the demand that the following statements shall be held true:

1—The Negro people belongs to a separate race of mankind.

2—The Negro race has an entirely different ancestry.

3—The Negro race is inferior in as many capacities as possible.

4—The Negro race has a place in the biological hierarchy somewhere between the white man and the anthropoids.

5—The Negro race is so different both in ancestry and in characteristics that all white peoples in America, in contradistinction to the Negroes, can be considered a homogeneous race.

6—The individuals in the Negro race are comparatively similar to one another and, in any case, all of them are definitely more akin to one another than to any white man." [103, 104]

"White Americans want to keep biological distance from the out-race and will, therefore, be tempted to discount the proportion of mulattoes and believe that a greater part of the Negro people is pure bred than is warranted by the facts." [105]

"The observations of the present author have, practically without exception, indicated that the non-expert white population shows a systematic tendency grossly to under-estimate the number of mulattoes in the Negro population." [105]

"It should by this time be clear that it is the popular beliefs, and they only, which enter directly into the casual mechanism of interracial relations. . . . The beliefs held by white people rather than those held by Negroes are of primary importance." [110]

"Beliefs must be observed and recorded in a systematic way under controlled research conditions." [111]

Ideas About Race

"Everybody having a known trace of Negro blood in his veins—no matter how far back it was acquired—is classified as a Negro. No amount

of white ancestry, except one hundred per cent, will permit entrance to the white race." [113]

"In Latin America whoever is not black is white; in teutonic America whoever is not white is black." [113]

" 'The farcical side of the color question in the States'—says Sir Harry H. Johnston—'is that at least a considerable proportion of the 'colored people' are almost white-skinned, and belong in the preponderance of their descent and in their mental associations to the white race.' In the American white population the so-called Nordic type, which is popularly assumed to be the opposite extreme from the black Negro, is a rare phenomenon." [114]

"Even in the population of Sweden, supposed to be the purest 'Nordic' stock in existence, only some 15 per cent can be classified as 'Nordics' on strict anthropometric grounds." [114]

"The definition of the 'Negro race' is thus a social and conventional, not a biological concept." [115]

"Thus the scientific concept of race is totally inapplicable at the very spots where we recognize 'race problems.' [115]

"The fundamental unity and similarity of mankind—above minor individual and group differentials—is becoming scientifically established." [115]

"Of the four most noticeable characteristics generally ascribed to the average or typical Negro—dark skin, broad nose, woolly hair, thick lips—only the first two make him slightly more similar to the apes. The white man's thin lips and straight hair are, on the other hand, much nearer to the traits of the apes." [116]

"Should America wake up one morning with all knowledge about the African ancestry of part of its population and all memories of color caste absolutely forgotten and find all the outward physical characteristics of the Negro people eradicated, but no change in their mental or moral characteristics, nothing we know about this group and other population groups in America would lead us to believe that the American Negro would not rapidly come to fit in as a well-adjusted ordinary American." [117]

Racial Characteristics

"It is no exaggeration to say that no physical difference between the average American Negro and the average American white, not even difference in color, has yet been measured quantitatively by research methods which conform to the rigid standards of statistics." [138]

"Compared to the average white man, the average Negro of the present day seems to exhibit the following physical traits: head slightly longer and narrower; cranial capacity slightly less; interpupillary distance greater; nose broader; lips thicker; external ear shorter; nasal depth greater; nose and head shorter; torso shorter; arms and legs longer; pelvis narrower and smaller; stature shorter; skin with greater amount of black pigment; hair wavy, curly, frizzly or woolly; distribution of hair less thick; more sweat glands." [139]

"In general, we must conclude that no innate susceptibilities or immunities to specific diseases on the part of the Negro have yet been conclusively demonstrated. Disease is the result of a complicated interplay of hereditary and environmental factors, and no one has yet succeeded in holding constant the environmental factors to determine that the heredity of the Negro is such as to make him more or less susceptible to certain diseases than the white man." [143]

On the matter of intelligence "the inferences to be drawn are, on the whole, negative as far as hereditary differences are concerned: it has not been possible to prove beyond doubt the existence of any differences at all in innate intelligence between America Negroes and whites; neither has it been possible to prove, on the other hand, that no differences exist. In regard to environmental factors the inferences are, however, positive: it has been proved that environmental differences account for large differences in the measured intelligence performances." [147]

"Even if future research should be able to establish and measure certain innate psychic differences between American Negroes and whites, on the average, it is highly improbable that such differences would be so large, that—particularly when the overlapping is considered—they could justify a differential treatment in matters of public policy, such as in education, suffrage and entrance to various sections of the labor market. This is a practical conclusion of immense importance." [149]

Population

"Negroes were 19.3 per cent of the American population in 1790, but only 9.8 per cent in 1940." [157]

"While in the country as a whole, around 1930, the net reproduction rate for Negroes and for whites was about the same, the Negro rate was significantly below the white rate in each region of the country and in rural and urban areas taken separately." [161]

"The Negro birth rate, like the white birth rate, has been falling at least since 1880 and perhaps longer." [161]

"During 1940, 73 out of every 1,000 live Negro infants were recorded to have died before reaching their first birthday, as compared to 43 white babies out of every 1,000 born." [162]

"If a Negro child is born alive, it has (in 1930), on the average, a life expectancy of roughly 48.5 years, while the average white newborn child can expect to reach the age of 60.9 years." [162]

"Migration from rural to urban areas universally reduces the birth rate." [163]

"In their reproduction American Negroes are like American whites and show the same sort of differentials by regions and groups." [166]

"A mitigation of discrimination in the granting of medical and other health advantages to Negroes, particularly if concomitant with a general improvement of these advantages for all poor people, would have profound effects in reducing the large Negro death rate and in raising Negro repro-

duction. The spread of birth control among Negroes will decrease the rate of reproduction." [166]

"There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of white Americans desire that there be as few Negroes as possible in America. . . . The presence of Negroes in America today is usually considered as a 'plight' of the nation, and particularly of the South." [167]

"Many white Southerners live by exploiting Negroes, and many fortunes have been built up by cheating Negroes; many white Southerners realize their economic dependence on the Negro and would not like to lose him. . . . The dominant upper and middle classes of whites in the South realize, for the most part, that they would stand to lose economically if the Negro were to disappear. . . . If poor whites could be exploited with the same facility, the dominant white Southerners would be glad to be rid of the Negro." [168]

"The American Creed is quite clear and explicit, and we can proceed safely on the value premise that the medical and health facilities, and, indeed, all public measures in the field of education, sanitation, housing, nutrition, hospitalization and so forth, to improve the quality of the population and to advance individuals and groups physically, mentally, or morally, should be made just as available for Negroes as for whites in similar circumstances and with similar needs." [169]

"Reported illegitimate births constituted 16.2 per cent of all reported births among non-whites in 1936, and 2.0 per cent among whites." [177]

Economic Aspects

"For the average Negro, living conditions in the North have always been more favorable than in the South." [191]

"Except for a small minority enjoying upper or middle class status, the masses of American Negroes, in the rural South and in the segregated slum quarters in Southern and Northern cities, are destitute." [205]

"The American Creed is changing to include a decent living standard and a measure of economic security among the liberties and rights which are given this highest moral sanction." [212]

"Social welfare policy is bound to become looked upon in terms of the economic criterion of national investment." [212]

"We shall, in our inquiry, assume that the following norms are generally and explicitly held on the higher or national plane of the valuation sphere in the hearts of ordinary Americans:

1—There is nothing wrong with economic inequality by itself.

2—No American population group shall be allowed to fall under a certain minimum level of living.

3—Negroes shall be awarded equal opportunities." [214]

"If we look to actual practices, however, we find that the tradition of human exploitation—and now not only of Negroes—has remained from slavery as a chief determinant of the entire structure of the South's economic life." [220]

"Even the middle strata of the Southern white population depend on exploitation of labor." [221]

"Of all the calamities that have struck the rural Negro people in the South in recent decades—soil erosion, the infiltration of white tenants into plantation areas, the ravages of the boll weevil, the southwestern shift in cotton cultivation—none has had such grave consequences, or threatens to have such lasting effect, as the combination of world agricultural trends and federal agricultural policy initiated during the 'thirties. These changes are revolutionizing the whole structure of Southern agricultural economy. They have already rooted out a considerable portion of the Negro farmers and made the future of the remaining group extremely problematic." [251]

"Any success in raising the earnings and living levels for farm labor on Southern plantations will accentuate, or rather make explicit in form of unemployment, the basic over-population of Southern agriculture." [264]

"Employment must be found for the agricultural labor dismissed as a consequence of trends or of policy." [266]

"It is a question of teaching farmers, who have known about little but specialized cash-and-feed-crop production, to diversify their efforts, to grow at home much of what they need for their own consumption." [275]

"There are in the South many more laborers who can be displaced by mechanization. . . . The Negroes are, and will continue to be, the main sufferers in such a development." [297]

"Since Negroes are seldom in demand for jobs for which education is necessary, there certainly is nothing surprising in the conclusion that they, unlike whites, usually fail to improve their opportunities by staying in school longer." [303]

Right of Equal Participation

"The Negro should partake of the burdens and the benefits of the public economy like other citizens in similar circumstances." [334]

"The whole system of discrimination in education in the South is not only tremendously harmful to the Negroes but it is flagrantly illegal, and can easily be so proven in the courts." [342]

"The fact that Negroes are in greater need of health facilities than are whites, and that discrimination in providing them health facilities hurts the whites themselves, is gradually becoming realized." [344]

"Damaging from both cultural and recreational viewpoints are the restrictions of public library facilities for Negroes. In 1939 it was found that of 774 public libraries in 13 Southern states only 99, or less than one-seventh, served Negroes. Of the 99 libraries, 59 were concentrated in four states." [347]

"The visitor finds Negroes everywhere aware of the great damage done Negro youth by the lack of recreational outlets and of the urgency of providing playgrounds for the children." [347]

"Thus, the very fact that there is economic discrimination constitutes an added motive for every individual white group to maintain such discriminatory practices. Discrimination breeds discrimination." [381]

"Even in the North the Negro is generally believed to be inferior as a worker. White employees often are strongly against having any Negro co-workers. Yet these attitudes are less general and less well entrenched in the North than they are in the South." [383]

"Through unionization and social legislation the labor market is increasingly coming under the control of a formal regulation that will demand equality of opportunity." [384]

Income Situation

"In a general way we know why the Negro is poor. As a farmer, he has been kept in a dependent position and has been exploited. He was tied to cotton agriculture where the risks were such that at one time it brought sudden riches to white people but now forces surplus workers, particularly Negroes, to leave the Southern land. As a city worker, he has been kept out of jobs, especially the good ones. He has seldom been allowed to prepare himself adequately for jobs requiring high skill or professional training. Because of residential segregation, he is confined to slums to an even greater extent than his low purchasing power makes necessary. He does not share equally with his white fellow citizen in the free services given by the government." [364]

"The income of the average Negro family at any given tenure status, is always much lower than is the income of the average white family." [364]

"The majority of Negro families are economically unable to live in a way compatible with any modern concepts of a 'minimum health standard'." [366]

"The general notions about Negro improvidence are greatly exaggerated." [369]

"The average food expenditure per family often tends to be somewhat lower for Negroes than it is for whites even in the same income group." [372]

"The majority of the Negro population suffers from severe malnutrition. This is true at least about the South." [375]

"The picture of the economic situation of the Negro people is dark. The prospects of the future—as far as we have analyzed the trends until now—are discouraging." [380]

"Part of a rational planning to find new employment opportunities for Negroes must be an investigation of the possibilities for some portion of the Negro labor reserve to be settled in the smaller Northern cities where there are now few or no Negroes." [387]

Discrimination Against Negro

"There are tremendous elements of inertia which resist the introduction of Negro labor where there has previously been none. If they get in, however, they will have better chances of staying." [392]

"But there is in the South an entrenched and widespread popular theory that the Negro should be held down in his 'place.' Discrimination in justice, politics, education, and public service creates an atmosphere in

which economic discrimination becomes natural or even necessary in order to prevent 'social equality'." [395]

"We know that the Negro has been grossly under-represented in the vocational training program for war workers that has been organized by the government." [410]

"During his entire military history in this country, the Negro has experienced numerous humiliations of various kinds. He has been abused because of his race by many white officers, by white soldiers and by white civilians." [421]

"To advertise bad American race relations by maintaining them in armed forces sent overseas is, under present circumstances, highly detrimental to American interests." [422]

"The 'regimentation' which keeps the South politically solid is not an organization for anything—least of all for a general policy—it is a regimentation against the Negro." [458]

"Negroes are discriminated against in practically all spheres of life, but in their fight for equal opportunity they have on their side the law of the land and the religion of the nation." [510]

"The observer finds that in the North there is actually much unwareness on the part of white people of the extent of social discrimination against Negroes." [600]

Labor Unions

"The increasing power of the labor unions, and particularly their rising importance for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, is to the Negroes one of the most significant of all recent changes in the institutional framework of the American economy. Their past experiences with trade unions have been none too good in most cases.' [401]

"The readiness shown by many American unions to use violence and other extra-legal measures themselves is also a sign of weakness. In discussing labor tactics with American union members, the observer often becomes shocked to find how natural it appears to them to take the law into their own hands when they get into a labor conflict. . . . The insistence on the part of some American unions on the rule of the 'union shop' according to which the worker must become a member in good standing of a union in order to keep his job, is also more understandable as an indication of organizational weakness. A strong union movement does not need to be provided with such pressures." [405]

"The basic weakness of many labor unions in America has been their lack of democracy. The rank and file have been allowed too little influence; they have also cared too little about retaining influence." [406]

"At least four states—Pennsylvania, New York, Kansas, and Nebraska—have in recent years been experimenting with legislation against racial discrimination in labor unions." [408]

"The trade union movement is one of the oldest in the world, but in America it has always been comparatively inconsequential. . . . The observer

is struck by the importance played by salaried 'organizers' and the relative unimportance of, or often the lack of, a spontaneous drive from the workers themselves." [713]

Right to Vote

"Negroes are disfranchised more completely in the very localities where the vote is important because administration is lax." [437]

"Negroes can feel sure that, unless this country undergoes a veritable revolution, their right to vote will remain unquestioned in the North, independent of any increase due to continued migration from the South. Without any doubt, this is one of the strategic protections of the Negro people in American Society." [440]

"The one-party system in the South; its supporting election machine with its restrictions, intricacies, and manipulations; its vast allowances for arbitrary administration; and the low political participation of even the white people favor a de facto oligarchic regime, broken here and there, now and then, by demagogues from Tom Watson to Huey Long, who appeal to the lower classes among whites. The oligarchy consists of the big land owners, the industrialists, the bankers and the merchants. Northern corporate business with big investments in the region has been sharing in the political control by this oligarchy." [453]

"The South votes for men—Democratic men—but rarely ever for issues, unless the issue is defined in black and white." [453]

"Certainly the most efficient device in use today to keep Negroes from voting where the vote would count most in the South is the 'white primary'." [480]

"Probably the most notorious—although certainly not the most efficient—device to keep the Negro from voting in the South is the poll tax." [481]

"Violence, terror, and intimidation have been, and still are, effectively used to disfranchise Negroes in the South." [485]

"Educational 'tests' to disfranchise Negroes are widely used in a bluntly illegal way. One intelligent Negro woman in North Carolina was denied registration when she mispronounced the words 'contingency' and 'constitutionality' in reading the state constitution." [485]

"A Negro school teacher in the same state was denied registration after the following incident: . . . the registrar asked me to read a section of the Constitution, which I did, and then asked me to define terms which I knew was not part of the North Carolina law. I said to him, 'That is not a part of the law, to define terms.' He said, 'You must satisfy me, and don't argue with me'." [485]

"The illegal activities of persons not connected with the administration of the election also take many forms. The hangers-on at the polling places insult and stare at Negroes, especially Negro women." [486]

"Another most potent force in keeping the Negro from the polls is his own fear of what might happen to him, his job, his family, or his property, in the present or in the future, if he should vote." [489]

"At least the legal foundations for Negro disfranchisement is gradually withering away. . . . The entire work around 1900 to legalize political discrimination is being rapidly undone by various social trends." [514]

"By abolishing the poll tax the legal foundation for Negro disfranchisement will be made still weaker." [515]

"Our conclusion is, thus, that the Southern franchise situation, which on the surface looks so quiet, is highly unstable and that, indeed, the Southern conservative position on Negro franchise is politically untenable for any length of time. If this analysis is accepted, and if the value premise is agreed upon, that changes should, if possible, not be made by sudden upheavals but in gradual steps, we reach the further practical conclusion that it is an urgent interest and, actually, a truly conservative one, for the South to start enfranchising its Negro citizens as soon as possible." [518]

Religion

"The South is also strongly religious. Not only is the nonchurch member comparatively rare, but the denominations tend to be more fundamentalist and evangelical than in the North. Although it would have to be checked by carefully collected quantitative data, my impression is that the sermons stress the Other World more often than this one and rely for a text more often on the Old Testament than on the New Testament. It would seem that the Southern white man, especially in the lower classes, goes to church more to get an emotional thrill than to get an intellectual framework into which to put his daily problems." [458]

Disproportionate Power

"Blocking of social reform by Southern congressmen and the more general condition—which existed long before the New Deal—for Southern congressmen to exert a disproportionate influence on legislation because of their longer tenure and the consequent importance of their committee assignments and prestige, is one of the main reasons why the Negro problem is a national one and not merely a sectional one." [464]

"The New Deal—particularly in the South—does not rate highly when judged by norms of administrative efficiency. There has been lack of careful planning, coordination, and persistency, and there has also been waste of personnel and money. But the New Deal has spirit—particularly in the South. . . . By actually changing the people, and not only assisting them economically, the New Deal becomes the more potent as a dynamic factor undermining the status quo in the South." [465]

Americanization of the South

"No Yankee will be tactless enough to mention it, in so many words, and no Southerner can afford to admit it, but the main thing happening to the South is that it is gradually becoming Americanized." [466]

Problem of Liberalism

"Southern liberalism is not liberalism as it is found elsewhere in America or in the world. It is a unique species. It is molded by the forces of the region where it carries out its fight." [466]

"When attempting to map the political opinions of white Southern liberalism, it must be first recalled that the region is exceptional in Western nonfascist civilization since the Enlightenment in that it lacks nearly every trace of radical thought. In the South all progressive thinking going further than mild liberalism has been practically nonexistent for a century." [469]

"The second main consideration when judging Southern liberalism is that the liberals are so definitely a political minority. Liberalism—as well as conservatism—takes on a quite different character depending upon whether it is in opposition or in power." [470]

"For the same reason—lack of expectation to be in power—the Southern liberal, in an extraordinary way, has become inclined to stress the need for patience and to exalt the cautious approach, the slow change, the organic nature of social growth." [470]

"The future might belong to liberalism, but the South of today is mainly ruled by its conservatives." [474]

"In 1940, only 28 percent of the adult population voted in 12 Southern states, as compared to 53 per cent in the North and West. In the extreme case of South Carolina, only 10 per cent voted. Most of this voting is carried on with a corruption and disrespect for law that is found in only a few areas of the North and West. For all practical purposes, Negroes are disfranchised in the South." [475]

"White Southerners stay away from the polls for the most part. Another large proportion comes to the polls solely because they are given a dollar or two apiece for their vote by the local political machine." [476]

Lack Radicalism

"There has been a widespread belief that Northern Negroes became radical in large numbers during the depression. All the available data reveal that this is a fallacy." [495]

"The Communists have not succeeded in getting any appreciable following among Negroes in America." [508]

Effect On and Of War

"This is a national, not a sectional problem. . . . It has to be solved if the white-skinned majority is to avoid the sinister hypocrisy of fighting for what it is not willing to accept at home." [517]

"Whether any promises to the Negro are fulfilled or not, it can be predicted with a fairly high degree of certainty that this War, when and if it is won, and its sour aftermath will act like the First World War did —as a great shock to the Negro people and as a stimulant to their protest." [756]

Need For Equal Justice

"Having accepted the American Creed as our value premise in this study, we must also accept a corollary of this Creed for the purpose of this

part, namely, that Negroes are entitled to justice equally with all other people. This principle has constitutional sanction and is held supreme in the legislation of all states in the Union." [526]

"Practically all Southern Negroes interviewed by the present writer on this question have complained about the arbitrary and high-handed manner in which the Jim Crow regulations in transportation are often handled. Incidents of illegal treatment are frequently reported in the Negro press. Such studies as have been made have largely confirmed these complaints." [537]

"As far as the cultural and social adjustment of the Negroes is concerned, the Southern police system is undoing much of what Northern philanthropy and Southern state governments are trying to accomplish through education and by other means." [540]

"The average Southern policeman is a promoted poor white with a legal sanction to use a weapon. His social heritage has taught him to despise the Negroes, and he has had little education which could have changed him. . . . Police brutality is greatest in the regions where murders are most numerous and death sentences are most frequent, which speaks against its having crime-preventing effects." [540, 541]

"The observer who visits several communities and can make comparisons becomes convinced that, on the contrary, police brutality has thoroughly demoralizing effects on the Negroes." [541]

"Policemen will also beat Negroes without arresting them. This occurs in cases of minor insubordination and when policemen are helping plantation owners keep their Negro tenants under control." [541]

"This is one of the few points on which there is little conflict of evidence—the Negro, in the main, does not get justice in the courts of the South. The tone of the courts is exemplified in the pious peroration of the lawyer who exclaimed: 'God forbid that a jury should ever convict a white man for killing a nigger who knocked his teeth down his throat!' " [547]

"The American bond and bail system works automatically against the poor classes. The poor man, generally, cannot raise bail or bond himself to secure his release from jail pending trial. As the privilege of bail is discretionary, it is most often refused or made prohibitively high to accused Negroes, particularly when the alleged crime is against whites." [548]

"In some places, Negro lawyers are not allowed to appear in courts, and even where they are allowed, they tend to stay away." [550]

"For offenses which involve any actual or potential danger to whites, however, Negroes are punished more severely than whites." [551]

"On the criminal side of the court I think that a great many Negroes are convicted on testimony which would have resulted in the acquittal of a white defendant. A white defendant is presumed to be innocent until the contrary is proven; I am afraid that a Negro is presumed to be guilty until the contrary is proven." [552]

"The generally very low level of Southern penal institutions is well known." [554]

"There is no doubt that the average Southern prison is likely to make hardened criminals of all who fall into its clutches." [555]

"This whole judicial system of courts, sentences and prisons in the South is overripe for fundamental reforms. It represents a tremendous cultural lag in progressive twentieth century America." [555]

"Probably the most effective means of bringing the Southern courts more rapidly to acquire a fixed pattern of carefulness and equity would be the setting up of legal aid agencies everywhere in the South which, manned by high class professional lawyers, would be instructed not to work for any new legislation, but to assist poor whites and Negroes to enforce their rights under existing laws in civil and criminal cases." [556]

"It is the author's observation that, in principle, the average white Southerner is no longer prepared to defend racial inequality of justice." [556]

"It is in the interest of society to care for the Negro—and even for the criminal Negro." [557]

"It is the custom in the South to permit whites to resort to violence and threats of violence against the life, personal security, property and freedom of movement of Negroes." [558]

"The principles that the law and the law-enforcing agencies are supreme, impartial and above all groups in society has never taken strong root. White people are accustomed—individually and in groups—to take the law into their own hands and to expect the police and the courts to countenance this and sometimes lend their active cooperation." [560]

Lynching

"Between 1889 and 1940, according to Tuskegee Institute figures, 3,833 people were lynched, about four-fifths of whom were Negroes. The Southern states account for nine-tenths of the lynchings." [560]

"The annual average in the 'nineties was near 200; in the 'thirties it dropped to slightly over 10. In 1941 it was down to 4; but there are already more than this in 1942 (July)." [561]

"The danger of Negroes' desire to rape white women has acquired a special and strategic position in the defense of the lynching practice. Actually, only 23 per cent of the victims were accused of raping or attempting to rape. There is much reason to believe that this figure has been inflated by the fact that a mob which makes the accusation of rape is secure against any further investigation; by the broad Southern definition of rape to include all sex relations between Negro men and white women; and by the psychopathic fears of white women in their contacts with Negro men." [561]

"The South has an obsession with sex which helps to make this region quite irrational in dealing with Negroes generally. . . . Lynching is a way of punishing Negroes for the white Southerners' own guilt feelings in violating Negro women, or for presumed Negro sexual superiority." [562]

"Lynching is a local community affair. The state authorities usually do not side with the lynchers. They often try to prevent lynchings but seldom take active steps to punish the guilty." [562]

"With but rare exceptions preachers and local religious leaders have not come out against lynchers." [563]

Lower Class Whites

"Lower class whites in the South have no Negro servants in whose humble demeanors they can reflect their own superiority. Instead, they feel actual economic competition or fear of potential competition from the Negroes. They need the caste demarcations for much more substantial reasons than do the middle and upper classes. The lower class whites have been the popular strength behind Negro disfranchisement, and are the audience to which the 'nigger-baiting' political demagogue of the South appeals." [597]

Intermarriage

"Our practical conclusion is that it would have cleansing effects on race relations in America, and particularly in the South, to have an open and sober discussion in rational terms of this ever present popular theory of 'intermarriage' and 'social equality,' giving matters their factual ground, true proportions, and logical relations. Because it is, to a great extent, an opportunistic rationalization, and because it refers directly and indirectly to the most touchy spots in American life and American morals, tremendous inhibitions have been built up against a detached and critical discussion of this theory." [591]

"In practice there is little intermarriage even where it is not prohibited, since the social isolation from the white world that the white partner must undergo is generally intolerable even to those few white people who have enough social contact and who are unprejudiced enough to consider marriage with Negroes." [606]

"The extent of extra-marital relations between white men and Negro women is a subject on which investigators give divergent estimates, but there can be no doubt that it is a fairly common phenomenon throughout the South and the North. . . . The old custom of white men keeping Negro concubines is disappearing in the South and is rare in the North." [607]

Effect On Whites

"Segregation and discrimination have had material and moral effects on whites, too. Booker T. Washington's famous remark, that the white man, could not hold the Negro in the gutter without getting there himself, has been corroborated by many white Southern and Northern observers." [643, 644]

"In whatever form slavery may be perpetuated, just so far will it put shackles on the minds of Southern whites. If we treat the Negro unjustly, we shall practice fraud and injustice to each other. We shall necessarily live by the standards of conduct we apply to him. This is the eternal curse of wrong and injustice, a curse that abides on the ruler as well as the slaves. The South will be free only as it grants freedom." [644]

Unfair Crime News

"The crime news is unfair to Negroes, on the one hand, in that it emphasizes individual cases instead of statistical proportions (a characteristic of all news, but in this case unfair to Negroes because of the racial association with especially disliked crimes) and, on the other hand, in that all other aspects of Negro life are neglected in the white press which gives the unfavorable crime news an undue weight. Sometimes the white press 'creates' a Negro crime wave where none actually exists." [655, 656]

Caste

"The caste line—or, as it is more popularly known, the color line—is not only an expression of caste differences and caste conflicts, but it has come itself to be a catalyst to widen differences and engender conflicts. To maintain the color line has, to the ordinary white man, the 'function' of upholding the caste system itself, of keeping the 'Negro in his place.' " [677]

"Generally speaking, every agency working for assimilation of the Negro people in the broader American civilization, which is democratic in its fundamental values, is bound to strengthen the Negro protest against caste." [745]

"The tragedy of caste is that it does not spare the integrity of the soul either of the Negro or of the white man." [784]

"The assumption that race prejudice and caste conflict have their roots in economic competition and that the whole caste problem is 'basically' economic has come to be widespread and is now accepted by practically all Negro and most white writers on the Negro problem." [790]

"This statement, as far as the Negroes are concerned, is true for the 1930's. It has become slightly less true as the war spirit has rekindled a belief in values other than economic and has stimulated a new growth of variegated ideals." [790]

Negro Sensitiveness

"Much of the Negro sensitiveness is centered around the word 'negro' and its several synonyms. Even the lower class Negro in the rural South feels insulted when he is called a 'nigger' by a white man. The word is hated because it symbolizes what prejudiced white people think of Negroes." [761]

"Indeed, the entire racial 'etiquette' and system of segregation in the South are taken as insults by the Negro. At every hand the Southern white man has given the Negro much to be sensitive about." [761]

Leadership Aspects

"If an ordinary American faces a situation which he recognizes as a 'problem' without having any specific views as to how to 'solve' it, he tends to resort to two general recommendations: one, traditionally, is 'education'; the other is 'leadership'." [709]

"In fact, the American dramatizes and personifies the entire history of his country and of the world. Social changes are rarely looked upon as the outcome of broad trends and deep forces." [710]

"Americans have thus come to develop an unmatched capacity for vicarious satisfaction in watching others fight." [711]

"So it becomes more natural, and more possible, in America, to associate the dynamic forces of society with individuals instead of with masses." [711]

"The other side of this picture is, of course, the relative inertia and inarticulateness of the masses in America. The remarkable lack of self-generating, self-disciplined, organized people's movements in America is a significant historical fact usually overlooked by American historians and social scientists." [712]

"America has had its full share of utopians and idealists, and much more than its due of charlatans and demagogues." [712]

"But there is enough truth in the statement to raise it above doubt that the Negro preacher—and, to a lesser extent, the lodge official—has more influence wih the Negro masses than a white lower class preacher or lodge leader has with the white masses." [732]

"The author also has the impression that Negro leaders, more often than whites (among their own people) take on a rather dictatorial and paternalistic attitude toward their Negro followers." [732]

"Negroes generally do not feel they have unqualified moral obligations to white people." [763]

"The selection and the behavior of Negro leaders in the South is an outcome of this fact, that practically all the economic and political powers are concentrated in the white caste while the small amount of influence, status, and wealth that there is in the Negro community is derivative and dependent." [770]

"The successful Negro leader becomes a consummate manipulator. Getting the white man to do what he wants becomes a fine art." [773]

Instability

"Frustration and defeatism, forced accommodation under concealed protest, vicious competition modified by caste solidarity, form the main texture into which the patterns of Negro political and social thinking are woven." [781]

"Negro thinking is almost completely determined by white opinions—negatively and positively." [784]

Provincialism

"Another observable characteristic of the Negroes' thinking about social and political matters is its provincialism." [783]

"As the Negro protest and race consciousness are steadily rising, Negro provincialism may even increase in the short run, in spite of the better educational facilities and a greater acculturation." [783]

Looking To Whites

"Both the lower class Negroes and the upper class Negro leaders feel that the 'quality folks' the 'best people among the whites' are the friends of the Negroes. They are held to be 'too big' for prejudice." [786]

"The Negroes' status in America is so precarious that they simply have to get the support of all possible allies in the white camps." [794]

Waiting For American Creed

"Negroes feel that they cannot afford to sell out the rights they have under the Constitution and the American Creed, even when these rights have not materalized and even when there is no immediate prospect of making them a reality. At the same time Negroes show, by taking this position, that they have not lost their belief that ultimately the American Creed will come out on top." [799]

"What holds Negro thinking in a fairly consistent scheme and directs it most of the time upon positive goals is, in the final analysis, the determination to hold to the American Creed." [808] A recent survey shows the following.

"It found, for instance, that Negro opinion is, so to speak, completely united on the proposition that, given the necessary technical qualifications, Negroes should be equally eligible with whites for any job in the United States. It found Negro opinion united on the proposition that skin color should not be penalized in any way whatsoever. It found division of opinion as to how this can be brought about, but the division is as to ways and means, not as to objective. In other words, the color line itself is unjust and tyrannical." [809]

Associations

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is without question the most important agency for the Negroes in their struggle against caste." [819]

"The activity of the Association depends largely upon the effective organization of its branches. They provide it with membership, the larger part of its financial support, and information from and contacts with its field of work." [822]

"From the very beginning, the Association has laid stress on its legal redress work, and this has always been a most important and, certainly, the most spectacular part of its activity." [828]

"In hundreds of cases, the lawyers of the NAACP have been instrumental in saving Negroes from unequal treatment by the courts, sometimes getting them acquitted when they were sentenced or in danger of being sentenced on flimsy evidence; sometimes getting death penalties or other severe penalties reduced." [828]

"The Association has likewise been continuously active in defending the Negroes' right to vote." [829]

"The leadership and membership of the NAACP, both Negro and white, is not recruited from the ranks of radicals." [831]

"The philanthropists, social workers, and professionals who made up the nucleus of the new organization * 'held that the Negro needed not alms but opportunity—opportunity to work at the job for which the Negro was best fitted, with equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity for advancement." [837]

"I have found: (1) that almost everywhere the functionaries of the local Leagues are definitely in favor of trade unionism; (2) that in many cities, particularly in the South, local opinion—as represented by the Community Chests and boards of the Leagues—hinders them from taking the action they would like to take to integrate Negro workers into labor unions; (3) that in still more cities, including many Northern cities, the unions do not take a very responsive attitude but are even more difficult to court than are local employers; (4) that a League which might organize actual strike-breaking against a union open to Negroes—if it has ever occurred —is now out of the question everywhere; (5) that such an action, even against a union that openly discriminates against Negroes, is extremely unlikely in most cities and is not likely to occur except as a last resort. Generally speaking, local Urban Leagues change with the community, and, in most cities, change as much in advance of the community as is possible while maintaining community good-will and financial support for their program." [840]

"The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, or the Interracial Commission, as it is commonly known, like the NAACP and the Urban League, is not a Negro movement proper but a joint effort by whites and Negroes." [842]

"The Interracial Commission has set itself the much more difficult task of working from within to improve race relations in the region they are worst." [842]

"The chief political means of approaching the goal set up by the Commission are conciliation, moral persuasion and education." [845]

"One of the most important accomplishments of the Commission—which has a far-reaching cumulative effect—is to have rendered interracial work socially respectable in the conservative South." [847]

"By the younger Negro intellectuals the Commission is condemned for the 'naive assumption that when the two races know and understand each other better, the principal incidents of the race problem will then disappear.' The Commission is accused of having a 'defeatist attitude, since it accepts the existing racial patterns while asking favors and exceptions with them'." [848]

"This criticism seems too strong." [848]

"The respectability the Commission has built up for interracial work in the South is a form of capital, but as such it is of no use at all if it is not invested, and even risked, in new ventures." [849]

"A broader appeal must be attempted, in order to reach directly even the middle and lower classes of whites." [849]

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* Urban League

The March-on-Washington Committee proposed that "a committee be formed to organize a march on the nation's capital to express the Negro protest against discrimination and to impress on the Administration the necessity of doing something about it. . . . The President issued an Executive Order intended to abolish all discrimination (on account of race, color, creed, or national origin) in employment in defense industries and government agencies, and appointed the Committee on Fair Employment Practice to implement his order. . . . The March-on-Washington Committee, which, of course, gained a tremendous prestige among Negroes on account of its conspicuous success, did not dissolve. It did not even relinquish its idea of a March. The March-on-Washington movement remains a popular organization in many parts of the country." [851]

"The outside observer may be allowed to express the opinion that the Negro strategy during the war crisis has been skillful. The Negro leaders know full well that they have immense possibilities of putting pressure upon the American nation during this War for democracy." [852]

Press

"Most white people in America are entirely unaware of the bitter and relentless criticism of themselves; of their policies in domestic or international affairs; their legal and political practices; their business enterprises; their churches, schools, and other institutions; their social customs, their opinions and prejudices; and almost everything else in white American civilization. Week in and week out these are presented to the Negro people in their own press. It is a fighting press." [908]

"Practically all Negroes who can read are exposed to the influence of the Negro press at least some of the time. Perhaps a third of the Negro families in cities regularly subscribe to Negro newspapers, but the proportion is much smaller in rural areas." [909]

"The development of the Negro press follows closely two interrelated trends: the rising Negro protest and the increase of Negro literacy." [912]

"Few features in the Negro press seem more ridiculous to the ordinary white American than the display of Negro society." [918]

"The 'society page' of the Negro newspaper is a direct copy of that of the white paper. It is certainly no more exaggerated than the gossip pages of the small-town American newspaper. Whites are amused by it partly because of their belief in the inferiority of the Negro, but also partly because they are seldom aware of the existence of a Negro upper class, especially one so attentive to the social niceties." [919]

"The Negro press is primarily controlled by the active members of the upper and middle classes of the Negro community." [920]

"The main observation about the advertising in the Negro press is that there is so little of it. And there does not seem to be much of a trend toward an increase." [922]

"The importance of the Negro press for the formation of Negro opinion, for the functioning of all other Negro institutions, for Negro leadership and concerted action generally, is enormous." [923]

Culture

"In practically all its divergences, American Negro culture is not something independent of general American culture. It is a distorted development, or a pathological condition, of the general American culture." [928]

"We assume that it is to the advantage of American Negroes as individuals and as a group to become assimilated into American culture, to acquire the traits held in esteem by the dominant white Americans." [929]

Family

"There are two outstanding types of exceptions to the general observation that the average Negro family is more disorganized than the white family. There is a large class of Negro families which is so like the ideal type of the monogamous patriarchal Christian family that Frazier calls them "Black Puritans'. . . . Upper class Negroes probably have fewer extra-marital relations and less divorce than upper class whites." [931]

Negro Church

"The very existence of these Negro institutions is, of course, due to caste. Without caste there would be no need in America for a specialized Negro press, for segregated schools or for separate churches." [858]

"Americans generally are a religious people; Southerners are more religious than the rest of the nation, and the Negroes, perhaps, still a little more religious than the white Southerners." [863]

"Today it is probable that a greater proportion of Negroes than of whites belong to churches as formal church members." [864]

"God and the angels are ordinarily white to Negroes, as they are to white churchgoers." [866]

"Both the strength and the weakness of the Negro church as a power agency for the Negro people is related to the facts that the Negro church is a segregated church and that there is astonishingly little interracial cooperation between white and Negro churches." [868]

"Southern whites usually succeed in keeping the Christian challenge of religious brotherhood off their minds. The observer feels that the very incompatibility between the uncompromising Christian creed, on the one hand, and the actual caste relations, on the other hand, is a reason why white ministers in the South keep so aloof from the race problem and why the white church in the South has generally played so inconsequential a part in changing race relations." [868]

"The small Bahai Church is in America dominated by upper class Northern whites who have an explicit policy in favor of interracialism and internationalism." [871]

"But viewed as an instrument of collective action to improve the Negroes' position in American society, the church has been relatively inefficient and uninfluential." [873]

"As a class Negro preachers are losing influence, because they are not changing as fast as the rest of the Negro community. This is now on the

verge of becoming a most serious problem, endangering the future of the Negro church." [875]

"At least 44 per cent of American Negroes were claimed as members of Negro churches in 1936." [935]

"Probably the chief 'function' of the Negro church has been to buoy up the hopes of its members in the face of adversity and to give them a sense of community." [936]

"The religious service in Negro churches is often characterized by extreme emotionalism." [936]

"There is a definite trend for Negro youth to avoid the emotional type of church, and the same is true of the social 'climbers' of all ages and occupations." [937]

"It may be that emotionalism in religion is well suited to take the Negro's mind off his degradation and frustration. It is commonly said that it is religion that 'keeps him going'." [938]

Education

"It is indeed, an impossible proposition to educate the American Negroes and at the same time to keep them satisfied with their lower caste position." [657]

"Education means an assimilation of white American culture. It decreases the dissimilarity of the Negroes from other Americans." [879]

"The long-range effect of the rising level of education in the Negro people goes in the direction of nourishing and strengthening the Negro protest." [881]

"Under the slogan 'education for a changing world' and supported by a whole science of 'educational sociology,' it requires that education be set in relation to the society in which the individual lives. The introduction of this value relation into discussions of educational goals and means is a paramount contribution of America." [883]

"The American Creed definitely prescribes that the Negro child or youth should have just as much educational opportunity as is offered anyone else in the same community. Negroes should be trained to become good and equal citizens in a democracy which places culture high in its hierarchy of values. This equalitarian valuation is strong enough to dominate public policy in the North, in spite of the fact that probably most white people in the North, too, believe the Negroes to be inferior and, anyhow, do not care so much for their potentialities and possibilities as for those of whites." [893]

"Thomas Nelson Page presented the liberal Southerners' attitude toward the education of the Negro masses many years ago: There is much truth in the saying that unless the whites lift the Negroes up, the Negroes will drag them down, though it is not true in the full sense in which it was intended. It is not true to the extent that the white must lift the Negro up to his own level; it is true to the extent that he must not leave him debased — at least must not leave him here debased. If he does, then the Negro will inevitably hold him, if not drag him down." [896]

"There have never been, since Reconstruction, fewer reasons for a defeatist attitude in regard to Negro education in the South." [904]

"The main problem has always been not what sort but how much education the Negro should have and how much he gets." [904]

"What is needed is an education which makes the Negro child adaptable to and movable in the American culture at large." [906]

"It is, therefore, an interest for Northern cities, and not only for the migratory Negroes, that a program of adult education be instituted to teach the migrating Negro masses the elements of American culture and also, perhaps, elements of vocational skills." [907]

Schools

"There is a clear tendency to avoid civics and other social sciences in the Southern Negro public schools. They are not taught to any extent in the white schools, but a special effort is made to prevent Negroes from thinking about the duties and privileges of citizenship. In some places where white students are taught the Constitution and the structure of governments, Negroes are given courses in 'character building', by which is meant courtesy, humility, self-control, satisfaction with the poorer things of life, and all the traits which mark a 'good nigger' in the eyes of the Southern whites." [949]

"There is a strong element of the vocational in the education of Southern Negroes." [949]

"The whole Southern Negro educational structure is in a pathological state. Lack of support, low standards, and extreme dependence on the whites make Negro education inadequate to meet the aims of citizenship, character or vocational preparation." [951]

Traits

"The increasing isolation between Negroes and whites has, as we noted, increased the mutual ignorance of the two groups." [956]

"The traits which the whites perhaps associate most with Negroes is a tendency to be aggressive." [957]

"Next to aggressiveness, probably the most striking trait of Negroes noticed by whites is emotionality and spontaneous good humor." [959]

"The struggle for status manifests itself frequently in speech and this, too, may become ostentatious." [963]

"Another commonly observed trait of Negroes is their lack of poise, their inability to act in the conventional yet free and easy way expected of adult men and women in America." [964]

"It is not realized that the so-called 'Negro dialect' is simply a variation of the ordinary Southern accent which so many Northerners like so well." [965]

Crime

"In the South, inequality of justice seems to be the most important factor in making the statistics on Negro crime and white crime not comparable." [968]

"In general, our attitude toward crime statistics must be that they do not provide a fair index of Negro crime." [970]

"Like other Negro crime rates, the Negro rape rate is fallaciously high: white women may try to extricate themselves from the consequences of sexual delinquency by blaming or framing Negro men; a white woman who has a negro lover can get rid of him or avoid social ostracism following detection by accusing him of rape; neurotic white women may hysterically interpret an innocent action as an 'attack' by a Negro." [973]

"Because the criminal statistics reflect police and court practices as much as they do crime, it is impossible to prove whether or not the Negro crime rate would be higher than the white crime rate if there were no discrimination." [974]

"We know that Negroes are not biologically more criminal than whites. We do not know definitely that Negroes are culturally more criminal, although we do know that they come up against law-enforcement agencies more often." [978]

Mutual Disorders

"There is no indication that Negroes are innately more susceptible than are whites to mental disorder generally or to certain specific types of mental disorder. The circumstances under which Negroes live, however, have a definite influence on their mental health." [979]

"There is no proof that there was an increase in mental diseases among Negroes after Emancipation, but if there was — as is likely — it may simply have been a manifestation of the general trend toward increased mental disease that was characteristic of whites also." [979]

"The conditions under which Negroes live are reflected in the types of mental diseases predominant among them. There are two types of mental disease which are 3 or 4 times as prevalent among Negroes as among whites (New York State, 1929-1931) general paresis, which is a consequence of syphilis, and the psychoses that sometimes follow too great indulgence in alcohol. Clearly the high syphilis rate among Negroes — and the family disorganization and poor health facilities in the South, which are behind it — is a major cause of the high mental disease rate of Negroes in the North. The poverty of Negroes in both South and North, and the disorganization associated with migration, would seem to be behind the greater indulgence in alcohol." [980]

Recreation

"Negro recreation is conditioned by three factors: First, Negroes are barred from using public recreational and amusement facilities in many places even in the North, and are inadequately supplied with private facilities. Second, their geographical concentration in the South means

that many of their recreational patterns follow those of the rural South. . . . Third, because recreation and amusement must be carried on almost entirely within the isolated Negro community, Negro recreation has developed peculiar traits of its own, different from those that characterize recreation in the white community." [982]

"Most Negroes do not follow the usual American pattern of taking a vacation. The great majority of them are too poor. The upper classes who can afford to are usually barred from those vacation resorts which meet their standards." [985]

Achievements

"Opportunity is a most important prerequisite for achievement; and since the Negro's opportunities in America have been kept low, his achievements are also small." [986]

It is in the field of entertainment that the Negro's achievements are most widely recognized, and the opportunities made available to him there have made it possible for him to develop excellence in the economically subsidiary fields of arts and sports." [987]

"Today Negroes have a high record of performance and popularity in both serious and comic entertainment. Negro dancers, singers, orchestras, comedians, strip-teasers, and acrobats are used in theater stage shows and night club floor shows in all the large Northern cities." [991]

"Whatever the reason for the success of Negroes in the fields of entertainment and the arts, the success has had predominantly beneficial effects for the Negroes. It has enabled them to get a measure of self-confidence, even though it may have had the secondary effect of stimulating a false pride in race." [994]

What America Must Face

"What we usually call 'social trends' have their main significance for the Negro's status because of what is in white people's minds." [998]

"The important changes in the Negro problem do not consist of, or have close relations with, 'social trends' in the narrower meaning of the term but are made up of changes in people's beliefs and valuations." [998]

"In the political sphere, the South continued to disfranchise the Negro, contrary to the clear precept of the American Creed and the Constitution." [999]

"In the North the Negro enjoyed uninfringed his right to vote, and the steadily continuing migration to the North meant that the Negro vote was growing.' [1000]

"In the enjoyment of public services the Negro was discriminated against severely in the South in blunt repudiation of the Constitution and the state laws. But even in this sphere we saw a slow improvement of his status as a result of the rising legal culture of the region; the pressures from the Negroes, from public opinion in the North, from the federal courts and administration as well as from the white Southerners' own better conscience." [1000]

"In the South three generations ago white people had for their defense a consistent and respectable theory, endorsed by the church and by all sciences, printed in learned books and periodicals, and expounded by the South's great statesmen in the Capitol at Washington. . . . The Negro was a completely different species of mankind: undeveloped, 'child like,' amoral, and much less endowed with intellectual capacities than the white man; he was meant by the Creator to be a servant forever; if kept in his 'place' he was useful or at least tolerable, and there he was also happy; 'social equality' was unthinkable as it implied intermarriage which would destroy the white race and Anglo-Saxon civilization. . . . But now it is almost destroyed for upper class and educated people. . . . The gradual destruction of the popular theory behind race prejudice is the most important of all social trends in the field of interracial relations." [1002, 1003]

"The popular beliefs rationalizing caste in America are no longer intellectually respectable. . . . Everybody who has acquired a higher education knows that they are wrong. Most white people with a little education also have a hunch that they are wrong. . . . This makes the prejudiced white man nearly as pathetic as his Negro victim." [1003]

"The white man is thus in the process of losing confidence in the theory which gave reason and meaning to his way of life. And since he has not changed his life much, he is in a dilemma." [1003]

"America can never more regard its Negroes as a patient, submissive minority. Negroes will continually become less well 'accommodated.' They will organize for defense and offense." [1004]

"What has actually happened within the last few years is not only that the Negro problem has become national in scope after having been mainly a Southern worry. It has also acquired tremendous international implications, and this is another and decisive reason why the white North is prevented from compromising with the white South regarding the Negro." [1015]

"The American Negro cannot help observing the color angle to this War. He is obviously getting vicarious satisfaction out of this perspective, and he is also testing some vague feelings of solidarity and allegiance to the cause of other colored peoples involved in the world conflagration." [1015, 1016]

"We cannot . . . win this war without convincing our colored allies — who are most of our allies — that we are not fighting for ourselves as continuing superior over colored peoples. The deep patience of colored peoples is at an end. Everywhere among them there is the same resolve for freedom and equality that white Americans and British have, but it is a grimmer resolve, for it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and exploitation and white race prejudice, and nothing will weaken this will." [1017]

"Caste is becoming an expensive luxury of white men." [1017]

"It seems more definitely certain that it will be impossible to make and preserve a good peace without having built up the fullest trust and good-will among the colored peoples. . . . The population expansion of the whites is now slowing down, absolutely and relatively. . . . The colored

nations, on the other hand, are just entering the first stage where expansion is likely to be pushed by an increasingly improved control over death, and it is unlikely that the increase in birth control will keep pace with the improvement of the control over death. The whites will, therefore, from now on become a progressively smaller portion of the total world population." [1017]

"It should be apparent that the time to come to an understanding on the basis of equality is rapidly running out. When colored nations have once acquired power but still sense the scorn of white superiority and racial discrimination, they are likely to become indoctrinated by a race prejudice much more akin to that of the whites — a race prejudice which can be satisfied only by the whites' humiliation and subjugation." [1018]

"It is commonly agreed, and taken as proved by the coming of this War, that peace cannot be preserved if the development of a democratic life in every nation is not internationally guaranteed and the possibility of oppression is not checked. It is anticipated that international agencies will be created to sancton such a development. [1019]

"I have, for instance, met few white Americans who have ever thought of the fact that, if America had joined the League of Nations, American Negroes could, and certainly would, have taken their cases before international tribunal back in the 'twenties. Some versatile Negro protest leaders are, however, familiar with the thought. After this war there is bound to be an international apparatus for appeal by oppressed minority groups. . . . But there is no way back. America is irredeemably in world politics." [1019]

"The treatment of the Negro is America's greatest and most conspicuous scandal. It is tremendously publicized, and democratic America will continue to publicize it itself. For the colored peoples all over the world, whose rising influence is axiomatic, this scandal is salt in their wounds." [1020, 1021]

"What America is constantly reaching for is democracy at home and abroad." [1021]

"The main trend in its history is the gradual realization of the American Creed. In this sense the Negro problem is not only America's greatest failure but also America's incomparably great opportunity for the future." [1021]

"America can demonstrate that justice, equality and cooperation are possible between white and colored people." [1021]

"America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity." [1022]

"The development of the American Negro problem during the years to come is, therefore, fateful not only for America itself but for all mankind." [1022]

VITAL RACIAL FINDINGS
ASSEMBLED BY SAMUEL S. WYER

1. For every 3 people in the world 1 is white and 2 are non-white.
2. The whites are the most hated group in all history because of their past brutal domination over, and abuse of the non-whites.
3. In the past the whites have kept their dominant position with the gun. Now large numbers of the non-whites have been armed.
4. The White race is a minority and the day of white domination is over.
5. The world's population may be roughly divided into White, Yellow-Brown and Black.
6. "The term 'race,' in scientific classification, applies solely to the physical characteristics of differing and more or less persistent strains within a species."
7. "The terms 'Aryan and Semitic,' have no racial significance whatsoever." They simply denote language families."
8. The "something called race" as "the prime determiner of all important traits," "has no basis in scientific fact. It is a pure myth."
9. "The term 'race' should be discarded entirely in the cultural reference, and the more appropriate term 'case' employed in its stead."
10. "Biology and the Bible agree that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men.' "
11. "The fact of the unity of the human race is proved in its anatomy. All the racial differences among them are in the non-essentials."
12. "The general and deep conviction among all the most expert students of man, is that all the existing human races are but varieties of one and the same species."
13. "All human blood is the same. There are four types of blood. These four types of blood are inherited by each child from its forebears. But all races of man have all these blood types. The color of their skin does not tell at all which type of blood they are—the same blood plasma is used to restore any man of any color who has been wounded in battle."
14. Skin color is determined by the proportion of yellow and brown substances. Every person has both except albinos who lack coloring substances.
15. "Statements that the Negro nose is more primitive than that of the white are erroneous."
16. "The broad nose of the Negro is adapted to meet the requirements of air breathed at relatively high temperatures, whereas the comparatively long, narrow nose of the white is adapted to breathing air at relatively low temperatures."
17. "One of the most popularly entrenched beliefs concerning the Negro is that he possesses a unique and particularly objectionable body odor. This odor depends upon a very large number of factors." Not one of these is color.
18. "The black skin appears to represent a character of adaptive value which followed upon the loss of the body covering of hair."
19. "Kinky hair, thick lips and general lack of body hair are not marks of inferiority."
20. "The White race is the hairiest."
21. "One of the most strongly entrenched of popular superstitions is the belief that interbreeding, or crossing, between 'races' results in inferior offspring, and that the greater part of such crossings leads to degeneration of the stock."
22. "It has been proved over and over again that the size of the brain has nothing to do with intelligence. The world's largest brain belonged to an imbecile."
23. "The common stereotype that the Negro's brain or mind stops growing at 13 is completely false."
24. "The scientist realizes that every time he measures intelligence in any man, black or white, his results show the intelligence that man was born with, plus what happened to him since he was born."

25. Army intelligence tests revealed higher scores for Northern Negroes, than for Southern Whites. This was not due to color or region, but "because of differences in income, educations, cultural advantages, and other opportunities."
26. "Race does not account for all human achievements."
27. "History proves that progress in civilization is not the monopoly of one race or subrace."
28. "All races have made contributions to human knowledge. Those who have lived at the crossroads of the world have invented most."
29. "Anthropology provides no scientific basis for discrimination against any people on the ground of racial inferiority."
30. The real problem is not the Negro but the white man's attitude toward the Negro.
31. The Southerner's guilty conscience accounts for his irrational attitudes toward Negroes.
32. The South's original Negro ancestors were kidnapped by whites—now a capital offense—and then brutally enslaved.
33. From past sex relations of aggressive white men and exploited black women, most Negroes have some white blood. Many whites know they must be blood relatives of blacks.
34. "The Russians have welcomed cultural differences and they have refused to treat them as inferiorities."
35. Russia "has for a generation shown what can be done to outlaw race prejudice in a country with many kinds of people. They did not wait for people's minds to change. They made racial discrimination and persecution illegal." This makes a strong appeal for Communism to non-whites.
36. "The danger of racial hostilities to the peace of mankind is immediate and inescapable."
37. Survival of our democratic faith is dependent on our solution of our color problem.
38. "America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity."

PROPOSED
DECALOG OF DUTIES FOR SANE RACE RELATIONS
PREPARED BY SAMUEL S. WYER

1. Live up to the Living-Together implications of: "Biology and the Bible agree that God hath made of one blood all nations of men."

   The idea that any one people are a "chosen people" to rule over others is a myth. It is the duty of all to curb such irrational claims.

3. It is our duty to face that for every three people in the world, one is white and two are non-white.
4. It is the duty of the white race to face that its past domination over non-whites is declining, and adjust to this future reality.
5. It is the duty of all—especially minority groups—to avoid Living-Together irritants like slovenly or loud language, boisterous conduct and "advantage taking" aggressive attitudes. One deviating individual can engender hatred and intolerance toward an entire group.
6. Since racial intolerance is not inherited, but is an acquired attitude that children do not have, it is the duty of all to protect children from this curse.
7. It is our duty to answer an emphatic "yes" to Cain's laconic query "am I my brother's keeper?"
8. May we ever remember that there are no rights without corresponding duties and that the most effective way to maintain our rights is to perform our duties.
9. For every right we demand for ourselves it is our duty in similar circumstances to grant that same right to others. Starting this at home will prepare us to become other-nation-minded, and thus assume our international obligations.
10. The rights of Democrary are not divisible; but must be available to ALL in order to be safe and secure for any. From this follows our duty of "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" as we pledged to do in signing the United Nations Charter.

DIGEST

OF

THE REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

One December 5, 1946, President Truman created "The President's Committee on Civil Rights". The following is a digest of the Committee's 175 page report presented to President Truman on October 29, 1947.

Point of View

"We have almost exclusively focused our attention on the bad side of our record — on what might be called the civil rights frontier."

"This necessary emphasis upon our country's failures should not be permitted to obscure the real measure of its successes. No fair-minded student of American history, or of world history, will deny to the United States a position of leadership in enlarging the range of human liberties and rights, in recognizing and stating the ideals of freedom and equality, and in steadily and loyally working to make those ideals a reality. Whatever our failures in practice have been or may be, there has never been a time when the American people have doubted the validity of those ideals. We still regard them as vital to our democratic system."

"Civil rights, are statements of aspirations, of demands which we make on ourselves and our society. We believe that the principles which underlie them are timeless. But we have selected for treatment those whose implementation is a pressing requirement." The back cover illustrates the scope of the individual's civil rights.

Signs of Recent Progress

"No nation in history has ever offered more hope of the final realization of the ultimate ideal of freedom and equality than has ours. In no other nation have so many people come as close to this ideal as in America."

"The greatest hope for the future is the increasing awareness by more and more Americans of the gulf between our civil rights principles and our practices."

Menace of Lynching

"Vital to the integrity of the individual and to the stability of a democratic society is the right of each individual to physical freedom, to security against illegal violence, and to fair, orderly legal process. Most Americans enjoy this right, but it is not yet secure for all."

"It is still possible for a mob to abduct and murder a person in some sections of the country with almost certain assurance of escaping punishment for the crime."

"The devastating consequences of lynchings go far beyond what is shown by counting the victims. When a person is lynched and the lynchers go unpunished, thousands wonder where the evil will appear again and what mischance may produce another victim."

Police Brutality

"In various localities, scattered throughout the country, unprofessional or undisciplined police, while avoiding brutality, fail to recognize and to safeguard the civil rights of citizenry."

"Improper police conduct is still widespread."

"Wherever unfettered police lawlessness exists, civil rights may be vulnerable to the prejudices of the region or of dominat local groups, and to the caprice of individual policemen."

"The total picture — adding the connivance of some police officials in lynchings to their record of brutality against Negroes in other situations— is a serious reflection on American justice."

"We are convinced, that the incidence of police brutality against Negroes is disturbingly high."

U. S. Supreme Court Censure

"The United States Supreme Court in a number of recent decisions has censured state courts for accepting evidence procured by third-degree methods, for failing to provide accused persons with adequate legal counsel, and for excluding Negroes from jury lists."

Weakness of Jury System

"All too frequently trial by a jury of one's peers has no meaning for these persons because of the complete absence of people of their own kind from jury lists."

Menace of Fee System

"The use of the fee system in many communities — where court officials are paid in whole or part from the fines levied — also sometimes stimulates arbitrary arrests and encourages unjust convictions. It is the unpopular minorities again that suffer most from this system, since it is relatively easy for unscrupulous, fee-seeking officers to "railroad" such persons to jail."

Involuntary Servitude

"The temptation to force poor and defenseless persons by one device or another, into a condition of virtual slavery, still exists."

"In 1945, the Department of Justice prosecuted a case in which a Negro woman and her ten year old son had been held in captivity by a Mississippi farmer."

"Where large numbers of people are frightened, uneducated, and underprivileged the dangers of involuntary servitude remain."

Justice Denial to Japanese Ancestry Citizens

"The most striking mass interference since slavery with the right to physical freedom was the evacuation and exclusion of persons of Japanese descent from the West Coast during the past war. The evacuation of 110,000

men, women, and children, two-thirds of whom were United States citizens, was made without a trial or any sort of hearing, at a time when the courts were functioning."

"Fundamental to our whole system of law is the belief that guilt is personal and not a matter of heredity or association."

"Yet in this instance no specific evacuees were charged with disloyalty, espionage or sedition."

"Finally it should be noted that hundreds of evacuees suffered serious property and business losses because of governmental action and through no fault of their own."

Definition of Citizenship

"All persons born in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. These are the words of the Constitution. They set an ideal of native citizenship by which all persons born in this country are citizens without regard to race, color, creed, or ancestry."

"In granting citizenship by naturalization, a democracy may establish reasonable tests of the individual alien's eligibility for citizenship. But some of the standard of eligibility in our naturalization laws have nothing to do with a person's fitness to become a citizen. These standards are based solely on race or national origin, and penalize some residents who may otherwise have all the attributes necessary for American citizenship."

The Right to Vote

"The right of all qualified citizens to vote is today considered axiomatic by most Americans."

"In theory the aim has been achieved, but in fact there are many backwaters in our political life where the right to vote is not assured to every qualified citizen. The franchise is barred to some citizens because of race; to others by institutions or procedures which impede free access to the polls."

"Permanent residents of the District of Columbia — are excluded from political representation and the right to vote as a result of outmoded national traditions."

"The denial of the suffrage on account of race is the most serious present interference with the right to vote. Until very recently, American Negro citizens in most southern states found it difficult to vote."

"In recent years the situation in the deep South has changed to the point where it can be said that Negroes are beginning to exercise the political rights of free Americans. In the light of history, this represents progress, limited and precarious, but nevertheless progress."

Discrimination in Armed Forces

"Underlying the theory of compulsory wartime military service in a democratic state is the principle that every citizen, regardless of his station in life, must assist in the defense of the nation when its security is threatened. Despite the discrimination which they encounter in so many fields, minority group members have time and again met this responsibility."

"Yet the record shows that the members of several minorities, fighting and dying for the survival of the nation in which they met bitter prejudice, found that there was discrimination against them even as they fell in battle."

"All of the armed forces have recently adopted policies which set as explicit objectives the achievement of equality of opportunity."

"However, despite the lessons of the war and the recent announcement of these policies, the records of the military forces disclose many areas in which there is a great need for further remedial action."

"Within the services, studies made within the last year disclose that actual experience has been out of keeping with the declaration of policy on discrimination."

"The armed forces, in actual practice, still maintain many barriers to equal treatment for all their members. In many cases, state and local agencies and private persons disregard the dignity of the uniform."

Freedom of Opinion and Expression

"In our opinion, the most immediate threat to the right to freedom of opinion and expression is indirect. It comes from efforts to deal with those few people in our midst who would destroy democracy. There are two groups whose refusal to accept and abide by the democratic process is all too clear. The first are the Communists whose counterparts in many countries have proved, by the treatment of those with whom they disagree, that their ideology does not include a belief in universal civil rights. The second are the native Fascists. Their statements and their actions — as well as those of their foreign counterparts — prove them to be equally hostile to the American heritage of freedom and equality."

Communism and Fascism

"It is natural and proper for good citizens to worry about the activities of these groups. Every member of this Committee shares that concern. Communists and Fascists may assert different objectives. This does not obscure the identity of the means which both are willing to use to further themselves."

"But their concern for civil rights is always limited to themselves. Both are willing to lie about their political views when it is convenient. They feel no obligation to come before the public openly and say who they are and what they really want."

"This Committee unqualifiedly opposes any attempt to impose special limitations on the rights of these people to speak and assemble."

Government Employees

"Efforts to protect the government against disloyal employees may lead to dangerous "Red hunting". We firmly believe that the government has the obligation to have in its employ only citizens of unquestioned loyalty."

"Communists feel no obligation to identify themselves as members of their party and have completely divided loyalties, which make them dangerous in posts of government responsibility."

"Our whole civil liberties history provides us with a clear warning against the possible misuse of loyalty checks to inhibit freedom of opinion and expression."

"There are two possible dangers. In the first place, the standards by which the loyalty of an individual or an organization is to be determined may not be clearly defined."

"A second danger is that the procedure by which the loyalty of accused federal employees is determined may not accord with our tradition of due process of law."

"More than the civil rights of our two million federal workers — important as they are — is involved here. All federal government must maintain a loyalty program which adequately protects the civil rights of its employees. Otherwise private employers and state and local governments may not protect the rights of their personnel, and in fact they may actually be encouraged to infringe these rights."

Constitutional Rights for Enemies

"One of the things which totalitarians of both left and right have in common is a reluctance to come before the people honestly and say who they are, what they work for and who supports them. Those persons in our own country who try to stir up religious and racial hatred are no exceptions. They understand that the viscious doctrines which they advocate have been morally outlawed in America for more than a century and a half. This Committee is as eager to guarantee their civil rights as those of the people they attack. But we do not believe in a definition of civil rights which includes freedom to avoid all responsibility for one's opinion."

"This would be an unwise and disastrous weakening of the democratic process. If these people wish to influence the public in our national forum of opinion they should be free to do so, regardless of how distasteful their views are to us. But the public must be able to evaluate these views."

Disclosure of Propaganda Source

"As recently as 1940, however, a study by the staff of the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures revealed that one-third of the election propaganda in the campaign of that year was completely anonymous and that one-half was partially and inadequately identified as to source and sponsorship. Moreover, the Committee reported that the anonymous material included "the most virulent, dishonest and defamatory propaganda." Congress has already taken the first step to remedy this inadequacy by amending the election laws to forbid the distribution of anonymous campaign literature."

"The principle of disclosure is, we believe, the appropriate way to deal with those who would subvert our democracy by revolution or by encouraging disunity and destroying the civil rights of some groups."

Discrimination in Employment

"A man's right to an equal chance to utilize fully his skills and knowledge is essential. The meaning of a job goes far beyond the paycheck."

"Discrimination in employment damages lives, both the bodies and the minds, of those discriminated against and those who discriminate. It blights and perverts that healthy ambition to improve one's standard of living which we like to say is peculiarly American. It generates insecurity, fear, resentment, division and tension in our society."

Discrimination in Unions

"Labor unions are guilty of discriminatory labor practices. Six per cent of the complaints received by the FEPC were made against unions, and the FEPC states that when challenged, private industry eliminated discrimination much more readily than did unions. On the other hand, it should be noted that great strides have been made in the admission of minorities to unions."

Discrimination in Education

"It is the South's segregated school system which most directly discriminates against the Negro. This segregation is found today in 17 southern states and the District of Columbia."

"With respect to education, as well as to other public services, the Committee believes that the "separate but equal" rule has not been obeyed in practice."

"There is a marked difference in quality between the educational opportunities offered white children and Negro children in the separate schools."

"The second inadequacy in our present educational practices in America is the religious and racial discrimination that exists in the operation of some private educational institutions, both with respect to the admission of students and the treatment of them after admission."

"It is clear that there is much discrimination, based on prejudice, in admission of students to private colleges, vocational schools, and graduate schools."

"Competent observers are agreed that existence of this condition is widespread."

"Various professional schools tried to get information about applicants which would indicate their race, religion, or national origin for "a purpose other than judging their qualifications for admission." Jews are not alone in being affected by these practices."

Discrimination in Housing

"Equality of opportunity to rent or buy homes should exist for every American."

"Discrimination in housing results primarily from business practices. These practices may arise from special interests of business groups, such as the profits to be derived from confining minorities to slum areas, or they may reflect community prejudice. One of the most common practices is the policy of landlords and real estate agents to prevent Negroes from renting outside of designated areas."

Restrictive Covenants

"Under ruling of the Supreme Court, it is legally impossible to segregate housing on racial or religious bases by zoning ordinance. Accordingly, the restrictive covenant has become the most effective modern method of accomplishing such segregation. Restrictive covenants generally take the form of agreements written into deeds of sale by which property owners mutually bind themselves not to sell or lease to an "undesirable." These agreements have thus far been enforceable by court action. Through these covenants

large areas of land are barred against use by various classes of American citizens."

"The constitutional and legal validity of this device has been tested in few states. Where there has been litigation, the appellate courts have up to this time uniformly upheld restriction against use by barred groups and in most instances have also upheld restrictions against ownership."

"The purpose of the restrictive covenant can only effectively be achieved in the final analysis by obtaining court orders putting the power of the state behind the enforcement of the private agreement. While our American courts thus far have permitted judicial power to be utilized for these ends, the Supreme Court of Ontario has refused recently to follow this course. The Ontario judge, calling attention to the policy of the United Nations against racial or religious discrimination, said: "Nothing could be more calculated to create or deepen divisions between existing religious and ethnic groups in this province . . . than the sanction of a method of land transfer which would permit the segregation and confinement of particular groups to particular business or residential areas, or conversely, would exclude particular groups from particular business or residential areas."

"There is eminent judicial and professional opinion in this country that our courts cannot constitutionally enforce racial restrictive covenants. In a recent California case a lower court judge held that the courts could not enforce such an agreement. And in a strong dissenting opinion in a recent covenant case Justice Edgerton, of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia said:

"Suits like these and the ghetto system they enforce are among our conspicuous failures to live together in peace . . . The question in these cases is not whether law should punish racial discrimination or even whether law should try to prevent racial discrimination, or even whether law should interfere with it in any way. The question is whether law should affirmatively support and enforce racial discrimination."

Discrimination in Health Facilities

"In 1937, only 35 percent of southern Negro babies were delivered by doctors, as compared to 90 percent of northern babies of both races."

"The ratio of Negro physicians to the total Negro population was about one to 3377, while that of the total number of physicians to the general population of the country was one to 750."

"In the South, with a Negro population of almost 10,000,000 there were in 1940 about 2000 Negro doctors, or only one to every 4900 colored persons."

"One important reason for this acute shortage of skilled medical men is the discriminatory policy of our medical schools in admitting minority students."

"To these handicaps must be added the refusal of some medical societies and many hospitals to admit Negro physicians and internes for practice."

Discrimination in Public Services

"Services supplied by the government should be distributed in a nondiscriminatory way. Activities financed by the public treasury should serve

the whole people; they cannot, in consonance with the democratic principle, be used to advance the welfare of a portion of the population only."

"Where state or local facilities are allocated to Negroes, either because of segregation or as a result of geographical concentration of the colored population, the services are almost always inferior to those provided whites."

"Public parks, beaches and playgrounds are generally closed to Negroes in the South, and on the rare occasion when substitutes are offered they are inferior."

Discrimination in Public Accommodations

"When we turn from public services supplied by government to those supplied by private enterprise, discrimination against minorities becomes more pronounced."

Some Americans "because of their race or their color or their creed, are barred from access to some places and given unequal service in others. In many sections of this country, some people must pause and give thought before they enter places serving the public if they wish to avoid embarrassment, arrest, or even possible violence."

"As interpreted by the Supreme Court the constitution does not guarantee equal access to places of public accommodation and amusement."

Supreme Court Evades Civil Rights

"The Supreme Court, beginning with its decision in Plessy v. Ferguson, in 1896, has approved state legislation requiring segregation between Negroes and whites on the theory that segregation, as such, is not discriminatory."

"This judicial legalization of segregation was not accomplished without protest. Justice Harlan, a Kentuckian, in one of the most vigorous and forthright dissenting opinions in Supreme Court history, denounced his colleagues for the manner in which they interpreted away the substance of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. In his dissent in the Plessy case, he said:

"Our Constitution is color blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens."

"We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens, our equals before the law."

Segregation — Liability

"Experiences demonstrate that segregation is an obstacle to establishing harmonious relationships among groups. They prove that where the artificial barriers which divide people and groups from one another are broken, tension and conflict begin to be replaced by cooperative effort and an environment in which civil rights can thrive."

Lack of Civil Rights in Washington D. C.

"We have seen how throughout the country, our practice lags behind the American tradition of freedom and equality. A single community — the nation's capital — illustrates dramatically the shortcomings in our record and

the need for change. The District of Columbia should symbolize to our own citizens and to the people of all countries our great tradition of civil liberty. Instead, it is a graphic illustration of a failure of democracy. As the seat of federal government under the authority of Congress, the failure of the District is a failure of all the people."

"For Negro Americans, Washington is not just the nation's capital. It is the point at which all public transportation into the South becomes "Jim Crow."

"The core of Washington's segregated society is its dual system of public education."

"Negro schools are inferior to white schools in almost every respect."

"Classes in the Negro schools are considerably larger and the teaching load of the Negro teachers considerably heavier. Less than one per cent of all white children, but over 15 per cent of colored children, receive only part-time instruction."

"Private universities in the District have followed the lead of the public schools. Two of the large universities and most of the smaller schools admit no colored students."

"Catholic University, on the other hand, presents an outstanding example of successful interracial education. In the last few years, Negroes have been admitted, and there is no color distinction in classes."

"More than one-third of the jobs in Washington are with the federal government. Therefore, discriminatory practices of government agencies are important to District Negroes."

"A ranking District official during the war told an interviewer: "Negroes in the District of Columbia have no right to ask for jobs on the basis of merit" . . .

"In building construction, one of Washington's largest industries, the various building trade unions discriminate against colored craftsmen. They are either excluded completely, allowed to work only on projects to be occupied by Negroes, admitted only as helpers to white journeymen, or not allowed to become apprentices."

"The District Bar Association and the Medical Society are for whites only."

"The greatest inequalities are evident in Washington's concern for the health of its residents. Freedmen's Hospital, federally supported and affiliated with Howard University is for Negroes only, and three-fourths of the beds in the municipal Gallinger Hospital are usually occupied by Negroes in segregated wards. Four of the twelve private hospitals in the city do not admit Negro in-patients, and the rest accept only a few segregated wards. It is peculiarly shocking to find church hospitals practicing discrimination."

"No Negro physician is allowed to practice in Gallinger Hospital, although it is publicly supported and the majority of its patients are colored. Nor are they allowed in St. Elizabeth's, a federal institution, or any of the private hospitals."

"In the field of public recreation, compulsory segregation has increased over the past 25 years. Various public authorities have closed to one race or

the other numerous facilities where whites and Negroes once played together harmoniously."

"The shamefulness and absurdity of Washington's treatment of Negro Americans is highlighted by the presence of many dark-skinned foreign visitors. Capital custom not only humiliates colored citizens, but is a source of considerable embarrassment to these visitors."

"Foreign officials are often mistaken for American Negroes and refused food, lodging and entertainment. However, once it is established that they are not Americans, they are accommodated."

"This is the situation that exists in the District of Columbia. The Committee feels most deeply that it is intolerable."

Government Responsibility

"The National Government of the United States must take the lead in safeguarding the civil rights of all Americans."

"We agree with words used by the President, in an address at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington in June, 1947:

"We must make the Federal Government a friendly, vigilant defender of the rights and equalities of all Americans . . . Our National Government must show the way."

"We cannot be content with a civil liberties program which emphasizes only the need of protection against the possibility of tyranny by the Government . . . We must keep moving forward, with new concepts of civil rights to safeguard our heritage. The extension of civil rights today means not protection of the people against the Government, but protection of the people by the Government."

International Aspects

"Our civil rights record has growing international implications. These cannot safely be disregarded by the government at the national level which is responsible for our relations with the world, and left entirely to government at the local level for proper recognition and action."

"A lynching in a rural American community is not a challenge to that community's conscience alone. The repercussions of such a crime . . . echo from one end of the globe to the other . . ."

"Interference with the right of a qualified citizen to vote locally cannot today remain a local problem. An American diplomat cannot forcefully argue for free elections in foreign lands without meeting the challenge that in many sections of America qualified voters do not have free access to the polls. Can it be doubted that this is a right which the national government must make secure?"

Duty of States

"In certain areas the states must do far more than parallel federal action. Either for constitutional or administrative reasons, they must remain the primary protectors of civil rights. This is true of governmental efforts to control or outlaw racial or religious discrimination practiced by privately sup-

ported public-service institutions such as schools and hospitals and of places of public accommodation such as hotels, restaurants, theaters, and stores."

Limitations of Government

"Government action alone, whether federal, state, local, or all combined, cannot provide complete protection of civil rights. Everything that government does stems from and is conditioned by the state of public opinion. Civil rights in this country will never be adequately protected until the intelligent will of the American people approves and demands that protection."

Fallacy of Waiting

"The argument is sometimes made that because prejudice and intolerance cannot be eliminated through legislation and government control we should abandon that action in favor of the long, slow, evolutionary effects of education and voluntary private efforts. We believe that this argument misses the point and that the choice it poses between legislation and education as to the means of improving civil rights is an unnecessary one. In our opinion, both approaches to the goal are valid, and are, moreover, essential to each other."

"It may be impossible to overcome prejudice by law, but many of the evil discriminatory practices which are the visible manifestations of prejudice can be brought to an end through proper government controls. At the same time, it is highly desirable that efforts be made to understand more fully the causes of prejudice and to stamp them out."

Freedom Only Under Law

"The Committee rejects the argument that government controls are themselves necessarily threats to liberty. This statement overlooks the fact that freedom in a civilized society is always founded on law enforced by government. Freedom in the absence of law is anarchy."

Constitutional Foundation

"Our Constitution has long been recognized by the Supreme Court itself as a flexible document, subject to varying interpretations and capable of being adapted to the different needs of changing time. Chief Justice Marshall . . . called it . . . "a constitution intended to endure for ages to come, and consequently to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs."

"The American people by and large, have accepted John Marshall's view for more than a century and a quarter."

"There are several specific constitutional bases upon which a federal civil rights program can be built. Some have been recognized and approved by the courts. Others have the support of leading students of the American constitutional system. Some are beyond dispute; others are frankly controversial. Collectively, however, they provide an encouraging basis for action."

Supreme Court Reversal

"There is evidence that the Fourteenth Amendment was intended by its framers to extend this protection against wrongful actions by the state and local governments. For 60 years following ratification of the Amendment, the Supreme Court refused to sanction this point of view. But in Gitlow v. New

York in 1925, and in Near v. Minnesota in 1931, the Supreme Court reversed itself. In a long series of cases since 1931, it has safeguarded the rights of the individual by invalidating state laws and setting aside certain state judicial rulings."

Prejudice Problem

"We do not have sufficient information to know all about the many variations of prejudice. We do know that most prejudice is learned. We know that it may result from actual experience, or propaganda, or both. It may derive from foolish generalizations about groups, from personal frustration, from economic or social competition, or from local environments that are built on discrimination. It ranges from the mild, secret feeling of the social snob to the violent murderous impulses of the insanely prejudiced."

"There must also be ignorance to sustain the prejudice. Most prejudice can not survive real understanding of the great variations among people in any one group; or of the scientific findings which establish the equality of groups, and disprove racist nonsense; or of the fact that in a democratic commonwealth, prejudice is an immoral outlaw attitude."

Danger of Ignorance

"In October, 1946, the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Denver, asked a cross-section of our adult population a series of questions about the Bill of Rights. Only one out of five Americans had a reasonable accurate knowledge of what is in the first 10 Amendments to the Constitution. Completely confused and inaccurate descriptions were offered by 12 per cent. More than a third had heard of the Bill of Rights but could not identify it in any way. Another third had not even heard of it. Even among the best informed people, however, — the more privileged, educationally, economically, and occupationally — less than a majority can satisfactorily identify the Bill of Rights. There is no excuse for this kind of ignorance."

Three Reasons for Action

"We have a moral reason, an economic reason, and an international reason for believing that the time for action is now."

"The pervasive gap between our aims and what we actually do is creating a kind of moral dry rot which eats away at the emotional and rational bases of democratic beliefs. There are times when the difference between what we preach about civil rights and what we practice is shockingly illustrated by individual outrages."

"The United States can no longer countenance these burdens on its common conscience, these inroads on its moral fiber."

"The withholding of jobs and business opportunities from some people does not make more jobs and business opportunities for others. Such a policy merely tends to drag down the whole economic level."

"The existence of discrimination against minority groups in this country has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. We are reminded over and over by some foreign newspapers and spokesmen, that our treatment of various minorities leaves much to be desired."

URGED CORRECTIVE ACTION

To stop "discrimination and segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin."

Congressional Action

1. "Reorganization of Civil Rights Section of Department of Justice" to: "establish regional officers"; "increase staff"; initiate "investigative action"; "greater use of civil sanctions"; and make it "a full division".
2. "Establishment within the FBI of a special unit of investigators trained in civil rights work."
3. "Establishment of a permanent Commission on Civil Rights in the Executive Office of the President," and "Joint Standing Committee on Civil Rights in Congress."
4. "Legislation to . . . . impose the same liability on one person as is now imposed by statute on two or more conspirators."
5. "Remove the penalty provision which disqualifies persons convicted under the Act from holding public office."
6. "Increase the maximum penalties that may be imposed under it from a $1000 fine and a one-year prison term to a $5000 fine and a 10-year prison term."
7. "Statute, specifically directed against police brutality and related crimes."
8. "Anti-lynching act."
9. "Criminal statute on involuntary servitude."
10. "Review our wartime evacuation and detention experience looking toward the development of a policy which will prevent the abridgement of civil rights of any person or groups because of race or ancestry."
11. "Establishing a procedure by which claims of evacuees for specific property and business losses resulting from the wartime evacuation can be promptly considered and settled."
12. "Protect the right of qualified persons to participate in federal primaries and elections against interference by public officers and private persons."
13. "Protect the right to qualify for, or participate in, federal or state primaries or elections against discriminatory action by state officers."
14. "Modification of the federal naturalization laws to permit the granting of citizenship without regard to race, color, or national origin of applicants."
15. "Granting citizenship to the people of Guam and American Samoa."
16. "End immediately all discrimination and segregation . . . . in the organization and activities of all branches of the Armed Services."
17. "Providing that no member of the armed forces shall be subject to discrimination of any kind by any public authority or place of public authority or place of public accommodation, recreation, transportation, or other service or business."
18. "Action clarifying the loyalty obligations of federal employees, and establishing standards and procedures by which the civil rights of public workers may be scrupulously maintained."
19. "Conditioning of all federal grant-in-aid and other forms of federal assistance to public or private agencies for any purpose on the absence of discrimination and segregation."
20. "Federal Fair Employment Practice Act prohibiting all forms of discrimination in private employment."
21. "Federal mandate against discrimination in government employment."
22. "Renewed court attack, with intervention by the Department of Justice, upon restrictive covenants."
23. Outlaw "discrimination and segregation, in the rendering of all public services by the national government as contrary to public policy."

24. Outlaw "discrimination or segregation, in interstate transportation."
25. "End the system of segregation in the Panama Canal Zone."

Specifics for District of Columbia:

26. "Establish local self-government for the District of Columbia; and the amendment of the Constitution to extend suffrage in presidential elections, and representation in Congress to District residents."
27. Outlaw "discrimination and segregation, in all public or publicly supported hospitals, parks, recreational facilities, housing projects, welfare agencies, penal institutions, and concessions on public property."
28. "The prohibition of segregation in the public school system."
29. "Establishment of a fair educational practice program in the admission of students to private educational institutions."
30. "Establishment of a fair health practice program forbidding discrimination and segregation by public or private agencies, with respect to the training of doctors and nurses, the admission of patients to hospitals, clinics, and similar institutions, and the right of doctors and nurses to practice in hospitals."
31. "Outlawing of restrictive covenants."
32. "Guarantee equal access to places of public accommodation, broadly defined."

State Action

33. "Law enforcement agencies comparable to the federal Civil Rights Section."
34. "Permanent commissions on civil rights to parallel the work of the federal Commission at the state level."
35. "Increased professionalization of state and local police forces."
36. "Granting of suffrage by New Mexico and Arizona to their Indian citizens."
37. "Repeal of laws discriminating against aliens who are ineligible for citizenship."
38. "To make fair employment a uniform national policy, state action will be needed."
39. "Fair educational practice laws for public and private educational institutions, prohibiting discrimination in the admission and treatment of students."
40. "Laws outlawing restrictive covenants."
41. "Fair health practice statutes forbidding discrimination and segregation . . . . in the operation of public or private health facilities."
42. "Law stating that discrimination and segregation . . . . in the rendering of all public services by the state government is contrary to public policy."
43. "Laws guaranteeing equal access to all persons to places of public accommodation, broadly defined."

Congressional and State Action

44. "End poll taxes as a voting prerequisite."
45. "Require all groups, which attempt to influence public opinion, to disclose the pertinent facts about themselves through systematic registration procedures."

INDIVIDUAL'S CIVIL RIGHTS

Freedoms For

1 — Thinking.
2 — Speaking.
3 — Printing.
4 — Believing, worshipping or not worshipping.
5 — Organizing for any purpose except violence.
6 — Peaceable assembly.
7 — Asking redress for grievances.
8 — Making proposals for social changes.

Freedoms From

GOVERNMENTAL ACTIONS

1 — Unreasonable searches and seizures.
2 — Warrants unless supported by oath.
3 — Ex post facto law.
4 — Bills of attainder.
5 — Being held to answer for a crime except on indictment of grand jury.
6 — Twice being put in jeopardy of life or limb for the same offense.
7 — Loss of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.
8 — Having property taken for public use without just compensation.
9 — Excessive bail.
10 — Excessive fines or cruel and unusual punishments.
11 — Any religious test to hold any office or give sworn testimony.
12 — Spyings of secret political police.
13 — Arbitrary public authority.

DISCRIMINATION IN

1 — Housing.
2 — Land ownership.
3 — Public transportation.
4 — Hotels.
5 — Public eating places.
6 — Public amusement places.
7 — Public recreational places.
8 — Armed services.
9 — Education.
10 — Religion.
11 — Jobs.
12 — Medical services.
13 — Hospitals.
14 — Vote.

ECONOMIC RESTRICTIONS

1 — Irresponsible private power.
2 — Injurious monopolies.
3 — Compulsory labor.
4 — Poll tax.
5 — Unfair competition.

Right To

LEGAL SAFEGUARDS

1 — Writ of Habeas Corpus.
2 — Equality before the law.
3 — Equal protection of the laws.
4 — Be informed in good time of the nature and causes of charges.
5 — Be confronted with witnesses against one.
6 — A speedy trial.
7 — A compulsory process for obtaining witnesses.
8 — Be under no compulsion to be a witness against one's self.
9 — Have the assistance of counsel for one's defense.
10 — Appeal from any Bureaucratic decision.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

1 — Work through productive years.
2 — Pay commensurate with service.
3 — Earn enough for decent living.
4 — Prosper as they contribute to prosperity of others.
5 — Bargain individually.
6 — Bargain collectively.
7 — Choose callings.
8 — Engage in enterprise not injurious to others.
9 — Adequate medical care and good health.
10 — Education facilities equal to person's learning capacity.
11 — "Adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment."

SAFETY AND SECURITY OF PERSON FROM:

1 — Mob rule.
2 — Police brutality.

10c

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

WHAT ABOUT OUR JAPANESE-AMERICANS?

By Carey McWilliams

AMERICAN COUNCIL, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

WHAT ABOUT OUR JAPANESE-AMERICANS?

By CAREY McWILLIAMS

IN THE spring of 1942, we in the United States placed some 110,000 persons of Japanese descent in protective custody. Two out of every three of these were American citizens by birth; one-third were aliens forbidden by law to be citizens. Included were three generations: Issei, or first-generation immigrants (aliens); Nisei, or second-generation (American-born citizens); and Sansei, or third-generation (American-born children of American-born parents). Within three months after removal from the west coast had been ordered, this entire group of men,

This pamphlet is based on a comprehensive and fully documented study of the Japanese-Americans in Peace and War, prepared by Carey McWilliams for the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which will be published shortly by Little, Brown and Company under the title of *Prejudice. The Japanese-Americans: a Symbol of Racial Intolerance.*

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women, and children had been lodged in temporary assembly centers, under military guard, awaiting transfer from the area. No charges had been filed against these people nor had any hearing been held. Evacuation was on racial, or, perhaps more accurately, on ancestral grounds. Germans and other enemy aliens were not removed. Nor were Chinese and Koreans, who belong to the same race as the Japanese. But all persons having any Japanese blood, however slight, were forced out.

In the excitement of the moment, the evacuation of the Japanese seemed merely a minor incident of the war. But as the shock of finding ourselves at war gradually abated, the nation began to be uneasy about many aspects of the evacuation. They began to ask whether it squared with our democratic ideals. If the issues were unclear at the outset, they became increasingly involved with each new step of the program. As the danger of an invasion of the west coast receded, measures were taken which no one had urged at the height of the excitement. Internment, for example, had not been planned originally by the authorities: merely removal from the area. And rather to our amazement, we discovered that after every person of Japanese ancestry had been removed from the west coast and placed in protective custody, agitation against them increased instead of subsided. The evacuation was seized upon as proof of disloyalty and used to justify further measures against the west-coast Japanese group. Each step in the program began to involve entirely unforeseen consequences. Now in the third year of war, it is possible to review the entire proceeding and to ask a number of questions, such as: Why were these people removed from the west coast? Are the measures which have been taken against them actually related to the reasons advanced for their removal? What has happened to this group of 100,000 men, women, and children? What are the likely consequences of this program?

BEFORE PEARL HARBOR

THE Japanese were a late immigrant group. They arrived, for the most part, in the years between 1900 and 1910. Most of the early immigrants were single men who married fairly late in life, so that the second-generation group did not appear in large numbers until after 1920. In 1940, the average age of the Issei, or alien group, was around fifty years of age; that of the Nisei, or citizen group, around nineteen or twenty years of age. The Issei had lived in the United States, on an average, for thirty-five years. Of 126,947 Japanese in this country in 1940, 112,353 lived in the three west-coast states. Nearly 80 per cent were in California. Unlike some immigrant groups, the Japanese did not do much spreading out. They were more densely concentrated on December 7, 1941, than they had been twenty years previously. Their concentration was not merely geographical but occupational: 43 per cent of the gainfully employed west-coast Japanese were in agriculture, more particularly, in the production of fresh vegetables and small fruits for the large urban west-coast markets. An additional 26 per cent were to be found in the wholesale and retail trade, which was largely confined to the distribution of Japanese-grown produce. Both external and internal pressures had intended to set the Little Tokyo settlements apart from the larger communities of which they were a part. Many of these settlements, both rural and urban, were located near important strategic areas.

employed . . . in the production of fresh vegetables

Within this rather narrow orbit, the Japanese had done reasonably well. Their farm lands and buildings, in California alone, were valued at $65,781,000. In 1941, the Japanese turned out 42 per cent of the truck crops raised in California, and their production was valued at $30,000,000. In the same year, the thousand or more Japanese-operated fruit and vegetable stores in Los Angeles employed nearly five thousand people (mostly Japanese) and did an annual business of about $25,000,000.

Unlike Other Immigrant Groups

Not only were the Japanese a late immigrant group, but they were racially different from the others and were also set apart by sharp cultural differences. Noting that the rate of assimilation for the Japanese was somewhat slower than for other immigrant groups, west-coast residents hastily concluded that the cultural difference was to be accounted for in terms of race. It must be remembered, however, that the American-born or Nisei generation had not, by December 7, 1941, assumed the leadership of the Japanese communities, although they would clearly have done so in another decade. In 1930, slightly more than half of the Japanese in America were foreign-born; but in 1940 the ratio had declined to slightly more than one-third. In other words, the war struck the west-coast communities just at the moment when the American-born and American-educated generation was beginning to displace the alien generation in positions of social and economic leadership.

Thus there existed on the west coast, on December 7, 1941, a deep fissure in the social structure of the region. This fissure separated the relatively small Japanese minority from the rest of the population. Like the earthquake fissures that run along the Pacific Coast, this particular fissure was deeper in some areas than in others; it had been dormant for some years, but it was still potentially

active. As fifty years of prior social history had shown, almost any jar or shock was capable of disturbing it. The attack on Pearl Harbor was more than a jar; it was a thunderous blow, an earthquake, that sent tremors throughout the area in which the fissure existed. The resident Japanese were the victims of this social earthquake. This is the root-fact, the basic social fact, which precipitated the mass evacuation of the west-coast Japanese —which has been accurately described as "the largest single forced migration in American history."

THE EVACUATION

BEFORE discussing *why* evacuation was ordered, it may help to give a brief log-of-events. On December 11, 1941, the Western Defense Command was established and the west coast was declared a theater of war. General J. L. DeWitt was designated as military commander of the area. On December 7 and 8, 1941, the Department of Justice arrested, on presidential warrants, all known "dangerous enemy aliens." Subsequently, by a series of orders, the Department of Justice ordered the removal of all "enemy aliens" from certain designated zones or so-called "spot" strategic installations, such as harbors, airports, and power lines. The deadline fixed for this "dress rehearsal" of the larger evacuation to follow was February 24, 1942. Following the appearance of the Roberts Report on Pearl Harbor, the public temper on the west coast noticeably changed and by the end of January, 1942, a considerable press demand appeared for the evacuation of all Japanese. In the excitement of the moment, it was not generally noted that the Roberts Report referred to *espionage* activities in Hawaii but was silent on the question of *sabotage*. For months after the release of the Roberts Report it was generally assumed, on the west coast, that acts of

sabotage had been committed in Hawaii, despite absolutely conclusive proof from the most authoritative sources that no such acts had been committed.

Executive Order No. 9066

The moment this press campaign for evacuation was launched, the west-coast delegation in Congress held a meeting in the offices of Senator Hiram Johnson and, on February 13, 1942, recommended to the President "the immediate evacuation *of all persons of Japanese lineage.*" The report suggested that this might be accomplished without the necessity of a declaration of martial law such as had been proclaimed in Hawaii on December 7. On February 19, the President signed Executive Order No. 9066 authorizing the War Department to set up military areas and to exclude any or all persons from these areas. The next day Mr. Stimson delegated this responsibility to General DeWitt. On March 2, General DeWitt, by proclamation, established Military Areas Nos. 1 and 2, and on March 27 he prohibited all persons of Japanese ancestry from leaving these areas.

Then by a series of 108 separate orders, General DeWitt ordered all Japanese removed from Military Areas No. 1 and No. 2 (embracing all of Washington, Oregon, and California, and a portion of Arizona). By June 5, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry had been removed from Military Area No. 1 (the coastal area), and by August 7, 1942, Military Area No. 2 (the eastern part of the three west-coast states) had likewise been cleared of all Japanese. It will be noted that it was General DeWitt and the west-coast congressional delegation who recommended mass evacuation. The President and the Secretary of War naturally relied upon General DeWitt's appraisal of the situation. In the last analysis, it was General DeWitt who had to make the decision since the responsibility generally was vested in him. Now *why* did he order mass evacuation?

"Military Necessity"

The explanation given at the time was that mass evacuation was ordered "as a matter of military necessity." The nature of the military necessity itself was not defined. With the issuance of General DeWitt's final report on evacuation (dated July 19, 1943, but not released until January, 1944), it now becomes possible to grasp rather clearly what was embraced within the catch-all phrase, "military necessity." First of all, the report establishes that the west coast was in imminent danger of invasion after Pearl Harbor. Guam was captured on December 13; Hongkong fell on December 24; Manila on January 2; Singapore in February. Our fleet had been badly crippled at Pearl Harbor, and for a time the disposition of the enemy's fleet was not known. On February 23, 1942, a Japanese submarine shelled the California coast near Santa Barbara. Unquestionably, the risk was serious, and General DeWitt's responsibility was certainly great.

Military commanders must make quick decisions. They have to act on the basis of possibilities as well as probabilities; they cannot weigh considerations with the nicety of a scientist working in a laboratory. General DeWitt must have been haunted by the specters of Admiral Kimmel and General Short, who had been charged with neglect of duty in Hawaii. Yet after making all of these allowances, it is now apparent that the conclusions drawn by General DeWitt were not justified by the evidence.

The Threat of Sabotage

In his final report, General DeWitt stresses the danger of sabotage and espionage. But by February 14, 1942, he knew that *no acts of sabotage* had occurred in Hawaii. And General DeWitt even goes so far as to cite the absence of sabotage as "confirming indication that such action will be taken." While the risk of spies was real enough,

this risk is not related to the presence of Japanese-Americans on the west coast. Who are some of the individuals who have been arrested either for espionage activities in behalf of Japan or for being unregistered agents of Japan? They are all native-born white Americans: John Farnsworth, Harry Thomas Thompson, Vincent Williams, David Warren Ryder, Arthur Clifford Reed, Heizer Wright, Ralph Townsend, and Joseph Hilton Smyth. For some years prior to Pearl Harbor, a Los Angeles police captain had received money, from time to time, from the local Japanese consul, in payment for his services in spying on local Japanese-Americans who were distrusted by the consul! Moreover, it has been pointed out that, after Pearl Harbor, Japan relied almost entirely on non-Japanese agents, and for obvious reasons.* On June 14, 1943, the Office of War Information revealed that the persons who did the actual signaling at Pearl Harbor were Nazi agents. *No Japanese-Americans, either in Hawaii or on the mainland, have been convicted of either sabotage or espionage.* This itself is strong proof that the General was looking in the wrong corner for agents.

Protection Against Mob Violence

General DeWitt also said that he acted to protect the west-coast Japanese from mob violence. He notes, however, that most of the reports of attacks against them, upon investigation, "either were unverified or were found to be cumulative." Actually, there are only two reported instances of violence. On December 27, 1941, a fight occurred between Filipinos and local Japanese in Stockton, California; and on January 1, 1942, unknown persons fired several shots at a Japanese in Gilroy. Despite the shock of the attack on Pearl Harbor, there was *no hysteria* on the west coast. Such experienced observers as Chester Rowell, Dr. Eric Bellquist of the University of Cali-

* See *Sabotage!* by Sayers and Kahn. New York, L. Gleason.

fornia, Selden Menefee, and the reporters for *Time, Life,* and *Fortune* have all testified to this fact. Some of the west-coast papers made the same admission. If there was a real danger of mob violence, then why did the military authorities on the west coast take no steps to allay hysteria —such steps, for example, as were taken in Hawaii—and why were no authoritative statements issued to disprove the widely spread rumors of sabotage in Hawaii? These rumors still circulate on the west coast.

Disloyal Japanese Known

Undeniably there were dangerous individuals among the resident west-coast Japanese. But these individuals were well known to the authorities. They were promptly arrested on December 7 both in Hawaii and on the west coast. For over five years there had been a constant check on both the Issei and the Nisei. Our intelligence services were fully informed. The fact that the military authorities had never contemplated mass evacuation until public agitation began to develop in favor of the idea indicates that they did not regard the risk as serious. In an article that appeared in *Harper's Magazine,* a Naval Intelligence officer in Southern California declared that in his opinion mass evacuation was not necessary and that the overwhelming majority of the people were loyal.

Racial Considerations

General DeWitt's report makes it clear that his interpretation of "military necessity" involved a judgment on sociological grounds. "The continued presence," writes General DeWitt, "of a large, unassimilated, tightly-knit racial group, bound to the enemy by strong ties of race, culture, custom, and religion, constituted a menace which had to be dealt with." There is at least some question as to whether the task of weighing these "ethnic affiliations" was a proper assignment for a military commander. Soci-

ologists, who had been studying the problem for years, have drawn an entirely different conclusion from the same facts. The prompt arrest of all "dangerous enemy aliens" and the fact of war itself had served to cut whatever ties had bound the west-coast Japanese communities to their homeland. If these "ethnic affiliations" were deemed so dangerous on the west coast, why were the same affiliations in Hawaii regarded as unimportant? There has been no mass evacuation of the Japanese in Hawaii, where they constitute 37 per cent of the entire population, and all the authorities agree that, there, the local Japanese have conclusively demonstrated their loyalty.

Racial considerations were evidently regarded as part of the "military necessity" requiring mass evacuation. "The Japanese race," states General DeWitt in his report, "is an enemy race, and while many second- and third-generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become 'Americanized,' the racial strains are undiluted. . . ."

Testifying on April 13, 1943, before the House Naval Affairs Subcommittee, he also volunteered this remark:

> . . . [The Japanese-Americans] are a dangerous element, whether loyal or not. There is no way to determine their loyalty . . . it makes no difference whether he is an American; theoretically, he is still a Japanese and you can't change him. . . . You can't change him by giving him a piece of paper.

This reference to citizenship as "a piece of paper" and the frank admission that "loyalty" was not even a factor certainly indicate that the racial consideration was uppermost in General DeWitt's mind. This same consideration was uppermost in the minds of the influential public officials who were mobilizing a public opinion in favor of mass evacuation and who were bringing pressure to bear directly upon General DeWitt. Governor Earl Warren of California (then Attorney-General) told the Tolan Committee early in 1942 "that when we are dealing with *the Caucasian race* we have methods that will test the loyalty of them," but that no such determination could be made in the case of the Japanese. The many demonstrations of the loyalty of the west-coast Japanese were apparently regarded as an immaterial consideration. Racial distrust was the chief factor prompting mass evacuation.

Evacuation Held Proof of Disloyalty

It would be idle, at this late date, to review the pros and cons of mass evacuation were it not for the fact that mass evacuation has placed the entire resident Japanese-American minority under a cloud of suspicion. The fact that evacuation was ordered, for example, is now being cited as *proof* of the disloyal character of the entire group. Actually, there is no basis whatever in the available evidence for such an inference. It is also interesting to note that some of the groups that were most active in California in urging evacuation of every person of Japanese ancestry from the west coast were, at the same time, strenuously opposed to the evacuation of a single person of Japanese ancestry from Hawaii! Some of these groups, moreover, had a freely acknowledged economic interest in mass evacuation. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, the Shipper-Grower Association of Salinas, California, sent Mr. Austin E. Anson to Washington to lobby for evacuation. "We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons," said Mr. Anson. "We might as well be honest. We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown man."*

Voluntary Removal Fails

At the outset, it was merely the *removal* of all persons of Japanese ancestry that was contemplated by the authorities. There was no thought, at the time, of *intern-*

**Saturday Evening Post,* May 9, 1942.

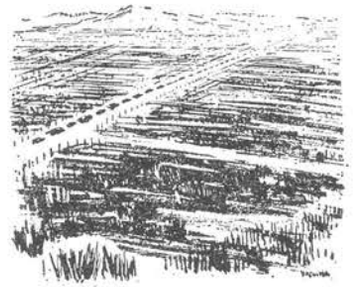
ment. Between February 19 and March 27, 1942, the Japanese were free to depart voluntarily from the area. During this period, 10,231 left Military Area No. 1, but, of this number, 4,825 merely moved into Military Area No. 2. Not only were the Japanese moving too slowly—as viewed by the military—but many of them did not have enough money to leave the area. They did not know where to move, and they were meeting with opposition even while in transit. For example, Governor Payne Ratner of Kansas stated that "Japs are not wanted and not welcome in Kansas" and directed the state police to turn back any Japanese trying to enter the state.

As they sought to retreat eastward, evacuees met with many unpleasant incidents. Signs posted in shops read: "This restaurant poisons rats and Japs"; barber shops carried signs reading "Japs shaved: Not Responsible for Accidents"; signs were placed in automobile windshields reading "Open Season for Japs"; filling stations, restaurants, and hotels refused to serve evacuees. Realizing that some agency would have to be established to assist in evacuation, President Roosevelt, on March 18, 1942, issued Executive Order No. 9102 creating the War Relocation Authority. Early in April, the director of the authority met with the governors of the western states in Salt Lake City. These governors, with one exception, refused to accept responsibility for the maintenance of law and order unless evacuees were placed under military guard. These developments compelled the government to stop further voluntary evacuation and to undertake a program of planned relocation.

The Evacuation Centers

As "E-Day" approached—the date fixed by the Army for removal—the Japanese-Americans reported to civil control stations where they were escorted to hastily improvised "assembly centers"—usually race tracks, parks,

and pavilions. Some of these centers were good-sized communities; there were over 18,000 evacuees in the Santa Anita center. In many instances, the evacuation started before the centers were prepared to house and feed the evacuees. Yet within a period of 137 days over 100,000 people had been moved into the centers, the gates had been locked, and sentries had established their patrols.



vast movement of people

The speed with which this vast movement of people was accomplished is unquestionably a tribute to army efficiency; but it is also a remarkable demonstration of the loyalty of the Japanese-Americans themselves. Secretary Stimson has pointed out that "great credit is due our Japanese population for the manner in which they responded to and complied with the orders for exclusion." In no single instance did they fail to cooperate with the authorities. On the contrary, they helped install most of the facilities in the centers and immediately relieved the authorities of a major share of the administrative burden of providing food and shelter for 100,000 people.

THE RELOCATION CENTERS

THE evacuees were hardly settled in the assembly centers before they were transferred to the ten relocation camps established by the War Relocation Authority (W.R.A.) in Utah, Arizona, California, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and Arkansas. By November 1, 1942, this second major migration had been completed. Some 110,000 were lodged in the relocation centers. These included a small group

from Alaska, some 1,073 Japanese removed from Hawaii, 1,300 Japanese paroled from the internment camps (the so-called "dangerous enemy aliens"), and a few Japanese who, although living outside the western defense command, had voluntarily moved into the centers.

Although the relocation centers are an improvement on the temporary assembly centers, they can hardly be considered as satisfactory living quarters. Evacuees are housed in barracks with one family per room and, in many instances, more than one family is housed in a single room. Community toilets and washrooms have been set up for each block, and evacuees are fed in community messhalls at a cost to the government of between thirty-four and forty-two cents per person per day. No one has starved in these centers, and no one has frozen; but this is about as much as can be said in defense of the centers as housing projects. No fair-minded person who has visited the centers will believe, for one moment, that the evacuees are being "coddled" or "pampered."

Constitutional Rights Maintained

As far as is possible under the circumstances, W.R.A. has sought to maintain the constitutional rights of the evacuees. The citizens among them continue to vote in the areas in which they were formerly residents. There is no censorship of mail. Virtual freedom of religious worship is maintained. Open meetings may be held in the centers, and outspoken newspapers are published by the evacuees in most of the centers. A degree of self-government is also permitted. Obviously, it would be an exaggeration to say that evacuees exercise their constitutional rights in the centers with the same freedom from restraint that prevails outside the centers; but it will be noted that most basic rights have been maintained. Approximately 90 per cent of the employable residents are employed by W.R.A. on various work projects and in the messhalls,

hospitals, farms, etc., in the centers. Evacuees receive a cash allowance of $12, $16, or $19 a month according to the nature of their duties. Food, shelter, and medical care are provided without charge. There are 30,000 Japanese-Americans of school age in the centers for whom educational facilities, from kindergarten through high school, have been provided.

Relocation Outside the Centers

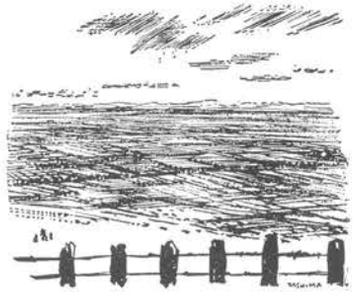
Originally, W.R.A. intended to make these centers genuine relocation projects, but the centers had no sooner been established than outside interests, such as the sugar-beet industry, began to clamor for labor to meet the manpower shortage in agriculture. Naturally desirous of meeting this demand, W.R.A. began, in the summer of 1942, to release evacuees on seasonal permits to work in agricultural areas. By the end of 1942, some 9,000 were working on seasonal permits and were meeting with enthusiastic praise from their employers. This unforeseen development encouraged W.R.A. to devise a permanent release program and to shift its emphasis from relocation within the centers to permanent relocation outside the centers. This shift in policy has led to a cutting-down of work projects in the centers and a definite drive to relocate the evacuees before the end of the war. Early in 1943, W.R.A. opened employment offices throughout the Middle West and began a real campaign to find jobs for the evacuees. By the second anniversary of the W.R.A., some 19,000 evacuees (85 per cent of whom are Nisei) were relocated outside the centers over a wide area of the Middle West, East,

cutting-down of work projects

and South. Chicago alone has 3,500, while fairly large numbers of them have found jobs in such cities as Detroit, St. Paul, Madison, Denver, Salt Lake City, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. The problem now faced by W.R.A. is to persuade more of the evacuees to relocate.

Segregation

The relocation centers are not normal communities. They are institutions and they breed a type of "prison complex." The men, women, and children who were suddenly moved by the thousands into these partially constructed Little Tokyos isolated in mountain desert areas were not in a normal frame of mind on their arrival. They had but recently undergone a profoundly disturbing experience. The vast majority of them regarded evacuation as a wholesale rejection by their fellow Americans. Living in a center is, at best, an extremely irritating experience. Overcrowding is universal; there is no privacy whatever, and people wait in lines to eat, to wash, to be interviewed. In the centers most of the evacuees read the west-coast newspapers and worry incessantly about their future. They are plagued by every imaginable type of fear and anxiety. With much time for gossip and talk, rumors sweep through the centers like wildfire. It must be remembered that *all kinds of persons* are to be found in these centers—old and young, rural and urban, aged farm laborers and sophisticated young artists. There are individuals in the centers who do not look Japanese, do not speak or write Japanese, have never been to Japan, and who had, prior to relocation, never lived among other Japanese. Parental



The isolation of the centers—in time and space—

discipline tends to break down in the centers: the family, as such, is robbed of its traditional functions. There is, also, every conceivable shading of political opinion to be found among the evacuees. The isolation of the centers—in time and in space—is extremely depressing. The barbed-wire fences and the lookout towers and the armed sentries are constant reminders of the hostility of American public opinion. When all of these factors are considered, it is not surprising that minor disturbances, such as those which broke out in the Manzanar, Poston, and Tule centers, should have occurred.

The Loyalty Test

Since these disturbances were clearly the work of a minority of the evacuees, W.R.A. determined to segregate the loyal from the disloyal. While plans for segregation were being considered, the President announced on January 28, 1943, that the Army had decided to form a Japanese-American combat team on a volunteer basis. Since the Army proposed to send a recruiting team to the centers, W.R.A. decided to conduct a general registration of all persons in the centers 17 years of age and older. This registration was conducted in the centers with little or no advance preparation, under the most confused conditions. As part of the registration, evacuees were asked to answer a so-called "loyalty" question. Even the *alien* group was asked Question 28, which read:

> Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and foreswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government, power or organization?

It should be remembered that *alien* Japanese are ineligible for citizenship under our naturalization laws. Yet these aliens were asked to answer a question which, if answered affirmatively, would automatically strip them of

the only citizenship they possessed without at the same time making it possible for them to become American citizens. The impossibility of this situation became apparent to W.R.A., and a revised question was finally submitted to the aliens, but only after much damage had been done.

These aliens knew that west-coast groups were conducting a powerful campaign for their deportation at the end of the war. If there was a danger of deportation, then obviously they would be in a difficult position if they renounced Japanese citizenship. Many of the Nisei resented the questionnaire because it assumed that they had a divided loyalty—a proposition which they have never conceded. Demagogic pro-fascist elements in the centers took full advantage of the confusion that prevailed in all of the centers during registration. In some centers, actual violence and intimidation occurred. The effects are shown both in the appeal for enlistment and in the registration itself.

Demagogic pro-fascist elements . . .

In Hawaii, the Army called for 2,500 volunteers for the combat team and nearly 10,000 promptly volunteered. In the relocation centers only about 1,200 volunteered. The resentment of the evacuees to the questionnaire was indicated by its peculiar results. Although 87 per cent answered the loyalty questions affirmatively, only 74 per cent of the male *citizen* group answered affirmatively and 96 per cent of the male *alien* group answered favorably. The rather surprising difference in the response of the two groups seems to be due to the resentment which the Nisei felt over the entire evacuation program and to a group of Nisei who were educated in Japan. While segregation was unquestionably desirable, a questionnaire was hardly the way to determine loyalty. A Japanese agent,

for example, would certainly not show his hand by failing to answer the loyalty question satisfactorily.

Tule Lake

Once the registration had been completed, W.R.A. announced that all of the "disloyal" elements would be concentrated in the Tule Lake Center in Northern California. Between September 15 and October 15, 1943, the "loyal" Japanese-Americans were removed from the Tule Lake Center and distributed among the other centers, while all the "segregants" were transferred to Tule Lake. In all, four classifications of evacuees were sent to the Tule Lake Center: (1) all evacuees who had requested repatriation to Japan were automatically sent to Tule Lake; (2) the "no-nos," that is, those who had answered the loyalty questions negatively, were sent to Tule Lake after a hearing at which they had an opportunity to change, modify, or explain their answers; (3) all evacuees regarding whom the various intelligence services had evidence indicating possible disloyal inclinations were sent to Tule Lake; and (4) close relatives of those in the foregoing categories who expressed a desire to remain with the segregants rather than disrupt family ties. After the first major exchange was effected, the number of "disloyal" segregants in Tule Lake was 13,540, divided into the following categories:

Repatriates and expatriates.....	5,127
Registration segregants.....	4,222
Other segregants.....	4,191

The commonly held idea that this group is composed of really disloyal persons is at least open to serious question. Investigation revealed, for instance, that 28 per cent of the evacuees who went to Tule Lake from the Manzanar Center were children under 18 years of age. The

proportion was higher in other centers. These children were not asked to fill out the registration form. In view of the haste with which the registration and segregation programs were conducted and of the widespread confusion that prevailed, the utmost care must be taken if a lasting injustice is not to be committed against the American-born minors in the Tule Lake Center. Segregation cut across family lines and caused the most tragic personal complications in more than one case.

28 per cent . . . were children under 18 years of age

Among the adults, approximately 80 per cent of those who requested repatriation actually answered the loyalty question affirmatively. In most cases, they had requested repatriation solely for family reasons. One, for example, was a widower with four children. Two of his sons are in the United States Army, but his two daughters were sent to Japan to live with relatives after the death of the mother. The father explained that, while feeling complete loyalty to the United States, he nevertheless believes that his primary duty is to be with his minor daughters in Japan.

THE AFTERMATH

MASS evacuation has created a host of problems. Since they were not created by the people but by the government, they must be accepted as a national responsibility. The evacuation program was so uncertain at the outset and so sudden when it came that the evacuees did not have time to dispose of their property in a fair and orderly manner. Altogether, their west-coast holdings were valued at around $200,000,000. While W.R.A. now has established a property division designed to assist the evacuees, a satisfactory system of property custodianship was

lacking when evacuation was ordered. Huge losses were suffered through hasty, forced sales. Since the majority of the evacuees have been cleared of even the suspicion of disloyalty, it would seem only fair for the government to make some compensation. This can probably best be accomplished through the creation of a claims commission in the postwar period to pass upon the thousands of claims that will unquestionably be filed. The volume of litigation that is likely to arise would in itself seem to require the setting up of such an agency.

Was Evacuation Constitutional?

One of the worst features of mass evacuation was that a particular minority was subjected to unusually harsh measures solely on the grounds of race or ancestry. Only those persons having Japanese blood were included within the order; and all were included who had any Japanese blood, however slight. It is apparent that this presents a constitutional problem of the gravest possible character.

On June 21, 1943, the Supreme Court decided the case of *Hirabayashi vs. United States.* Mr. Hirabayashi had been convicted of violating both the curfew order and the evacuation order. While the court held that the curfew order was a valid exercise of the war power, it pointedly refused to pass on the question of the constitutionality of the evacuation order. A study of the several opinions filed in the matter makes it clear that the Supreme Court entertains serious doubts as to the constitutionality of the evacuation procedure so far as the Nisei, or citizens, are concerned. For example, Mr. Justice Murphy said that the curfew order "goes to the very brink of constitutional power"; while Mr. Justice Douglas, in a concurring opinion, wrote the following words: "Detention for reasonable cause is one thing. Detention on account of ancestry is another."

In a later case, *Korematsu vs. United States,* the court has passed directly on the constitutionality of evacuation. A still more serious legal question arises in connection with the Tule Lake segregants. While the Tule Lake evacuees are termed "segregants," it is apparent that they are really prisoners of war. The center is under heavy military guard and censorship. A bill to divest the citizens in this group of their American citizenship met defeat in Congress by a narrow margin.

Prospects for Relocation

Assuming that W.R.A. is permitted to carry through its present policies, what are the prospects for the future? By March, 1944, some 19,000 evacuees had been released from the centers and relocated outside the western evacuated area. The W.R.A. may succeed in relocating an additional 20,000 by the end of 1944. But even this will still leave in the relocation centers, not including Tule Lake, about 50,000 evacuees. The most energetic, the best trained, and the most highly skilled evacuees have already been relocated. Individual relocation is certain to proceed more slowly after 1944. There will be left in the centers, in any case, a permanent "residue" population, made up of the lame, the halt, and the blind—old Issei bachelors, orphans, aged Issei couples without children. Strong pressures may still be found in most of the centers against relocation. Evacuees fear the "outside." They are uncertain about the type of treatment and reception they will meet. They lack confidence in their ability to succeed in areas with which they are not familiar. Having adjusted to center life, they do not want to face still another dislocation. And, lastly, there is the hope in many minds of an eventual return to the west coast. It is quite likely that most of the evacuees would leave quickly if the ban against return to the west coast were to be lifted.

Return to the West Coast?

Relocation might be speeded up enormously if evacuees could be granted permission to return to the west coast for periods of from thirty to ninety days for the purpose of disposing of such holdings as they still retain and arranging for the shipment of personal belongings to other areas. The changed military situation would seem to justify relaxation. The danger of actual invasion has passed; many of the emergency measures have already been relaxed both on the west coast and in Hawaii; the west coast is no longer a theater of war but a base of operations.

In no case would there be a mass return of the evacuees to the west coast. Many of them have already been relocated elsewhere; others are being relocated every day; and, in many instances, there is nothing for the evacuees to return to on the west coast. Among the Nisei, in particular, there is a strong current of feeling against the west coast, and many of them have no intention whatever of returning permanently. If the ban on the west coast were lifted entirely, it would mean that the last restriction on the rights of the Nisei had been removed. This consideration alone would go far toward improving the morale of all the evacuees who have remained in the relocation camps.

Permanent Camps?

Already W.R.A. has announced that it intends to close one of its Arkansas relocation centers as soon as possible. If relocation proceeds at the 1943 rate, it is possible that other centers can be closed before the war is over. It would also seem feasible to convert one, possibly two, centers into genuine relocation projects which could eventually be turned over, on a cooperative basis, to the evacuees who will not leave the camps.

THE DEMOCRATIC POTENTIAL

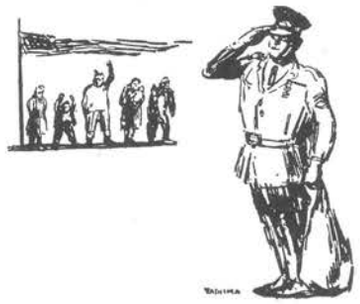
WHILE mass evacuation was a harsh measure, it should be recognized that the relocation program does carry democratic possibilities. The concentration of most of the Japanese-Americans on the west coast in ingrown communities was by no means a healthy situation. The American-born Nisei were experiencing great difficulties in finding employment opportunities to which their skills entitled them. They had not succeeded in outgrowing the dominance of their elders or in breaking away from the strong social ties which held them in Little Tokyo.

For many of these younger and more enterprising Nisei, relocation has been a genuinely liberating experience. They have found opportunities in areas outside the west coast for which they had been seeking for years prior to their removal. They have moved out of the narrow, airless world of Little Tokyo into the main stream of American life. The experience they have undergone has shattered some of their illusions, but it has given a new value to such concepts as "liberty" and "freedom." As a group, they are showing a more active and healthy concern with the problems of other racial minorities. In many other fields, they are demonstrating an alert awareness of the kind of world in which they live. To appreciate this development, one must recognize that the Japanese on the west coast, and particularly in California, occupied an economic niche considerably above Negroes, Chinese, Mexicans, and Filipinos. Evacuation was a shock to their pride, but it has not been without its healthy, if unforeseen, consequences. This observation, however, would not be true of the entire group nor even of all the Nisei. For many, evacuation has involved nothing but bitterness and a feeling of frustration.

It may be healthy, moreover, that the "Japanese Problem," which has echoed on the west coast for nearly fifty years, has now ceased to be a local and has become a national problem. It is now definitely related to the problem of the other racial minorities. This is important since it is evident that we shall never solve any of these problems until we have solved all of them.

The All-Japanese Combat Team

The most constructive step taken by the government in dealing with the Japanese-Americans was its decision, in January, 1943, to form an all-Japanese combat team. Previously, the Nisei had been classified as ineligible for military service. Today this stigma has been completely removed. The Nisei now have an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty, and they are doing so in the most concrete manner. Today there are over 8,000 Japanese-Americans in the Army. They were among the first troops to land on the beaches of Salerno, where their conduct was singled out for special praise by General Mark Clark. Casualties in the 100th Infantry Battalion, made up entirely of Nisei, amounted to more than 40 per cent. In addition, Nisei soldiers are serving as interpreters and as intelligence officers with our units throughout the Pacific and in India. As interpreters, they have played, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Karl Gould, "an indispensable role" in the war. (At the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, there were approximately six hundred people in the United States, not including the Japanese-Americans, who had a workable knowledge of spoken and written



The Nisei now have an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty . . .

Japanese!) Over two hundred Japanese-Americans are serving in the Merchant Marine and quite a number of Nisei girls have joined the WAC.

Sergeants Kazuo Komoto and Fred Nishitsujii have been cited for gallantry in the Southwest Pacific. Sergeant Ben Kuroki, of Hershey, Nebraska, has taken part in over twenty-five combat flights over Hitler's Europe. He participated in the raid on the Ploesti oil fields and wears the Air Medal with four Oak Leaf Clusters. "I want the people to know," he said in a recent interview, "that we're loyal Americans, just like anybody else." As a group, the evacuees in the centers have demonstrated their loyalty by every means available to them. They have purchased war bonds; conducted drives for the Red Cross; organized volunteers-for-victory committees; made radio transcriptions for the O.W.I. and, within the limitations of detention, have done all in their power to further the war effort. When word was released of the execution of the American flyers in Tokyo, the Nisei soldiers in training at Camp Shelby bought $100,000 in war bonds in a single day to demonstrate how they felt about this act of barbarism.

Earning the Right to Citizenship

The magnificent spirit shown by these people, both here and in Hawaii, where they have been very largely responsible for the success of the defense effort, cannot fail to win the admiration of the American people. Faced with such conclusive proof of loyalty—all the more remarkable in view of the evacuation program itself—the agitation currently being fostered on the west coast for the deportation of the parents of these soldiers seems unfair. In the days, weeks, and months to follow, the Nisei will be steadily earning the right to fair treatment, to full citizenship, just as the loyal Issei will be establishing, by their excellent conduct under the most trying circumstances, a right to the chance to become American citizens after the war.

If the relocation program is ended at an early date with most of the evacuees relocated outside the centers, the program itself will show constructive results despite the hardships, expense, and needless suffering which it has involved. It may be justified as an extension of democracy and not merely defended as "a harsh but necessary" impairment of the democratic process. We need not apologize for the program as a "detour from democracy," for it has a strong democratic potential as many of the Nisei themselves now recognize. The bitterness and resentment that it has provoked can be wiped out —the Nisei themselves are anxious to forget the entire experience—provided only that we insist that the program serve a genuinely democratic purpose. If, on the other hand, race bigotry gets the upper hand in this program, it can spell disaster. Already there is a dangerous tendency to regard the war in the Pacific as a racial war. Acts of reprisal toward the evacuees, harsh measures taken against them, only aid Japan in furthering its contention that this is a racial war. Already Japan has made effective use of the evacuation program throughout the Far East, where it is constantly being cited as proof of racial bigotry in America. As long as the relocation centers are full of evacuees, we, as a nation, will be in a strange position: attempting to instill a respect for democracy behind barbed-wire fences; advocating principles that we fear to trust in action; trying to administer democratically a program that produces, in the centers themselves, antidemocratic crosscurrents and tendencies.

A Challenge to America

Many of the basic issues of the war and of the peace to follow are bound up in the ten relocation centers, from California to Arkansas, in which some 80,000 people of

Japanese ancestry are living today. "If," as John Embree has said, "administrative problems involving a hundred thousand people can not be intelligently and democratically solved, how are we to solve the complex postwar problems of, say, Southeast Asia with its mixed population of a hundred million?" The welfare of the center residents actually becomes of minor importance when measured against the vastly greater issues that are involved in this seemingly unimportant wartime "episode."

"It is doubtful," writes Dr. Robert Redfield, "if any deprivation of civil rights so sweeping and categoric as this has ever been performed under the war powers and justified by the courts." The very center of the problem, he points out, "lies in the fact that the evacuation and confinement were done on a racial basis." The ultimate effects of this action will be felt outside our country —in Asia, in the Pacific, throughout the vast area around the rim of the Pacific where a new world is emerging from this war. Whether we are to save these "young Americans with Asiatic faces" for the democratic way of life involves the vastly more important question of whether we are to extend and deepen this same way of life throughout the Pacific. For our relations with this small group of 80,000 American citizens are, in miniature, a sketch or blueprint of our relations with all of the peoples in the Pacific area. It is the key to the complex problem of our relations with the people of a postwar Japan.

President Roosevelt's message to Congress of September 14, 1943, may be regarded as an official statement of federal policy on the relocation program:

> With the segregation of the disloyal evacuees in a separate center, the War Relocation Authority proposes now to redouble its efforts to accomplish the relocation into normal homes and jobs in communities throughout the United States, but outside the evacuated area, of those Americans of Japanese ancestry whose loyalty to this country has remained unshaken through the hardships of the evacuation which military necessity made unavoidable. We shall restore to the loyal evacuees the right to return to the evacuated area as soon as the military situation will make such restoration feasible. Americans of Japanese ancestry, like those of many other ancestries, have shown that they can, and want to, accept our institutions and work loyally with the rest of us, making their own valuable contribution to the national wealth and well-being. In vindication of the very ideals for which we are fighting this war, it is important to us to maintain a high standard of fair, considerate, and equal treatment for the people of this minority, as of all other minorities.

This statement should be construed, not as a mere statement of policy by this administration, but as a solemn pledge spoken by the President in the name of the American people.

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THE JAPANESE EVACUATION

YOUR PROBLEM AND MINE

MARY COXHEAD

THE JAPANESE EVACUATION

YOUR PROBLEM AND MINE

A young Japanese writes: "The young people still have faith in the American government. Their faith will remain with them so long as the government keeps its word and the people are restored some of the privileges that have been taken away from them. Young and old alike would never do any overt act which would be disloyal to the country. Many of the older people have sons in the U. S. army. I, myself, have two brothers in uniform eagerly waiting for a chance to show their country where their heart really belongs. We understand that this evacuation is due to military necessity, but there is some doubt in our minds when there is a sinister move on the part of some politicians to deprive us of our citizenship."

The young Japanese who wrote this is a recently ordained minister, a citizen of the United States, now in one of the assembly centers in California. He with others could have been transferred to another theological seminary in the middle west. However, he preferred to go with his people into exile. His letter is typical of the many received in which is expressed faith in the American Government, a deep desire to defend it, and a fear that their citizenship means nothing; that in the future they will be treated as aliens as they have been in the total evacuation.

While most people know of the evacuation of the Japanese from California, Washington, Oregon and parts of Arizona, they do not fully realize the following facts:

(1) That citizens, some 70,000 of them, as well as aliens have been evacuated.

(2) That many people are now absolutely penniless, having had to sell their homes and business at a loss or leave work for which they were receiving just enough to support themselves.

(3) That while many of the people have work in the centers, the money they earn ($12 a month is the top salary), barely buys their necessities.

(4) That the Japanese, a proud race, deeply resent the indignity of having shelter provided for them and waiting in line to receive their food. To be kept behind barbed wire, guarded by soldiers and machine guns, and treated as a dangerous people by a government to which they have given their sons and for which they have bought war bonds is completely bewildering to most of the older people and an added insult to all.

(5) After the war not only will the Japanese in this country suffer the stigma of having been classed as "dangerous" and having been behind barbed wire, but their physical characteristics will be a constant reminder to the public that they are the Japanese, the enemy alien. Hated before the war, they are in danger of becoming a completely isolated group after the war has ceased.

There are three things you can do to help these unforunate people. (1) Keep in touch with them, and by so doing help them to feel that they still have a place in society. (2) As soon as public opinion is sufficiently favorable Japanese families and individuals will be released to communities in the Middle West where they can live normal lives. You can help create favorable public opinion. If Christianity means anything to you and your community this is your opportunity to demonstrate it. (3) There is an increasing danger that the Japanese American citizens will lose their citizenship. This would be unconstitutional as well as unjust. Bearing in mind the forty-odd years of hate and prejudice shown by business and politics on the west coast, all thinking people must look with grave doubts upon such a procedure. Write your senators and congressman, talk with important people, tell your friends that behind this movement to disenfranchise these people lie highly questionable motives.

Evacuation is a fact. We cannot change it. But as Christians we can act to prevent further injustices. Only as we get along with peoples of other races within our country now can we help to create a just and durable peace after the war.

For further information write

Miss MARY COXHEAD

3805 Piedmont Avenue

Oakland, Calif.

"A VOICE THAT MUST BE HEARD"

(A Quotation from Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson)

Extracts from statements, regarding Americans of Japanese Ancestry, by:

President Roosevelt
Hon. Henry L. Stimson
Hon. Joseph C. Grew
J. Edgar Hoover
Paul V. McNutt
and others

* * *

Approximately 100,000 people of Japanese descent are living today in War Relocation centers. There are ten of these centers located in six western states. They were established as temporary homes when every person of Japanese descent was evacuated from the West Coast by order of the military commander in the spring of 1942. This movement was carried out simply as a military expedient. Two-thirds of the people in relocation centers are American citizens. None of them have been found guilty of any crime or accused of any intentions against the national security.

Individual evacuees who have been investigated and found loyal or law-abiding are now being permitted to leave these relocation centers to accept jobs on farms and in factories and to resume normal living. The policies governing this resettlement have the approval of the War and Navy Departments. The program has been sanctioned by the Department of Justice as sound from the standpoint of national security and has been approved by the War Manpower Commission as a contribution to national manpower needs.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
February 1, 1943.

(Text of a letter from the President of United States to Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War)

My dear Mr. Secretary:

"The proposal of the War Department to organize a combat team consisting of loyal American citizens of Japanese descent has my full approval. The new combat team will add to the nearly five thousand loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry who are already serving in the armed forces of our country.

"This is a natural and logical step toward the reinstitution of the Selective Service procedures which were temporarily disrupted by the evacuation from the West Coast.

"No loyal citizen of the United States should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of his citizenship, regardless of his ancestry. The principle on which this country was founded and by which it has always been governed is that Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart; Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry. A good American is one who is loyal to this country and to our creed of liberty and democracy. Every loyal American citizen should be given the opportunity to serve this country wherever his skills will make the greatest contribution —whether it be in the ranks of our armed forces, war production, agriculture, government service, or other work essential to the war effort.

"I am glad to observe that the War Department, the Navy Department, the War Manpower Commission, the Department of Justice, and the War Relocation Authority are collaborating in a program which will assure the opportunity for all loyal Americans, including Americans of Japanese ancestry, to serve their country at a time when the fullest and wisest use of our manpower is all important to the war effort."

Hon. Henry L. Stimson
Secretary of War

(Statement made in announcing the formation of a combat team of American citizens of Japanese descent)

"It is the inherent right of every faithful citizen, regardless of ancestry, to bear arms in the Nation's battle. When obstacles to the free expression of that right are imposed by emergency considerations, those barriers should be removed as soon as humanly possible. Loyalty to country is a voice that must be heard, and I am glad that I am now able to give active proof that this basic American belief is not a casualty of war."

Hon. Joseph C. Grew
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and
Former Ambassador to Japan

(From an address given at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. April 26, 1943)

"The Americans of Japanese origin are an invaluable element in our population; I welcome their presence, and regret the bitter necessity of imposing on a trustworthy and loyal majority of nisei* the restraints which are made needful by the bad behavior and evil repute of a minority. There are among Americans of Japanese race as fine people—individually--as you can find anywhere, and many of them are peculiarly anxious to repay America for freedom by making especially arduous efforts in the prosecution of the war. I welcome the policies of our government which are designed to relieve the nisei of discriminatory restrictions as rapidly and as fairly as possible, and I applaud the Army in setting up facilities whereby these Americans will be able to show the world what they are able to do.

"These Americans of Japanese origin are to Japan what you and I are to England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, France and other European countries. They are Americans, but they are also 'the cousins in the New World'. I am proud of my trans-Atlantic cousins, and do not feel myself to be any the less American for that; and I would respect any American of Japanese descent who tried to contribute to our common, free American life those especially good qualities which he may have inherited from his Trans-Pacific origin.

"We in America are in a real sense the apostles of the future; we show the rest of mankind what men of diverse races and cultures can accomplish with a common good will. We Americans of all races and creeds, fight the evils of despotic and selfish militarism. There can be no compromise between ourselves and the arrogant exclusiveness of self-styled men-Gods of Japan—no more than between ourselves and the self-styled Aryans of Germany. In our war—against caste and privilege, wherever they may exist or occur—the contribution of Americans who are of Japanese descent is of real value; first, because they are a living proof of our non-racial free unity; secondly, because they make a valuable and wholesome contribution to the sum total of our American civilization."

* *Native-born Americans of Japanese extraction.*

ooo

Elmer Davis
Director of the Office of War Information

(Excerpts from a nation-wide radio broadcast on April 23, 1943)

"The assassinations [of American flyers by Tokyo] have had no effect in this country except to produce universally a grimmer determination to fight through to complete victory-- a determination that seems to be felt by American citizens of all sorts. Let me read you some extracts from one newspaper editorial --'We know today the nature of the brutal enemy we face across the Pacific, and this knowledge should serve to intensify our efforts to achieve a speedy and complete victory. The American people will not brook a negotiated end to this war. There can be no peace with murderers. We must and will gain the unconditional surrender of our axis enemies. The enemy will give no quarter, and the salvation of our way of life rests on complete and irrevocable military victory.'"

"Those passages come from a Salt Lake newspaper called the Pacific Citizen, the organ of the Japanese-American Citizens' League; and it shows that American citizens of Japanese ancestry who have grown up in this country and absorbed the American faith in freedom and democracy feel just the same about this outrage as do all other American citizens. At Camp Shelby, in Mississippi there are three thousand American soldiers of Japanese ancestry; and they turned out yesterday and put the better part of a month's pay into war bonds, to show what they thought of this performance in Tokyo. Thousands of other Americans of Japanese blood, from Hawaii and from the relocation camps in the west, are now being inducted into the army--all of them tested and known for their loyalty to their country, and all of them just as eager to avenge this sort of behavior as are any other Americans."

oOo

Colonel W. P. Scobey, Executive Officer
Office of Assistant Secretary of War

"It is hoped that the Japanese American combat team will become one of the outstanding units of the American Army. This combat team will fight with and as a part of a Caucasian force. The War Department has faith in the loyal Japanese Americans. This is a splendid opportunity to demonstrate to the American people and to the War Department that the Japanese Americans have faith in America. A success of the program and the voluntary feature of induction will be a great step forward in the rehabilitation plans for the Japanese Americans."

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Milton S. Eisenhower, Associate Director*
Office of War Information

(From a recent letter addressed to the Pacific Citizen, official organ of the Japanese American Citizens League)

"Like millions of Americans I was deeply gratified when our government reopened the ranks of our Army to loyal Americans of Japanese descent. Those who are eligible for enlistment have an opportunity to make a particularly significant contribution to our common fight for a better world. This war will end in absolute triumph for the United Nations. This war must usher in a day of greater decency and brotherhood among all men. In such a war, the participation of men of every land, men of every descent, is the strongest possible force and guarantee for a reborn and strengthened freedom."

** Former Director of the War Relocation Authority, the civilian agency of the government which administers the relocation centers.*

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Hon. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior
April 15, 1943

(Statement at press conference after announcement had been made that Secretary Ickes and his neighbor had employed evacuees from a relocation center)

"I interested myself for two reasons in the location of seven United States citizens of Japanese ancestry. The first reason is that I believe we should do all we can to ease the burden that the war has placed upon this particular group of our fellow citizens. I do not like the idea of citizens, no matter of what race or color, being kept in relocation centers any longer than need be. The second reason is that these citizens have a background of farming in California and we need competent farm help badly."

oOo

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

(Excerpts from testimony before the House Appropriations Committee on the Department of Justice appropriation bill)

"We have had practically no trouble with the Japanese in Hawaii. I made the statement before that there has been no sabotage or espionage committee in Hawaii, subsequent to Pearl Harbor. There was espionage committed prior to Pearl Harbor, but not by the Japanese population as such, but by espionage agents and consular agents of the Japanese government.

"I want to mention briefly the work which the bureau has performed in the field of enemy control.

"Immediately following the incident at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, we were called upon to effect the apprehension of potentially dangerous aliens enemies.....

"The action taken and the prompt manner in which it was taken, took out of circulation those individuals who might have been the nucleus of any espionage or sabotage rings of either Japanese, Germans, or Italians in the United States.

"I think that is the reason why we have had so little trouble from subversive agents in this country at the present time. Of course, we are constantly on the alert as to the activities of such groups that are still in the country in the alien enemy class.

oOo

Paul V. McNutt, Chairman
War Manpower Commission

(In a letter to Director Dillon S. Myer of the War Relocation Authority, dated November 27, 1942)

The War Manpower Commission heard with considerable interest the informative presentation, which Mr. Thomas Holland, Director of the Employment Division of the War Relocation Authority, gave at one of the Commission's meetings last month, on problems and relationships of the War Relocation Authority program for evacuees of Japanese ancestry with the general war manpower program.

The employment data which were contained in the written statement have given us a comprehensive background for study of this possible source of labor supply. As I understand it, the War Relocation Authority has formulated an employment program for those of Japanese ancestry who have been evacuated from the West Coast to encourage their employment and adjustment, under proper safeguards, into the customary channels of American life. This policy should have the dual effect of benefiting the evacuees, many of whom are American citizens, and of making available to the country several thousand people for employment on farms and in industry.

The War Manpower Commission thoroughly endorses the employment program developed by the War Relocation Authority and assures it the continued cooperation of the United States Employment Service in its recruitment and replacement activities.

oOo

Lt. General Delos C. Emmons
Commander of the Hawaiian Department
April 3, 1943

"Enough Hawaiians of Japanese ancestry have responded to the call for volunteers to form a combat team of approximately 4,000 men...The response to the call was highly gratifying... I believe they will make a splendid record...I hope no further call for volunteers will be made now, because many can ill be spared by Hawaiian industry."

Colonel Kendall J. Fielder
Chief of Military Intelligence
Hawaiian Department

(Excerpts from speech given at the University of Hawaii Forum, March 1943)

"Without revealing secret military information, I can say truthfully that members of the Japanese race have themselves constituted our chief liaison with the Japanese community and our most reliable check on its morale, its needs and its activities.

"How differently a Himmler or a Rosenberg would have handled this delicate situation. Does anyone believe for a moment that a any of the axis crowd would give one of enemy race a fair chance to prove himself? Yet that's what was done in Hawaii--and so far it has proved militarily sound. That the situation is working out well is a tribute not only to wise administration, but to tolerance on the part of the rest of our good Americans here. We have lived up to President Roosevelt's description of democratic peoples as "men of good will."

"It would take much too long to tell you of the many concrete ways in which many of these people who were put on the spot have proved their love for America and have helped solve an otherwise ticklish military problem here. For the information of all who might be misled, there is none among us who has been led into this policy out of a mawkish sentimentality or gullibility. To us Japan and her people are a race of stubborn, hardy, despicable warrior zealots, who would stop at nothing to snuff out our lives and our way of life. Her army and navy must definitely be crushed. The question of Americans of Japanese blood is far different. They are Americans--and until they prove (or show themselves dangerously capable of proving)--traitorous, they should be treated as Americans."

oOo

Chester C. Davis
War Food Administrator
May 28, 1943

(Text of a letter addressed to the War Relocation Authority)

"The War Food Administration urges the use of persons of Japanese ancestry released by the War Relocation Authority to work on farms. Thousands of these workers were used successfully last year and are now helping to produce vitally needed farm products. Additional labor is needed. Those who cooperate in making the best use of this valuable source of farm labor are rendering a real service to the United States and the war effort."

oOo

Chester Rowell

Rights for Unpopular May Be Our Rights

Among the noisiest of the enthusiasts for "Bill of Rights Week" were some who were in the very forefront of movements for violation of the very rights guaranteed by these first ten amendments to the Constitution. For the very foundation of that "bill" was the principle that there must be some things which government, or even the majority of the people, shall not have the authority to do to the rights of the individual, or of minority groups.

As an abstract doctrine, this is obvious. But just now there are two very practical issues involving it, in which the right side is the unpopular one.

One is the controversy between Postmaster General Walker, backed by the Department of Justice and a strong movement in Congress, to bar anti-semitic literature from the mails. There is evidently a great deal of this literature, most of it very vicious. So far as any of it libels individuals, or is obscene or otherwise actionable, there are laws against it now. But so far as it is merely stuff that a majority of us, or a minority pressure group which Congress wishes to please, would rather not have printed, the Postmaster General rightly raises the point that any of the rest of us might be the next minority to be victimized:

"There have always been Ku Klux parts of the country, for instance, which would have deprived Catholics of their freedom of religion, if they could, and there are parts in which Negroes do not effectively exercise the civil and political rights guaranteed them by the Constitution. But even here it is done by subterfuge, and not by open laws which the courts would at once declare unconstitutional. Minorities do have their rights, always by law and increasingly in practice, against the will of majorities. And the Postmaster General, in thus defending the freedom of speech of a justly unpopular minority, is protecting an essential right of us all.

Former Ambassador Grew, now special assistant to the Secretary of State, comes out in defense of even more unpopular minority, the loyal American-born citizens of Japanese ancestry. Now, Secretary Grew is as free as anybody in America of the suspicion of being "pro-Japanese." He repeatedly warned the American Government of what the Japanese militarists were plotting, long before the administration, terrorized by the appeasers in Congress, dared act with the definiteness and boldness Grew recommended. Pearl Harbor, as we all know now, was the disastrous consequence. But Grew's record, at least, is clear.

No one, also, would more unconditionally indorse the firm steps now taken against the trouble-makers of the openly enemy Japanese now confined at Tule Lake. If these people have any loyalty, it is to Japan, and some of them, whether of their own motion or instigated from Japan, have undertaken to make trouble, both for the American authorities and especially for the loyal Japanese-Americans, who had remained to raise food for the camp. They will keep the peace now, under whatever compulsion they make necessary, and everybody is for that.

But, Mr. Grew adds, "Like the Americans of German descent, the overwhelming majority of Americans of Japanese origin wish to be and are wholly loyal to the United States, and not only that, but they wish to prove that loyalty in service to their native land." He points out that units of American-born Japanese are serving with distinction in Italy with the Fifth Army, and that their officers are proud of their troops and would not trade their commands for any other in the army.

"I have too great a belief in the sanctity of American citizenship to want to see these Americans of Japanese descent penalized and alienated through blind prejudice. I want to see them given a square deal. I want to see them treated as we rightly treat all other American citizens, regardless of their racial origin—with respect and support, unless and until they have proved themselves unworthy of respect and support. That fundamental principal should apply all along the line, to every citizen of the United States of America."

These quotations are from an address by Mr. Grew to the Holland Society of New York, at which he received the medal of the society for "notable diplomatic service." He was the fifth to receive that medal, for various sorts of distinctions. The others had been J. Edgar Hoover, Henry Ford, Wendell L. Willkie and the late William Lyon Phelps.

This is probably the minority and unpopular view, in California, certainly in noise and perhaps in numbers. There are even those who advocate lynch law, for the enforcement of racial exclusion from California after the war, and there are others, representing large organized groups, who propose transparently unconstitutional State laws or evidently unattainable amendments to the Federal Constitution. This is "majority rule" of precisely the sort which the Bill of Rights was intended to prevent.

And this, without prejudice to the emotional sincerity of those who feel otherwise, is merely a quotation from the one man in the United States who knows most about it and is best qualified to speak. Take it for what these facts, to your mind, make it worth.

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Dst Institute

THE TRUTH ABOUT RELOCATION

An address delivered by Dillon S. Myer, Director of the War Relocation Authority, before a luncheon meeting of the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, California, on August 6, 1943.

THE TRUTH ABOUT RELOCATION

The removal of some 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific Coast during the spring and summer of 1942 posed a problem for the government of the United States unlike any it had everfaced before. Some aspects of the problem by now have been solved, but there are many others which still must be dealt with, not alone by the War Relocation Authority, but by the American people as a whole. There are many different courses which the War Relocation Authority might follow in the treatment of the evacuees now in the relocation centers. On the one extreme, we might adopt the policy of turning all evacuees loose from the relocation centers at one time, to go wherever they like. At the other extreme, we might follow a policy, advocated by some, of keeping all the evacuees detained for the duration of the war. Our present course is charted for good reason somewhere between these two extremes.

For some time now -- but more particularly in recent weeks -- there has been a tremendous amount of misinformation and some deliberate deception about the way we are managing the relocation centers and the way we are returning many of the evacuees to private life. So today I want to tell you how we are conducting our program and why we have adopted the policies we are now following.

But first let me review some of the background facts. You will remember that when the evacuation was first announced -- in early March of 1942 -- the people of Japanese ancestry were told simply that they must move out of the prescribed coastal zone. Nothing was said at that time about detention in government centers. It was the hope of the War Department that many of the Japanese and Japanese-Americans would move out voluntarily and resettle inland on their own initiative. Throughout most of March in 1942, there was no restriction on the movements of a person of Japanese ancestry once he had left the military area. Clearly, there was no charge or even implication that all persons of Japanese descent were disloyal. The real point was simply that their presence complicated the problems of defense in a sensitive and threatened military zone. Remember that as soon as war broke out, the intelligence agencies apprehended all the enemy aliens they suspected of being dangerous to national security; so the Japanese population had been cleared of that supposedly most dangerous element.

During the first weeks of March, some 8,000 people of Japanese descent closed out their business affairs, packed up their belongings, and moved eastward. Some went to the eastern part of California, which was then outside the area designated for evacuation, while others moved to communities in Utah, Colorado, and other states of the inter-mountain region. Within a few days after the War Relocation Authority was established -- on March 18 -- events began to occur which indicated plainly that voluntary relocation would not be a feasible policy. The mass movement of such a large group of people in such a short time would have caused trouble regardless of the racial antecedents of the migratory group. But in this case, the problem was further complicated by the fact that the evacuees were racially related to an enemy nation and were being excluded

from the Pacific Coast for reasons which were not made entirely clear. So it's not surprising that those who moved voluntarily ran into difficulties and by the last week of March, the situation was such that further Federal action was essential. On March 27, the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command issued the so-called "freeze" order and two days later voluntary migration came abruptly to an end. Plans were immediately drawn up to carry out the evacuation from that point forward under Army supervision in accordance with a systematic schedule.

About this same time the War Relocation Authority began to formulate some of its first plans for relocation. Since the most likely area for immediate relocation was the inter-mountain west, the Director of the WRA asked the governors and other leading officials of ten western states to attend a meeting in Salt Lake City on April 7. That meeting proved to be an important turning point in the relocation program. The War Relocation Authority had several possible plans for relocation in mind, but the reaction of the assembled governors and other state officials was sharply unfavorable to most of these proposals. Some of those at the meeting refused to be responsible for the maintenance of law and order unless evacuees brought into their states were kept under constant military surveillance. And practically all were strongly opposed to any type of unsupervised relocation. Following the meeting, the only feasible plan left was the establishment of relocation centers with sufficient capacity and facilities to handle the entire evacuee population for a temporary period.

Relocation centers were never intended as concentration camps or prisons. They were established primarily as an expedient -- to provide communities where the evacuated people could live while long-range relocation plans were being developed. After the Salt Lake City meeting with the western governors, the intention of the War Relocation Authority was to receive the entire evacuee population at the relocation centers, develop individual records, and then work out a relocation program on an individual basis. However, within a few weeks after the meeting -- before the movement into relocation centers was even well under way -- a strong demand for farm labor arose, especially in the sugar beet producing areas of the West. By the middle of May, the need for workers had become so acute that the War Relocation Authority and the Western Defense Command jointly worked out a special program for recruitment of evacuees in Army assembly centers and in the few relocation centers which were then in operation. By the latter part of June, approximately 1600 evacuees from the centers were at work in sugar beet areas and other sections of the agricultural west. Before the close of the harvest season in the fall, nearly 10,000 evacuees had been recruited from the centers for seasonal work under this group leave program.

Evacuees were permitted to work only in areas where state and local officials had given written assurance that law and order would be maintained. Each group of evacuees going out was assigned to work in a specific area and the members of the group were not allowed to leave this designated area without special permission from the Western Defense Command. Even with these precautions, some of us in WRA feared that serious difficulties might develop between the evacuee workers and the people of nearby communities. Surprisingly enough, however, the results of the program were generally good from every

point of view. In nearly all cases, the evacuees were accepted as valuable workers and treated as such. Before the season ended, they had harvested enough beets to provide a year's sugar ration for nearly 10,000,000 people.

While this movement into the agricultural fields was going forward, the great bulk of the evacuated people were pouring into relocation centers. By mid-summer, four of the centers were in operation and nearly one-third of the evacuee population had been transferred to these new communities. The program was still young, but already evidence was beginning to accumulate that the relocation centers could never be developed into normal communities, in the full sense of the word. Signs of unrest were mounting and valuable skills were obviously not being put to full productive use. On the other hand, the experience in the sugar beet fields was encouraging. It showed that evacuees could make a significant contribution to the solution of the manpower problem. And so on the 20th of July, the War Relocation Authority adopted a policy making its possible for American citizen evacuees who had never lived or studied in Japan to leave the relocation centers indefinitely, after investigation, in order that they might take full-time jobs and establish residence in normal communities. Later on, toward the end of September, that policy was broadened so that any resident of a relocation center -- citizen or alien -- might apply for indefinite leave outside of the evacuated areas.

In recent weeks, there has been a great deal of public discussion about this leave program and about the adequacy of check made by the War Relocation Authority prior to the granting of leave. The impression has been created that we make practically no check at all, and the charge even has been made that we are consciously turning spies and saboteurs loose upon the Nation. I want to refute this charge with all possible emphasis. As a matter of fact, we have been bending over backwards in the precautions we have taken. The federal government has more information concerning the people in relocation centers than it has on any other group. Records on many of these people have been built up over a period of years by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Office of Naval Intelligence, and other investigative agencies. In addition, the War Relocation Authority has been accumulating information on this entire group ever since they entered relocation centers. In granting leave we make a very careful check of the records which have been developed for each individual at the relocation center. If there is any evidence from any source that the evacuee might endanger the national safety or interfere with the war effort, permission for indefinite leave is denied. As a further precaution, we are acquiring from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, all the information available in its files and from other intelligence agencies on all adult evacuees at the centers. The names of nearly 90 percent of the adult evacuees have now been checked through FBI and the job should be completed in the next few weeks. I should add that in the great majority of cases so far considered, there has been nothing in FBI files or elsewhere to justify denial of leave.

Besides checking the record of the evacuee himself, we also try to determine the attitude of the community where he is planning to relocate. If popular opinion seems to run strongly against the acceptance of any person of Japanese descent, the evacuee is so advised and is urged not to relocate in that particular area. We also require each evacuee going out

on indefinite leave to inform us of any change of job or change of address. And we are maintaining in our Washington office a locator file so that individual evacuees may promptly be located if the need arises. Some of you may be surprised to learn that the evacuees, as a group, are not rushing forward to take advantage of the leave procedure. In fact, our principal trouble has been in the other direction. Ever since the present leave program was adopted last September, we have been trying to convince the evacuated people that relocation in normal communities is the best course, both for themselves and for the nation as a whole. But the evacuees read the same newspapers as the rest of us and listen to the same radio programs. They hear themselves branded by a few public officials and influential citizens as a group of potential saboteurs, day after day and week after week. And so, naturally, many are reluctant to leave the centers to face a public that seems predominantly hostile.

There are people here on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere who feel that the War Relocation Authority is making a serious mistake in urging the people of Japanese descent to leave the sanctuary of relocation centers. Some of thess people feel that it is not safe for the nation to have any person of Japanese descent at large. Others argue that confinement in relocation centers is necessary for protection of the evacuees themselves. I disagree strongly with both these points of view and I would like to tell you why.

First, let us take a look at the argument that all people of Japanese ancestry constitute a menace to the national security. At the present time, there are almost 35,000 people of Japanese descent outside relocation centers within the continental limits of the United States. About half of these people have left the centers only in the past few months, but some 20,000 of them lived outside the evacuated area or have never been in relocation centers. Yet in all these months of war, not one case of sabotage on the part of any person of Japanese descent has been reported from any reliable source.

Contrary to the persistent rumors of sabotage by resident Japanese at the time of Pearl Harbor, we have it from the very highest authorities that no such actions have been committed either on December 7, 1941, or at any time since. In view of that record, both in Hawaii and on the mainland, I am frankly unable to see any factual basis for assuming that every person with a Japanese face is automatically a threat to the safety of the nation.

The argument that people of Japanese descent must be kept in confinement for their own protection is remarkably similar to the justification which the Nazi regime has sometimes advanced for its treatment of the Jews. This argument is based on the assumption that the law enforcement agencies of the nation have somehow broken down and that they are no longer able to offer the protection which they provided in time of peace. Essentially, the argument is a slander against these agencies and against the basic good sense of the great majority of our people. Despite all the racial emotions that have been aroused, I refuse to believe we have proceeded so far in the direction of anarchy that we find it necessary to lock up all persons of Japanese descent in order to protect them from bodily harm.

So far I have been talking mainly about the leave program of the War Relocation Authority bedause that is, and has been for several months, the most important part of our total program. But we still have an important job to do in managing the relocation centers. In considering the manner in which the relocation centers are operated, it is important to keep clearly in mind the status of the evacuees. They are not living in the relocation centers as punishment for any wrong-doing, or because they are suspected of being dangerous; they are not prisoners of war; they are not internees. They are a dislocated group of people removed from their homes and their means of livelihood as a wartime emergency measure. As such they are entitled to treatment according to American standards of decency. Ever since the summer of 1942, when most of the centers were still in the early stages of construction, all sorts of unfounded rumors and inaccurate stories have been circulated about the WRA management policies. Some of these stories have been obviously fantastic -- like the one circulated in Idaho over a year ago that all evacuees lived in snug little bungalows with pink tile bathrooms. And more recently, there was the story attributed to a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities that all evacuees are provided by the Government with five gallons of whiskey. Unfortunately, most of the stories have not been so plainly ridiculous. Although equally untrue, they have generally carried more of an appearance of plausibility and consequently have been widely accepted.

It is extremely significant, I think, that most of the stories about pampering of evacuees have come from people who have never visited a relocation center. In a number of cases, people who have actually visited a center have taken pains to make a public denial of all pampering charges. But such stories, of course, have not received as much attention as the original allegations. The same thing is true of the charges that have been made in recent weeks by investigators, and spokesmen for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. We have made a careful analysis of the more important of these charges and have found that the great majority are inaccurate or misleading and that many of the most startling ones are completely untrue. Yet the great bulk of the Americans still remember the charges and have not yet learned about the actual facts.

Perhaps the most widely criticized aspect of relocation center administration is the policy under which evacuees are being fed. Food is a delicate topic these days and it's not surprising that people should be aroused when they hear the evacuees are enjoying a better diet than the average civilian family. If these stories were true, I will readily concede that there would be grounds for the most intense kind of public resentment. But the stories are not true and I believe that all of you sitting here today would be convinced of their falsity if you could eat just one meal in a relocation center. The food served at the centers is nourishing, but could not be called luxurious by any conceivable American standard. The cost of feeding overthe past several months has ranged from 34 to 42 cents per person per day. And it is the established policy of the Authority that this cost shall not exceed 45 cents per day in any case. All rationing restrictions applicable to the civilian population are strictly followed. Two meatless days are observed at each center every week. And in areas where local milk supplies are short, milk is provided only to small children, nursing or expectant months, and special dietary cases.

Ever since the relocation centers were first established, our policy has been to produce as much food as possible on the project lands. We expect a greatly increased production of vegetables, meats, dairy products, and poultry products during the current year, probably up to one-third of the total food requirements of the centers.

The housing at relocation centers is certainly no more than adequate by any ordinary standards. Evacuee residents live in plain barracks of frame construction which are partitioned off into family-size apartments. A family of six or seven people will ordinarily occupy a room about 20 by 25 feet. In the barracks there is no running water, no cooking facilities, and no baths or toilets. However, each block of 12 or 14 barracks -- accommodating between 250 and 300 people -- is provided with a messhall and a bath and laundry building.

Education is provided for the evacuee children through the high school level. At all centers, we have developed our shcool curriculum and selected our teachers in conformity with the standards of the state where the center is located.

All evacuees at relocation centers have been provided with medical care and hospitalization when needed and these services are supplied largely by evacuee doctors and nurses.

In operating the centers, we have always made maximum use of evacuee manpower. Evacuees are employed in clerical and stenographic positions, on construction activities and land development work, in food production, and -- to some extent -- in manufacturing. Most of those who work are paid at the rate of $16 per month; apprentices and others requiring close supervision receive $12, while professional workers, such as doctors, are paid $19. In addition, each evacuee working at the center receives small clothing allowances for himself and his dependents. These allowances range from $2 a month for small children in the southerly centers to $3.75 for adults in centers where the winters are severe. At the present time, about 30 percent of the able-bodied evacuees at the centers are engaged in some line of work.

The policy of the War Relocation Authority provides that evacuees at all centers are to have an active voice in the management of their own affairs, but maintenance of law and order within the center is a responsibility of the WRA project director. To assist him in this function, the project director has a small staff of non-Japanese internal security officers and a sizeable crew of evacuee policement. The exterior boundaries of each project area are guarded by a detachment of military police who are available for service within the center in cases of emergency.

I won't go into further detail on the conditions that prevail in the relocation centers. But I believe I have said enough to indicate that life in the centers is not exactly a bed of roses. When the evacuees first arrived at each of the centers last summer and fall, construction work was still in progress and it continued at most places until well after the arrival of the last evacuee contingent. Under the circumstances, a great amount of turmoil and confusion was inevitable. Evacuee families from all sections of the Pacific Coast and all walks of life suddenly found themselves

crowded together in a strange new environment. They found themselves cut off from all normal intercourse with the larger American community and deprived of all ordinary economic opportunities. Practically all the social controls that ordinarily make for family and community solidarity were thrown out of gear and the problem of juvenile delinquency began to assume serious proportions.

It is significant, I think, that we have had our most serious problems at the four oldest centers. These centers were all established during the spring and early summer of 1942 before the War Relocation Authority had really worked out many of its most fundamental policies. It must be remembered that we were operating in an almost entirely new field of governmental action virtually without precedents or guideposts. Under the circumstances, some confusion of administration was inevitable. At the Poston Center in Western Arizona, last November, the residents of one of the three communities there staged a strike and protest meeting that lasted the better part of a week. However, the trouble was settled peaceably without any violence or any destruction of government property despite all rumors and reports to the contrary. At Manzanar, we had a more serious disturbance which happened to occur just before the anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack. In this case, the military police were called in to restore order. And in the fracas, two evacuees were killed and ten others wounded.

Some of the accounts gave the impression that both of these incidents were manifestations of pro-Axis feeling on the part of the evacuees. And the Manzanar incident has also been described as a celebration of the Pearl Harbor Anniversary. These explanations are dramatic, exciting, and easy to accept. But they do not square with the facts. Actually, both of the incidents were extremely complicated in their origin.

More than anything else, they were the culmination of community anxieties and resentments that had been building up over a period of months. Evacuees at both of these centers had been through the experiences I have just mentioned. Many of them -- citizen and alien alike -- had suffered substantial losses of property at the time of the evacuation. Most of them looked forward to the future with misgiving and uncertainty. A few had even reached the point of abandoning all hope that they would ever make a successful adjustment to life in the United States. In such a highly charged atmosphere people were easy prey for the agitators and the slightest spark of trouble was bound to cause an explosion. And in time the spark was introduced.

Following the Manzanar incident, we took steps to strengthen our internal security system at the centers and established a special isolation center for persistent and incorrigible troublemakers. This center was temporarily established in January at an abandoned CCC Camp near Moab, Utah, and is now located on the grounds of an Indian Service boarding school at Leupp, Arizona. At the present time about 70 evacuees -- all American citizens -- are being quartered at this center. Alien evacuees who incite trouble at the relocation centers are certified to the Department of Justice and transferred to internment camps.

Now let me return to the subject of clearing evacuees for leave. It has taken time to develop individual records on all the evacuees at the centers, but as we are now in a position where we can make a reasonable determination of loyalties on every adult individual. The task of gathering these records was started several months ago is now just about completed. On January 28 of this year, the Secretary of War announced the formation of a special combat unit in the United States Army to be composed entirely of American citizens of Japanese descent. During February and early March a recruitment program was carried out by the Army in the Hawaiian Islands and among Japanese-Americans on the mainland both in and out of relocation centers. I might add parenthetically that nearly 1200 young men of Japanese ancestry at the centers volunteered from behind barbed wire and the greater part of them are now in training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi. But the main point is that while this recruitment was going on, the War Relocation Authority, with Army collaboration, carried out a vast registration program involving all evacuees at the centers 17 years of age or over. The purpose of the registration was to acquire information on the evacuees that could be used in connection with the granting of leave. Each adult evacuee was required to fill out a form that would provide extensive data on his background, attitudes, and organizational affiliations. One question on that form that has come in for widespread public attention is the so-called "loyalty question", No. 28. At first, through an oversight, all evacuees -- both citizens and aliens -- were asked to swear allegiance to the United States and forswear obedience to any foreign power, including the Emperor of Japan. After the forms had been printed and distributed, it was realized that since alien Japanese are not eligible for naturalization, they could not answer this question in the affirmative without becoming "men without a country". So the question was changed for aliens in such a way that they were asked to swear that they would abide by the laws of the United States and would not interfere with the war effort. But throughout the entire registration, citizen evacuees were asked to make a definite declaration of loyalty.

Partially because of the confusion in the wording of question 28 for aliens, a great many premature and inaccurate reports have been circulated about the number of evacuees who failed to answer "yes" on this question. So many varying percentages have been tossed around publicly that I find it hard to keep up with them myself. But here are the facts. 88 percent of those who registered answered "yes" to question 28 without qualification. 74 percent of the citizen males who registered answered "yes" as did 85 percent of the citizen females who registered, and 97 percent of the aliens who registered. Approximately 11 percent answered "no" or qualified their answers and a little over one percent refused to answer this particular question. In addition, there were about 3,000 evacuees at the centers who failed to register. If all evacuees were as untrustworthy as they have frequently been depicted, we most certainly would not have had a single negative answer to question 28.

Using these same questionnaires as basic information, we are now about to begin a program of segregation. We are going to separate these evacuees who have indicated -- either by expressed statement or by persistent action -- that their loyalty lies with Japan in the current hostilities and we are going to maintain them in a center by themselves. The first

group to be segregated will be those who have requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan and who have not withdrawn their applications prior to July 1, 1943. These people will be segregated as a group rather than on an individual basis. All others to be segregated, however, will be given individual hearings. Aside from the repatriate-expatriate group, candidates for segregation will be drawn chiefly from those who have unfavorable records with intelligence agencies and those who are denied leave clearance by the War Relocation Authority because of other information indicating loyalty to Japan. Tule Lake in northern California has been selected as the segregation center. Present residents of Tule Lake who are eligible for indefinite leave will be given a choice of relocating immediately or of transferring to another center. Persons at the other centers who are designated for segregation will be transferred to Tule Lake. Actual movements will begin as soon as preliminary arrangements are completed and transportation becomes available -- probably soon after September 1.

The end product of this segregation program will be one center composed entirely of evacuees who have indicated in effect that they want to be Japanese. They will receive fair, decent treatment; they will be adequately guarded, and will not be generally eligible for leave. Then there will be nine other centers composed entirely of evacuees whose records and statements indicate that they want to be Americans -- and all of these people will be eligible for leave from the centers outside of designated military areas.

A great deal has been said, especially in recent weeks, regarding the extent of Americaniaztion that has taken place among the citizens of Japanese descent who were born and raised in this country. My own experience with these people over the past 14 months, together with all the information I have been able to obtain from authoritative sources, convinces me that the great bulk of the Nisei or second-generation group are wholeheartedly American in all their fundamental attitudes and loyalties. Approximately 72 percent of them have never even visited Japan and only about 15 percent have ever studied there for any extended period. The overwhelming majority of these youngsters have been brought up in this country, have attended American public schools, and have absorbed Americanism almost as naturally as they breathe.

To claim otherwise is equivalent to asserting that American institutions exercise a less potent influence over the youthful mind than the transplanted institutions of the Orient. I deny that assertion. I have faith in the strength of American institutions and I believe that few human minds can be exposed to them during the formative years without absorbing the rich heritage of American life. The most eloquent testimony of this is being provided almost every day at relocation centers -- in the community newspapers, in the classrooms, and in activities of such thoroughly American organizations as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, YMCA, YWCA and National Red Cross. Residents of the relocation center have given evidence in many ways that they wish to become part of the fibre of this country. They have bought thousands of dollars worth of war bonds and stamps. They have contributed to the Red Cross -- at many centers well in excess of their quotas. They have volunteered for service in the Army. And large numbers have expressed an eagerness to play an active part in war work.

Americanism is stressed at all centers in the schools, in adult education courses, in discussion forums, and in almost every aspect of community activities. However, Americani zation can never be wholly effective within the confines of relocation centers. We have felt from the beginning that the only effective way to carry on the Americanization process among the evacuees would be to restore those with good records to normal American communities at the earliest possible date. That is one of the basic reasons why we have developed a leave program and why we are now concentrating our energies mainly on relocation outside the centers.

Ever since the time of the evacuation, we in WRA have been acutely conscious of the grave implications of our program. We have been aware that our progress is being watched by the Japanese government and that it might provide a pattern for the treatment of American nationals -- both soldiers and civilians -- in Japanese hands. We have also born in mind the reactions in other parts of the Orient -- in China, India, and other countries whose collaboration we need in the fight against the Tokyo end of the Axis.

We recognize that the WRA program is a proper subject for public inquiry. We welcome investigation by committees of the Congress or any other group. We welcome constructive criticism of the manner in which we are discharging our responsibility. We heartily endorse the fundamental American right of a healthy difference of opinion. But, in view of the serious issues at stake, we do ask that investigations of our program be conducted in a truly fact-finding spirit and that criticism of our administrative actions be based on truth rather than on rumor or menufactured allegations.

In carrying the program forward, we have also kept constantly in mind a number of basic assumptions. In the first place, we have assumed that the foremost task before the American people is to win the war and we have felt that this means concentrating our energies on fighting the enemy rather than fighting among ourselves. Secondly, we have assumed that the great majority of the people of Japanese ancestry now in this country will remain here after the war and continue to be good citizens or law-abiding aliens. Thirdly, we believe that it is possible to distinguish between the loyal and the disloyal people of Japanese ancestry to a degree that will safeguard the national security. Techniques for determining loyalty, which have been employed by the intelligence agencies over a period of years, have amply demonstrated their effectiveness, and we feel that these same techniques can be used in determining eligibility for leave. Finally, we believe that loyalty grows and sustains itself only when it is given a chance. It cannot flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion and discrimination.

If these assumptions are accepted, it becomes extremely difficult to justify the wholesale detention of all persons of Japanese descent in relocation centers. In fact, I fail to see how such an action could possibly be squared with the basic principles on which our country has been developed and which we are now fighting to defend. But there are many other -- more immediately practical -- reasons why we decided many months ago that a large leave program was the only logical step.

We realized that the skills and energies of the evacuees could never be put to full use in the relocation centers; that manpower was going to waste at a time when the nation needed every ounce of manpower.

We are aware, too, that operating the relocation centers is draining money from the taxpayers and from the war effort. We hope that outside relocation will reduce the population of the centers so some of them can be closed and turned over to the Army for whatever use they can make of them. Ideally, I hope all the people who are not segregated can be relocated -- and we can work ourselves out of a job before the close of the war.

Another reason for adopting the leave program lies in the constitutional and legal principles involved. Lawyers generally are doubtful of the legality of detaining American citizens, against whom no charge has been placed. In fact, a Federal district court in California recently rendered a decision denying an evacuee's petition for the writ of habeas corpus only because WRA has established a leave program and the evacuee had failed to apply for indefinite leave.

There is one important point about the leave program which I believe is being overlooked in such of the discussion that has taken place here on the Pacific Coast. I'm thinking about the Little Tokyos and the concentrations of people of Japanese ancestry which existed before evacuation. I have found no one who thought that these concentrations of population were desirable even in peacetime, let along in time of war. Most of the people who comprised them are now in the relocation centers, and some people are insisting that they be kept there for the duration. Suppose that were to be done. In that case, what will happen when the war is over? One alternative that has been suggested by some is to send all of them to Japan, regardless of citizenship and regardless of loyalty. I cannot conceive of either the American conscience or the Constitution permitting such an act. The thing which most likely would happen would be for the evacuated people to return to the place they called home -- and the Little Tokyos would probably spring up again, with all their undesirable features.

But if the leave program is successful, a large number of the evacuees will re-establish themselves in other parts of the country, where they can be absorbed readily. It is hoped that the bulk of the relocated people will stay where they strike root. It is hard to understand why residents or officials of California or other west coast states would oppose rather than support a program of relocation and dispersion which provides the only sensible answer to one of the most pressing social problems which the West Coast and the Nation has faced.

To my mind, the most serious aspect of the whole relocation program is the fact that we are dealing exclusively with a racial minority. The Nazis of Germany and the warlords of Tokyo have made it clear that they consider themselves the master races of the earth and regard all other peoples as inferior. This is a doctrine which most of us instinctively detest -- a doctrine that runs counter to all our cherished traditions and principles. Yet there are mounting signs that a similar attitude is gaining ground in this country.

In recent weeks I have seen resolutions passed by organizations all over California and other states reflecting the same type of racial thinking that prevails in Tokyo and Berlin. I realize, of course, that war always breeds strong emotions. And this war has been especially trying on all of us. The scope of the combat, the magnitude of the issues at stake, and the

stern necessity for constant unstinting effort have tried our tempers, frayed our nerves, and warped our judgments. But this is all the more reason why we should exercise restraint and hold fast to the principles we have always cherished. Now, more than ever before, the United States is being regarded from all quarters of the globe as an outstanding example of democracy in action. If we give in to racial feeling, if we practice the theories of the Nazis and the militarists, we are weakening our position on every battle front in the world. If we repress or persecute tens of thousands of our own citizens, solely on the grounds of race, the other Nations of the world may well ask whether we have a moral right to assume a leading role at the peace table, or to ask for cooperation in waging the war.

But despite all resolutions that have been passed, despite all the intemperate statements by some public officials, and despite the strongly worded mail that has been coming in to my desk in recent weeks, I still have confidence in the basic good sense of the American people. I believe that much of current agitation is based on misinformation rather than fundamental conviction. And I feel sure that once the facts are known, the conscience of America will reassert itself. Our treatment of the people of Japanese descent in our midst will certainly go down as one of the most significant chapters in the history of the current war. That chapter can be a shameful blot on our national record or it can be to our everlasting credit. In the last analysis -- the choice is really up to the American people.

78TH CONGRESS } SENATE { DOCUMENT
1st Session } { No. 96

SEGREGATION OF LOYAL AND DISLOYAL JAPANESE IN RELOCATION CENTERS

MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TRANSMITTING

REPORT ON SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 166 RELATING TO SEGREGATION OF LOYAL AND DISLOYAL JAPANESE IN RELOCATION CENTERS AND PLANS FOR FUTURE OPERATION OF SUCH CENTERS

SEPTEMBER 14, 1943.—Read; referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, September 14, 1943.

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

Subject: Senate Resolution 166 adopted by the Senate on July 6, 1943.

SIR: On July 6, 1943, the Senate considered and agreed to Senate Resolution 166.

The resolution relates to the program for relocating persons of Japanese ancestry evacuated from west coast military areas and asks that the President issue an Executive order to accomplish two things—(1) to direct the War Relocation Authority to segregate the disloyal persons, and the persons whose loyalty is questionable, from those whose loyalty to the United States has been established; and (2) to direct the appropriate agency of the Government to issue a full and complete authoritative statement on conditions in relocation centers and plans for future operations.

I find that the War Relocation Authority has already undertaken a program of segregation. That program is now under way. The first train movements began in early September.

In response to the resolution I asked the Director of the Office of War Mobilization to issue a full and complete authoritative public

statement on conditions in relocation centers and plans for future operations. A short preliminary statement on this subject was issued on July 17, 1943. A full and complete statement is being made public today. Copies of these statements are transmitted with this message.

Thus, both of the steps called for in Senate Resolution 166 have already been taken, and it appears that issuance of a further Executive order is not necessary for accomplishment of these purposes.

The segregation program of the War Relocation Authority provides for transferring to a single center, the Tule Lake Center in northeastern California, those persons of Japanese ancestry residing in relocation centers who have indicated that their loyalties lie with Japan. All persons among the evacuees who have expressed a wish to return to Japan for permanent residence have been included among the segregants, along with those among the citizen evacuees who have answered in the negative, or have refused to answer, a direct question as to their willingness to declare their loyalty to the United States and to renounce any allegiance to any foreign government. In addition, those evacuees who are found, after investigation and hearing, to be ineligible to secure indefinite leave from a relocation center, under the leave regulations of the War Relocation Authority, are to be included among the segregants.

While the precise number of segregants is not established at this time because a number of leave clearance investigations have not yet been completed, it is established that the disloyal persons among the evacuees constitute but a small minority, and that the great majority of evacuees are loyal to the democratic institutions of the United States.

Arrangements are being completed for the adequate guarding and supervision of the segregated evacuees. They will be adequately fed and housed and their treatment will in all respects be fair and humane; they will not, however, be eligible to leave the Tule Lake Center while the war with Japan continues or so long as the military situation requires their residence there. An appeals procedure to allow for the correction of mistakes made in determining who shall be segregated has been established so that the entire procedure may be fair and equitable.

With the segregation of the disloyal evacuees in a separate center, the War Relocation Authority proposes now to redouble its efforts to accomplish the relocation into normal homes and jobs in communities throughout the United States, but outside the evacuated areas, of those Americans of Japanese ancestry whose loyalty to this country has remained unshaken through the hardships of the evacuation which military necessity made unavoidable. We shall restore to the loyal evacuees the right to return to the evacuated areas as soon as the military situation will make such restoration feasible. Americans of Japanese ancestry, like those of many other ancestries, have shown that they can, and want to, accept our institutions and work loyally with the rest of us, making their own valuable contribution to the national wealth and well-being. In vindication of the very ideals for which we are fighting this war it is important to us to maintain a high standard of fair, considerate, and equal treatment for the people of this minority as of all other minorities.

Respectfully,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

STATEMENT OF DIRECTOR OF WAR MOBILIZATION

On July 17, James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, issued a preliminary statement which was prepared at the President's request by the War Department and the War Relocation Authority in response to Senate Resolution 166 relative to the treatment of persons of Japanese ancestry in relocation centers. Justice Byrnes today issued a more comprehensive statement which was prepared at the President's request by the War Relocation Authority in response to Senate Resolution 166. The statement in full follows:

A COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO SENATE RESOLUTION No. 166

On July 6, 1943, the United States Senate adopted Senate Resolution No. 166 introduced by Senator Sheridan Downey of California. The resolution called upon the President (1) to order the immediate segregation of disloyal persons of Japanese ancestry in relocation centers and (2) to have issued by the appropriate agency of Government a comprehensive authoritative statement on relocation centers and future relocation plans. Since the War Relocation Authority had initated plans for a segregation program prior to adoption of the resolution, no Presidential action on the first part of the resolution has been necessary. The following statement is issued in response to the second part of the resolution.

THE PACIFIC COAST EVACUATION

On February 19, 1942, the President signed Executive Order No. 9066 empowering the Secretary of War or any military commander the Secretary might designate to prescribe military areas and to provide for the exclusion from such areas of any persons whose presence was deemed prejudicial to the national defense. Eleven days later, on March 2, the commanding general of the Western Defense Command issued a proclamation prescribing the western portion of the three west coast States [1] and the southern part of Arizona, as a military area and announced that all persons of Japanese ancestry—both alien and citizen—would be excluded from this area. On March 18 the President signed Executive Order No. 9102 establishing the War Relocation Authority within the Office for Emergency Management and directing the Authority to provide for the relocation of persons evacuated from military areas under the provisions of Executive Order No. 9066. The principal aim behind the creation of the new agency was to relieve the military of the complicated and burdensome job of maintaining and reestablishing a dislocated people.

Throughout most of March in 1942 the people of Japanese ancestry residing within the prescribed west coast area were freely permitted and even encouraged to move out voluntarily and resettle inland on

[1] Later, in June, the evacuation area was enlarged to take in the entire State of California.

their own initiative. The original hope was that a considerable portion of these people would be able to establish themselves outside the prescribed area with a minimum of Government assistance. Before the War Relocation Authority was more than a week old, however, it became apparent that such a large-scale migration could be handled effectively only on a controlled and orderly basis. In many communities of the intermountain region, there were strong protests against the arrival of evacuees from the coastal zone; and in some areas, violence appeared imminent. Consequently, on March 27 the commanding general of the Western Defense Command issued an order (to become effective on March 29) prohibiting further voluntary migration and "freezing" the people of Japanese ancestry in their homes until they could be moved by the Army.

Nine days after this order became effective—on April 7—the Director of the War Relocation Authority and Col. Karl R. Bendetsen, representing the Western Defense Command, met with a group of Governors and other State officials of the Western States in Salt Lake City to discuss plans for relocating the evacuated people. At that meeting the War Relocation Authority presented for consideration a relocation plan composed of three basic points:

(1) Establishment of Government-operated centers where some of the evacuees could be quartered and could contribute through work on Government projects, to their own support;
(2) Reemployment of evacuees in private industry or in agriculture outside the evacuated areas;
(3) Governmental assistance for small groups of evacuees desiring to establish self-supporting colonies of an agricultural character.

The reaction of the assembled Governors and other State officials to this program was unmistakable. Strong opposition was expressed to any type of unsupervised relocation and some of the Governors refused to be responsible for maintenance of law and order unless evacuees brought into their States were kept under constant military surveillance. Following the meeting, the War Relocation Authority abandoned plans for assisting groups of evacuees in private colonization, temporarily laid aside plans for private employment, and concentrated on establishment of Government-operated centers with sufficient capacity and facilities to accommodate the entire evacuee population.

FUNCTIONS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT AND OF THE WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Almost immediately after the creation of the War Relocation Authority, a tentative agreement was reached between the Director of the Authority and the Western Defense Command covering the responsibilities of the two agencies in the evacuation and relocation process. Later, on April 17, this agreement was expanded and formalized in a memorandum of understanding signed by the Director of the Authority and the Assistant Secretary of War. Briefly, the memorandum provided that the War Department would be responsible for (1) evacuating the people of Japanese ancestry from their homes, (2) establishing and administering temporary assembly

centers where the evacuees could be quartered while relocation centers were being constructed, (3) construction of basic housing and facilities at relocation center sites, (4) transporting the evacuees from assembly to relocation centers, and (5) provision of a military guard around the exterior boundaries of relocation centers. The War Relocation Authority assumed full responsibility for management of the relocation centers and for maintenance of the evacuees once they were delivered by the Army at the relocation center gates. The full text of the agreement follows:

APRIL 17, 1942.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE WAR DEPARTMENT AND WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Preamble: The War Relocation Authority is an independent establishment created by Executive Order of the President No. 9102, dated March 18, 1942, with a primary objective of relieving the Military Establishment of the burden of providing for the relocation of persons excluded from military areas by order of the Secretary of War or any designated military commander acting pursuant to Executive Order of the President No. 9066, dated February 19, 1942. The emphasis in all War Relocation Authority activities will be increasingly to alleviate the drain on military resources with regard to all phases of evacuation and relocation. The War Relocation Authority has agreed to prepare itself as rapidly as practicable to assume those burdens now imposed on the War Department respecting such activities and particularly in connection with Pacific coast evacuation now in progress. Accordingly the following understanding is executed between the War Department and the War Relocation Authority to meet the present situation.

1. The evacuation of combat zones is a military necessity and when determined upon must not be retarded by resettlement and relocation. In other words, the timing of evacuation is a military function which War Relocation Authority will do all in its power to accommodate.

2. Assembly centers are staging areas and necessary because of the time required to select relocation sites and to construct relocation centers (reception centers). Assembly centers are constructed and will be supplied and operated by the War Department.

3. Relocation sites, upon which relocation centers (reception centers) are built, are to be selected by the War Relocation Authority, subject to War Department approval.

4. The acquisition, as distinguished from selection, of sites for relocation centers (reception centers) is a War Department function. Such acquisition will be made by the War Department upon the request of the War Relocation Authority. The War Relocation Authority will reimburse the War Department for the acquisition cost of relocation sites or pay the cost in the first instance.

(*a*) As a part of the acquisition procedure, respecting both private and public lands, the War Department, through an appropriate military commander, will advise the chief executive of the State concerned of the military necessity for the location of a relocation project within that State.

(*b*) The War Relocation Authority has full responsibility for compilation of the necessary data and descriptions in connection with 3 and 4 above.

5. Construction of initial facilities at relocation centers (reception centers) will be accomplished by the War Department. This initial construction will include all facilities necessary to provide the minimum essentials of living, viz, shelter, hospital, mess, sanitary facilities, administration building, housing for relocation staff, post office, storehouses, essential refrigeration equipment, and military police housing. (War Department construction will not include refinements such as schools, churches, and other community planning adjuncts.) The placement and construction of military police housing will be subject to the approval of the appropriate military commander.

6. The War Department will procure and supply the initial equipment for relocation centers (reception centers), viz, kitchen equipment, minimum mess and barrack equipment, hospital equipment, and 10 days' supply of nonperishable subsistence based on the relocation center (reception center) evacuee capacity. From the date of opening, or the date on which the War Relocation Authority initiates the operation of any relocation center (reception center), as the case

may be, the War Department will transfer accountability for all such equipment and property to the War Relocation Authority. The War Relocation Authority agrees to assume such accountability. Thereafter, the War Relocation Authority will maintain and replace all such equipment and property, including subsistence, and will procure whatever additional supplies, subsistence, and equipment it may require. The War Department agrees that the War Relocation Authority may effect its procurement through War Department agencies.

(*a*) As to all routine procurement effected by the War Relocation Authority through War Department agencies, said Authority agrees that it will transmit to the War Department a forecast of its requirements semiannually in advance, and that it will confirm in writing to the appropriate War Department agency its actual requirements from time to time as the need for such procurement develops. The War Relocation Authority will take all possible and practicable steps to inform the War Department well in advance of its requirements.

7. After pending arrangements for existing reception centers are completed the War Relocation Authority will operate relocation centers (reception centers) from the date of opening. This will include staffing, administration, project planning, and complete operation and maintenance. In undertaking such operations the War Relocation Authority will not retard completion of the evacuation process but will accommodate military requirements. It will be prepared to accept successive increments of evacuees as construction is completed and supplies and equipment are delivered. In each case the War Relocation Authority will provide a project manager who will be available to the War Department local construction representative for consultation as soon as a given project is approved for construction.

8. The War Department will provide for the transportation of evacuees to assembly centers and from assembly centers to relocation centers (reception centers) under appropriate military escort. The War Department, through the Western Defense Command, has arranged for the storage of household effects of evacuees through the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco. At War Department expense, the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco has acquired warehouse space, provided civilian guards, and has arranged for inventories of goods stored by each evacuee. When evacuee goods are stored and the Federal Reserve Bank delivers inventory receipts to the War Relocation Authority, said Authority will accept such receipts from the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco and, upon such acceptance, said Authority assumes the responsibility now borne by the War Department for the warehousing program, including the assumption from the date of delivery of receipts, of payment of all costs. Thereafter, the disposition of such household effects and the transportation thereof to relocation centers, or elsewhere, will be the sole responsibility of the War Relocation Authority.

9. In the interest of the security of the evacuees relocation sites will be designated by the appropriate military commander or by the Secretary of War, as the case may be, as prohibited zones and military areas, and appropriate restrictions with respect to the rights of evacuees and others to enter, remain in, or leave such areas will be promulgated so that ingress and egress of all persons, including evacuees, will be subject to the control of the responsible military commander. Each relocation site will be under military-police patrol and protection as determined by the War Department. Relocation centers (reception centers) will have a minimum capacity of 5,000 evacuees (until otherwise agreed to) in order that the number of military police required for patrol and protection will be kept at a minimum.

10. It is understood that all commitments herein as relate to the use of War Department and/or war relocation funds are subject to the approval of the Bureau of the Budget.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY,
By M. S. EISENHOWER,
Director.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
By J. J. MCCLOY,
Assistant Secretary of War.

SELECTION OF SITES FOR RELOCATION CENTERS

While the evacuation was moving forward under supervision of the Western Defense Command, the War Relocation Authority and the Army began an extensive search for areas where the evacuees might

settle down to a more stable kind of life until plans could be developed for their permanent relocation in communities outside of the evacuated areas. Because of the nature of the relocation program, the possibilities were sharply limited. Requirements for sites were announced by the Authority on April 13 as follows:

1. All centers must be located on public land so that improvements at public expense become public, not private, assets. Any land acquired for this purpose will remain in public ownership.
2. Because of manpower needs in the armed services and because the minimum guard unit can guard 5,000 persons as easily as smaller groups, first attention will be given to sites adequate for large projects.
3. Each center must provide work opportunities throughout the year for the available workers to be located there.
4. All centers must be located at a safe distance from strategic works.

To aid in the job of site selection, the Authority enlisted the cooperation of technicians from a number of Federal and State agencies. More than 300 proposals were considered on paper and nearly 100 possible sites were actually examined by field inspection crews. Some were rejected because they were too small; others were turned down by the Army for military reasons; and still others were found unsuitable for a wide variety of causes.

By June 5 sites for 10 relocation centers had been selected and construction work at four of the sites was well under way. By the first week in November the entire evacuee population had been transferred either from assembly centers or—in some cases—direct from their homes into relocation centers. A total of 110,000 persons, according to records of the Western Defense Command, were evacuated from their homes. The location of the 10 centers and their population as of July 10, 1943, are shown in the following table:

Relocation center	Location	Population as of July 10, 1943
Central Utah	Topaz, Utah	7,287
Colorado River	Poston, Ariz	15,530
Gila River	Rivers, Ariz	12,355
Granada	Amache, Colo	6,170
Heart Mountain	Heart Mountain, Wyo	9,292
Jerome	Denson, Ark	7,767
Manzanar	Manzanar, Calif	8,716
Minidoka	Hunt, Idaho	7,548
Rohwer	Relocation, Ark	7,616
Tule Lake	Newell, Calif	13,422
Total		95,703

(The War Relocation Authority is also operating a small isolation center at Leupp, Ariz.)

GENERAL PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE EVACUATION

Evacuation of the Japanese American population from their homes and occupations on the west coast, and their relocation in 10 newly established wartime communities is a movement without precedent in the United States. Inevitably such an undertaking has created problems, not all of which could be foreseen. The size of the task, involving more than 100,000 men, women, and children, as well as its unprecedented character, has contributed to the complexity of the undertaking.

At the present time the responsibilities of the War Relocation Authority, in dealing with these problems, fall into three main categories. First are those problems arising in the administration of

relocation centers. While the Authority does not consider the centers as permanent places of residence and does not feel that the maintenance of evacuees in relocation centers represents the most constructive solution to the over-all problem, the fact remains that the great majority of evacuees are now in the centers, and that their proper maintenance there is a clear responsibility of the Government.

Second are the problems arising from the release of evacuees for work outside the centers and for other purposes. Even before the evacuation from certain of the restricted areas had been initiated, the Army and the War Relocation Authority were forced by the demands in many of the Western States for agricultural labor to develop a program for releasing large numbers of evacuees for outside employment. Throughout the summer and autumn of 1942, the number of evacuees released on temporary work leave reached nearly 10,000.

Problems arising in the management of property owned by evacuees in the evacuated areas constitute the third major category of problems with which the War Relocation Authority is concerned. Under plans developed by the Army as a part of the evacuation program, evacuees were offered assistance through the medium of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco and the Farm Security Administration in the leasing, sale, or management of their property. In August 1942 responsibilities in this field were transferred, at the request of the cooperating agencies, to the War Relocation Authority.

THE NATURE OF THE EVACUATED POPULATION

The present population of the 10 relocation centers is approximately 95,000. Roughly two-thirds of these people are American citizens by virtue of birth in this country. The remaining one-third are aliens, whose naturalization is not permitted under the laws of the United States. The distribution of this population by age and sex is suggested by the following table, based upon the United States Census of 1940:

Distribution of Japanese population by age, sex, and nativity compared to "average" [1] groupings of non-Japanese population—States of Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington, 1940

Age groups	Male				Female				Total	
	Japanese population			"Average" [1] population	Japanese population			"Average" [1] population	Japanese population	"Average" [1] population
	Native-born	Foreign-born	Total		Native-born	Foreign-born	Total			
0 to 4 years	3,728	30	3,758	4,330	3,407	25	3,432	3,447	7,190	7,777
5 to 9 years	4,148	37	4,185	4,135	4,131	39	4,170	3,322	8,355	7,457
10 to 14 years	6,476	63	6,539	4,519	6,271	54	6,325	3,627	12,864	8,146
15 to 19 years	9,291	141	9,432	5,074	8,596	105	8,701	4,099	18,133	9,173
20 to 24 years	7,654	227	7,881	5,248	6,540	215	6,755	4,221	14,636	9,469
25 to 29 years	3,964	341	4,305	5,505	3,113	252	3,365	4,357	7,670	9,862
30 to 34 years	1,561	959	2,520	5,211	1,138	812	1,950	4,047	4,470	9,258
35 to 39 years	749	2,588	3,337	4,975	371	2,673	3,044	3,816	6,381	8,791
40 to 44 years	262	2,892	3,154	4,634	132	3,782	3,914	3,588	7,068	8,222
45 to 49 years	132	2,169	2,301	4,414	63	3,490	3,553	3,385	5,854	7,799
50 to 54 years	58	5,157	5,215	4,143	25	2,172	2,197	3,055	7,412	7,198
55 to 59 years	32	4,720	4,752	3,454	5	1,160	1,165	2,545	5,917	5,999
60 to 64 years	15	3,662	3,677	2,729	3	770	773	2,128	4,450	4,857
65 to 69 years	6	1,500	1,506	2,019	1	292	293	1,689	1,799	3,708
70 to 74 years	9	476	485	1,402	1	80	81	1,175	566	2,577
75 years and over	9	152	161	1,416	5	54	59	1,276	220	2,692
Total	38,094	25,114	63,208	63,208	33,802	15,975	49,777	49,777	112,985	112,985

[1] The "average" population indicates what the distribution, by age and sex, of the Japanese-American population in the Pacific Coast States in 1940 would have been had it conformed to the distribution by age and sex of the non-Japanese population in these 4 States.

Source: Bureau of Census.

As of 1942, the median age of the alien male population was approximately 56 years; of the alien female population approximately 47 years; and of the citizen population about 18 years. The "average" column in the previous tabulation is introduced to indicate what the distribution, by age and sex, of the Japanese-American population in the Pacific coast in 1940 would have been had it conformed to the distribution by age and sex of the non-Japanese population in the four States in 1940.

In addition to the wide and distinct difference in age between the citizen and alien groups in this population, probably its most important characteristics from the point of view of relocation center administration are (1) the relative lack of persons in the age group of 30 to 50, which generally constitutes the most productive part of the working populations; (2) the relatively high proportion of school students (5 to 19) in the total population and the relatively high population of high-school students in the school population (nearly double that found in a normal community); and (3) the relatively low proportion of persons 65 years of age and older. These abnormal age characteristics of the evacuee population have occasioned problems differing both in kind and size from those found in the normal American community.

EVACUATION FROM HAWAII

Although no mass evacuation of persons of Japanese descent, similar to that on the west coast, was deemed necessary or advisable in the Hawaiian Islands, the Army has carried out a small-scale evacuation of people of Japanese ancestry from the Territory to the mainland.

The first evacuees from Hawaii were received in relocation centers on November 23, 1942. Since that time, 1,037 Hawaiian evacuees have been received at centers. Of this group, approximately 60 percent are males, approximately 40 percent are under 17 years of age, and 13 percent over 37 years of age.

BASIC POLICIES OF CENTER ADMINISTRATION

The War Relocation Authority has undertaken to provide all evacuees residing in centers the following essentials: Housing, food, medical care, and education through the high-school level. In each of these categories the facilities provided are the minimum necessary to meet reasonable American standards.

HOUSING

All evacuees in centers are housed in barracks, which are divided into four or more one-room apartments. The barracks are grouped in blocks, each of which is made up of 14 barracks, a central toilet and bathhouse, a laundry room, mess hall, and a recreation hall.

This housing for evacuees is part of the basic center construction, which was designed and built by the United States Army Engineers. The Army's original plan, which was agreed to by the War Relocation Authority, contemplated that a minimum of one room would be made available to each family, and that no family would be required to share its one-room apartment with anyone else. At the present time, in order to make barracks space available for schools, church

services, and other community purposes, the War Relocation Authority is unable to meet this standard. Many families are, at the present time, required to share barracks space with outsiders. Similarly, few recreation halls are available for the block uses for which they were constructed. The War Relocation Authority's program for the construction of schools and other facilities and the gradual relocation outside the centers of eligible families are both steps aimed to remedy this situation.

All center construction is of a temporary character, similar to the Army's theater of operations type of construction. While the centers differ from each other in minor details, the most common type of building is a frame structure covered with plain sheathing lumber and tar paper. Because of the heat, the Arizona centers have double roofs; because of the cold, some of the more northern centers have finished interior walls. None of the barracks has running water; all have electric lights and some sort of heating stove for each apartment.

Food and mess operations.

All evacuees eat in mess halls operated by the Authority. In each center, mess operations are directed by a chief steward, who is a member of the administrative staff. He has one or two appointed assistants. Under the direction of the chief steward and his immediate assistants, all work connected with requisitioning, receipt, warehousing, issue, preparation and serving of food, and the maintenance and operation of subsistence warehouses and mess halls is performed by evacuee personnel. Recognizing the importance of mess operations to the morale of the centers, the stewards undertake to provide good, wholesome food, selected and prepared to the taste of the evacuees. Because of the varied nature of the population, which includes some peoples whose tastes are very largely Japanese, along with others whose tastes are almost wholly American, it is not easy to prepare menus which will satisfy the entire population. Experience seems to indicate that the best way to deal with this situation is to alternate Oriental and American types of foods.

It is the policy of the Authority to provide simple, substantial foods. All rationing regulations and recommendations applicable to the civilian population of this country are observed in the administration of center mess operations. In addition, 2 meatless days are observed each week and no fancy meats of any kind are served. In areas where local milk supplies are short, milk is provided only to small children, nursing or expectant mothers, and special dietary cases.

With the exception of some food which is produced by the evacuees themselves at the centers and some perishable commodities which are bought locally, practically all food served at the centers is purchased through the Quartermaster Corps of the United States Army. Arrangements were made to buy food through the Army both to give the War Relocation Authority the advantage of Army experience and facilities, and to give the Army an opportunity to prevent competition by the War Relocation Authority in certain markets for food needed for the armed forces.

War relocation centers are operating under a cash ration allowance of 45 cents per person per day. This cost includes the cost of feeding special diet cases, infants, and pregnant women. Over the past few months the actual daily cost of feeding has ranged from 34 to 42 cents per person.

EDUCATION

One-fourth of the evacuee population in the centers is of school age and is in school. This is substantially larger than the proportion of school children in the normal population. Moreover, as has been suggested above, a disproportionately large part of the school population is of high-school age. Virtually all of the school children in the population were born in this country and are citizens. Virtually all were being educated prior to evacuation in American public schools.

It is the policy of the War Relocation Authority to provide elementary and high-school facilities, meeting the minimum standards of the States in which the centers are located and providing education which will permit the students to return to public school outside the centers after the war without loss of credit for the time spent in the centers. Educational programs have been developed and curricula planned in cooperation with the State school authorities of the States in which centers are located. All teaching is in English. No Japanese language schools of the type common on the Pacific coast before evacuation are permitted in the centers. Refresher courses in the Japanese language, however, are being given at some of the centers for instructors and interpreters intending to go out in intelligence work.

The entire evacuee population has expressed a keen interest in the educational program. When basic educational plans were being made, the Authority was asked expressly by leaders of the evacuee population to provide as large a proportion as possible of non-Japanese teachers. They felt that prior to evacuation schools had been the biggest single force for Americanization and expressed the hope that their children would continue to have contact with qualified non-Japanese teachers. Because of this fact, and because there are relatively few qualified teachers among the evacuees, original plans called for employment of at least three-fourths of the teaching staff from outside the centers. At the present time, nearly 90 percent of the certified teaching staff is composed of persons who are not of Japanese descent. Evacuees are used extensively as assistant teachers and teacher aides.

Appointed teachers are employed under Civil Service regulations and are paid salaries established under the Classification Act. Because of the administrative necessity of keeping children occupied in the relatively crowded confines of the relocation centers, schools are operated 11 months out of the year. Even on such a basis it will be more than a year before the school time lost during evacuation and relocation is made up.

Schools are now operating in space originally constructed for barracks. Facilities for scientific and vocational work at the high-school level are inadequate. In most centers, living quarters have been crowded to make barrack space available for schools. To relieve this situation, the War Relocation Authority has undertaken to build school buildings of a temporary character similar in construction to the other buildings of the centers. Plans have been completed and priorities secured for the construction of high schools at most centers. Elementary classes, however, will continue to be held in the barracks.

MEDICAL CARE AND HOSPITALIZATION

Recognizing the possibility that the process of evacuation and relocation might increase the susceptibility of the evacuee population to disease and that the likelihood of serious epidemics is greater in camp communities than in normal communities, the Army made provision in the basic construction program of the centers for a fully equipped hospital on each center. Because the barracks-type housing is unsuited to home care of the sick, even minor illnesses are considered hospital cases in the relocation centers. This consideration caused the Army to provide a higher ratio of hospital beds to the population (about 18 to 1,000) than is customary in most normal communities.

The War Relocation Authority provides an appointed medical director in each center, appointed under civil service and paid according to the Classification Act. All other medical positions, all dental positions, and such technical positions as X-ray technologist, pharmacist, and laboratory technician are filled to the fullest extent possible with evacuee personnel. From the beginning there has been a serious shortage of qualified evacuee nurses at the centers; and within the past few months the number of evacuee doctors has been drastically reduced by outside relocation. In fact, the most serious problem of health administration on the centers is the very small number of qualified doctors and nurses available. At present, the Authority is using a much larger proportion of nurses aides from the evacuee population than is desirable from a point of view of sound medical practice.

Evacuees are provided medical care, hospitalization, and medication without charge. Up to the present, health conditions on the centers have been remarkably good. But the current shortage of doctors and nurses may make the continuance of such a record exceedingly difficult.

EMPLOYMENT

In order to hold down the costs of administration, the War Relocation Authority has filled the great majority of positions needed in the operation of the centers with evacuee personnel. Only key supervisory positions are filled with appointed civil-service employees. In fact, it is the policy of the War Relocation Authority, so far as possible, to provide useful, productive work for all employable evacuees. Approximately 90 percent of the employable residents of the centers are employed at the present time. Work in the administrative offices, the transport and warehousing systems, and other essential administrative operations employs about a third of this number. The remainder are used in productive enterprises in the fields of agriculture, industry, and public works.

Evacuees are selected and assigned to their work under a systematic program of employment administration; they are paid at the rate of $12, $16, or $19 a month, according to the nature of their duties. This compensation is not considered a wage commensurate with the work being performed but is more in the nature of a cash allowance, intended to enable the evacuees who work to purchase such things as haircuts, shoe repairs, tobacco, confections, and other goods and services that are not provided by the Authority. Evacuees who work also receive a cash clothing allowance for themselves and their dependents. Clothing allowances, depending upon the age of the dependents and the location of the centers, range from $2 to $3.75 per month per person.

AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, AND PUBLIC WORKS

When initial plans for relocation centers were being made the Authority did not anticipate the great demand which subsequently arose for evacuee labor outside the centers. It was expected that extensive programs of agricultural and industrial production and public works would be needed to provide useful occupations for the evacuees. The possibility of establishing industries, not only to produce goods needed in the centers but also goods required in the war effort, was extensively explored. Similarly, care was taken to locate all centers on relatively large areas of potential or developed agricultural land. On a number of centers a substantial program of land development was planned. On all centers a number of buildings, roads, and other community facilities were omitted from the basic construction and left to be built by evacuees.

Outside demands for labor, however, have reduced the labor forces on the centers substantially below what was anticipated. It is now evident that there will be little opportunity or need for industrial development. A few small industrial projects contributing to the subsistence program of the centers are being operated. A few enterprises contributing to the war effort were established in some of the earlier centers and will be continued. The extensive industrial program, involving the establishment on the centers of industrial plants under private management paying prevailing wages, which was at one time contemplated, has been abandoned as unnecessary.

On centers having developed agricultural land, production is limited to crops needed in the subsistence of the centers. It has appeared wiser in every way to release evacuees for work in private agricultural enterprises than to attempt to develop agricultural production for the market. On centers on which there is no developed agricultural land at present, the Authority is developing only sufficient acreage to provide subsistence crops and livestock. All evacuees engaged in such activities are compensated in accordance with the established employment program of the Authority.

Even this restricted program is contributing substantially to the maintenance of the centers. During the calendar year 1942, with most of the centers in operation only a portion of the year, approximately $800,000 worth of vegetables and other crops were produced at four relocation centers. It is expected that $2,750,000 worth of vegetables will be produced during the calendar year 1943. Livestock and poultry produced on the centers will provide an additional contribution to the mess operations program. It is estimated that during the fiscal year 1944, the value of livestock and poultry products produced on the centers will reach $2,000,000.

In addition to land development on certain centers, the Public Works Program is confined largely to the development and construction of buildings needed in project operations. These include schools, community store buildings, agricultural buildings such as swine and poultry sheds, maintenance and repair shops, and additional quarters for appointed personnel.

COMMUNITY WELFARE

Since the evacuee population is a complete cross-section of our general population, it inevitably includes a proportion of socially maladjusted people, the bad along with the good. Moreover, the process of evacuation and relocation has introduced various strains and dislocations into the population. For example, eating in mess halls, bathing in community bathhouses, and utilizing community laundries and toilet facilities have already strained the normal ties of family life and threaten to weaken if not destroy the authority of parents over their children. These problems are intensified by the relatively crowded and inadequate living conditions.

The War Relocation Authority is attempting to counteract the bad social effects of relocation by such administrative means as are at its disposal. Considerable can be accomplished through the educational system, but in addition the Authority has found it necessary to provide a qualified social welfare staff on each center. This staff is particularly concerned with the problems of family relationship, and of the old, the sick, and with orphans and delinquent children. The welfare staff determines family composition for the purposes of granting clothing allowances and making housing adjustments, and is responsible for administering a program of cash grants to persons who, because of health or for other reasons, are unemployable.

COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES

The evacuees have been encouraged to establish community stores at all centers so that residents might buy essential goods and services not furnished by the administration. These include such personal services as are provided by shoe-repair shops, mending and pressing shops, beauty parlors, and barber shops, and such goods as clothing, confections, toilet goods, stationery, and books and magazines.

All community enterprises have been organized and financed by evacuees (either through the use of their own funds or through credit secured from private sources) and are operated on a cooperative basis with profits used for community purposes or distributed to the evacuees in the form of dividends. All evacuee personnel employed in the community enterprises are paid out of the funds of the enterprises at the same rate as if they were employed in operations of the Authority. The enterprises pay the Authority a reasonable rental for the space they occupy on the center. The Authority provides a community enterprise adviser on each center and undertakes to audit the books of the enterprises but otherwise is not responsible for their operations.

COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT AND INTERNAL SECURITY

Although final responsibility for management of the relocation centers rests with the War Relocation Authority, the Authority is, to the fullest feasible extent, giving the evacuees an active voice in the management of their own affairs.

In the first place, the director of each center has selected in each block a block manager to represent the administration in the transmission of information and instructions to the residents and to represent the block in the presentation of requests and proposals to the

administration. Block managers are also responsible for seeing that block buildings are adequately maintained and that block services are kept up to standards.

In the second place, regulations of the War Relocation Authority provide procedures under which members of the evacuee community may select a community council and other agencies of community government to advise and assist the project director in administering community aspects of the center's activity. While all residents of the centers 18 years of age and older may vote in community elections, only those 21 or over are permitted, by regulation of the Authority, to hold elective office. The authority of the community council, and such other agencies of local government and administration as may be established, is founded entirely upon the legal authority of the project director, as administrative head of the relocation center. It is the policy of the Authority to delegate to the evacuee representatives as much authority as is consistent with sound administration and as the governmental organization of the community appears qualified to assume. The community organizations of the several centers, naturally, vary somewhat in the degree of their development and in their capacity to assist the project director. Consequently the degree of responsibility delegated by the project directors varies from center to center and will continue to be modified as the maturity and competence of the governmental organization increase or are altered by local circumstances.

Evacuees in the relocation centers are governed by three general categories of law and regulation:

1. The general law of the United States and of the State in which the center is situated;
2. Regulations of the War Relocation Authority and the project director;
3. Regulations made by the community council under the authority of the project director and with his approval.

Enforcement of these laws and regulations is the responsibility of the project director, who utilizes in the exercise of his responsibility both the agencies of community government and the internal-security staff of the center.

The internal security staff on each center is headed by a qualified appointed internal-security officer. He is provided with from 2 to 10 appointed assistants, the exact number depending upon decision by the Authority as to requirements in the center. In addition, the internal-security officer directs a staff of evacuee internal-security assistants. These evacuee officers are selected because of their previous police experience or other special qualifications for the work. They are trained particularly in the preventive aspects of police administration.

EXTERNAL SECURITY

By agreement between the War Relocation Authority and the Army, the exterior boundary of each relocation center is guarded by a military police detachment. During the day the military police patrol the perimeter of the entire project area; at night they maintain a patrol around the immediate boundary of the relocation center or barracks area. In addition, they are available to assume responsibility for policing the interior of the center upon request of the project

director. The Authority has experienced only one case in which it was found necessary to ask the military police to assume responsibility for maintaining order within a relocation center. This was in the Manzanar Relocation Center in California early in December. Experience at that time indicates that the present military policing arrangements are entirely adequate to maintain the external security for which they are intended and to assume responsibility when necessary for maintaining order within the centers.

ISOLATION CENTER

Primarily as a result of the disturbance which occurred at the Manzanar Relocation Center in December 1942, the War Relocation Authority in early 1943 worked out procedures whereby persistent and incorrigible troublemakers among the evacuees might be removed from relocation centers. Arrangements were completed with the Department of Justice empowering the Authority to certify for detention in internment camps alien residents of relocation centers, who, in the judgment of the project director, constitute a threat to the community peace and security. For the handling of troublemakers among the American citizens at relocation centers, however, a special center had to be established under direction of the War Relocation Authority.

In January of 1943 a temporary center of this kind was established on the site of an abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps camp near Moab, Utah. The first group to be transferred to this center was a contingent of 23 men from Manzanar who were suspected of being the instigators behind the December outbreak. In April the Moab Center was closed out and its population transferred to the present isolation center which is located on the site of an Indian boarding school at Leupp, Ariz. The current population of the Leupp Center is 70 evacuees.

FIRE PROTECTION

Because of the highly inflammable character of the buildings at all relocation centers and the comparatively dry climate at most of them, the fire hazard is unusually acute. From the beginning, intensive efforts have been made to train evacuee fire-fighting crews and to make the population of each center fire conscious. Fire protection work at the centers is under the direction of a member of the appointed (nonevacuee) staff and currently involves evacuee crews ranging from 34 to 93 members, depending on the size and needs of each center. The total fire loss at the 10 centers up to June 15, 1943, was $25,894 or 25 cents per capita.

BASIC POLICIES ON LEAVE AND OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT

Ever since the evacuation, the military authorities and the War Relocation Authority have had arrangements under which evacuees might be privately employed in various parts of the country outside the evacuated area on the Pacific coast. The War Relocation Authority first took the position that evacuation should be completed, the relocation centers built and staffed, and all evacuees transferred to the centers before expending a major effort on private relocation. However, the need for labor in agriculture, especially for the production of sugar beets, became so great that the Western Defense Command and the War Relocation Authority made arrangements for the recruitment of farm and other work in May 1942 when the great majority of the evacuees were still in the Army assembly centers. By July 1, 1942, some 1,700 evacuees were employed under this joint procedure in 5 Western States. During the fall harvest season about 10,000 were employed on group work leave in 11 States.

SEASONAL LEAVE

Recruitment of evacuees under the group-leave policy (also called seasonal-work leave) and their release from both assembly centers and relocation centers were accomplished under the following terms:

1. Evacuees proceeded at the expense of the employer to a designated locality, usually a county.
2. Evacuees were recruited only for areas in which the United States Employment Service certified that labor was needed.
3. Evacuees were granted group work leave to accept employment under the terms of a written contract. (They were, however, permitted to move to other employers in the same areas and, with prior approval of field representatives of the Authority, were permitted to move from one designated area to another, as the need for labor shifted. Thus, many evacuees who started work in the spring were kept in continuous employment throughout the summer. Out of the 10,000 on group work leave in 1942, about one-fifth are still in outside employment under the group leave policy.)
4. Evacuees were given group work leave to go only to States in which the Governor had given written assurance that he would maintain law and order and to counties in which similar assurances had been provided by local authorities.

This group-leave procedure has undoubtedly given the evacuees an opportunity, which, for the most part, they welcomed, to work as free labor, and to assist in the agricultural program of the country. It contributed substantially to the production of sugar in the United States. There were some minor changes in the group-work-leave procedures before the beginning of the 1943 agricultural season, and at the same time the type of leave was designated as seasonal work leave. On July 1, 1943, there were approximately 5,500 evacuees on seasonal work leave.

TEMPORARY AND INDEFINITE LEAVE

On October 1, 1942, the War Relocation Authority published in the Federal Register leave regulations embodying the present policies of the Authority on the granting of leave to evacuees to depart from centers. These regulations outline three general types of procedure under which leave from relocation centers may be granted:

1. Group work leave under terms of the procedure outlined above;
2. Short term leave for a period not to exceed 60 days, under which evacuees may be permitted to attend funerals, visit

sick relatives, attend court, or take care of other important business, justifying their temporary release from the centers.

3. Indefinite leave, under which evacuees subject to the conditions outlined below are permitted to leave the centers to take up permanent residence.

Any resident of the relocation center is eligible to apply for indefinite leave, but before leave is granted the following procedure is carried through:

1. The evacuee must show that he has a definite offer of employment or other evidence that he can take care of himself at some point outside the areas from which persons of Japanese descent are excluded by military order.
2. The War Relocation Authority must secure reasonable assurance that the community in which the evacuee proposes to relocate will accept him without incident.
3. The War Relocation Authority has acquired extensive information concerning the past history, affiliations, and attitudes of evacuees past the age of 17 years. On the basis of these records, leave permits are granted. As a further precaution, names of more than 85 percent of the evacuees have been checked against records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and these checks will be continued until the list of adult evacuees has been completely covered. If there is evidence from any source that the evacuee might endanger the internal security of the Nation or interfere with the war effort, permission for leave is denied.
4. In addition, there has been established a joint board, composed of representatives of the War and Navy Departments and the War Relocation Authority. This board maintains liaison with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Approval of the board is required by the War Department for evacuees who desire to work in war industries and has been secured for those who wish to relocate from relocation centers into the Eastern Military Area. Such approval is given only after all pertinent information available from the cooperating agencies has been examined and evaluated.
5. The evacuee must agree to keep the War Relocation Authority informed of his location at all times.

At the present time some 10,000 evacuees, approximately 900 of them college students, are on indefinite leave.

No phase of the relocation program has been given more careful study and thought than the leave policy of the Authority. On the one hand, the problem of national security has been kept constantly in mind. On the other hand, the Authority has recognized from the outset that a relocation program which stopped with the transfer of evacuees to relocation centers would create more national problems than it would solve. It has never been the policy of the Federal Government to incarcerate aliens, and certainly not citizens, solely on the basis of their racial or national origin and regardless of their individual merits.

The leave policy was discussed with both the Attorney General and the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation before it was announced. The leave regulations were approved by the Department

of Justice before they were issued. The leave process requires continuous, close cooperation between the War Relocation Authority and the Department of Justice. The leave policy has also been approved by the War Manpower Commission from the point of view of its contribution to the manpower supply of the country. Through cooperation with the War Manpower Commission, relocation offices established by the Authority at appropriate locations throughout the country are endeavoring to place evacuees in occupations which will contribute as effectively as possible to the war effort.

Under the sponsorship of the National Student Relocation Committee, a nongovernmental organization, several hundred evaucees have been granted leave from relocation centers to attend college in institutions outside the evacuated areas. For several months students, with the cooperation of the War Department, were granted special educational leave from Army assembly centers and later from relocation centers under temporary procedures of the Authority. Under present regulations, attendance at college is one of the purposes for which indefinite leave is granted. All students, now on educational leave, are subject to the same investigation and restrictions as are applied to other evacuees granted indefinite leave.

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN THE RELOCATION PROGRAM

The evacuation and relocation program raise important questions of constitutionality. This is so because two-thirds of the persons of Japanese ancestry evacuated from west coast military areas are citizens of the United States. The great majority of the remainder are law-abiding aliens.

It is the position of the War Relocation Authority that its leave regulations are essential to the legal validity of the evacuation and relocation program. These leave regulations establish a procedure under which the loyal citizens and law-abiding aliens may leave a relocation center to become reestablished in normal life.

When the evacuation was originally determined upon, it was contemplated that the evacuees would be free immediately to go anywhere they wanted within the United States so long as they remained outside of the evacuated area. Approximately 8,000 evacuees left the evacuated area voluntarily at that time and 5,000 of these have never lived in relocation centers. The decision to provide relocation centers for the evacuees was not made until some 6 weeks after evacuation was decided upon, and was made largely because of a recognition of the danger that the hasty and unplanned resettlement of 112,000 people might create civil disorder.

Detention within a relocation center is not, therefore, a permanent part of the evacuation process. It is not intended to be more than a temporary stage in the process of relocating the evacuees into new homes and jobs.

The detention or internment of citizens of the United States against whom no charges of disloyalty or subversiveness have been made, or can be made, for longer than the minimum period necessary to screen the loyal from the disloyal, and to provide the necessary guidance for relocation, is beyond the power of the War Relocation Authority. In the first place, neither the Congress nor the President has directed the War Relocation Authority to carry out such detention or internment. Secondly, lawyers will readily agree that an

attempt to authorize such confinement would be very hard to reconcile with the constitutional rights of citizens.

On June 21, 1943, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its decision in the case of *Gordon Hirabayashi* v. *United States*. Hirabayashi had been convicted of violating both the curfew orders and the evacuation orders applicable to Japanese-Americans. The Court held that the curfew was a valid exercise of the war power. Although the question of the validity of the evacuation orders was presented to the Court in that case, the Court did not find it necessary to dicide that question. There is evidence in the majority and concurring opinions of the Court in the *Hirabayashi case* that, although it found the curfew to be valid, it believed the evacuation orders present difficult questions of constitutional power, and detention within a relocation center even more difficult questions. Mr. Justice Murphy in his concurring opinion said concerning the curfew orders:

> In my opinion this goes to the very brink of constitutional power.

Mr. Justice Douglas in his concurring opinion said:

> Detention for reasonable cause is one thing. Detention on account of ancestry is another. Obedience to the military orders is one thing. Whether an individual member of a group must be afforded at some stage an opportunity to show that, being loyal, he should be reclassified is a wholly different question * * *. But if it were plain that no machinery was available whereby the individual could demonstrate his loyalty as a citizen in order to be reclassified, questions of a more serious character would be presented. The United States, however, takes no such position.

The Chief Justice, in the majority opinion, was careful to point out that the Court was limiting its decision to the curfew orders and was not considering the evacuation orders or confinement in a relocation center.

More than a year has passed since evacuation was begun. During this year the War Relocation Authority has had time to make necessary investigations and to begin the process of considering the evacuees on an individual basis. The release procedures, including the leave regulations, are intended to provide the due process and hearing which fair dealing, democratic procedures, and the American Constitution all require.

SEGREGATION OF THE DISLOYAL

The War Relocation Authority is now undertaking to segregate from the total population in relocation centers those individuals who have indicated (either by express statement or by action) that their loyalties lie with Japan in the current hostilities. These individuals will be quartered in a segregation center to be established on the grounds of the Tule Lake Relocation Center in Northern California.

The first group to be segregated will be those individuals—about 6,300 in number—who have requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan and who have not withdrawn their applications prior to July 1, 1943. In determining who shall be segregated over and above this group, the War Relocation Authority will hold individual hearings and will carefully weigh all available evidence. Aside from the repatriates and expatriates, candidates for segregation will be drawn from the following groups:

1. American citizen evacuees who have refused to pledge loyalty to the United States and alien evacuees who have refused to swear that they would abide by the laws of the United States and refrain from interfering with the war effort;
2. Persons who have been denied leave clearance under the procedures of the War Relocation Authority because of an adverse report from a Federal intelligence agency, or some other information indicating loyalty to Japan.

Hearings connected with segregation are already under way at the relocation centers and are being carried forward as rapidly as possible. Present residents of the Tule Lake Center who are eligible for indefinite leave and who are thus not to be segregated will be given a choice of relocating immediately or transferring to one of the other centers. Residents of the other centers who are designated for segregation will be transferred to Tule Lake. Actual movements will begin in September as soon as preliminary arrangements can be completed and transportation becomes available.

Segregation is being carried out primarily to separate the loyal evacuees in relocation centers from the influence of those who are pro-Japanese and to speed the relocation in normal communities of the loyal group. It is not, however, in any sense a punitive program and the segregation center is not to be confused with the isolation center maintained at Leupp, Ariz. As a group, the segregates will be law-abiding persons who have simply given up trying to become adjusted in the United States. Any person at the segregation center who shows persistent troublemaking tendencies will be transferred to the isolation center.

An appeals board will be established at the Tule Lake Center to rectify mistakes that may be made in the segregation process and to hear the cases of those who wish to appeal their status. Except for those whose appeal is granted, residents of the segregation center will not be eligible for seasonal or indefinite leave.

In most other respects, the residents of the segregation center will be accorded the same type of treatment that is now given to residents of relocation centers generally. They will be provided by the Government with food, shelter, and medical care. Work opportunities will be available for those who wish to earn spending money and clothing allowances. Education will be furnished to children of school age. There will not, however, be opportunity for the establishment of an evacuee government at the segregation center.

EVACUEE PROPERTY

Determination by the Army that persons of Japanese ancestry should be evacuated from certain Pacific coast areas was accompanied by a recognition that assistance in the conservation of the property and property rights of evacuees should be given by the Federal Government. Respect for this principle was dictated not only by standards of equity but also by ordinary business sense.

On March 15, 1942, the Army announced the formation of the Wartime Civil Control Administration. The Treasury Department, acting through the Federal Reserve Bank, was asked to take over the conservation of urban evacuee property, including real and personal, both business and residential, and intangible assets. The Farm Security Administration of the Department of Agriculture was assigned the task of accomplishing continuity in the agricultural opera-

tions already under way by evacuees and fair and equitable dealings in the transfer of evacuee interests to substitute operators.

On March 17, 1942, the Farm Security Administration established the wartime farm adjustment program to assist in a fair disposition of evacuee agricultural holdings and to aid qualified farmers in taking over such operations and obtaining credit. Where usual channels of commercial and governmental credit were not open to substitute operators, the Farm Security Administration received from the War Department $1,000,000 for a lending program. Subsequently, an additional $5,000,000 from the President's emergency fund was made available to them. Some 650 loans, totaling approximately $3,500,000, were made from these funds.

Prior to the departure of evacuees to assembly centers, they were passed through one of 64 control stations established in Military Zone No. 1 in cooperation with the United States Employment Service. In these control centers three-man teams, composed of representatives of the Federal Security Agency, Federal Reserve Bank, and the Farm Security Administration were available to assist evacuees in settling their affairs before the evacuation dead line, and to check to determine whether arrangements for handling of their property had been completed by the evacuees.

Activities of the Federal Reserve Bank.

This agency rendered assistance to evacuees in the leasing or otherwise disposing of their urban properties, and on March 29, 1942, provisions for the storage of personal property and effects of evacuees in warehouses were published, and evacuees were urged to take advantage of this service. This activity was administered by the Federal Reserve Bank through its set-up designated as the Evacuee Property Department. As evacuees were transferred to assembly centers, those who availed themselves of the service afforded by the Federal Reserve Bank placed their household goods and personal belongings in warehouses leased by the bank for this purpose. A considerable percentage, however, preferred to place their goods in private storage, either in warehouses of their own selection, in churches and meeting halls, or with nonevacuee friends.

Pursuant to an agreement between the War Relocation Authority and the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, the property of 2,867 evacuees was assigned by the above bank to the War Relocation Authority. These goods totaled over 2,000 tons in weight.

The records of the Federal Reserve Bank indicate that there were referred to them some 5,000 properties of either residential or commercial character. The list included all those activities normally engaged in by business and professional people with a high percentage of the total being in cleaning establishments and laundries, hotels, nurseries, and residences. Food markets also held a high place in the statistical summary.

Activities of the Farm Security Administration.

The records of the Farm Security Administration indicate that some 6,664 pieces of agricultural property, totaling 258,000 acres, were involved in the evacuation process. Practically all this land was intensively cultivated and devoted to the production of the food requirements of the area.

The farm machinery used on these properties was disposed of in one of several ways:

(*a*) Outright sale; (*b*) by a leasing arrangement; (*c*) as a loan to the lessee of the evacuee's farm, the only requirements being maintenance and upkeep.

Some was placed in storage. It was usually insisted upon by the Farm Security Administration that where the equipment was required for the operation of the property, equipment as well as land should be included in the transfer arrangements.

Responsibilities of the War Relocation Authority.

Since completion of the evacuation in the summer of 1942, both the Federal Reserve bank and the Farm Security Administration have taken the position that responsibility for the future handling of evacuee property should rest with the War Relocation Authority.

Scrutiny of the statistics presented above clearly indicates the importance of maintaining production of farm lands and of maximum possible utilization of all other property, both in the national interests and to preserve the equities of the owners thereof. Failure so to do would have a detrimental effect in several ways. The impact upon the tax structure of the communities involved would be serious. The food supply of the areas wherein the properties are located would be affected. There would be a marked reduction in the housing facilities in certain defense areas, notably in Seattle, where 206 out of a total of 325 hotels (63 percent) in the city were operated by Japanese.

Organization.—It was recognized that the evacuees, having been removed from the areas indicated, were no longer in a position to personally operate, manage, or otherwise care for their property. The War Relocation Authority accordingly established the Division of Relocation Assistance. This Division has a Pacific coast evacuee-property office at San Francisco. There are field offices in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. In addition, provision has been made for evacuee-property representatives at each relocation project.

Functions.

Evacuees are free to choose the manner in which they desire to have their properties cared for. They may select a person or concern to act as attorney-in-fact, they may choose an agent to act for them, or they may deal directly with persons having transactions with them. The services of the evacuee-property office are made available to evacuees if they prefer to use them. The functions of this office include acting upon the request of evacuees to determine if property is being properly maintained; securing tenants or operators of both agricultural and commercial property; negotiating leases or sales; adjusting differences; checking inventories of goods and equipment; and similar activities. The policies guiding the activities of the evacuee-property office are predicated upon the national interests and a recognition of the need for preserving the lawful interests of evacuees.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Each of the 11 centers of the War Relocation Authority (including the isolation center at Leupp, Ariz.) is administered by a project director, who is responsible for supervising all activities within the

center and for cooperating with the commander of the military police company assigned to exterior patrol. Each director is provided with a staff of from 125 to 200 nonevacuee assistants. Top positions in all branches of community and project administration are occupied by these civil-service employees. At the present time more than a third of all project appointed personnel are employed in the education program.

Each project director is immediately responsible administratively to the Director of the Authority. He is vested by the Director with appropriate authority to expend and account for Government funds allotted to the project, to employ appointed personnel under civil-service regulations, and to purchase and to utilize necessary supplies and equipment. Subject to regulations and policies of the Authority and the general laws and regulations of the Government service, he is in full charge of the relocation center.

The Office of the Director of the War Relocation Authority is maintained in Washington, D. C. The Director is appointed by the President, and, within the framework of the Office for Emergency Management, of the Executive Office of the President, is administratively responsible to him. The Director is assisted by a Deputy Director and a staff in Washington, organized into the following divisions:

1. Reports;
2. Administrative Management;
3. Office of the Solicitor;
4. Relocation Planning;
5. Relocation Assistance;
6. Community Services;
7. Employment;
8. Agriculture and Engineering.

Three Assistant Directors of the Authority are maintained in field offices; one in Little Rock, Ark.; a second in Denver, Colo.; and the third in San Francisco, Calif. Each field Assistant Director has from one to three principal assistants and a small clerical staff. The field Assistant Directors are responsible for assisting the Director in inspection and supervision of relocation centers and other field activities of the Authority and for representing the Director in contacts with other governmental agencies and with the public.

To perform the functions of the War Relocation Authority in the field of evacuee property management, a property office under the direction of the Relocation Assistance Division in Washington is maintained in San Francisco. Branches of this office have been located in Seattle and Los Angeles. To assist in the relocation of evacuees outside centers, and to maintain contact with those who have been granted leave, a series of field offices has been established under the direction of the Employment Division of the Washington staff. At the present time key relocation offices have been established in Salt Lake City, Denver, Kansas City, Chicago, Cleveland, New York City, and Boston. Nearly 40 branch offices have been set up at other cities located mainly throughout the interior sections of the country.

INDIVIDUAL EXCLUSION

In addition to work connected with the relocation of the Japanese-American population, with which the War Relocation Authority is primarily concerned, the Authority is also responsible for providing assistance to individuals excluded from military areas. Removal of the Japanese-American population from the Pacific coast is the only wholesale evacuation which the Army has ordered under Executive Order 9066. It has for some months, however, been engaged in the removal of designated individuals, both aliens and citizens, from restricted areas along the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts. Under the present procedure, individuals, after appropriate investigations and hearings, are ordered by the military authorities to leave the restricted areas. Pursuant to Executive Order 9102, the War Relocation Authority has developed procedures under which it interviews individual excludees, and undertakes to provide them with such financial and other assistance as they may require to comply with the military orders. It is not expected, however, that the individual exclusion program will ever approach in scope or complexity the work of the Authority arising from the evacuation of the Japanese population from the west coast.

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February 22, 1944

REFERENCE SERVICE

Chamber of Commerce Praises Japanese American Farm Workers
(Exerpt from a letter addressed to San Francisco Examiner)

The citizens of Hunt Relocation Center have performed a most patrictic service to the farmers of southern Idaho to the war effort, since their evacuation here less than fifteen months ago. Approximately 2,500 Japanese-Americans have helped harvest our bumper crops the past two falls, and helped cultivate them the past summer -- without their help thousands of acres and tens of thousands of tons of foodstuffs would have rotted in the fields each year.

Signed: Claude H. Detweiler, President
Twin Falls Chamber of Commerce
Twin Falls, Idaho

(The Utah Nippo, Jan. 21, 1944)

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Army Captain Lauds Japanese American Soldiers

We have gone into battle with loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry and they have acquitted themselves with honor and glory. Imagine the risk such a man takes when he volunteers and joins the army. Not only must he be careful of enemy fire, but he must take caution that he is not mistaken by his own troops as an enemy. We soldiers glory in the fact that these Japanese boys are with us giving their full measure of devotion, while their brothers and sisters, in some instances, are in relocation camps.

Signed: Captain Ralph T. Lui
APO 7, Care of Postmaster
San Francisco, California

(The Colorado Times, Jan. 18, 1944)

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Army Silver Star Decoration Given to Nisei Soldier

The awarding of one of the army's highest decorations, the Silver Star, to a Japanese-American soldier was announced recently by the War Department.

The soldier, Staff Sergeant Kazuo Kozaki, known to many in Salt Lake City, was awarded the Order of the Purple Heart, as well as the Silver Star, for gallantry in action. Sgt. Kozaki received the decorations in October, 1943.

Sgt. Kozaki is the first Japanese-American to win the Silver Star.

(Pacific Citizen, Jan. 29, 1944)

Bataan and Corregidor

As we go to press the civilized world is shocked by army and navy announcements of atrocious treatment of U. S. and Filipino soldiers captured on Bataan and Corregidor. Perhaps this report will be reflected in the attitude of some of the American public toward loyal Americans of Japanese descent. We can't help that. What we can do is back our boys in the Army and the rest of the American soldiers by buying war bonds and by contributing in every way possible to the war effort to speed the day when the cruel barbarians of the Japanese military regime will be wiped from the face of the earth. We are thankful that selective service was opened to nisei before this announcement was made so that our nisei boys not yet in the Army can now look forward to revenging the crime of Bataan and Corregidor.

(The Minidoka Irrigator, Jan. 29, 1944)

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Brutality at Bataan

One of the most cruel and inhuman stories of the war was revealed to a shocked nation late this week when the War Department released the story of Japanese treatment of American and Filipino prisoners of war in the Philippines.

The story is a tale of starvation and murder and barbarity. It reveals, as no other war tale, to what depths Fascism and militarism can go. It reveals only too clearly how, under the Axis rule, men lose their dignity and decency. It shows how little a man's life is worth under the dictatorship of the sword.

America will not let this latest savagery go unavenged. And what Japanese Americans can do to help settle this score, they will.

We can no longer say that our present record of 10,000 Japanese American soldiers in the Army of the United States is enough. We cannot be satisfied with our present purchases of War Bonds, purchasing only "our fair share" of War Bonds.

This is war, and our enemy has shown no mercy, no quarter. This is war, and we must give in men and money and materials, not what we can spare, but what our country needs.

We hope that this week every American of Japanese ancestry, who can, will volunteer for the United States Army or its auxiliary Women's Army Corps. We hope that every dollar not needed for essentials will go into War Stamps and Bonds.

We are glad that last week the War Department reinstituted the draft for Japanese Americans, making possible further enlistments among nisei Americans.

The greatest day in the life of Japanese Americans will come on the day the Japanese army lays down its arms in complete surrender to our forces.

We must and will do what we can to hasten that day.

(Pacific Citizen, Jan. 29, 1944)

35 U. S.-Jap Women Give Blood in Denver

Their American indignation against the inhuman treatment of U. S. prisoners of war by Jap troops in the Philippines was greater than their ancient Oriental superstition against the loss of blood, so a dozen Japanese American women went to the American Red Cross Blood Donor Center, 117 15th Street, yesterday and offered their blood to their armed forces. The group followed 35 nisei men who registered at the center last week.

Allyce Hirabayashi, a nisei who brought her charm from Salinas, Calif., to the War Relocation Center at Poston, Ariz., to Denver, said: "I'm delighted at the chance to do something for my country."

Ayako Yoshii, a former Los Angeles resident who came to Denver by way of the Granada Relocation Center, said: "I'm glad to be able to give blood to our American soldiers."

(Rocky Mounatin News, Feb. 5, 1944)

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Nisei in Battle

(Letters to the Editor of Time Magazine, Feb. 14, 1944)

Sirs:

There are a lot of people in these United States who have nothing but a one-track mind. In some of the articles of your letters to the Editors (Time, Jan. 17) I saw some of these people in true light.

I just came from Italy where I was assigned to the Japanese 100th Infantry Battalion. I never in my life saw any more of a true American than they are. To these people who don't have any military rank, probably don't even know that these little "yellow-bellies" (as one writer wrote) are saving his skin: I only wish that these people could witness these little "yellow-bellies" fight.

Ask anyone who has seen them in action against the Jerry (to) tell you about them. They'll tell you when they have them on their flanks they are sure of security in that section...

They, my friends, are not the little "yellow-bellies"; you are.

Signed: 2nd Lieut. E. D. Chasse
Moore General Hospital
Swannanoa, N. C.

Sirs:

We are just back from overseas where we were trying to preserve democracy for the very same people who say the Nisei should be deported.

I was bodyguard to an American of Japanese descent who was risking his life to act as an interpreter for us. He was a target for both Jap and American bullets.....

I wish to God that some of the people at home who say, "Democracy is for the white race only," could be made to go out and fight for it.

(Serviceman's Name Withheld)
Camp Carson, Colorado

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West Coast Nisei Killed in Action in Italy

Announcement of the death January 11 of Sgt. James Kiyoshi Shiramizu from wounds received in the Italian invasion was received by his wife Shizuko Ruth Shiramizu, resident of Unit II here. His two-year old son, his parents and three sisters also live here. Two brothers, former residents of the center, have relocated to Denver.

Sgt. Shiramizu, who was a resident of Salinas, California, prior to his induction in July 1941, is believed here to be the first American-Japanese from the mainland to give his life for his country.

(Report from the Colorado River Relocation Center for week ending Feb. 6)

THE FACTS ABOUT THE WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

An address by D. S. Myer, Director of the War Relocation Authority, before a luncheon meeting of the Los Angeles Town Hall, Los Angeles, California, January 21, 1944.

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It is often said in this section of the country that we people from the Middle West and the East do not really understand the Japanese-American problem. After living with a big part of that problem day in and day out for about a year and a half, I am perfectly willing to admit that it is tough and complicated. But I still feel that it can be solved. And I believe that under the War Relocation Authority program we have already made encouraging progress toward an ultimate solution.

Looking back over the past year and a half, I find that our operations to date have included four major accomplishments. One was the establishment and development of relocation centers where the people of Japanese descent could be quartered following the evacuation. Second was a large-scale screening process which we carried out at these centers in order to identify those people whose records indicated that they might endanger the national security. Third was the segregation program under which we concentrated the potentially dangerous individuals and those who prefer to be Japanese rather than American in one center at Tule Lake. Fourth has been the relocation in normal American communities of about 17,000 of the many thousands of evacuees who proved eligible to relocate under our regulations.

This last accomplishment is the one in which I take the greatest satisfaction and the one which is likely to prove most important from the long-range point of view. Under our relocation program, the people of Japanese descent who formerly lived in a comparatively narrow area along the West Coast are now being gradually dispersed across the remainder of the country. They are taking jobs on farms and in shops all the way from Salt Lake City to Boston, Massachusetts. They are playing a valuable role in our war production effort and many are already sinking roots in their new locations. As this process goes forward, I feel confident we are moving toward the liquidation of a most difficult minority problem.

Relocation is and always has been our major objective in WRA. It is set forth as our primary function in the Executive Order under which we operate and is reflected in the name of the agency. But it has not been our only concern by any means. Despite reports you may have heard to the contrary, we have also been deeply concerned about the national security. We have recognized all along that there is in the evacuee population a considerable minority of people who have stronger ties with Japan than with this country and who might conceivably interfere with the war effort. And in conducting our relocation program we have taken every precaution to prevent such people from doing any harm.

When we first received the evacuees at relocation centers during the summer and early fall of 1942, we had no records by which we could identify the potentially dangerous or strongly pro-Japanese individuals in the popu-

lation. We knew that in the months immediately following Pearl Harbor several hundred alien Japanese of this type had been picked up on the West Coast by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and sent to internment camps. But during the period while the evacuated people were in Army assembly centers, we were not able to carry this screening process any further. So we were faced with the problem of developing records and carrying out a screening program at the relocation centers.

The most important step in this process was a large-scale registration program which we carried out in collaboration with the Army at the relocation centers about a year ago. All adult residents of the centers were required to fill out questionnaires which provided information on topics such as education, previous employment, relatives in Japan, knowledge of the Japanese Language, investments in Japan, organizational and religious affiliations, and even sports and hobbies. In addition, the citizen evacuees were asked whether they would pledge allegiance to the United States, while alien residents of the centers were called upon to promise that they would abide by the nation's laws and not interfere with the war effort.

All of this information has proved extremely useful in identifying those with pro-Japanese sympathies and those who might constitute a menace to the national safety. In addition, we have made effective use, in hundreds of cases, of information on the evacuees which we obtained from the evacuated area--from former employers, neighbors, municipal officials and others. We have consulted the files of federal intelligence agencies and have used any material that was available in those files on adult residents of the centers. We have built up our own records on the evacuees through our local police or internal security system and from other sources at the centers.

In this way we have accumulated over a period of many months a large amount of detailed information on the background and attitudes of practically all evacuees beyond the age of 17 at the relocation centers. Through the use of techniques similar to those which have been employed by the intelligence agencies over a period of years, we have been singling out those members of the evacuee population whose basic loyalties lie with Japan. We have made this comprehensive kind of check directly in connection with our relocation program. We have been granting leave permits only after consulting all available data on the individuals concerned. And we have consistently denied the privilege of leave to those whose records indicated that they were strongly pro-Japanese or might endanger the security of the Nation.

Within the past several months we have been carrying out a segregation program to separate the evacuees who are ineligible for leave in a center by themselves. We have segregated three major groups of people: (1) those who have applied for repatriation or expatriation to Japan, (2) citizen evacuees who failed to pledge allegiance to the United States during registration, and (3) those with intelligence records or other records indicating that they might endanger the national security. In addition, we determined that immediate family relatives of people in all three groups should be accorded the privilege of living at the segregation center in order to avoid disrupting family ties.

The segregation process is now virtually completed. We still have a few hundred people at Manzanar and some of the other centers who are await-

Tule Lake

ing transfer to Tule Lake, and who will be moved in the immediate future. But the main movements were carried out in September and October of last year. They involved the transfer of about 9,000 people--including segregants and their families--into Tule Lake from nine other centers and the removal of about an equal number of non-segregants from Tule Lake to the other centers. Approximately 6,000 people remained at Tule Lake under the segregation process.

Since November 1, the Tule Lake center has attracted a tremendous amount of public attention--more attention, perhaps, than all other WRA activities during all the months that we have been in operation. Since Tule Lake has become such a focal point in our program--at least in the public mind--I want to spend some time telling you about the center, the type of people who live there, and the events which took place there during the first few days of November.

First, let me say a few words about the population. Tule Lake is, of course, the center for disloyal evacuees. Most of the adult people there have indicated either by word or action that they prefer to be Japanese rather than American. But it is a mistake to think of the population at Tule as composed exclusively of agitators and potential saboteurs. Many of the residents are aliens of advanced years who have simply given up the struggle to become adjusted in this country and who want only to live out the rest of their days in the land of their birth. Despite their pro-Japanese leanings, very few of them, in my opinion, are actually troublesome or dangerous. Then there is also another group at the center--perhaps the largest single element in the whole population--which is made up of children and others whose records contain no evidence of disloyalty but who are living at Tule Lake merely because of family ties. These people, along with the aliens, probably constitute a majority of the total population.

At the same time, however, it is true that we now have at Tule Lake some of the most troublesome elements that were previously scattered among ten relocation centers. There are, for example, a considerable number of young American-born evacuees who have received the major part of their education in Japan and who seem to have been thoroughly indoctrinated with Japanese militaristic ideas. This group has always been particularly maladjusted at the relocation centers and is plainly out of sympathy with the United States. In addition, there are a number of young people, born and educated in this country, who have become embittered by the experiences of the past two years and have decided to cast their lot with Japan.

Shortly after the major segregation movement was completed, it became apparent that there were at Tule Lake a considerable minority of actively disloyal evacuees who were mainly interested in hindering the American war effort by interfering with the orderly processes of administration. It was further clear, as time went on, that the evacuees of this type had banded together in a tight, well-knit organization for the purpose of gaining a dominant position in the community. The tactics employed by this group were similar to those used by big city gangsters. There were threats of violence, terrorism, and all the other familiar techniques.

On October 15 a truck accident occurred at the center in which 28 farm workers were injured and one subsequently died. The dissident group immediately seized upon this incident and precipitated a complete stoppage of work on the harvesting of vegetables. Since we had a crop worth roughly half a million dollars facing imminent destruction by frost, we decided to recruit a number of evacuee farm workers from the other centers to complete the harvest work at Tule Lake.

This was the situation that prevailed at the center on November 1 when the incident occurred. The events that took place on the afternoon of that day have given rise to so many wild rumors and exaggerated statements that we have spent considerable time and effort in checking on the accuracy of all the major allegations. We have interviewed 69 eye-witnesses who were present in various parts of the center on that afternoon. We have analyzed the statements made by these witnesses, along with other evidence, and are now in position to piece together a reasonably complete story on the events that actually occurred. Several points deserve specific comment.

In the first place, the crowd which gathered around the administration building on the afternoon of November 1 was not an angry mob. It was composed of whole family groups--men, women, and even little children--and had been summoned out by an unauthorized announcement that I was going to make a speech. It is now clear that this announcement was made by members of the dissident group for the purpose of bringing a show of pressure to bear on the administration. But there is no evidence to indicate that the crowd as a whole was aware of these plans or party to them. Essentially, the crowd was an unsuspecting tool which the organized group used in making a rather dramatic bid for power.

Another point which emerges rather clearly from the results of our investigation is that the stories about evacuees carrying knives and clubs have been, to put it mildly, greatly exaggerated. Of the 69 people we interviewed, 34 made no comment regarding weapons and 30 specifically denied seeing weapons of any kind. Of the remaining five persons interviewed, two testified that they each saw one evacuee with a knife of the whittling type; two testified that they saw evacuees with short pieces of pipe; and one testified that she "thought" she saw evacuees with butcher knives.

The stories about incendiarism have even less factual basis. We have discovered no tangible evidence of such an attempt and have received no conclusive testimony that would tend to bear out the many wild allegations. Of the 69 witnesses interviewed, only 20 commented on this question and 15 of these specifically denied seeing incendiary material. Three people testified that they had seen evacuees carrying boxes, but were not able to identify the contents. Two testified that "friends had told them" about seeing evacuees carrying straw.

Admittedly the situation was tense at Tule Lake on the afternoon of November 1, and we have never had any illusions that it was not. But I do not believe any fair-minded person, after examining the evidence we have collected, would call this particular incident a riot.

The events which took place on the evening of November 4, however, were of quite a different character. On that occasion, a group of several

hundred evacuees, armed with clubs, entered the administration area in violation of an order from the Project Director and with obvious intentions of violence. In accordance with previous arrangements, we immediately called in the troops stationed outside the center and asked the Army to take over responsibility for internal administration until the community could be restored to a normal basis of operations.

This transfer of responsibility was carried out under the terms of a long-standing agreement we have had with the War Department covering the administration of relocation centers. Essentially, that agreement provides for a division of labor between WRA and the Army. Under normal circumstances, we are responsible for all phases of internal administration, while the Army guards the exterior boundaries and checks the passes of people moving in and out. However, when a situation arises--like the incident of November 4 at Tule Lake--where a show of force is needed, the agreement provides that we can call in the troops and turn the responsibility for internal administration temporarily over to the Army authorities.

There have been three incidents in evacuee centers over the past year and a half which have been termed riots. As it happens, all of them have occurred here in the State of California. The first one took place during the summer of 1942 at the Santa Anita Assembly Center under Army jurisdiction. The second one occurred at Manzanar a year ago last December. And the third one was the incident of November 4 at Tule Lake.

The Manzanar incident of December, 1942 was similar in many ways to the recent Tule Lake disturbance. It was caused primarily by a comparatively small group of agitators and was culminated by the summoning of the troops. On that occasion we started immediately after the troops had moved in trying to get the community back on a normal basis. We rounded up the troublemakers, isolated them from the rest of the population, and eventually moved them to a special isolation center which was established first near Moab, Utah and later at Leupp, Arizona. Following the removal of these troublesome elements, Manzanar quickly became one of the most peaceful of all relocation centers and has remained so ever since. I believe you will find that the people of Owens Valley have no particular apprehensions about the center today even though there are several hundred segregants there awaiting transfer to Tule Lake.

At Tule we plan to follow roughly the same pattern which was used at Manzanar in restoring the community to an orderly basis. In this case, we are not moving the troublemakers outside the center because of transportation and other difficulties. But we are isolating the troublemakers as rapidly as they can be identified in one section of the center which has been fenced off from the rest of the community and will be guarded at all times. We have also increased our internal security staff at the center and have built a fence between the evacuee colony and the administration area. With these additional precautions, I feel confident that an orderly community can be developed at Tule Lake. I believe, as I have all along, that the majority of the people there, regardless of their national sympathies, are interested in living peaceably together and that they will cooperate toward that end with the administration.

Now that the segregation process has been virtually completed, we are redoubling our efforts to speed up the relocation of people at the nine other

centers. We are hoping that in the near future we will be able to carry this job far enough along so that it will be possible to close one and perhaps two of the relocation centers. And we also have hopes that additional closings can be made later as the relocation program moves forward.

There has been a great deal of public misunderstanding about our relocation program--about its origin, its purposes, and the reasons why we are placing so much stress upon it. Much of the adverse comment that has been made is undoubtedly motivated by patriotic intentions. But it is based, I believe, largely on fundamental misconceptions. And it is producing results which may be most unfortunate for the democratic future of the nation.

The idea of confining all people of Japanese descent in government centers has been strongly advocated by a considerable number of individuals and influential organizations on the West Coast and elsewhere. The reason most frequently advanced for such a course is that all people of Japanese ancestry, regardless of where they were born and raised, are basically disloyal to the United States and sympathetic with the aims of militaristic Japan. I heartily disagree with that contention. A great deal is being said about loyalty in connection with Japanese-Americans these days and much of the comment, in my opinion, represents the loosest and most dangerous kind of talk. Of course, there is no way of guaranteeing the loyalty of a person of Japanese descent, or, for that matter, of anyone else. There is no way of entering into the innermost recesses of a person's mind and fathoming his most fundamental attachments and convictions. The most that you can do is to judge a person's loyalty on the basis of the attitudes which he expresses by word or action.

On such a basis, I believe there is ample evidence to disprove once and for all the notion that no person of Japanese ancestry can be loyal to the United States. There are in the Army of the United States today about 9,000 soldiers of Japanese descent--nearly half of whom volunteered for service. One unit, known as the 100th Infantry Battalion and made up exclusively of second-generation Japanese-Americans, is now in action on the Italian front and has already won the highest praise for its bravery in combat and its skill in the handling of weapons. Another unit, which includes several hundred men who volunteered for service from relocation centers, is in training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi in preparation for active duty overseas.

The behavior of these men both in volunteering and in actual combat provides striking evidence, it seems to me, where their real loyalty lies. But if further proof is needed, let me read a few excerpts from letters recently written by some of these men who are in the armed forces upholding and defending our democratic form of government. This first one was written from Camp Shelby by a young man who volunteered for service from the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in Wyoming. Writing to his parents who are still at the center, he says:

> "The future welfare of you and all of us who hope to remain in this land rests almost entirely on how the 100th, now in action as the vanguard for the American 5th Army in Italy, and the 442nd do in battle. We have got everything to gain by

doing our utmost in battle, nothing to lose. We have a chance to prove to all who doubt our loyalty and sincerity to this nation that we too are Americans and therefore entitled to live as Americans in the truest sense of the word."

This next one was written by a sergeant at the front to the commandant of his training camp at home. He says:

"I am now waiting for the zero hour. This is the opportunity I have been waiting for ever since that fateful day of December 7, 1941. How can any red-blooded American forget that day! We must and will, under the protection of Almighty God... win over the enemy and once more bring peace to this troubled world, so that those who gave their lives shall not have died in vain. I hope I can live up to the expectations of you and my friends. And believe me I will!"

Much the same attitude is expressed in the statement made by a young doctor of Japanese ancestry who is a Captain with the 100th Battalion in Italy. Talking to a war correspondent at an advanced field dressing station, he said:

"The Japanese in the Pearl Harbor attack hurt us worse than anyone. They did really a dirty job on all the Japanese people living in the United States. We pay and will go on paying a terrible price for the sins of those Japanese. They made us lose the faith and trust of the American people. Now we men of Japanese blood in the United States Army are trying to win back that faith and confidence of America. We are more than willing, we are eager to fight the Germans, too. But it is not against the Germans that we hold our primary grudge. It is against the Japanese Imperial Army, Navy, and Air Force."

In the face of evidence like this, it is extremely difficult for me to understand how any reasonable person can advocate the mass confinement of all persons of Japanese descent simply on the grounds of race.

Release Japan Draft

Within the last few hours a specific announcement has been made by the Secretary of War concerning military service for Americans of Japanese descent. As you may know, Japanese-American boys have not been inducted into the armed forces through the usual Selective Service procedure since February, 1942. Volunteers have been accepted during the past year, but there has been no involuntary induction. The Secretary of War has just announced that, effective immediately, Americans of Japanese ancestry will be inducted into the United States Army through the Selective Service system. A list of those acceptable for service has been prepared and the men on the list will have their cases reviewed by their local boards; they will be reclassified and called up for induction as their individual turns come. It is expected that the men inducted in this way will be added to the 100th Battalion or the 442nd Combat Team and it is possible that other Nisei units will be formed.

In determining to accept involuntary inductees, the Army gives recognition to the excellent record of the Nisei already in service. But even

more significant is the fact that a minority group of Americans have had restored to them individually the opportunity of fulfilling one of the highest obligations of their citizenship. It means much to the Nisei. It means even more to American democracy.

I spoke earlier of fundamental misconceptions. One of them which seems to persist, particularly in this section of the country, is the notion that the government originally planned a mass detention of the evacuees and that the WRA relocation program represents a sharp reversal of previous government policy. I want to deny this emphatically. As evidence to the contrary, let me remind you that for nearly one month after the original evacuation order was first announced, the people of Japanese ancestry were freely permitted by the Western Defense Command to leave the coastal area and resettle inland on their own initiative. It was only after this voluntary movement had given rise to difficulties that the controlled plan of evacuation and movement into government centers was put into effect. As the War Department has frequently pointed out, the sole aim of the evacuation was to move the people of Japanese descent from a sensitive military area and not to put them under lock and key.

Another highly important aspect of this question which is being overlooked by many of those who urge mass detention is the repercussions that such a step would have from a legal and constitutional standpoint. So far, the Supreme Court of the United States has not ruled on the constitutional validity either of evacuation or of detention in government centers. The Hirabayashi case which was decided last June merely upheld the constitutional validity of the curfew orders imposed by the Western Defense Command at the time of evacuation. The decision in that case was unanimous, but it is significant that Mr. Justice Murphy remarked, "This goes to the very brink of constitutional power." Moreover, practically all lawyers are agreed that the Constitution provides no basis for a mass detention program involving American citizens. This point was strongly emphasized recently by Attorney General Biddle when he testified before congressional committees regarding the implications of the Tule Lake incident. It was also brought out in a recent Circuit Court decision on the case of Miss Mitsuye Endo. Miss Endo, who was an evacuee resident of Tule Lake in the period before it became a segregation center, had applied for a writ of habeas corpus under the provisions of the Constitution for release from the relocation center. The court denied Miss Endo's application but did so solely on the grounds that WRA has a relocation program under which Miss Endo might have applied for leave from the center without going through the courts. If we had no such procedures and were engaged in a mass internment program, the decision might well have been different.

I do not mean to imply merely that mass confinement of the evacuees would present some rather complicated legal problems. It would do that, but its ultimate significance is much greater. It would mean striking at the very heart of the constitutional safeguards which now protect every last one of us against arbitrary governmental action. And it would mean a serious retreat from the principles of freedom and justice on which this nation was founded and which it is now fighting to defend. If we single out one minority element of our population and confine all its members purely on the grounds of race, we will be forfeiting our right to be regarded and even to regard ourselves as a truly democratic nation.

During the year and a half I have spent in my present job, I have learned a great deal about the Japanese-American problem in this country. And most of my knowledge, I assure you, has been gained the hard way. I have learned, among other things, that there are in this section of the country and elsewhere, many influential people and organizations who will go to almost any length to reduce people born in the United States of Japanese ancestry to the status of second-class citizens. In recent weeks and months, these individuals and organizations have been carrying on a persistent and vigorous campaign of race hatred. One prominent newspaper chain which has played a central role in this effort has been especially guilty of bad faith and un-American tactics. The writers and editors of this organization have seized upon every opportunity to distort the facts and create widespread public fears and animosities toward the people in relocation centers. They have succeeded in creating the impression that WRA is deliberately turning spies and saboteurs loose upon the nation, that armed evacuees are pouring into California in defiance of military regulations, and that people at the relocation centers are being better fed than the average American family. There is not one shred of truth in any of these allegations.

Regardless of the stories which you may have read, we in the War Relocation Authority are just as anxious as any Americans to see the militarism of Japan crushed and wiped from the face of the earth. And so, I might add, are many thousands of the people in relocation centers. But we do feel that the war should not be waged on American soil and that manifestations of unreasoning hatred toward the Japanese-Americans are not a necessary part of our efforts to defeat the empire of Japan. In fact, it seems entirely plain to me that those who are deliberately stirring up feeling against the evacuees are doing a serious disservice to the national war effort. They are providing the enemy with propaganda material to be used in convincing other Oriental nations that the United States is conducting a racial war. They are fomenting hatreds and fears at a time when united action and cool concentration on the immediate job are more vitally needed than ever before in our history. They are creating an impression of national dissension and disunity that must be a stimulating tonic to the morale of the Axis nations. If the same amount of energy and ingenuity that have been expended on these campaigns of racial hatred had been channelized against the real enemy, I feel sure we would be much nearer than we are now to the day of final victory.

I am generally optimistic about ultimate solution of the Japanese-American problem. In the heat of current emotions on this issue, it may help to restore perspective if we remember that the people of Japanese ancestry in this country represent, after all, only a tiny fragment of our total population--about one-tenth of one percent. Most of the ties which this group now has with the culture of Japan are through the older generation of aliens. As these people gradually die off and as the younger generation born and educated in this country grows to maturity, the situation will change rapidly. I also feel that the relocation program is a most important step toward ultimate solution. As the people of Japanese descent who formerly lived in this section are dispersed throughout hundreds of communities in the Middle West and the East, settling as individual families or in small groups here and there, I feel certain that they can and will be integrated

into the economy of the nation.

But I am deeply disturbed about the growing trend toward racial thinking and discrimination toward minority groups which seems to be developing under the stresses and strains of the war. Democracy is never an easy form of government. Even in peace time, it can be made to operate successfully only if the people have the necessary energy, ingenuity and especially courage to make it work. It took courage to establish this democratic nation of ours and it has taken courage to build it up to its present high status. Now more than ever before, courage is needed, not only in our national leaders, but among our total population, if we are to emerge from this conflict without impairing and sacrificing some of our most cherished traditions and principles.

This is particularly true in connection with the Japanese-American problem. Because of the nature of the enemy in Japan, there is a natural tendency to substitute emotion for clear thinking and hatred for understanding in our efforts to deal with our own people of Japanese descent. Persecution of minority groups, I have always felt, stems largely from fear. And fear unquestionably is the underlying cause for much of the current agitation on this issue--fear of economic competition and fear of a group that is not fully understood.

In this connection, I would like to read a few excerpts from a magazine article recently written by a resident of this State.

> "What frightens me most today is not the recurring race riots, the economic pressures on 'minorities', the internment of Americans of darker-skinned ancestry whose loyalty to the ideology of white supremacy is doubted, nor even the whole scope and viciousness of the recent growth of race hatreds and the insidious beginning of propagandism for a white alliance for 'self-protection'--not these so much as the white man's sudden consciousness of his own fear of other races of which these are but manifestations. I can see no hope for any 'minority' group, nor even for democracy itself, in the existence of this fear.
>
> "People who are afraid are cruel, vicious, furtive, dangerous; they are dishonest, malacious, vindictive; they destroy the things of which they are afraid, or are destroyed by them. The host who is afraid, hearing a noise in his kitchen, tiptoes down the back stairs and blows out the brains of an ice-box raiding guest whom he thinks is a burglar; the policeman who is afraid shoots the manacled prisoner who bends to tie his shoe lace; the industrialist who is afraid hires thugs and murderers to fight unionists; the capitalist who is afraid sabotages public welfare; the politician who is afraid attacks leaders of weakly supported causes to hide his own compromises; the statesman who is afraid endeavors to isolate his nation; and the government head who is afraid fails in the execution of laws, both national and international.

> "....Fear may easily become the greatest tragedy of this historic period. For the eventual peace of the world and the continuation of progress depend upon the white man's ability to live in equality, integrity, and courage in a civilization where he is outnumbered by peoples of other races. It is imperative that he be unafraid. For if, because of his fear, he finds himself unable to live as a neighbor and equal competitor with other races, there will be no peace and little progress."

Whether we like it or not, our handling of racial minority problems is not strictly a domestic issue. The actions we take and the attitudes we express will have and are having repercussions all around the globe. In our program, for example, we have had to keep constantly in mind the fact that we are dealing with Japanese nationals, in part, and that our treatment of these people might well affect the reciprocal treatment accorded to American soldiers and civilians in the hands of the Japanese. Shortly after the outbreak of war, the government of the United States and the government of Japan agreed through neutral diplomatic channels to meet certain specified standards in the treatment of each other's nationals who are interned or temporarily detained in government camps. These standards are set forth in the International Convention which was signed at Geneva, Switzerland by a number of governments in 1929. They originally intended to apply to prisoners of war. But, by mutual agreement, the governments of this country and of Japan have extended the applicable provisions to civilian nationals. Shortly after the Tule Lake incident the Japanese government broke off negotiations looking toward an exchange of nationals until the Spanish consular representatives could investigate the conditions in relocation centers. I am confident that the Spanish will find conditions in the centers generally satisfactory and that they will eventually report this fact to Tokyo. But this development does point up the very grave international implications of our program.

The War Relocation Authority has been accused of conducting a "social experiment" in its relocation program. On behalf of my own staff, I want to say that we are not quite sure what our critics mean when they use that phrase. We have always felt that we are merely trying to do a complex and rather thankless job in the most practical way we can and at the same time in harmony with the best principles of our democratic past. We have had to consider at all times that we are dealing with about 70,000 American citizens who cannot be deprived of their rights and privileges without due process of law. We have had to keep in mind the provisions of the Geneva Convention and the possibilities of retaliatory action against our people in Japanese hands. But the one principle, above all other, which has guided our actions and molded our thinking is the belief that there is a place in this melting pot nation of ours for all the people of good will and democratic faith who are now within our borders regardless of their racial antecedents. That is the bedrock principle on which we are conducting our program in the War Relocation Authority and which, as Director of WRA I will fight to defend.

EVIDENCES OF AMERICANISM AMONG JAPANESE-AMERICANS

Statement by Dillon S. Myer, Director of the War Relocation Authority.

In view of the fact that the Japanese side of Japanese-American life has been so strongly emphasized during recent weeks, I believe that, in the interest of fairness and accuracy, some attention should be drawn to evidences of Americanism among the Japanese-American people.

Of the 110,000 people of Japanese descent who were evacuated last year from the Pacific Coast military area, approximately 70,000 were born in the United States and are American citizens. Roughly 72 percent of this group have never even seen Japan. They have attended American public schools and have been subjected to all the other Americanizing influences that operate constantly in any American community.

More than 8,000 American citizens of Japanese ancestry--approximately half of them volunteers--are now serving in the United States Army. Some are in service overseas and three have already been cited for bravery in action. One is serving as a turret gunner in Liberator engaged in bombing operations over the Continent of Europe.

Over 1,200 of these soldiers volunteered for service from behind the wire enclosures of relocation centers. As a result, the centers today contain large numbers of service flags and other evidences of ties with the Army. Men in uniform are frequent visitors at the centers and arrangements for entertaining them are part of the regular community activities program.

There are many other evidences of Americanism among these people both in the relocation centers and in normal communities throughout the country. At all centers, training in American ideals and American institutions is part of the regular school program just as it is in public schools outside. Formal flag raising and the pledge of allegiance are a regular ceremony in most of the center schools. Practically all national organizations for young people -- such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, 4-H Clubs, YMCA, YWCA, and Junior Red Cross--have active programs at the centers and many thousands of members. Boy Scouts alone number several thousand.

Outside the relocation centers, the thousands of Japanese-Americans--including both those who have left the centers on leave and those who were never evacuated--are displaying their patriotism in the same ways as other civilian Americans. They are buying war bonds and stamps, donating money and blood to the Red Cross, and participating in salvage campaigns. Several hundred are serving effectively in the intelligence branch of the United States Army. Others are serving as language instructors, helping to train intelligence officers for the Army and Navy. Still others are working as translators with the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information. Many are employed as carpenters, machinists, welders, and in other jobs essential to war production.

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Presented before Costello Subcommittee of House Committee on Un-American Activities, on July 7, 1943.

C-0329-NOBU-WP

REACTIONS OF AMERICANS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY TO ATROCITY STORIES

Gila River Evacuees Denounce Inhuman Treatment of American Prisoners by Japanese

Treatment of Americans and Filipinos captured by the Japanese at the fall of Bataan and Corregidor was denounced as inhuman on January 29 by a special meeting of the Butte community council of the Gila River Relocation Center.

The Japanese Americans on the Butte council asked "greater opportunities ..... to defeat those responsible for such deeds" and expressed pride in the approximately 300 men from the Gila River Center who are now fighting the Axis, many of whom are in the Pacific area.

A resolution, signed by Harry N. Miyake, council chairman, and Verlin Y. Yamamoto, Secretary, was passed unanimously and directed to the War Department. It said:

"Whereas, we have received the news report of atrocities committed by Japanese militarists on American prisoners of war at Bataan and Corregidor, and

"Whereas, we are highly devoted to the United States and to the cause of democracy and fair play among nations,

"Therefore be it resolved: That the community council of Butte Gila River relocation center at Rivers, Ariz., wholeheartedly denounces and condemns the cruelties and inhuman atrocities of the Japanese soldiers, and call upon America, our country, both real and adopted,to give us greater opportunity according to our various abilities to defeat utterly those responsible for such deeds, and

"Be it further resolved: That we reiterate our pride in our many sons, fathers and brothers who are fighting in the Pacific area against this cruel militarist group in Japan to maintain the principles of freedom and democracy, and

"Be it further resolved: That we reaffirm our faith in the War Department which, through selective service, again gives us the opportunity to further participate in helping to win the war."

The Canal Community Council of the Gila River Relocation Center on February 1, also passed a resolution denouncing the atrocities of the Japanese militarists on American prisoners of war at Bataan and Corregidor. This resolution was similar to the one passed the week before by the council of the Butte Camp.

Jermoe Evacuees Express Resentment

Many colonists of Japanese ancestry in the Jerome war relocation center have expressed resentment at Japanese brutality to American war prisoners in the Philippines.

Frank Arakawa, chairman of the Jerome community council, saying he was speaking for the community in general, declared that "Japan's actions are impossible to a civilized people."

"It is hard to believe that any human being could treat another like those three officers were treated on Bataan," he asserted.

"I hope the fiends responsible for it have enough common sense to realize that they will pay."

Arakawa, who fought as a member of the United States Army in World War I, added:

"I am very glad that there are Japanese Americans in the United States Army now. I know how they feel about this and I know they want to do something about it."

Arizona JACL Group Condemns Japanese Brutalities on Bataan

Four representatives of the Japanese American Citizens League called on Governor Osborn of Arizona on Janauary 29 to give him a statement denouncing "the acts of barbarism and unspeakable torture inflicted upon our gallant American forces who were captured at Corregidor and Bataan."

The delegation, headed by Tsutomu Ikeda, president of the Arizona chapter of the league, declared that American soldiers of Japanese ancestry had fought in the defense of Bataan.

"We know too vividly that tortures and agonies of a particularly fiendish brand are especially reserved for those Americans of Japanese ancestry so luckless as to fall into enemy hands," the statement added.

"We join as one with all other Americans in utterly condemning and denouncing the acts of barbarism and unspeakable torture inflicted upon our gallant American forces," the statement continued.

"In our determined and irresistible march to Tokoyo, we know that ours are the forces of decency and humanity. We know that if the world is to endure we must exterminate Jap militarism. For the speedy annihilation of that evil, we must direct our energies and our increased participation on the firing lines, the home front, and on the farm front. For the early fulfillment of these aims , we dedicate ourselves."

Bataan Atrocities (Editorial from Heart Mountain SENTINEL, the newspaper published by the evacuees at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in Wyoming.)

"Our parents, despite their honest and wholehearted desire to make this country--the home of their children--their own home, still cherish pleasant and happy memories of their childhood in Japan and refuse either to believe or talk of the outrage. It is incredible to them, unbelieveable, that their mother country would breed anyone guilty of such contemptibility.

"The reports of the 'March of Death' from Mariveles to San Fernando, the government declares, have been carefully investigated and authenticiated ... One thing that our parents do not realize--cannot comprehend--as they look back that long trail to their distant childhood, is that Japan of today -- like the Germany of today -- is not the same as it was forty or fifty years ago. No, not even as then years ago when the swaggering, insolent, and cruel military began tightening the screws on the rack to torture humanity.

"The disease of militarism is no lingering cancerous growth that kills slowly and surely. It is a vicious, horrendous virus that makes mad men madder, growing in destruction and violence until it is hard to believe that such practices comes from the minds of human beings.

"But our sons, believing in the right of humanity and the common decency of mankind, are going to this war firm in the belief that such wanton practices cannot go unpunished. That this is war -- a total war--against militarism and the wanton defilers who insult and humiliate mankind."

Bataan (Editorial in Minidoka IRRIGATOR, the newspaper published by the evacuees at the Minidoka Relocation Project In Idaho.)

"As we go to press the civilized world is shocked by army and navy announcements of atrocious treatment of U.S. and Filipino soldiers captured on Bataan and Corregidor. Perhaps this report will be reflected in the attitude of some of the American public toward loyal Americans of Japanese descent. We can't help that. What we can do is back our boys in the Army and the rest of the American soldiers by buying war bonds and by contributing in every way possible to the war effort to speed the day when the cruel barbarians of the Japanese military regime will be wiped from the face of the earth. We are thankful that selective service was opened to nisei before this announcement was made so that our nisei boys not yet in the Army can now look forward to revenging the crime of Bataan and Corregidor."

Colorado Nisei Group Gives to Blood Bank

Denver, Colo.--Thirty-five Japanese Americans...answered the revelations of Japanese brutalities in the Philippines on January 29 by registering at the American Red Cross blood donor center.

Dr. Howard Suenaga, former Guadalupe, Calif., physician, said members of the group called on him early on January 29 and asked what they could do to show their horror of the bestial treatment given American war prisoners.

"All of them wanted to do something immediately," Dr. Suenaga said, "and they seized enthusiastically upon the suggestion that one way was to contribute blood to the American Red Cross blood bank."

Led by Dr. Suenaga, the group marched down to the blood bank and registered.

"And that is only the beginning," Dr. Suenaga said. "By next week many more volunteers will have offered their blood for American soldiers."

The Colorado delegation was headed by Yuji Harada of Rocky Ford, Dr. T. Mayeda and John Inouye of Denver.

Twelve Nisei Girls Donate Blood to Denver Plasma Bank

Denver, Colo-- Following in the steps of 35 Japanese American men who gave blood to the armed forces last week, twelve women of Japanese ancestry went to the American Red Cross Blood Donor Center on February 3.

A spokesman for the group, Dr. Howard Suenaga, formerly of Guadalupe, Calif., said it was one way of showing the indignation of the Japanese American group against the perpetrators of atrocities against American war prisoners in the Philippines.

One of the girls in the group, Allyce Hirabayashi, formerly of Salinas, Calif., who came to Denver, from the Poston camp, said:

"I'm delighted at the chance to do something for my country."

Ayako Yoshii, formerly of Los Angeles who came to Denver from Granada, said: "I'm glad to be able to give blood to our American soldiers."

March 1944

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Japanese Americans

BOOKS	"Brothers Under the Skin,"	Carey McWilliams, Little Brown & Company 1943 an invaluable study of racial minorities in the U.S. Chapter on "Our Japanese Hostages"
	"Japanese in the U.S."	Professor Y. Ichihashi Stanford University Press 1932
	"The Second Generation Japanese Problem."	Professor E. K. Strong Stanford University Press 1934
PUBLICATIONS	"Report of Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration."	by John H. Tolan, May 1942 Government Press — Congressional Committee Report
Pamphlets	"Outcasts"	Caleb Foote 1943. Fellowship of Reconciliation 2929 Broadway New York 25, N.Y.
	"70,000 American Refugees"	Citizens Committee for Resettlement of the Congregational Christian Committee 6501 Wydown Blvd. St. Louis 5, Missouri
	"J.A.C.L. in Wartime"	Japanese American Citizen's League publication by Saburo Kido 413 Beason Bldg. Salt Lake City, Utah
	"Balance Sheet on Japanese Evacuation."	Dr. Galen M. Fisher, committee on American Principles and Fair Play 3234 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, 4, Cal.
	"Relocation of Japanese Americans"	W.R.A. Publication. Midland Bank Building, Minneapoli
	"Democracy and Japanese Americans."	Norman Thomas, Post War World Council 112 East 19th Street
	"Japanese in Our Midst."	Colorado Council of Churches 1943 Trinity Building, Denver, Colorado, zone 2.
NEWSPAPERS	"PACIFIC CITIZEN"	Weekly organ of the Japanese American Citizens League, 415 Beason Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
	"HEART MOUNTAIN SENTINEL"	weekly, published in interests of residents of Heart Mountain Relocation Center. Cody Enterprise, Cody, Wyoming.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

"Our 100,000 New Boarders,"	Reader's Digest, March 1943	by J. P. McEvoy	
"U.S. Soldiers with Japanese Faces,"	Reader's Digest, February, 1943	Blake Clark	
" Four Articles on Japanese Americans."	Galen M. Fisher,	Christian Century,	Aug 18-25 Sept 1.
"Moving the West Coast Japanese"	Carey McWilliams	Harpers,	September 1942
"What About Hugh Kiino?"	S. Burton Heath	Harpers,	Oct. 1943
"Emptying W.R.A. Centers."	C.E. Pickett H. L. Morris	Survey,	August 1943
"In Relocation Centers."	George D. Nickel	January 1943	Survey Mid-Monthly
"Japanese Colony."	Galen M. Fisher,	Survey Graphic	Feb. 1943
"These are our Parents	George Morimitsu	Asia and the Americas	Oct 1943.

FACTS CONCERNING JAPANESE AMERICANS IN U. S. ARMY

Secretary of War Stimson at his press conference on January 20, pointed out particularly the casualties of the 100th Infantry Battalion, composed of Americans of Japanese ancestry. He said their losses to date have been 96 killed, 221 wounded and 17 missing.

A battalion ordinarily numbers slightly more than 1,000 men, so the Japanese-American battalion probably suffered casualties to about one-third of its men.

In a later statement, the War Department has announced 85 more wounded, increasing the casualty list to 419 -- more than 40 per cent of the total personnel of the battalion.

The position held by the Japanese American 100th Infantry unit on the road to Rome was "perhaps the most advanced of the Fifth Army forces" on October 25, 1943, John Lardner, special correspondent in Italy for North American Newspaper Alliance reported in a delayed wireless dispatch dated October 25, 1943, and published in U. S. newspapers on October 27.

Among the casualties recently flown from an east coast port to Memphis, Tennessee General Hospital, according to a United Press release of January 17, was Pfc. Yoshinoa Omiya, of Honolulu. He is a Japanese-American who fought bravely until both eyes were blown out by a land mine.

The Secretary of War praised the courage and daring of Nisei troops, paying special tribute to their skillful work in scouting and patrolling.

Further recognition of Japanese-American fighting men was recently given by the War Department in the awarding of decorations to two Nisei soldiers. Staff Sgt. Ben Kuroki of the Army Air Forces has received the Distinguished Flying Cross with one oak leaf cluster as well as the Air Medal with three oak leaf clusters. Sgt. Kazuo Komoto was decorated with the Order of the Purple Heart.

Sgt. Kuroki received the Flying Cross and oak leaf cluster for his performance as a turret gunner on one of the Liberator bombers which raided the Ploesti oil fields in Rumania. He was previously given the Air Medal for participating in 100 hours of operational flight against the enemy in the Middle East Theater. The three oak leaf clusters were added after he had taken part in bomber combat missions over enemy-occupied Europe.

Sgt. Komoto saw action at both Guadalcanal and on New Georgia Island in the Southwest Pacific. He was wounded by an enemy sniper who opened fire on his detachment with a concealed machine gun. Now convalescing at a military hospital in California, he recently visited his parents in Gila River.

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On December 28, an announcement from the Headquarters of the 34th Infantry Division stated that Purple Heart Awards had been made to 58 of the officers and men, all of Japanese ancestry.

H. V. Kaltenborn, Drew Pearson and others have mentioned the invaluable services being rendered by the Nisei with the fighting units in the South Pacific and Attu.

WAC headquarters in Washington have informed WRA that seven Nisei girls were inducted in the Women's Army Corps during the past several weeks.

According to an official bulletin of the War Relocation Authority there are more than 9,000 young men of Japanese ancestry--roughly half of them volunteers--serving in the United States Army.

June 4, 1943

Dear Mr. Merchant:

The Secretary of War has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of May 26, on the question of the return of certain Japanese evacuees to the West Coast. This will also acknowledge your letter to General Marshall on the same subject.

In view of your expressions I feel it only fair to give you some information as to the War Department's policies in regard to the people of Japanese descent in California and elsewhere on the West Coast.

The War Department participated in and is responsible for the decision to move the Japanese descended people of the West Coast on military grounds and the suggestion that the views of the Department and of General DeWitt are at variance on any important particulars is entirely false. The War Department is aware that many of the evacuees, both citizens and aliens, are disloyal and in some instances even potentially dangerous. On the other hand, it is just as clear even after the experiences they have gone through that many of these people are entirely loyal to the United States. These people are still going through a rather severe test of their loyalty, and steps are being taken which should give us far greater information on this subject than we have ever had in the past. It seems entirely unnecessary and unjust to retain loyal citizens and others in restrictive custody when they could do their part toward the war effort. The War Department policy, therefore, is to afford to loyal Japanese every opportunity to make their contribution. This they have asked for, and it is not proposed, when they have demonstrated loyalty and adherence to this country, to prohibit them from doing their part. In line with this policy the War Department on January 28 announced its plan to organize a Japanese American unit for combat service. The personnel of this unit are all volunteers, and each individual has been carefully scrutinized as to loyalty and cleared for service in the Army. I think they will prove to be a real military asset to the country. Once they have taken the oath of a soldier and have been placed in uniform, these soldiers are to be accorded the privileges extended to any other soldier in the Army. This includes the privilege of returning on furlough to any part of the United States he desires. Certainly your organization would not feel that these people who have volunteered to face the enemy in battle should not be accorded this privilege and opportunity. There are very few individuals who will be covered by such regulations but the Army in any case, must and will afford its soldiers equal treatment. Such steps have been taken after consideration

by the Army and in the light of advice from many officers who are entirely familiar with the Japanese, their language and their country.

I am no expert on Japanese matters but I am in a position where, from time to time, I see absolutely unmistakable evidence of loyalty to this country and hatred for the Japanese military system on the part of many of those of Japanese descent in this country. Such loyalty has been evidenced in many cases in the face of physical beatings and other duress. The Department is aware of the attitude of many people on the West Coast; the danger to the Japanese themselves, etc. which might result from a sudden letting down of the bars, but the War Department is merely charged with the military security of the country. The relocation of the Japanese is a social and national problem and only to the extent that it really affects our military security does the War Department presume to express any opinions on the subject. It is my hope that organizations similar to yours will give careful thought to the problem and lend their efforts to a sensible and fair solution of it. California and the other Western Defense States must certainly share in the solution.

While the War Department does support a recognition of the loyalty of many Japanese Americans, it retains its prime consideration for the security of not only our coasts but of all expeditionary forces. There is no immediate plan to return for residence on the Coast of any large number of evacuees. There are certain mixed marriage cases that after proper screening probably will be handled on an individual basis with a view of correcting an unnecessary separation of man and wife. There may be certain other steps taken to alleviate hardships in individual cases or to recognize the full responsibility of the country to a soldier in uniform, but this is all for the moment we are considering so far as reintroduction of Japanese American citizens into the Western Defense Command is concerned.

I hope these facts will give you an understanding of the War Department's attitude in the matter and will afford to you an opportunity to explore the matter further if you so desire.

Sincerely,

(signed)

JOHN J. McCLOY
Assistant Secretary of War

Mr. William G. Merchant, President
Down Town Association
85 Post Street
San Francisco, California

C-0289-P6-BU-COS-WP

TITLE 32—NATIONAL DEFENSE

Chapter I—War Relocation Authority

PART 5—ISSUANCE OF LEAVE FOR DEPARTURE FROM A RELOCATION AREA

Pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order No. 9102 of March 18, 1942, Part 5, Chapter I, Title 32 of the Code of Federal Regulations is hereby revised to read as follows:

Sec.

5.1 Types of leave.
5.2 Application for leave.
5.3 Proceedings upon application for leave.
5.4 Appeals; requests for reconsideration.
5.5 Leave assistance; reports during leave.
5.6 Modification of leave.
5.7 Restrictions on leave.
5.8 Expiration of leave.
5.9 Definitions.
5.10 Effective date.
5.11 Forms.

AUTHORITY: §§ 5.1 to 5.11, inclusive, issued under E.O. 9102, 7 F.R. 2165.

§ 5.1 *Types of leave.* Leaves are of the following types:

(a) A short term leave, for not more than sixty days, for attending to affairs requiring the applicant's presence outside the relocation area;

(b) A seasonal work leave, for seasonal employment and residence outside the relocation area; and

(c) An indefinite leave, for indefinite employment, education, or residence outside the relocation area.

§ 5.2 *Application for leave.* Any person residing within a relocation center who has been evacuated from a military area or who has been specifically accepted by the War Relocation Authority for residence within a relocation center may apply for leave. No such person shall depart from a relocation area before receiving leave.

§ 5.3 *Proceedings upon application for leave.* (a) Short term leaves, seasonal work leaves, and indefinite leaves may be issued by the project director in accordance with the provisions of this part, as supplemented by instructions issued by the Director from time to time.

(b) Except as may otherwise be determined by the Director, every person eligible to apply for leave who is 17 years of age or older shall file an application for leave clearance before he shall be eligible for leave. After such investigation as may be prescribed by instructions issued by the Director, the project director shall forward the application to the Director with his recommendations. The Director will secure from the Federal Bureau of Investigation such information as may be obtainable and will take such additional steps as may be necessary to determine the probable effect of the issuance of indefinite leave to the applicant upon the war program and upon the public peace and security. The Director will thereupon approve or disapprove the application and instruct the project director accordingly. A person whose application for leave clearance is disapproved shall be ineligible to receive indefinite leave and shall be transferred to the Tule Lake Center in northern California. A person resident at the Tule Lake Center whose application for leave clearance is approved shall be transferred to another center.

(c) Indefinite leave may be issued prior to approval of an application for leave clearance only in accordance with instructions issued by the Director from time to time. In the case of each application for indefinite leave, the Director will cause such steps to be taken as may be necessary to satisfy himself concerning the applicant's willingness to make the reports required of him under the provisions of this part, his means of support, the conditions and factors affecting his successful maintenance of residence at the proposed destination, the probable effect of the issuance of the leave upon the war program and upon the public peace and security, and such other conditions and factors as may be relevant. The Director will issue instructions covering the issuance or denial of indefinite leave in each such case. The project director shall issue or deny indefinite leaves pursuant to such instructions.

(d) A leave shall issue to an applicant in accordance with his application in each case, subject to the provisions of this part and under the procedures herein provided, as a matter of right,

where the applicant agrees to make the reports required of him under the provisions of this part and to comply with all applicable provisions hereof, where there is no reasonable cause to believe that he will not have employment or other means of support or that he cannot otherwise successfully maintain residence at the proposed destination, and where there is no reasonable cause to believe that the issuance of leave in the particular case will interfere with the war program or otherwise endanger the public peace and security.

(e) Such special conditions may be attached to the leave to be issued in a particular case as may be necessary in the public interest. The special conditions to be so attached shall be governed by instructions issued from time to time. Every leave issued under the provisions of this part shall state the conditions that are applicable thereto.

(f) The project director shall promptly notify the applicant of the approval or disapproval of an application for leave or leave clearance, and of any special conditions attached to the approval of an application for leave, with a statement of the reasons therefor. In the case where the application for leave has been disapproved, or has been approved subject to special conditions, the project director shall advise the applicant of his right to appeal under the provisions of § 5.4.

(g) An applicant shall be required to arrange with the project director, in conformity with the applicable instructions of the Director, to provide for the support of any dependents of the applicant left in a relocation center.

(h) The project director shall promptly notify the Director of the names of any persons who have failed to return to the relocation center upon expiration of leave.

§ 5.4 *Appeals; requests for reconsideration.* (a) Any applicant whose application for a short term or seasonal work leave has been disapproved or approved with special conditions under § 5.3 may submit to the project director, within ten days following receipt of notice of such action, an appeal requesting the project director to transmit the appeal and all related papers to the Director. The applicant may submit any supplemental written statement he wishes in support of the appeal. Within five days following receipt of such an appeal, the project director shall transmit the appeal and all related papers to the Director, together with any supplemental statement he believes necessary or desirable.

(b) Every person resident at the Tule Lake Center whose application for leave clearance has been disapproved shall upon written request be entitled to reconsideration of his case by the Director. Prior to such reconsideration the request shall be referred to a board of persons designated by the Director who are not employed by the War Relocation Authority in any other capacity. The board shall conduct a full investigation and make findings of fact and recommendations to the Director with respect to the disposition of the request for reconsideration. During the course of such investigation, the applicant shall be given full opportunity to be heard before the board.

(c) The Director will thereupon consider the appeal, or request for reconsideration, as if it were a proper original application, and will issue instructions for the issuance or denial of leave, or the approval or disapproval of leave clearance, as the case may be, in accordance with the applicable provisions of this part. The Director will notify the project director of his disposition of the case, and the project director shall notify the applicant accordingly.

§ 5.5 *Leave assistance; reports during leave.* (a) The project director shall provide transportation for the applicant to whom a leave has been issued to the most convenient railroad or bus station. Assistance in meeting transportation costs to destination and initial subsistence expenses may be provided, in accordance with instructions issued by the Director from time to time, to persons to

whom indefinite leave has been granted.

(b) Every seasonal work leave shall require the center resident to report his arrival and every change of address to the relocation officer. Each applicant for indefinite leave shall be required to agree to notify the Director promptly of his arrival at destination, his business or school and residential addresses, and all subsequent changes in school, employment, or residence.

§ 5.6 *Modification of leave.* (a) Any center resident to whom a short term leave has been issued may submit to the project director of the relocation center in which he resides a written application for an extension of such leave for a specified period. Any center resident absent from the center under a seasonal work leave may apply to the relocation officer for an extension of such leave for a specified period. Each such application must be submitted in due time for consideration before the original leave expires. Extensions of leave shall be issued or denied upon the same grounds as applications for original leave. No short term leave shall be prolonged beyond a total period of 60 days. A seasonal work leave may be extended in recurring periods of not more than 60 days if the seasonal employment is not completed or if the applicant obtains other similar employment. There shall be no implied authorization to remain on leave pending disposition of an application for extension.

(b) Any center resident absent from the center under a seasonal work leave may apply to the relocation officer for a modification or change in the travel area specified in the leave.

(c) Any center resident may, while absent from a center under a short term leave, apply to the project director of the center for indefinite leave. Any center resident absent from a center under seasonal work leave may apply for short term leave, indefinite leave, or leave clearance through the relocation officer. Within the limits prescribed by instructions issued by the Director from time to time, applications may be made and processed whle the applicant is absent from the relocation center on leave.

§ 5.7 *Restrictions on leave.* (a) No short term leave or seasonal work leave issued under the provisions of this part shall authorize the person to whom the leave is issued to be present in any place except at, or en route to or from, a destination stated in the leave, within the dates stated therein. More than one destination may be stated in the leave where necessary. Such destination shall be defined in terms of towns or counties as accurately as practicable.

(b) An indefinite leave may permit travel unlimited except as to restrictions imposed by military authorities with reference to military areas or zones, or may permit only travel within designated states, counties, or comparable areas.

(c) Whenever the military authorities of the United States require a pass or other authorization to enter any designated area, no leave shall be issued under the provisions of this part to permit entry into such area until the required pass or authorization has been obtained for the applicant. Whenever such military authorities impose restrictions on movement or conduct within the area, the continuance of such leave shall be contingent upon the observance of any such restrictions in addition to the observance of the other conditions of such leave.

(d) When any alien of enemy nationality is issued a leave under the provisions of this part, the leave shall recite that travel to the first destination has been permitted by the Department of Justice, and the project director shall notify the United States Attorney of the judicial district in which the first destination is located concerning the name, description, last residence, destination, and date of departure of such alien. Any subsequent travel within the terms of the leave may take place only with the permission of the United States Attorney for the judicial district including the new point of departure. In addition, the project director shall arrange for the alien to notify the Immigration and Nat-

uralization Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation of his change of address, in accordance with Department of Justice regulations controlling the conduct of enemy aliens. If such alien has been paroled by order of the Attorney General or the War Department, or released under bond or on his own recognizance pending deportation, leave shall not issue until supervisory arrangements satisfactory to the Immigration and Naturalization Service have been completed.

§ 5.8 *Expiration of leave.* (a) Any leave issued under the provisions of this part shall expire:

(1) On the expiration date stated in the leave; or

(2) On the return to a relocation center, as a resident, of the person to whom the leave has been issued; or

(3) At any time that the person to whom the leave has been issued shall violate any of the conditions applicable to such leave; or

(4) On notice from the Director, the project director, or the relocation supervisor that the leave is revoked pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (b) of this section.

(b) The Director may revoke any leave when conditions are so far changed, or when such additional information has become available, that an original application by such person for leave would be denied under the provisions of this part. The project director may revoke any short term leave and the relocation supervisor may revoke any seasonal work leave on similar grounds. When the project director or relocation supervisor revokes a leave he shall promptly notify the Director.

§ 5.9 *Definitions.* As used in this part:

(a) "Director" means the Director of the War Relocation Authority.

(b) "Project director" means the project director of the War Relocation Authority for the relocation center in which the particular applicant or person to whom a leave has been issued resides or resided at the time application was made.

(c) "Relocation supervisor" means the relocation supervisor of the War Relocation Authority for the area in which the particular person to whom a leave has been issued is to be found.

(d) "Relocation officer" means the relocation officer of the War Relocation Authority for the district in which the particular person to whom a leave has been issued is to be found. A relocation officer is under the immediate supervision of a relocation supervisor; his district comprises a territorial subdivision of the area that is within the jurisdiction of the relocation supervisor.

(e) "Relocation center" means a relocation community administered by the War Relocation Authority for occupancy by persons evacuated from military areas.

(f) "Relocation area" means the entire area, administered by the War Relocation Authority, surrounding a relocation center.

(g) "Applicant" includes the applicant for a leave and every member of his family who seeks to accompany him on the leave.

(h) "Center resident" means a person to whom a short term leave or seasonal work leave has been issued under the provisions of this part.

§ 5.10 *Effective date.* The provisions of this part shall become effective on publication in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

§ 5.11 *Forms.* Applications for leave or leave clearance, leaves, and notices provided for in this part shall be made and issued on the prescribed forms wherever such forms are issued by the Director and distributed to the appropriate offices.

Issued at Washington, D. C., the 1st day of January 1944.

D. S. MYER,
Director.

[F. R. Doc. 44-116: Filed, January 3, 1944; 12:49 p. m.]

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

SEGREGATION OF EVACUEES

While the great majority of the residents of the relocation centers are loyal to the United States and sympathetic to its war aims, the presence of some who refuse to pledge loyalty or good behavior made it more difficult for the War Relocation Authority to fulfill its responsibility to the evacuated people. Accordingly, in May 1943 public announcement was made of plans to segregate the residents of relocation centers on the basis of national loyalty.

The Tule Lake center in northern California was designated as the segregation center, to be the place of residence for those persons who indicate their unwillingness to support the war aims of the United States. All persons found after careful study and investigation to be disloyal to the United States or unsympathetic to the war aims of this nation were designated for removal to the Tule Lake center. Those residents of the Tule Lake center who were loyal or sympathetic to the United States have been removed to other centers. The movement took place in September and October, 1943, and was carried out with the cooperation of the War Department.

Included among the segregants in the Tule Lake center are persons who have requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan, those who refused to pledge loyalty to the United States or (in the case of aliens) good behavior and persons who, because of unfavorable intelligence reports or other records of un-American behavior in the past, are found to be ineligible for leave under WRA procedures.

The population of segregants in Tule Lake, including family members who voluntarily went to the segregation center, is approximately 18,000.

Residents of the relocation centers will be eligible to relocate into ordinary communities, under leave regulations of the War Relocation Authority, but the privilege of leave will be denied segregants.

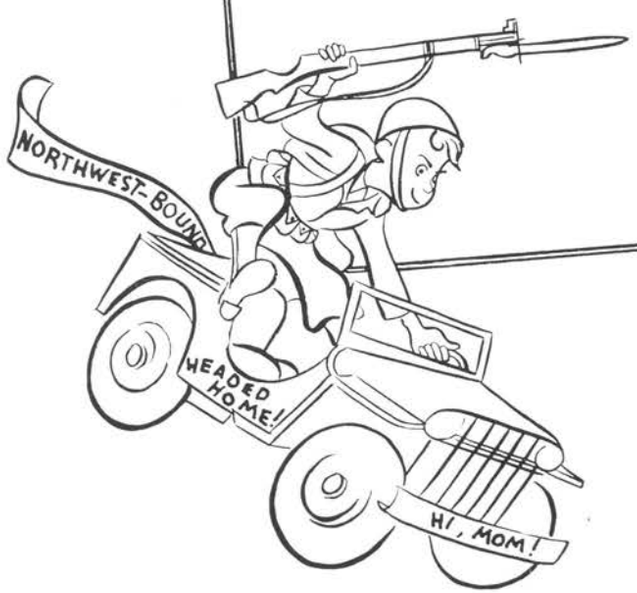
Welcome Home
Minnesota
Yanks

Regulations regarding veterans' affairs are constantly changing. Much depends, also, upon interpretation of the various benefits offered to the returned veteran. Consequently, any attempt at a detailed explanation would not only be bewildering but, also, probably would soon be out of date.

Therefore, this booklet has been prepared as a guide for the returning veteran rather than as a detailed compilation of the benefits and services available. It is designed to direct him to the places where he can obtain information or help on his individual problems.

In addition, veterans returning to any city in the United States may obtain complete information on their rights, benefits and privileges by contacting any one of the following agencies:

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
SELECTIVE SERVICE BOARDS
UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE



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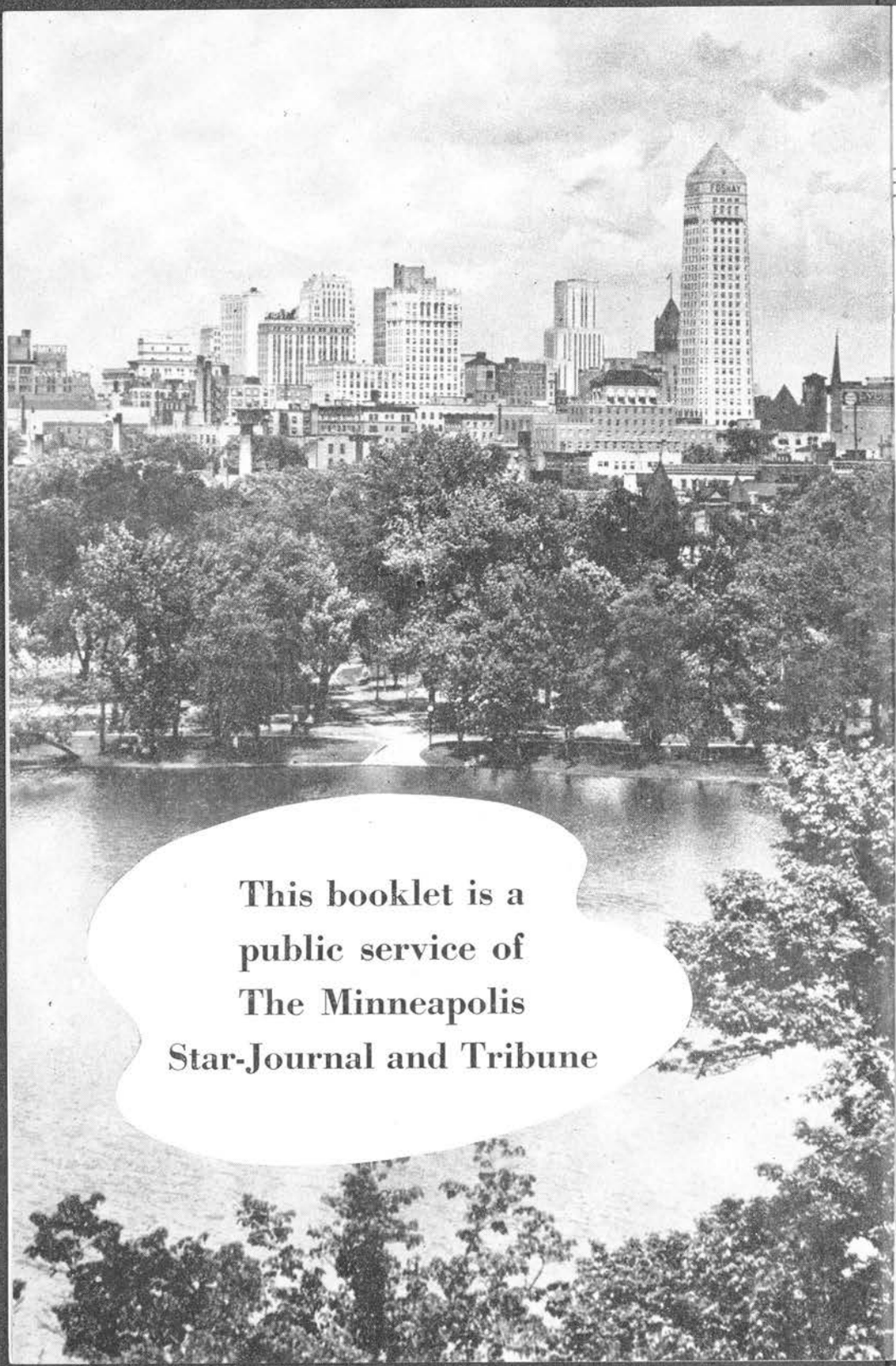


This booklet is a public service of The Minneapolis Star-Journal and Tribune

DISCHARGES

LAPEL BUTTONS

See military offices, page 15.

PHOTOCOPIES

Veterans Information and Referral Office issues regular size, white photocopies, certified by Notary Public.

Some retail stores issue wallet size, plastic-sealed photocopies. Call At. 4344.

RECORDING

It is advisable to have your discharge recorded with the Register of Deeds, Hennepin County, 128 Court House, Ma. 6341. Then, if it is lost, a certified copy can be procured. Photocopies should be obtained first, however.

REVIEW OF DISCHARGES

Any veterans' organization, Red Cross or the Veterans Information and Referral Office will assist in submitting affidavits and application to change type of discharge or dismissal.

CITIZENSHIP

Veterans are exempt from certain requirements of the naturalization laws, such as declaration of intention, residence in the jurisdiction of a naturalization court, fees, educational tests.

U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 104 U. S. Federal Office Building, Ma. 5923.

VOTING

VOTERS REGISTRATION BUREAU

Court House Lobby (Fourth Street side), At. 0229. Hours: 8–4:30.

Please contact the bureau upon discharge for registration or reinstatement.

TAXES

FEDERAL INCOME TAX

U. S. Federal Office Building, Room 162, Ge. 9660.

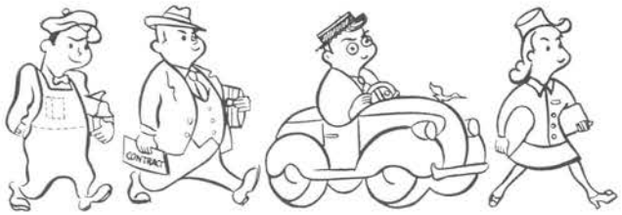
Third Avenue South and Washington.

REAL ESTATE AND PERSONAL PROPERTY

Payable to: George A. Totten, Jr., Treas., Hennepin County, 116 Court House, At. 5331.

MINNESOTA INCOME TAX DIVISION

State Office Building, St. Paul, Ce. 3013.



EMPLOYMENT

U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Veterans Division, 407 South 4th Street, At. 0192, Hours: 8–5:05.
Offers counsel in selection of a job; gives all possible assistance in locating a suitable job; will go into detail in converting veterans' military experience into something of value for his civilian occupation, while keeping in mind any disability. Is equipped to do job testing and guidance without charge.

Readjustment Allowance

is available to any honorably discharged veteran if there is no suitable work for him and he is willing and able to work. $20 per week will be paid up to 52 weeks, depending upon his length of service.

CIVIL SERVICE

All veterans receive 5 percentage points preference.
All disabled veterans receive 10 percentage points preference.
Widows will receive same civil service preference points as husband.

Federal:

Bd. of U. S. Civil Service Examiners
454 Post Office Building, Ma. 5192, Hours: 8–5; Saturdays, 8–1.
Regional Civil Service Commission
Post Office Building, St. Paul, Ce. 8033.

State:

122 State Office Building, St. Paul, Ce. 3013, Ext. 541.
Full-time veterans' counselor.

City:

109 City Hall, At. 5211.
Hours: 8–4:30, Monday through Friday.

SELECTIVE SERVICE BOARDS

Obligated by law to assist returning veterans to former jobs or to obtain new jobs. Complete information on all rights, benefits and privileges may be procured at any selective service office.
Hennepin at 8th, Ge. 0371, Hours: 8:30–5:00.

U. S. RAILWAY RETIREMENT BOARD

Branch Office, 258 Marquette Avenue, Ge. 1603, Hours: 8:30–5.
Complete information on seniority rights which have accrued during military service and on employment opportunities in this industry.

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF MINNESOTA

812 National Building, Ma. 3837.
Administers workmen's compensation in industrial accidents.

LOANS

BUSINESS LOANS

Minneapolis Civic Council at Veterans Information and Referral Office, 15 North 8th Street, Room 808.
Loan information and counseling to avoid pitfalls in starting a small business, locating a site, equipment, and business and priority trends.

HOME LOANS

Federal Housing Administration, 351 Post Office Building, At. 0354.
Local Banker (See yellow section in telephone book).
Savings and Loan Associations (See yellow section in telephone book).
Veterans Administration.
Veterans Information and Referral Office.

FARM LOANS

Farm Credit Administration

344 Jackson, St. Paul, Ne. 7281. Contact Local National Farm Loan Association or inquire at County Agricultural Agent's Office.

Real estate loans: Made by Federal Land Bank, amortized 10 to 34½ years at 4%. Funds for farms, improvements, debts, livestock if veteran has required *down payment*. See National Farm Loan Association.

Short term operating loans: Loans made by local Cooperative Production Credit Associations managed by local farmers. Funds at 4½% for livestock, machinery, feed, seed, fertilizer, labor or expenses that are sound, practical undertakings for members. Authorized to make loans under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944.

Farm Security Administration

E. Iverson, Hennepin County Supervisor, Anoka Court House. Thomas T. Bacheller, Ramsey County, 505 Federal Courts Building, St. Paul, Ce. 8033.

For veterans of World War II who lack necessary equipment and operating capital and cannot get credit eleswhere on reasonable terms and conditions, Rural Rehabilitation loans not to exceed $2500, five years at an interest rate of 5%. Also under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, for the purchase of farms under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, 40 year loans at 3%. See your County FSA Supervisor.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

201 Court House, Ma. 6664, Harold Peterson, Agricultural Agent. Hours: 8–4:30.
Advice on probable costs, most suitable size, part-time farming and assistance in locating a limited number of farms.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

HENNEPIN COUNTY WELFARE BOARD

26 Court House, Ma. 8031, Hours: 8–4:30.

This board has responsibility for disbursing the Social Security Aids, namely Old Age Assistance, aid to dependent children and aid to the blind. Also supervises feeble minded and epileptic persons, and illegitimate or neglected children.

MINNEAPOLIS DIVISION OF PUBLIC RELIEF

607 Third Avenue South, Ma. 8111, Hours: 8–4:30.

A Veterans' Liaison Counselor assists veterans and their dependents in need of public assistance to determine the place of their eligibility. If eligible in the City of Minneapolis, he will advise in securing pensions, compensation and insurance rights, direct relief, educational privileges, and vocational and other guidance.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

General and special aptitude tests, personality ratings and counseling to assist the veteran in determining the work for which he is best suited. This division works directly with the USES in selective placement and also with some of the larger industries of Minneapolis.

REFER ALSO TO:

State Department of Veterans Affairs.
American Red Cross.
Family Welfare Association.
Salvation Army.
Volunteers of America.

HOUSING

WAR HOUSING CENTER

208 South 9th Street, Ge. 8345.

Hours: 9–5; Saturdays to 12:00.

Assistance for veterans and their families in an effort to find them furnished and unfurnished apartments and houses.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

COMMUNITY HEALTH SERVICE

344 Citizens Aid Building, Ma. 5275, Hours: 8:30–4:50.

Bedside service is available to the veteran or his family under his physician's direction; health supervision and instruction for infants and children is offered to families of low income.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

512 Ryan Building, St. Paul, Ne. 2771.

COUNTY HEALTH SERVICE

U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

HANDICAPPED PERSONS

MINNEAPOLIS SOCIETY FOR THE BLIND

2835 Nicollet Avenue, Re. 5213, Hours: 8:30–5; Saturdays, 8:30–4.

Directs the visually handicapped so that the facilities of the State and County can be used to best advantage to make possible a reasonably normal and worthwhile life. Services for veterans are provided only on the request of the Veterans Administration and with a triangular plan of procedure carefully worked out and agreed upon between the Veterans Administration, the Society for the Blind, and the visually handicapped veteran.

Arrangements for Seeing Eye dogs can be made through the Veterans Administration.

MINNEAPOLIS SOCIETY FOR THE HARD OF HEARING

711 West Lake Street, Br. 0790, Hours: 9–5; Saturdays, 9–1.

Lip reading classes are maintained for veterans. An evening club of men and women offers social activities two Saturday evenings a month.

PLACEMENT FOR HANDICAPPED PEOPLE

208 Citizens Aid Building, Ma. 5275.

Hours: 8–9. (Appointments for veterans.)

Advises in the preparation for and selection of employment, places the physically handicapped and assists in continued guidance in up-grading by preparing the worker for greater usefulness.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL DIVISION

Vocational Rehabilitation
State Office Building, St. Paul, Ce. 3013, Ext. 459

U.S.E.S., Mr. John Taube

369 Cedar, St. Paul, Ne. 2749, Ext. 338

FAMILY PROBLEMS

AMERICAN RED CROSS

Home Service Division, 1111 Nicollet Avenue, Ge. 9641.

Hours: 9–4; Saturdays, 9–12.

Counseling and guidance in personal and family problems to ex-servicemen and their dependents; financial assistance to disabled veterans, their dependents, and the dependents of deceased servicemen on the basis of need and within certain limitations; assistance in applying for family allowances, pensions and other governmental benefits; information on government regulations and veteran legislation.

CATHOLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION

350 Builders Exchange, Ma. 5275.

Provides care for neglected children, supervises placement; coordinates all Catholic activities.

FAMILY WELFARE ASSOCIATION

222 Citizens Aid Building, Ma. 5275.

Hours: 8:30–5; Wednesday evenings by appointment.

Counseling in domestic and personal problems, advice on training for employment, budget planning, and financial aid in difficulties due to illness.

JEWISH FAMILY SERVICE ASSOCIATION

228 Citizens Aid Building, Ma. 5275.

Hours: 8:30–5. Monday through Friday.

Primarily for Jewish veterans, to assist with family problems and training for a job. Cooperates with the USES, Vocational Guidance of the Division of Public Relief, Board of Education and other veterans' facilities.

LUTHERAN WELFARE ASSOCIATION

404 South 8th Street, Ma. 5275.

Hours: 8:30–5; Saturdays, 8:30–1.

Assistance with family, child, personal and spiritual problems.

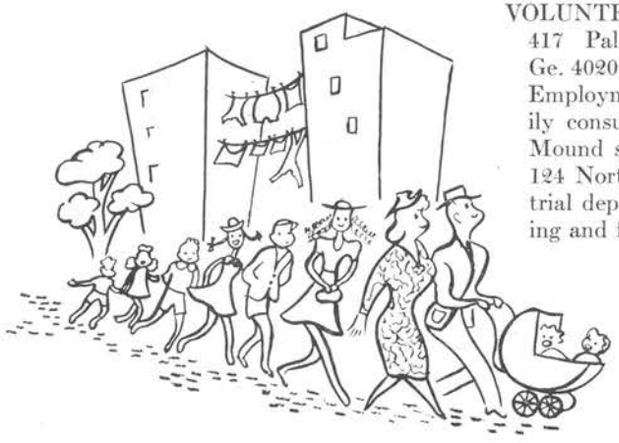
SALVATION ARMY

Welfare Department: 216 Marquette, Ge. 2717, Major Lillian Stenseng.

Employment Bureau: family service, camp at Silver Lake for veterans and families.

Booth Memorial Maternity Hospital: 1471 Como Avenue West, Ne. 1707.

Men's Social Service Center: 64 E. Hennepin, Ma. 8981, Major William Jobe, temporary assistance until permanently employed.



VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA, THE

417 Palace Building, Headquarters, Ge. 4020.

Employment bureau, personal and family consultation, emergency relief.

Mound summer camp for children.

124 North 1st Street, At. 4643, industrial department, distribution of clothing and furniture, men's hotel.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

DUNWOODY INSTITUTE

816 Wayzata Blvd., Ge. 2671. See Personnel. Hours: 8–4:45.

35 trade and industrial courses averaging 18 months are included in the 14 departments:

Air Conditioning
Automobile
Baking
Building, Construction, Drafting
Electrical
General Mechanics
Highway, Municipal,
Railroad Construction
Machine Shop
Mechanical Drafting
Power
Printing
Radio and Electronics
Sheet Metal
Welding

MILLER VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

Fourth Avenue South and 11th Street, Ma. 0381, Hours 1–5.

Evening School

Classes in commercial and business fields and trade extension. Also classes in remedial reading and of a therapeutic nature.

Boys Vocational

Trade preparatory classes in auto mechanics, barbering, cabinet making, machine shop, printing, radio and electrical appliance repair, sheet metal, shoe repairing, upholstering.

War Production Training

Three short intensive mechanical courses, days and evenings.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

See Veterans' Counselor, Ma. 8177, Hours: 8:30–5; Saturdays, 8:30–1.

Special committees aid the veteran in his education and return to college life. Write or call at the University Bureau of Veterans' Affairs, 203 Eddy Hall.

APPRENTICE TRAINING SERVICE

1547 University Avenue, St. Paul, Mi. 1156.

The Apprenticeship Training Service makes arrangements with employers and employes for approximately 75 apprenticeships in various trades. An important advantage in taking GI or Rehabilitation training under the apprenticeship plan is that the government allotment may be augmented by earnings as an apprentice.

* * *

Lists of other business, technical and professional schools approved by the Veterans Administration are available at that office or at the Veterans Information and Referral office.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

REFER TO:

(1) Vocational Rehabilitation Section, Veterans Administration.
(2) Veterans Affairs, University of Minnesota.
(3) Vocational Guidance Section, Minneapolis Division of Public Relief.
(4) United States Employment Service, Occupational Testing Division and Counseling Division.

Aptitude and interest-inventory tests followed by counseling available at all of the above sources.

TECHNICAL INFORMATION

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC LIBRARY

10th and Hennepin, Ma. 2571, Technical Department.
Readers' Adviser will assist veterans in making out a course of study. The Technical Department offers information on the various trades and other vocations and general information. School bulletins available.

SURPLUS WAR COMMODITIES

A discharged veteran may obtain information for the purchase of surplus war commodities as follows:

FOR CONSUMER GOODS

Dept. of Commerce
Room 300
209 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois

FOR FOODS AND CANNED GOODS

War Food Administration
Room 1714
5 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

FOR MACHINERY AND HEAVY EQUIPMENT

Reconstruction Finance Corp.
Room 438
McKnight Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota

FOR ROLLING STOCK

Small War Plants Material
L. E. Parker
720 Hodgson Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota
Ma. 3244, Ext. 169

RECREATION

HOSPITALITY HOUSE

902 Hennepin Avenue
All facilities available to veterans for 90 days after discharge.

USO, UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATION

807 Hennepin.
All facilities available to veterans for 90 days after discharge.

Y.M.C.A.

Downtown Branch and General Offices, 30 South 9th Street, Ma. 2431.
24-hour service is maintained for veterans.
The Minneapolis YMCA offers each discharged veteran a three months' complimentary membership which makes all facilities available to him without charge, provided application is made before he has been out of service six months. A member of the Y staff is on duty at the VIRO to counsel with veterans.
University Branch, John Price, Executive Secretary, 1425 University Avenue Southeast, Gl. 1013.
Club rooms are available in the campus YMCA. A series of week-end camps at Lake Independence sponsored to help orient the veteran to student life; a Saturday night social club for veterans and their wives; a dinner club for veterans and girls to discuss current problems.

Y.W.C.A.

1130 Nicollet Avenue, Ma. 0501, Hours: 9–5:30. (For girls only.)
Provides hospitality, information service, rest and reading rooms, room registry in private homes, and other services with no charge or membership requirement. Food service provided. Transient room service, ten day stay limit, reservations in advance desirable. Emergency overnight care always available. Returning service women are invited to make use of all YWCA facilities. Call Miss Ruth Marshall for further information.

TRAVEL

TRAVELERS AID SOCIETY

Great Northern Depot, At. 1479.

Branch locations:

Great Northern Depot, 7 a.m.–11 p.m.
Milwaukee Depot, 7 a.m.–11 a.m.; 6:45–11 p.m.
Greyhound Bus Station, 7 a.m.–11 p.m.

Shelter, limited financial assistance to any persons in difficulty away from home. All veterans are entitled to use USO lounges in the bus and railway terminals.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND CONSULTATION

CHURCH FEDERATION

Rev. Howard G. Wiley, Executive Secretary.
914 Marquette Avenue, Ge. 6644, Hours: 8:30–5, Saturdays, 8:30–1.

Religious consultation with ministers of different faiths is available at the Veterans Information and Referral Office.

FEDERAL AGENCIES

FHA—Federal Housing Administration
351 Post Office Building, At. 0354
Hours: 8:30–5.
Priorities for building or buying homes. Loans.

ODT—Office of Defense Transportation
30 Metropolitan Life Building, Br. 8891
Hours: 8–5:15
Priorities for buying cars, trucks.

OPA—Office of Price Administration
Metropolitan Life Building, 2nd Floor
Ma. 7281; Hours: 9:30–4.
Priorities for food, shoes, gas, tire rations.

RCD—Rent Control Division
National Building, Ma. 3244
Rent control.

RFC—Reconstruction Finance Corporation
438 McKnight Building, Ge. 5311
Hours: 8–5:00.
Business loans.

WPB—War Production Board
Midland Bank Building, Ma. 3244
Hours: 8–5:15.
Priorities on business, construction, manufacturing, and heavy equipment.

On the back cover is a map of the Minneapolis loop district, showing the location of many of the agencies mentioned throughout the book.

MILITARY OFFICES

FORT SNELLING

Personal Affairs Officer, De. 3881, Ext. 30, Post Headquarters.

ARMY RECRUITING OFFICE

182 U. S. Federal Office Building, Ge. 1697, Hours: 8–5.
Discharge button given upon presentation of the original discharge. A duplicate button will be issued if original is lost.

MARINE RECRUITING OFFICE

172 Federal Office Building, Br. 1912, Hours: 8–5.
Discharge buttons given by making application upon presentation of the original discharge. No duplicate will be issued.

NAVAL AIR STATION

East 60th and 40th Avenue South, Pa. 6611, Hours: 8–5.
Discharge buttons given upon presentation of original discharge. A duplicate will be issued.

COAST GUARD RECRUITING OFFICE

Over State Theater, Ge. 7122. (8th and Hennepin).

Discharge buttons obtained by sending original discharge to District Coast Guard Office, 9th Naval District, St. Louis, Missouri.

Buttons may be purchased from several retail stores in Minneapolis. Phone At. 4344.

LEGAL SERVICES

HENNEPIN COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION

1050 Baker Building, Br. 4248.
William Howard Anderson, chairman of Veterans' Committee.
(By appointment only.)

Cases referred to veterans who formerly practiced law to assist them in getting back into practice. Employment assistance.
400 Court House, Ma. 3374.

Theodore Knudson, Assistant County Attorney, chairman of Postwar Planning Committee; Hours: 8–5.

The Postwar Planning Committee mailed questionnaires to attorneys in service to find out what jobs or refresher courses they will want when they come back to civilian life. Assistance is given in setting up business, finding locations for offices, and in securing employment.

LEGAL AID SOCIETY, INC.

200 Citizens Aid Building, Ma. 5275, Richard Bachelder, Counsel; Hours: 2:00–4. (Family matters by appointment only.)

General legal advice is given when the veteran is financially unable to employ a private attorney.

VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS

MINNESOTA DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

512 Ryan Building, St. Paul, Ne. 2771, Hours: 8–4:30.
15 North 8th Street, Room 808, Minneapolis, At. 4344.
Neil J. Kidwell, Manager; Hours: 9–5; Saturdays, 9–12.

Claims Division assists veterans in getting benefits to which they may be entitled. Grants for temporary aid to a total of $250 may be secured by World War II veterans in need if application is made within two years after discharge.

SOLDIERS HOME

Minnehaha Falls, Du. 9325, Hours: 8:30–4; Saturdays, 8:30–12.

Room and board available to any discharged veteran who is physically unable to work provided he does not get sufficient compensation. There are no hospital facilities except for those who are convalescing.

SOLDIERS RELIEF FUND: Kaimon Karelis, Du. 7365.
Executive Secretary of Board of Trustees.

Available to veterans who enlisted in Minnesota; have disability of 25% or more; have had state residence for at least three years.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

208 Evanston Building, At. 2949, Hours: 8–5.

Any honorably discharged veteran with disabilities recognized by the Veterans Administration is eligible for membership. This organization offers assistance in filing claims and emergency relief.

AMERICAN LEGION, FIFTH DISTRICT

603 2nd Avenue South, Br. 5154, Hours: 8:30–4:30.

Any honorably discharged veteran of World War I or II is eligible for membership. Club rooms are available for use of members at the above address. Additional service gratis to veterans or their dependents: assistance in filing claims or applications for hospitalization, insurance, death and compensation claims.

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION, FEDERAL

54th Street and 48th Avenue, Du. 2381.

Hours: 8–4:30, Apply at Building 2.

Major functions are: adjudication of claims, information on medical treatment, insurance, transportation, domiciliary care, disability pension, vocational rehabilitation training, death pension, burial benefits, United States flag for burial purposes, guardianship, education, loans, employment, readjustment allowances, hospitalization and out-patient treatment to entitled veterans.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

Hennepin County Council, 211 Lumber Exchange, Br. 2898.

Hours: 9–3:30.

Emergency relief is given to members, non members, transient members, and families of veterans when other community resources are not immediately available; advice and assistance is given in providing affidavits, filing disability claims, securing employment, mustering-out pay, vocational rehabilitation, education, hospitalization, and burial arrangements.

VETERANS INFORMATION AND REFERRAL OFFICE

15 North 8th Street, At. 4344; Hours: 9–5.

Staff counselors and representatives of the Minnesota Department of Veterans Affairs, USES, YMCA, AFL, CIO, business, religious, and educational resources offer information and secure appointments with the agency best able to assist. Here you can get help or advice on filing a disability claim, converting or reducing your insurance, authorizing deduction from compensation to pay premiums, housing, employment, starting a small business, union memberships, financial and family problems.

Note: After September 1, 1945, The Veterans Information and Referral Office will be located in the Lumber Exchange, Fifth and Hennepin.

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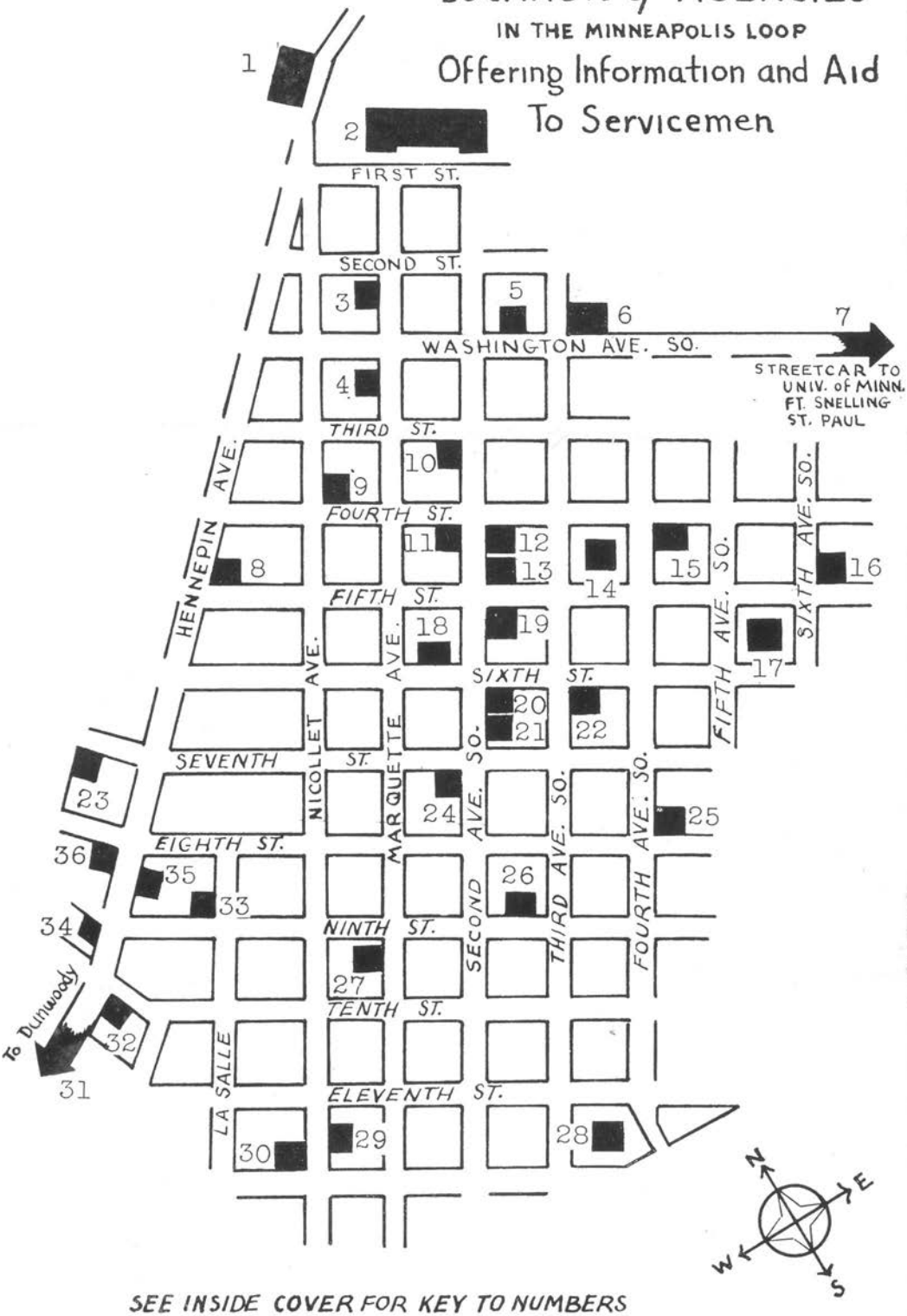
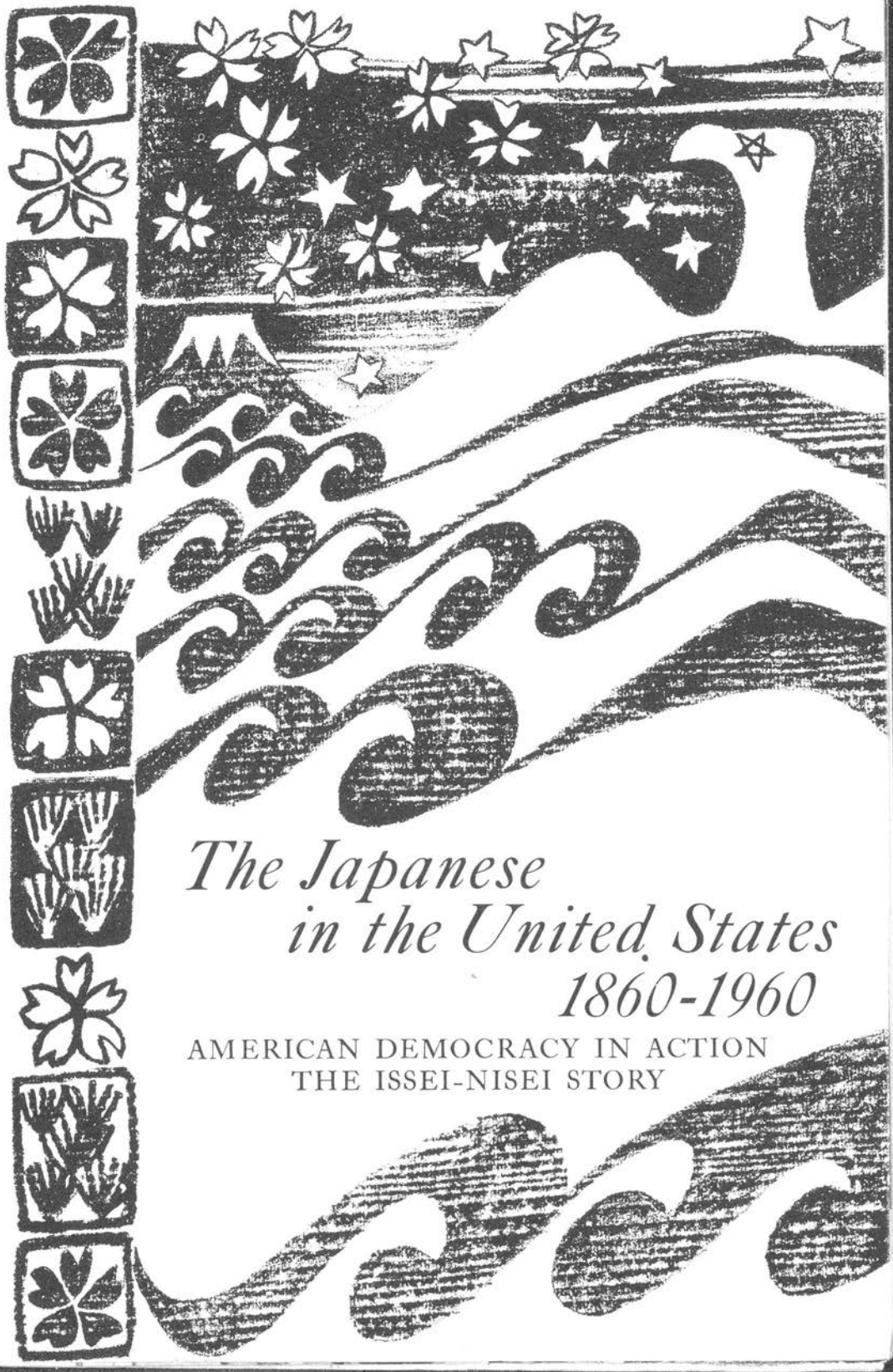
LOCATION of AGENCIES

IN THE MINNEAPOLIS LOOP

Offering Information and Aid To Servicemen

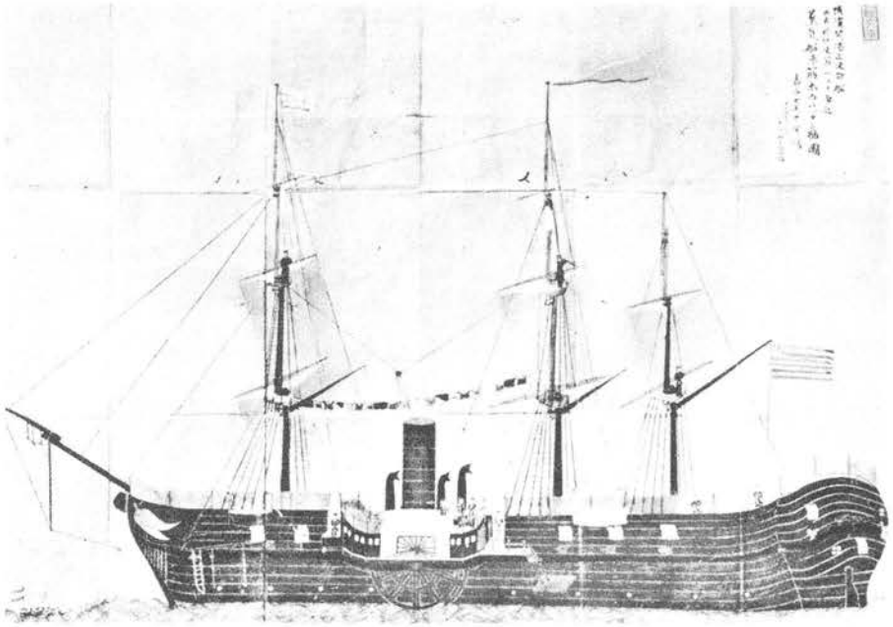


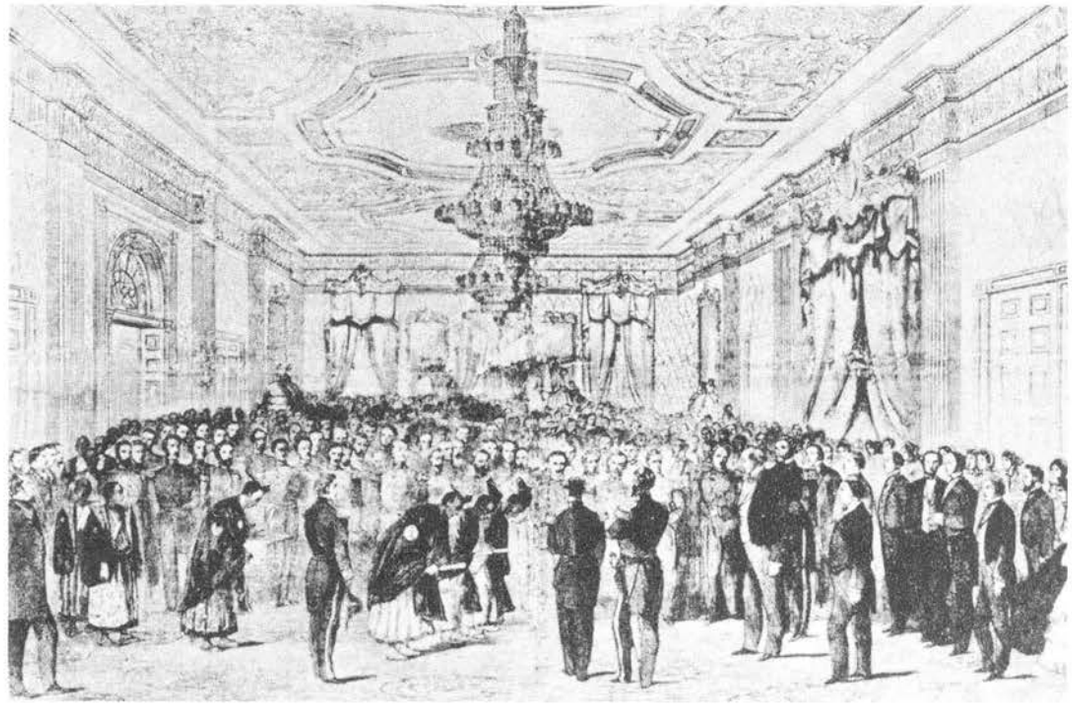
SEE INSIDE COVER FOR KEY TO NUMBERS



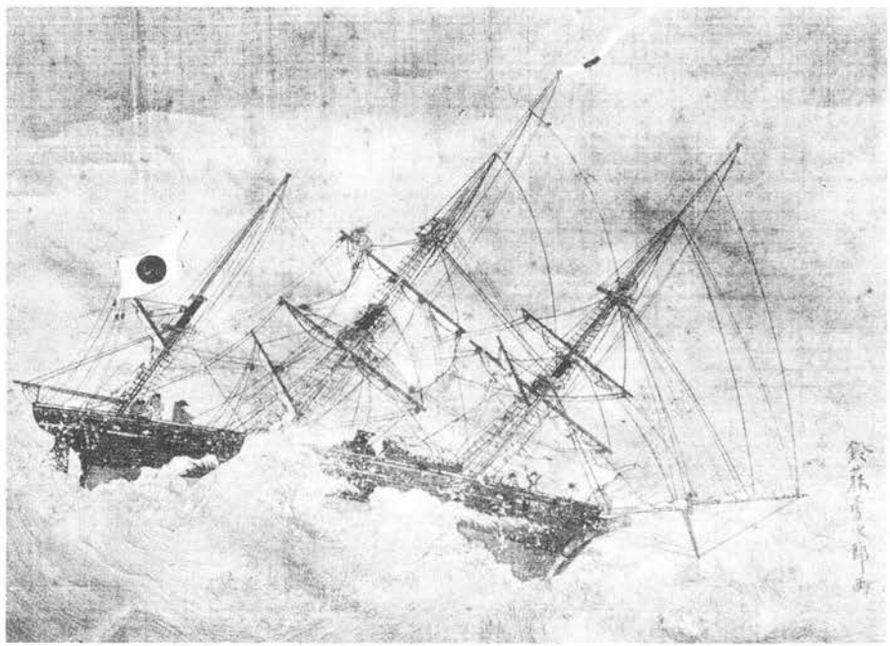
The Japanese in the United States 1860-1960

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN ACTION
THE ISSEI-NISEI STORY

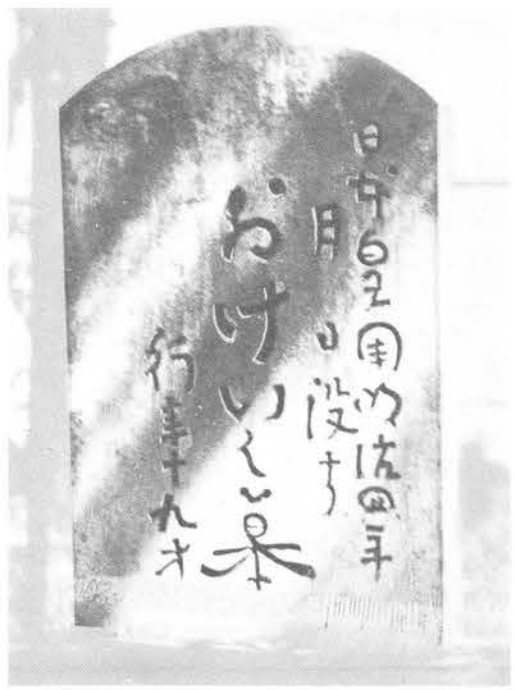


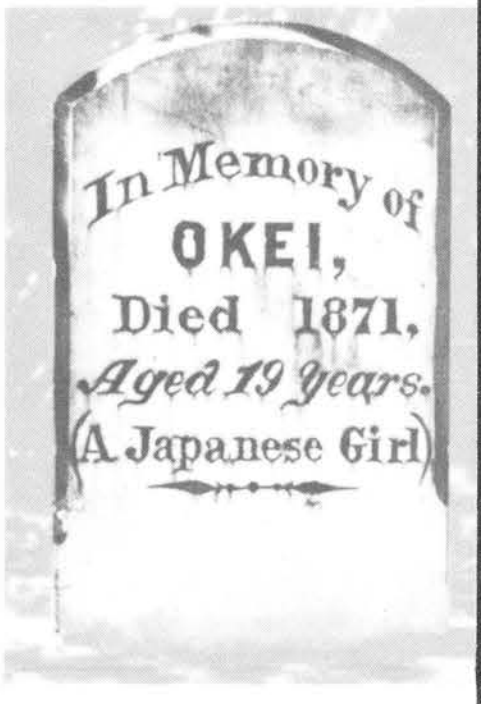


In 1860, U.S. frigate, Powhatan, arrived in the United States with the first Japanese Ambassadors; accompanied by the Japanese battleship, Kanrin Maru. President James Buchanan held a reception for them in the White House.



WHO? WHAT? WHY? HOW?





WHO ARE THE JAPANESE IN THE UNITED STATES? WHO IS RECORDING THEIR STORY ?

In 1854 Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry of the United States Navy knocked on the doors of Japan and ended that country's more than two hundred years of self- imposed seclusion. The first commerce treaty between the two countries was negotiated in 1858 by U.S. Consul-General Townsend Harris, and two years later commerce began.

In the ensuing quarter-century a tiny handful of Japanese came to the United States, largely to look and learn.

They were followed by a different breed—young men, and later, their wives—motivated by the same search for work and yearning for freedom and opportunity that drew other immigrants westward across the Atlantic.

Today these immigrants from Japan (Issei) and their American-born descendants (Nisei) number approximately a quarter million in the Continental United States. These are the Japanese in America.

The contributions these people have made to this nation is great out of all proportion to their number. Unfortunately, their story—the story of a small but significant American minority—has never been adequately told.

Now, the Japanese American Citizens League is initiating a national project to research, compile, record and publish for posterity a definitive history of the Japanese in the United States. This is a formidable mission, requiring the good will, cooperation and active support of many individuals and organizations to ensure its success.

All photographs are from the files of the Pacific Citizen, Shin Nichibei, Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Toyo Miyatake Studio.

WHAT IS A DEFINITIVE HISTORY?

The story of the Japanese in the United States will be a thorough, scholarly, objective, documented study of a people. It will be a valuable addition to the literature of immigrant groups which helped make America.

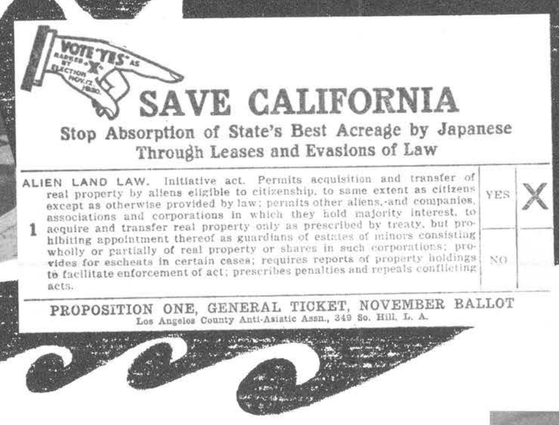
While the emphasis will be on the scholarly approach, this will be, above all, a human document. The facts of history assure that it will be an exciting story. The West to which the Japanese first came was a pioneer land waiting to be tamed, settled and developed. They helped build its farms and cities, shared its booms and depressions, and perhaps experienced more than their share of suffering.

This study will explore and analyze the hopes and dreams of the Japanese in America, their triumphs and failures, their strength and weaknesses, their joys and sorrows, their wisdom and their errors, their attributes and their shortcomings.

It will probe into the record of "anti-Japanese" movements, seek out and analyze motives from history's objective viewpoint. It will tell not only the good and bad that happened to the Japanese in the United States, but why.

In its final form the history is expected to be distilled from literally millions of words into several volumes which will serve as a permanent and authoritative reference for future students, social historians and others. At least one volume of the study is expected to be a popularized (but entirely accurate) account of general public interest.

General Joseph W. Stilwell awards the Distinguished Service Cross posthumously to Miss Mary Masuda. The D.S.C. was won by brother, Sergeant Kazuo Masuda, killed at Cassino in 1944.



WHY MUST THIS PROJECT BE UNDERTAKEN? WHY NOW?

There are many *good* and urgent reasons for the project.

Here are some of the more cogent ones:

1. The story of the Japanese in the United States is rich and unrecorded Americana. Without it, there is a significant gap in the history of this nation. No one can record this history as well as the Japanese Americans themselves.
2. A detailed study will provide a valuable insight into the nature of American democracy, a particularly timely objective. In one generation Japanese immigrants were able to overcome bitter prejudices and assimilate American ways to the extent that their native-born children are fully integrated members of the American community. The uniqueness of their history lies in the outstanding, miraculous amalgamation of the Nisei into the American lifestream through education and democratic action.
3. There is an urgent need at this time to relate to America and the world how the dynamic forces of democracy created the highest type of citizen from the offspring of Japanese immigrants. This story will help the United States prove to uncommitted African and Asian nations that the American form of democracy does indeed work.
4. The sources of authentic historical detail are, unfortunately, perishable. Many of the men and women who can tell the story with the richness of personal experience are of advanced age. Their diaries, personal papers, albums, old newspaper files, public records and other pertinent documents will become progressively more scarce and difficult to locate. The work must be done without further delay.
5. A permanent record is necessary so that all Americans may understand and appreciate the contribution which Japanese immigrants made to the United States. Such a history as is projected would be an enduring tribute to Japanese pioneers who sacrificed so much for their American-born children. At the same time, it would help future generations of Japanese Americans to understand their background, and take pride in their heritage.

HOW WILL THE PROJECT BE CARRIED OUT? HOW WILL IT BE FINANCED?

Details of the project are under the direction of a National Executive Committee. Shig Wakamatsu of Chicago, Past National President of the Japanese American Citizens League, is Chairman.

Dr. T. Scott Miyakawa, Associate Professor of Sociology at Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, is Chief Consultant to the Executive Committee. Dr. Miyakawa has completed a preliminary study of the project and outlined its scope. He will participate in directing a professional staff in undertaking research, conducting interviews, analyzing and evaluating information, and writing the final report.

While the Japanese American Citizens League is initiating the movement, the actual study itself will be under the formal auspices of an outstanding university as a scholarly, scientific project.

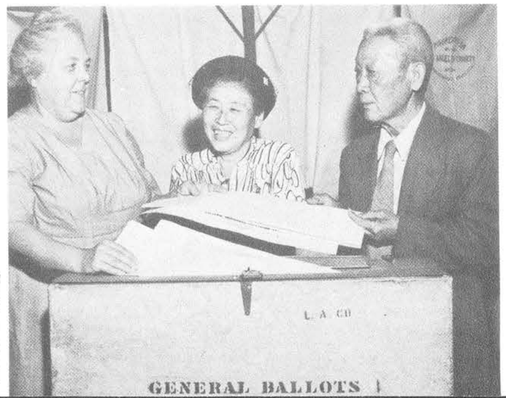
Because of the massive and detailed nature of the project, it is expected to take from four to five years and cost approximately $400,000.00.

The Japanese American Citizens League is committed to raise a minimum of $100,000.00 among its members in the Japanese American communities. Financial assistance up to the sum of $300,000.00 is being sought in the form of grants from national foundations interested in supporting scholarly work of this nature.

The actual amount raised will determine the scope of the project.

The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) is the only national organization for Americans of Japanese descent. It was organized in 1930 to foster good citizenship among Japanese Americans, promote the welfare of persons of Japanese ancestry in the United States, and to acquaint Americans with their fellow Americans of Japanese origin.

Kenjiro Tanaka, standing with President Eisenhower, was one of the 22 aliens in the United States, honored at the White House pre-naturalization reception in 1954.



JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE

HISTORY OF THE JAPANESE IN AMERICA PROJECT

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Enclosed you will find my check or money order made payable to the "JACL Japanese History Project" in the amount of $_____.

(All contributions are tax deductible.) Mail to any of the following:

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San Francisco 11, California

The Bank of Tokyo of California
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San Francisco 4, California

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An Address by Sergeant Ben Kuroki, U.S. Army Air Force
Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, Cal.
February 4, 1944

I want to thank you gentlemen, especially Mr. Deutsch and Mr. Ward, for inviting me to speak to you today. This is a great honor, and I really appreciate it. I just hope that I won't disappoint you. People who are going to make speeches usually start out by saying that they don't know how to, but in my case it's really true. A soldier's job is to fight, not talk, but I'll do the best I can.

I've spent most of my life in Hershey, Nebraska, which isn't where they make Hershey candy bars. Hershey is so small that probably none of you has ever heard of it. Before the war the population was about 500; now I guess it's about 300.

I didn't even live in Hershey; my father had a farm a mile north of town. I remember the farmers used to go to town every Saturday night and stand in groups on the street corners talking about their cows and horses. We've lived on that farm since 1928, and after I finished high school I helped my father work it until the war came along.

The last two years are what really matter, though, and maybe I can tell you something about them, even if I don't know much about making speeches. That's one thing the Army didn't teach me, though it taught me a lot of other things, and the experience I went through as a result of being in the Army taught me even more.

I learned more about democracy, for one thing, than you'll find in all the books, because I saw it in action. When you live with men under combat conditions for 15 months, you begin to understand what brotherhood, equality, tolerance and unselfishness really mean. They're no longer just words.

Under fire, a man's ancestry, what he did before the war, or even his present rank, don't matter at all. You're fighting as a team--that's the only way a bomber crew can fight--you're fighting for each other's life and for your country, and whether you realize it at the time or not, you're living and proving democracy.

Something happened on my first mission that might give you an idea of what I mean. We were in a flak zone--the anti-aircraft was terribly accurate --and we had a flock of fighters attacking us.

A shell burst right above the tail, and flak poured down. Our tail gunner was a young kid named Dawley, from New Jersey. The piece that got him was so big it tore a four-inch hole through a quarter of an inch of aluminum and double-welded steel. It caught him just above the ear. It went through his fur helmet, and in so far we couldn't even see it when we got to him.

I was firing the right waist gun on our Liberator that day. All of a sudden I heard him yell over the interphone: "I'm hit in the head, let's get the hell out of here!"

We couldn't leave the guns until we'd shaken the Messerschmitts that were after us--it would have been suicide--but in a few minutes the tunnel gunner and I were able to get back to the tail.

We pulled Dawley back into the fuselage, so that we could work on him and at the same time watch out for more fighters. Then we took off our fur jackets and covered him up. It was about 10 below zero and we were about freezing to death.

He was in terrible shape; I can't even begin to describe the look of pain on his face. He was semi-conscious, but he couldn't open his mouth to speak. His lips seemed to be parched, as though he was dying of thirst. We couldn't understand how he was still alive.

I called the radio operator, because he's the one who is supposed to administer first aid on a Liberator, but instead the co-pilot, a first lieutenant, came back. He was going to give Dawley a morphine injection, but I stopped him. They'd taught us in gunnery school not to give morphine for head injuries; it might kill the man instantly. The co-pilot had either forgotten or was so excited he could think only of stopping the pain.

Anyway, I motioned to him--we couldn't hear each other above the roar of the motors--I pointed to my head and shook it. The co-pilot evidently understood, because he didn't give Dawley the morphine.

That tail gunner lived to fly and fight again, and the last I heard he had completed his tour of duty. Whether or not I was instrumental in saving his life by stopping that morphine injection isn't important--it was just that we had to work together regardless of rank or ancestry.

The tunnel gunner that helped me with him was Jewish, I'm a Japanese-American, the bombardier of our crew was a German, the left waist gunner was an Irishman. Later I flew with an American Indian pilot and a Polish tunnel gunner. What difference did it make? We had a job to do, and we did it with a kind of comradeship that was the finest thing in the world.

That first mission was over Bizerte; it was the 13th of December, 1942, and we'd just arrived in French North Africa from England two days before. When I say "we" I'm talking about the outfit I was serving with; it was Brig. Gen. Ted Timberlake's Liberator bomber group, which everybody over there called "Ted's Traveling Circus" because it got around so much back and forth between England and Africa. In fact, it got around so much it kept German military intelligence guessing, trying to figure out where it was from week to week.

It was a funny thing--I'd just been assigned to a crew the day before we left England, although the group had been based there for about four months. I'd finished gunnery school more than a month before, and ever since I'd been trying to get assigned to a crew. It wasn't easy; I'd talk to the pilot whenever I knew there was going to be an opening in a crew, and each pilot would assign me temporarily and then replace me when the time came for permanent assighment.

I understood well enough how they felt; and they knew I was as good as any man they did assign, but still they were uneasy. But I wanted to get into combat more than anything in the world, so I kept after it.

In fact, it had been one continual struggle from the beginning of my Army career, and I felt that I had done pretty well to get overseas and to

gunnery school.

Two days after Pearl Harbor, my brother Fred and I drove 150 miles to Grand Island, Nebraska, to enlist in the Army Air Forces. We were held up for nearly a month because of all the confusion and misunderstanding in Army camps at that time. For the first time in our lives we found out what prejudice was.

I began to realize right then that I had a couple of strikes on me to begin with, and that I was going to be fighting two battles instead of one--against the Axis and against intolerance among my fellow-Americans.

Finally, after two more trips to Grand Island and three telephone calls, Fred and I were accepted at the recruiting station at North Platte, and sent to Sheppard Field, Texas, for basic training.

There was so much prejudice among the recruits there, that I wondered if it would always be like that; if I would ever be able to overcome it. Even now I would rather go through my bombing missions again than face that kind of prejudice.

My kid brother Fred could hardly stand it. He'd come back to the barracks at night and bury his head in his pillow and actually cry. We were not only away from home for the first time; but because of this discrimination, we were the loneliest two soldiers in the Army.

After basic I was sent to clerical school at Fort Logan, Colorado, and then to Barksdale Field near Shreveport, Louisiana, for permanent assigrment. Of the 40 clerks sent to Barksdale, I was the last one assigned. I spent about a month at Barksdale, most of it on K.P. You've all heard the Air Forces motto, "Keep 'Em Flying." Well, my motto was "Keep 'Em Peeling"; they called me "Keep 'Em Peeling" Kuroki in those days.

The most discouraging thing about that was the fact that I had no assurance that I ever would be assigned. About the only thing that kept me going were the wonderful letters of encouragement I received from home. My sister would write me that I had to realize that Americans were shocked by Pearl Harbor, and that many of them were unable to distinguish between Japanese and Americans of Japanese descent. I still was without a friend in the Army, though, and that made it bad. There was only one boy who was kind to me at all--he used to get my mail for me when I was on K. P. and couldn't get away.

I was finally assigned to a squadron in General Timberlake's bomber group, which had been formed at Barksdale and was ready to move to Fort Myers, Florida, for final training. A few days before we were to leave, the commanding officer of my squadron called me in and told me I wasn't going; and that I was to be transferred to another outfit.

That was about the worst news I had ever heard. I asked him why, and he said that he had nothing to do with it. He started asking me questions then--how I liked the Army, and so forth. I told him pretty bluntly about the prejudice I was encountering, and that I didn't even go into town because I couldn't enjoy a minute of it when I did. He seemed sympathetic enough, but he said there was nothing he could do to stop my being transferred.

But, my words must have had some effect, because the day before the group left, he called me back and told me to pack my bags, that I was going with them.

At Fort Myers I did clerical work for about three months. I gradually began to win over some of the soldiers, and the boy who used to get my mail for me at Barksdale became a good friend of mine. We were in a truck accident one day, and I was able to help him. After that we were inseparable.

When the group had finished training and was ready to go overseas, I was given orders, as I had been at Barksdale, transferring me out of my squadron. This was even worse than the time at Barksdale, because I really wanted to go overseas and had been counting on it for three months.

General Timberlake--he was then a colonel--was already up north with the air echelon of the group, so I couldn't see him. I went to see the squadron adjutant and begged him, with tears streaming down my face, to take me along. He said there was nothing he could do about it, that it wasn't because I was of Japanese descent. But he did agree to talk it over with the group adjutant, and in about an hour he came back with the good news that I would remain with the outfit. I was about the happiest guy in the world just then.

We shipped north right after that and sailed from New York on the last day of August 1942. Ours was the first Liberator group sent to the European theater. As soon as we had our base set up in England, I applied for combat duty. I had to beg for that too, but at least I was sent to gunnery school.

It wasn't much schooling--about a week, I guess--a lot different from the way it is now, when every crew member goes to school for months in this country. I really learned to shoot the hard way, in combat.

As a result of the recommendations of the armament officer, I was accepted on Major J. B. Epting's crew as an auxiliary member; we were to go out on a raid the next day, but it was cancelled because of the weather. About a week later I was permanently assigned to his crew. The next day we flew to Africa and my tour of duty began. Once again I'd received a break just in the nick of time.

We were glad to get away from the cold, fog, rain and mud of England. Boy, Africa seemed like heaven for the first two days. It was dry and warm and the sun was shining. It was interesting, too, at first. I met my first live Arab. The Arabs used to come out to the base peddling tangerines and oranges and eggs, foods we hadn't seen for months in England. I remember in London they were asking 18 shillings--about $3.50--for a pound of grapes; one of our boys even asked the vender if they had golden seeds in them.

One of our gunners made a deal with an Arab--a filthy barefoot old man dressed in something that looked like grandma's nightgown. The gunner told him he would trade the plane for six eggs delivered every day for six months. So every day the Arab would bring him six eggs. Then he would go over to the plane and pat it and smile, thinking of the day when it would be his. We wondered what he thought when we took off one day and didn't come back.

After the second night in Africa we weren't so sure it was an improvement on England. It started to rain and kept on raining until we finally

couldn't operate at all. We had no tents or barracks or any place to sleep. Some of the boys slept under the plane until it got too muddy. I picked the flight deck inside for myself, but gave it up so that Major Epting could sleep there. I slept in the top turret.

If you have any idea of the size of a top turret on a Liberator, you can imagine how comfortable I was. I had to sit up, and all night I would bump into switches which would snap on and wake me up. One night of that was enough for me.

We'd left England in such a hurry that we didn't have mess kits. All the time we were in French North Africa we ate our canned hash and hardtack out of sardine cans.

And the mud--I've never seen such gooey mud. Our group flew about three or four missions from that base and then the planes couldn't even get off the ground. They'd start to take off and sink into the mud all the way up to the belly, and then we'd have to unload the bombs, dig the ship out, reload and try again. It was a mess. After about 18 days we gave up and moved out of there.

From French North Africa we went to the Libyan desert, near Tobruk, not long after the Germans had surrendered it. Tobruk was the most desolate place I have ever seen; it was full of abandoned tanks and guns and broken buildings. Only a church had escaped complete destruction, and no living person dwelt in that city.

But as far as we were concerned, we were glad to get out of our mud-hole in North Africa, but not for long. We were in Libya three months. In all that time, we were able to take a bath only once, and that was when we were given leave to fly to an Egyptian city for that specific purpose. That was the only time we shaved, too; we must have looked like a convention of Rip Van Winkles before we left.

There were no laundry facilities; we were allowed only a pint of water a day for everything. This water we drew from a well, which we had to abandon after a while when we found some dead Germans in it.

We were at least 300 miles from any town, excepting the dead city of Tobruk. We had no entertainment of any kind out there on the desert; when we weren't on raids we just lay around in our tents, or took walks in the desert.

The most dismal Christmas eve of my life I spent on the Libyan desert. It was cold, and we didn't even have tents to sleep under. We slept in our clothes and didn't even take off our shoes. Our morale was certainly low that night, as we thought of the fun we could be having in the States, and of our families and friends back there. But it's things like that, as well as actually fighting together, that bring men close to one another, as close as brothers.

Our group was going on raids about every other day while we were in the desert, and they were all pretty rough. We bombed Rommel's shipping lines over and over at Bizerte, Tunis, Sfax, Sousse and Tripoli in Africa. Then we started in on Sicily and Italy.

We had some boys of Italian parentage flying with us, and whenever we took off to bomb Naples or Rome I'd kid them about bombing their honorable ancestors. "We're really going to make the spaghetti fly today," I'd say, and they'd retort that they couldn't wait to knock the rice out of my dishonorable ancestors.

Naples was always a rough target. It was the "flak city" of the Italian theater. The flak burst so thick and black you couldn't even see the planes a hundred yards behind you. Yet our raids over there were called spectacular examples of precision bombing.

We participated in the first American raid on Rome last July. It was the biggest surprise I'd had so far; we thought we were going to run into heavy opposition, and we were almost disappointed when we found hardly any.

We bombed Sicily and Southern Italy at altitudes of about 25,000 feet, and it really gets cold at that height. One time over Palermo it was 42 below zero. I froze two oxygen masks; after that I had to suck on the hose to get any oxygen.

Even at that height we could see our bombs breaking exactly on their targets, and as much as an hour after we had left the targets we could see the smoke rising from the fires we had caused.

It gave you a funny feeling; you couldn't help but think of the people being hurt down there. I wasn't particularly religious before the war, but I always said a prayer, and I know for sure that my pal Kettering, the radio operator, did too, for the innocent people we were destroying on raids like that.

But we were in no position to be sentimental about it. The people knew they were in danger, and they could have gotten out. Besides, we weren't fighting against individual people, but against ideas. It was Hitlerism or democracy, and we couldn't afford to let it be Hitlerism. And so, unfortunately, it was German and Italian lives or ours. That was the only way you could look at it.

It was a happy day when after three months of Libya, we received orders to return to England. We took off from Tobruk at midnight. There was no formation; the planes left at two-minute intervals, and each was on its own.

The next morning, instead of seeing daylight, we looked out over a blanket of clouds without any opening. We had had to go up to about 10,000 feet to get over the clouds, and now we couldn't go under them, for fear of crashing into mountains.

We were lost. The navigator could do nothing, and the radio operator, though he was working like mad, couldn't get his messages through because of the weather. Finally he got a message, but by that time we didn't have enough gas to get to the air field that had answered us. We'd already been up 11 hours and 20 minutes with a 10-hours' supply of gas. We expected to go down any minute.

The pilot called back that anyone who wanted to bail out could do so. Nobody did; I know I had so much faith in Major Epting's flying ablilty that I wouldn't leave until he did. All of a sudden, and it seemed like a miracle

to us who were tensely waiting for the crash, there was a tiny rift in the clouds. Epting didn't wait one second; he just dove right into it, and made a perfect landing in a valley that wasn't big enough to land a cub in safely.

We had just gotten out of the plane when a swarm of Arabs surrounded us. There must have been a hundred of them, and they were armed with rifles, spears, and some with clubs. When we saw them coming we debated whether we should shoot at them or try to talk to them. We decided to talk to them, but we couldn't understand them and they couldn't understand us.

They didn't hurt us, but they certainly weren't friendly. They took everything away from us--guns, wallets and everything we had in our pockets--and they wouldn't let us near the plane.

We had no idea where we were, but in a few minutes a Spanish officer came up and arrested us, and we found out that we had landed in Spanish Morocco. The officer marched all of us, our crew and the Arabs, into a native village about two miles away. The procession we made caused more excitement, I guess, than that village had had in its entire history.

The natives all thought I was Chinese, but Kettering, our radio operator, explained to the Spanish soldiers that I was Japanese American. That created quite a stir when it got around. Most of the people, both Spanish and Arabs, flatly refused to believe it, and later it took the American embassy to prove it to them.

In a few days we were flown to Spain in a German plane and interned in a mountain village. We thought we'd be there for the duration, but within two months, through methods I can't reveal, we were in England.

From England we bombed targets in Germany and began preparations for the raid on the Roumanian oil fields at Ploesti, preparations that were to last three months and take us back to the Libyan desert. In England our group practiced low-level bombing. We practice-bombed our own airfields, each plane having its own specific target. That way our bombardiers got accustomed to finding targets at low altitude.

After nearly a month in England we returned to Africa. This time our base was set up near the city of Bengasi in Libya. Here we had a complete dummy target of what we later learned were the Ploesti refineries.

Up to this time I had been a tail gunner, but now I was assigned to the top turret, the position I held throughout the rest of my missions. To celebrate the event, Kettering painted in big red letters across the glass dome of the turret these words: "Top Turret Gunner Most Honorable Son Sgt. Ben Kuroki." "Most Honorable Son" was what they usually called me--that or "Hara-kiri." They were a great bunch over there.

Every day that we weren't on missions, 175 Liberators loaded with practice bombs would take off in groups at regular intervals and bomb duplicates of the real target. On these practice raids, each group rather than each plane had its specific target, so that it was really a dress rehearsal of the actual raid. Some of the planes flew so low that they came back with their bomb-bay doors torn off. And we sure scared the daylights out of the natives; we had to dodge groups of Arabs and their camels all over that desert.

Despite the heat we had to do double work, because we had only a skeleton ground crew--our real base was still in England. We'd go up into 10 to 20-below-zero temperatures and then come back into 100-above heat. It was no wonder that a lot of the boys came down with colds.

We had fewer sandstorms and they didn't last as long as when we had been stationed near Tobruk. What really worried us were the poisonous sand-viper snakes and scorpions. The scorpions especially--big two-inch long devils with curving tails were thick as flies. We'd find them in our blankets and everywhere else. If you got stung by one of them, you really knew it; you'd be sick as a dog for at least a day.

The month preceding the Ploesti raid we were taking part in the invasion of Sicily, bombing Messina, Palermo and various airfields. It's unusual for heavy bombers to bomb airfields, but we were assigned that job so that it would be impossible for enemy fighter planes to take off from those fields and strafe our ground troops as they landed.

During all our practice for Ploesti we were intensely curious as to what our target was going to be. Rumors of all kinds were floating around, but no one thought it would be Ploesti because no one could imagine how we could carry enough gas to get there and back.

Our base was guarded by British anti-aircraft gunners, and we used to ask them what they thought about our flying so low. They said it was an advantage from the point of view of escaping the heavy anti-aircraft fire, but that we would be dead ducks for anything smaller than 40 millimeter cannon. Right then we began to think of the approaching raid as a "suicide" mission.

The last week in July every crew member in every group was restricted to the base until after the mission, but it was not until the day before we left that we were told the target was the Roumanian oil fields. That was news all right. You hardly ever hear of an oil field being bombed--the only other one I know of was in Burma. We were really surprised. There had been a couple of rumors that our target was to be Ploesti, but nobody had put any stock in them--it seemed too improbable.

We were briefed all that day and into the night. The American engineer who had constructed the Ploesti refineries talked to us; he knew the exact location of every refinery and every cracking and distilling plant. The information he gave us proved invaluable the next day. They showed us motion pictures which gave details of the individual targets of each group.

In the afternoon Major General Brereton, commanding general of the Ninth Air Force, came around in a staff car and talked to us for almost an hour. He said we were going on the most important and one of the most dangerous missions in the history of heavy bombardment, that it had been planned in Washington months before. He told us that Ploesti supplied one-third of all Germany's oil and nearly all of Italy's, that it was timed, furthermore, to cut Hitler's fuel supply as his divisions rushed to defend it against the coming Allied invasion.

When he finished, our group commander--not General Timberlake, who had just been promoted from colonel and was now a wing commander, but the new group commander--briefed us again, and went into minute details of the takeoff

the next morning. He tried to encourage us as much as possible.

"I'll get my damn ship over the target if it falls apart," he said.

He got his ship over the target all right--we were close behind him. And we saw it when it fell apart, flaming to the earth.

That afternoon before the raid he emphasized that nobody had to go who didn't want to; it was really a volunteer mission. No one declined, but we were all very tense. Someone had mentioned that even if all planes were lost it would be worth the price, and that started more talk about its being a suicide mission.

We didn't sleep very much that night, and there was none of the joking that usually went on among our crew. We tried hard to sleep, because we knew it would be a long trip and we had to be at our best, but you can imagine how easy it was.

The first sergeant blew the whistle at four in the morning. While we ate breakfast the ground crews, who had been working on the planes for the last two days, gave them a final checking over. Those planes were beautiful, parked wing to wing in a long line on the runway.

We took off at the crack of dawn. It was a perfect summer day, warm and balmy. The lead plane of the group started out, and the others followed at precise intervals until finally the whole group was in the sky in perfect formation. Our group joined other groups from nearby fields at pre-arranged places. It was all split-second timing.

We were keyed up. We knew it was going to be the biggest thing we had ever done, and we were determined it would be the best. It was the same with the ground crews; they had always taken great pride in the ships, but this time they had gone overboard to get them in perfect condition. They shared our excitement and anxiety, too.

From Bengasi we flew straight over the Mediterranean. It was very calm and blue that day. We were going along at about 5,000 feet when suddenly we saw one of the planes ahead take a straight nose-dive. It went down like a bullet, crashed in the water and exploded. For half an hour we could see the smoke from it. It gave us a haunting feeling, as of approaching disaster--we could see that not a man on that plane had a chance to escape.

A couple of hours after we left Bengasi, we were crossing the mountains of Italy, going up sometimes as high as 10,000 feet to get over them. Then the Adriatic and into Jugoslavia, through Bulgaria and across the Danube into Roumania.

Over the Danube valley, in Roumania, we went down to about 300 feet, so low that we could easily see people in the streets of Roumanian towns waving at us as we went over. They must have thought we were friendly bombers because we were flying so low. Or maybe they recognized the white star on our wings and were glad that we were coming.

About 10 miles from the target, we dropped to 50 feet, following the contours of the land, up over hills and down into valleys. Our pilot would

head straight for those hills, and every time I thought sure we'd crash right into them, but he would pull us up just in time, and just enough to get over the ridge, and then down into the next valley. Coming back we were flying part of the way at five and 10 feet off the ground, and some of the planes returned to base with tree tops and even cornstalks in their bomb-bays.

We had a very good pilot. He was our squadron leader, Lt. Col. K. O. Dessert, and his copilot was our regular pilot, Major Epting.

This was the 24th mission I had flown with Major Epting and the same crew, except for Dawley, the tail gunner who was hurt during our first raid. Our ship was named in Major Epting's honor; his home town is Tupelo, Mississippi, and so we called the plane "Tupelo Lass."

The major, who is 23 years old, is one of the best pilots I've ever seen. He pulled us out of a lot of tough spots when we thought we were gone.

And between Major Epting and Col. Dessert they got us through Ploesti without a scratch, but it was a miracle that they did.

We came into the oil fields at about 50 feet and went up to about 75 to bomb. The plane I was on was leading the last squadron of the second group over. Five miles from the target, heavy anti-aircraft started pounding us. When we saw the red flash of those guns we thought we'd never make it. We really started praying then. We figured that if they started shooting at us with the big guns at that distance, they would surely get us with smaller and more maneuverable batteries. We remembered the British anti-aircraft men who had said we'd be dead ducks for anything under a 40 millimeter cannon. At our height you could have brought a Liberator down with a shotgun.

Ploesti was wrapped in a smoke screen which made it very difficult to find the targets. When we got over, the refineries were already blazing from the bombs and guns of the planes ahead of us.

Red tracers from the small ground guns had been zig-zagging all around us for half a mile or more, and the guns themselves were sending up terrific barrages. Just as we hit the target, gas tanks started exploding. One 10,000 gallon tank blew up right in front of us, shooting pillars of flaming gas 500 feet in the air. It was like a nightmare. We couldn't believe our eyes when we saw that blazing tank high above us. The pilot had to swerve sharply to the right to avoid what was really a cloud of fire. It was so hot it felt as though we were flying through a furnace.

The worst I saw, though, was the plane to the right of us. Light flak must have hit the gas, because all of a sudden it was burning from one end to the other. It sank right down, as though no power on earth could hold it in the air for even a second. When it hit the ground it exploded.

Every man on that ship was a friend of mine, and I knew the position each was flying. I'd seen planes go down before, but always from a high altitude, and then you don't see the crash. This way it seemed I could reach out and touch those men.

The most pitiful thing was that ship's co-pilot. He was an 18-year-old kid who'd lied about his age to get into aviation cadet training. We always

called him Junior. When our regular co-pilot, who was firing the right waist gun that day, saw Junior's ship go down, he let loose with his gun like a crazy man. Junior was his best friend.

Then we saw flak hit our group commander's plane. In a second it was burning from the bomb-bays back. He pulled it up as high as he could get it; it was fantastic to see that blazing Liberator climbing straight up. As soon as he started climbing, one man jumped out, and when he could get it no higher, two more came out. Every one of us knew he had pulled it up in order to give those men a chance. Then, knowing he was done for, he deliberately dove it into the highest building in Ploesti. The instant he hit, his ship exploded.

We left Ploesti a ruin. Huge clouds of smoke and fire billowed from the ground as we pulled away from the target. It was like a war movie, seeing those masses of flames rolling toward you, and white flashes of 20-millimeter cannon-fire bursting alongside of you.

We got back to camp 13 hours after we had taken off. It was the longest bombing mission ever flown, and that explains why it was necessary to do it at low altitude. If we had bombed at the usual level, we would never have had enough gas to get back.

It was also the most dangerous mission in the history of heavy bombardment, ranking as a battle in itself. It is officially regarded not as the Ploesti raid but as "the battle of Ploesti."

There was no line at the mess hall that night. Even though we were starved, we couldn't eat when we thought of the men that should have been standing in line and weren't.

And even though we were dead tired, we couldn't sleep. I know I didn't sleep for several nights after that. The ground crews kept the runway lights on all night, and many of them stayed up until morning, though they knew the planes they had worked so hard on and their friends, the men who flew them, weren't coming back.

The next morning was rough, too. We always got up at six o'clock, and there was always a lot of yelling back and forth between the tents--sometimes we'd throw rocks at each other's tents. The only yelling we heard that morning was our co-pilot calling for his friend Junior, although he had seen him go down in flames the day before.

Ploesti was my 24th mission. For most of the crew it was the 25th; in other words, it completed their tour of duty for them. I was assigned to another crew for my last mission.

For a long time I had been thinking about volunteering for an extra five missions. I wanted to do that for my kid brother; he wasn't overseas then. The day after my 25th, I asked my commanding officer if I could go on five more. He said I should go home; in fact, there were orders out already for me to do so, and a plane ticket to the States waiting for me. But he finally gave me permission, and I stayed with the crew I had flown with on what was supposed to be my last raid.

It took me three months to get those five missions in, the weather was so bad. And then when I came home it was by banana boat and not airplane. I was sure burned up about that.

It was at this time that I flew with the only full-blooded American Indian pilot in the European theater; everybody called him "Chief", but his name was Homer Moran, and he was from South Dakota. Four of those extra five missions I flew from England over Germany.

I nearly got it on the 30th mission, my last one. We were over Munster, in Germany, and a shell exploded right above the glass dome of my top turret. It smashed the dome, ripped my helmet off, smashed my goggles and interphone. The concussion threw me back against the seat, but I didn't get a scratch. I thought the ship had blown apart, the noise of that explosion was so loud. I passed out, because my oxygen mask had been torn off, but the radio operator and the engineer pulled me out of the turret and fixed me up with an emergency mask.

Things like that aren't explained just by luck. I must have had a guardian angel flying with me that time and on the other missions, too. They say there are no atheists in foxholes; I can tell you for sure there are none in heavy bombers either.

I left England the first of December. They wanted me to stay over there, with my outfit, as chief clerk in operations, but from the beginning I have felt my combat career would not be over until I had fought in the South Pacific, and so I asked to come home for a brief rest and then be assigned to a Liberator group in the South Pacific.

It was December 7, two years to the day after Pearl Harbor, when our ship reached New York. I thought I was a pretty tough sergeant, but when I saw the Statue of Liberty and the sunlight catching those tall buildings, I damn near cried. I knew I had come home, and I felt so lucky to have gotten through all those bombing missions without a scratch that I said a prayer of thankfulness as I leaned against the rail. I only wished that all my buddies could have come home too.

I spoke earlier of having two battles to fight--against the Axis and against intolerance. They are really the same battle, I think, for we will have lost the war if our military victory is not followed by a better understanding among peoples.

I certainly don't propose to defend Japan. When I visit Tokyo it will be in a Liberator bomber. But I do believe that loyal Americans of Japanese descent are entitled to the democratic rights which Jefferson propounded, Washington fought for and Lincoln died for.

In my own case, I have almost won the battle against intolerance; I have many close friends, in the Army now--my best friends, as I am theirs--where two years ago I had none. But I have by no means completely won that battle. Especially now, after the widespread publicity given the recent atrocity stories, I find prejudice once again directed against me, and neither my uniform nor the medals which are visible proof of what I have been through, have been able to stop it. I don't know for sure that is safe for me to walk

the streets of my own country.

All this is disappointing, not so much to me personally any more, but rather with reference to my fight against intolerance. I had thought that after Ploesti and 29 other missions so rough it was just short of a miracle I got through them, I wouldn't have to fight for acceptance among my own people all over again.

In most cases, I don't, and to those few who help breed fascism in America by spreading such prejudice, I can only reply in the words of the Japanese American creed; "Although some individuals may discriminate against me, I shall never become bitter or lose faith, for I know that such persons are not representative of the majority of the American people."

The people who wrote that creed are the thousands of Japanese Americans whom certain groups want deported immediately. These Japanese Americans have spent their lives proving their loyalty to the United States, as their sons and brothers are proving it now on the bloody battlefield of Italy. It is for them, in the solemn hope that they will be treated justly rather than with hysterical passion, that I speak today.

THESE ARE OUR PARENTS

By George Morimitsu

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My parents are living today in one of the relocation camps in the American West. Like the other issei, or first generation of Japanese who came to the United States during the years of greatest migration, they had lived a life of unceasing toil and struggle, in a land which did not understand them but which, they hoped, would provide for their children all the advantages that they had been denied.

There is little that I know of their past. My only connecting link with it would be through the language that we supposedly speak in common. But this we lack and have always lacked since the years we children started learning English at grade school. My mother tongue is English, and theirs Japanese. We have never engaged in long talks as other families do, because we have never understood each other well.

THE AUTHOR

George Morimitsu, who was born in Sacramento, California, writes: "I was raised in the provincial environment of the Japanese community. After encountering the usual difficulties of the nisei in getting decent jobs, I became a state civil service worker, and was so employed before I entered the Army." Corporal Morimitsu has been in training with the Japanese-American Combat Team at Camp Shelby, Mississippi.

Of my father's past, all I know is what I have heard from my mother at scattered intervals. He came to California from Hawaii at an early age, perhaps when he was twenty. He worked as a domestic in a San Francisco family while going to grammar school, one of that breed of issei immigrants known as "Japanese schoolboys." I learned of the hardships he had endured, going to school on a breakfast that consisted of a slice of bread and a cup of coffee. A lone hardboiled egg on Sunday. And for spending money, a fifty cent piece once a month. All this my mother told me when I was a young boy, to emphasize how fortunate I was in getting an education on a full stomach. Being a woman with a good sense of humor, she laughed with me in describing the early-day tribulations of my father.

About my mother, I know just as little. We used to have an old snapshot of her holding an American baby in her arms, so I gathered that she had worked for a family when she had first come to America.

Once my sister asked her how she had happened to marry Father. We had a mutual suspicion that she was one of the notorious picture brides of pre-exclusion days. My mother laughed at this frank question. But she explained how she had come to marry Father. They had been neighbors in the province of Hiroshima in Japan, but neither had known the other well. However, my mother's aunt and uncle, who were already in California, also knew my father and his parents. So when these relatives of my mother decided that my father should get a wife for himself, now that he was working steadily in a grocery store, they submitted the proposition to my mother's parents in Japan. My mother consented to the arrangement, and so she came to California to become a wife.

There is little else I know about my parents' lives prior to their marriage. I have never been in Japan, so I cannot even visualize the province of Hiroshima where my parents and their parents and their families from remote times had lived. Once I heard my mother say in a moment of reminiscence that her family in Japan had included great landowners and village officials. What other personalities ran in the family line, I do not know. For my brother, my sisters and myself, our family line begins in America.

True, we have had some of the culture of Japan brought into our household. We have eaten Japanese food daily as well as stew and hash, and for Boys' Day on the Japanese calendar my mother has hung colored tissue carps from the eave of our roof to give my brother and myself the strength of carp, and on New Year's Day, the traditional holiday of the Japanese, we have feasted on sushi and baked rock cod and gelatin cakes, together with many other delicacies made of rice and fish and bamboo sprouts. Then again, my father has often come home laden with Japanese records which we spent pleasant hours playing on the phonograph. We are a music-loving family, and we enjoyed listening to the minor-keyed refrains of a Japanese tenor and the jumpy-rhythmed beat of a modern orchestra playing popular Japanese songs that showed the influence of occidental music.

But the Japanese vernacular papers my parents read in the evening were meaningless jumbles of type to us. And the Japanese novel my mother spoke of so highly was but so many pages of unintelligible characters. The culture of my parents' homeland ended with the songs we heard and the foods we ate and the holidays my parents observed.

When we children were still young, my mother taught classes in a Japanese language school to augment the income of my father as a produce commission merchant. Then we moved to the city of Sacramento, where my father had bought a restaurant in the lower end. My mother helped in the kitchen to save the wages that would have gone to another cook.

The long hours of work required to keep the restaurant operating daily kept to a minimum the amount of attention my parents could possibly give to the family. But we were fed and clothed and sent to school through the many years that we lived in the back rooms of the restaurant, during which we made the transition from childhood to youth. When the depression slowly settled upon the nation, it paralyzed the business. My father sought work elsewhere to help pay our living expenses while my mother continued to run the restaurant alone. But it was dying a slow death. Finally, one day, while I was still a

senior in high school, we were told the bank could not extend the rent for even another week.

That night I told my mother I was going to quit school. For weeks I had seen the worried expression on her face, though she had never disclosed her fear to any of us, but now I felt that I could stand it no longer. Education became secondary in my mind. I told her I would go out and pick grapes in a vineyard down the river for the few weeks of the season that still remained.

When I said that Mother became angry. She scolded me as though I were but a child again.

She said that I would continue with my education, no matter what happened to the restaurant. With her, she told me then, the education of her children meant more than anything else in her life. That night, when I went to bed, I cried silently into my pillow.

I cannot say that all the issei had the same attitude as had my mother. Some of my acquaintances did not go far in school because their parents did not believe in the value of an education. But the issei with foresight were to sacrifice their own and even their family's comforts to provide an adequate schooling for their children.

Perhaps they realized how badly they themselves lacked the training for which they had never had the time. Perhaps it was a sublimation of their own youthful hopes into the persons of their children. Or perhaps they wanted their children to get all the preparation they could for the struggle that awaited them in a society where prejudice would discriminate against all but the best of the nisei.

This was the attutude of my mother's aunt and uncle. They managed to send two boys and the eldest of the girls to the state university, and the other three girls through hign school. They were both getting old, and their faces were weather-roughened and their backs were bent from the years of stoop labor, but they worked in their fifteen-acre farm from morning till night, as far back as I can remember.

For neighbors my great-aunt and uncle had a poverty-stricken Japanese family that scratched out a

living from a small strip of land adjoining their farm. When the children of these neighbors were young, the rows of vegetables there used to be obscured in spots by the forests of weeds that choked the farm. My cousins and I used to make humorous comments about this pathetic piece of land that supported the farmer and his many children. We were young then, and our humor had the cruel frankness inherent in our nature. We watched the neighbors' children going to school in their broken-down Model T Ford, and we saw them growing up. As they grew older the appearance of the farm next to my great-uncle's began to improve, for the children were able to do much of the work in the field that had formerly been done by the farmer and his wife alone. The produce they sold at the market was just enough to keep the family in clothes and food and the children in school, for much of their water bill was paid by my great-uncle; and they had no horse with which to plow the field but had to borrow one from their neighbors. When the eldest son graduated from high school, my great-uncle heaved a sigh of relief that his impoverished neighbors had managed to eke out a decent education for one of their children. But to his surprise he learned that the boy was going to enter college at the end of the summer. This boy wanted to be an electrical engineer. The parents grubbed out their meager existence and sent what little money was left to their son for his university expenses, part of which he earned himself by working in a home for his board and room. Then their eldest daughter graduated from high school. And she too was sent away, to a nursing school. My great-uncle and his wife could not understand that this poverty-stricken farmer couple were driven by the same ambition that drove them themselves to send three of their children through the university, the last during the worst years of the depression. It was the same ambition that drove my mother to keep me in school when we were about to be evicted from the restaurant that was both our home and our source of livelihood.

The determination of the issei to give their children the chances denied them never swerved in the face of almost insurmountable obstacles. They suffered and they gloried in the sacrifices they made. They sweated and they slaved without thoughts of personal betterment, of good clothes, homes, cars, so long as

they had before their eyes the welfare of their children.

This was the spirit that possessed the immigrant Japanese. They lived in the hopes of their children. Some were disappointed. They could not all see their ambitions fulfilled, for not all the nisei were capable of taking advantage of the opportunities presented them, and not all had the strength of character the nature of the changing world demanded. Lastly, not all the nisei showed gratitude for the sacrifices their parents had made.

The barrier of language difference in most families kept the children apart from their parents, the cleavage growing wider and wider with the passing of years. The tendency of the issei to cling to the customs of the Japanese also provided a point of friction between them and their Americanized offspring, even when the cause of the friction bore no relation at all to these customs.

Such was the case in my family. When I was still a boy, dependent upon my parents for my food and clothing and education, I obeyed their advice without stopping to question it. But after I had finished with my schooling and gone to work earning a living for myself and the family, the changes that had been coming over me slowly but inexorably, broke out at intermittent intervals in the form of bitter protestations about the way I wanted to live my life. I couldn't see why my mother wanted to know where I went at nights, for I felt that I was old enough to take care of myself. I thought in my blinded moments of anger that it was the Japanese in her that prompted her to mind my affairs so constantly. Everything that she or my father did to irritate me was laid to their Japanese heritage, in my irrational way of thinking. I could not realize that they were merely asking questions that any mother and father would ask, no matter what their racial origin. Sometimes I concluded that they were stupid because they could not understand the conventions of American society.

It was this barrier of language that left me frustrated so often, as when I wanted to explain an intricate subject to my mother and would find myself without words to say it in a way that she would understand. After such an incident I would suddenly break off and say that she wouldn't understand anyway. It was a cruel thing for me to say, yet I said this not once but many times. No, my attitude said, you are Japanese and I am American. You wouldn't understand. Skip it.

This callow attitude was one that existed commonly among the nisei. Reared in an American environment, their speech, dress, customs, ideals, all American, they had acquired with the years a certain disdain for things Japanese. And their aged parents represented all that was Japanese, all that linked the nisei themselves with their alien heritage. Sometimes a girl eloped with some one she loved rather than marry the man of her parents' choice. Sometimes a headstrong nisei broke away from his family to avoid undue parental influence. These occurrences took place in families where the parents still maintained a strong hold over their children, in accordance with the age-old custom of the Japanese family rule.

But many of the issei acquired through their children some of the ideals and customs of the country. They picked up in fragments the history of the country, and they began quoting to their own children the words of famous Americans, garnered from their readings in Japanese publications and from conversations with Americanized issei who understood to a certain extent the language and the ideals of the land.

I cannot say that they have ever lost any of the substance of their Japanese upbringing, because I have never completely understood the issei. It is commonly understood that Emperor worship is almost a religion in itself in Japan. As a child I was told by my mother that the Emperor was something like a God, and I grew up in childhood with the impression that he was in fact like a God, that he was untouchable. But I began to pick up here and there in my search for knowledge items in American papers and magazines that mentioned in a somewhat dubious vein the sacred origin of the Emperor. Still I did not question the plausibility of the legend before my parents, because it never occurred to me to do so. However, one day a few years ago, I came upon the subject while reading

the evening papers, and I broached this question to my mother: "Do you really believe that the Emperor is a God?"

She laughed at this forthright query and did not answer immediately. But I pressed her for the answer, and she said, "Oh, yes."

She smiled, like one who had long ago told a child a legendary tale and, suddenly confronted by the grown son with his accumulation of knowledge, is forced to admit her belief in the story.

I wondered then how a person in Japan would have replied to that question, and came to the single conclusion that I should have been rebuked for even thinking of the subject. But my mother had laughed and been amused, perhaps at my impertinence but more likely, I thought, at the nature of my question.

Gradually, as the issei grew older and the nisei assumed their place as the breadwinners of the family, the older generation began taking a secondary role in their business and in their home. The words of the eldest son or daughter acquired more importance, and the issei found themselves accepting more and more the ways of their children. Their homes began to take on the appearance of American homes, with decorations and furnishings arranged in the nisei taste. At the coaxing of their children they began to dress with more style, like American men and women. They listened to their children's discussion of the current books and evinced interest in the plight of the dust-bowl farmers. Through their children's open eyes they were beginning to understand for the first time the America that lay beyond the confines of their little community. They had worked hard these many years, and their grown children were pleading with them to rest. The issei were old. There remained for them but a few more years of existence.

Thus the issei were situated when the war came and shortly after, the evacuation into relocation camps. Uprooted from their homes just as they were preparing to rest for the few years that remained, they have begun the final stage of their lifetime in the New World in one-room barrack apartments huddled within a barbed-wire fence over the wastelands of the inland states.

Theirs has been a hard struggle in an unfriendly environment. They are tired and care little what happens next. A relocation camp somewhere on a wind-swept plain is as good as anywhere else to spend the next few years. For some of them the accumulated wounds of the years have left a bitterness in their hearts. Some have expressed a desire to repatriate to their old homeland, even though their American-born children should stay in this country. Even though it means that they must start life all over again at their advanced age in a land they have not seen for perhaps thirty or forty years, whose familiar landmarks will have vanished long decades ago.

For most of them, though, there is nothing to do but to remain in America after the war. They realize that they cannot expect to start all over again, working as day laborers and domestics as they once worked, back in another generation. Their only hope for the future remains with their children, the nisei.

Meanwhile the old people who are qualified for work do simple chores in the relocation camps. Those who are too old and the women who are not adapted for the work that is available spend their time keeping busy around the apartments.

Some are going to night classes, to classes in English. My own mother is learning English. Now, for the first time, she has the spare hours to learn the language of her children, the lack of understanding of which has for so long stood as a barrier between her and myself and my brother and sisters.

The first letter she had ever written to me came a few months ago, scrawled in childish English. Just a few simple sentences any beginner in English would compose. At the bottom was a postscript by my youngest sister, saying, "Mom took 4 hours to write this."

I laughed when I read this, yet I also pictured how pathetic my mother must have seemed, so earnestly attempting to learn this difficult language in her old age.

The next letter I received from her came three months later.

"Dear George," it began. "How are you? I can imagine how hard you are working. I wish I were there to help something.

"Thank you very much for the Christmas Present the rugs and candies. I like the rugs because they are just right. They match my room. I like the colors in the rugs. I am using them now because it is very cold every day.

"I am learning to read and write English first time I did not like to read and write English, because it was very hard for me. Now I know a little more English.

"Please take good care of yourself.

Affectionately,

Your Mother."

When I read this, I said to myself, "Mom has crossed the barrier." And I felt ashamed that she had been the one to do it instead of me.

Now the best years of the issei lie behind them, expended in the cultivation of the farms of California, Oregon and Washington and part of the Mountain States. From the swamps of the San Joaquin delta their labor created a fertile potato land, from the bare vineyards of Florin their labor created a rich strawberry-producing country, from the sun-baked wastes of Imperial Valley their labor created the wealthy early vegetable and melon-growing farmlands. The issei have not imprinted upon the American scene a culture in the form of the arts, because they have been too occupied with the mean struggle of making a living, but the rich vegetable-growing lands of the Pacific Coast and Mountain States verdantly remain as mute evidence of their contribution toward the enrichment of this nation.

The remaining years can lie nownere for them but in America. For this is their home. This is their children's home. And upon their children, the nisei, rest the long-hoped-for dreams of the issei, the pioneers who came to America seeking wealth, adventure, education, and found instead sweat, a home and a Japanese-American family.

EXCERPT FROM TALK GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR JOSEPH C. GREW AT NEW YORK ON NOVEMBER 18 BEFORE THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE HOLLAND SOCIETY

"In a few moments I shall speak briefly about that other enemy. But first, let me make an appeal. I realize that this will be a digression from my train of thought, but I do wish, if only for a moment, to dwell on another subject in which I am deeply interested, and I venture to hope that I may interest you gentlemen also.

"One of the proudest achievements of our country is our assimilation of many different races within our borders. We take well-justified pride in the term "melting pot" as applied to our nation. The existence and purpose and membership of the Holland Society are a living testimonial to that great principle, and it is especially interesting to note that even three centuries ago, when the Dutch West India Company had extended to all friendly European countries the privilege of trading with the then province of New Amsterdam, the town of New Amsterdam rapidly assumed the cosmopolitan character for which it has ever since been noted and that according to contemporary reports, eighteen languages were spoken among its 400 or 500 inhabitants in 1643.

"The point I wish to make is this. In time of war, blind prejudice is always rampant. In the last war I remember than even loyal Americans with German names were all too often looked at askance. That bigotry fortunately does not exist today, but it does exist today among a large proportion of our fellow countrymen with regard to American citizens of Japanese descent. In fact many, perhaps most, of our compatriots refer to those fellow-citizens of ours quite indiscriminately as "Japs". In reading the many letters I receive from all over the country on that subject I very seldom know whether the writer is referring to Americans or to outright enemy aliens. There is, or should be, a great difference there.

"In time of war, especially, we must take every proper step to protect our country from hostile acts, especially from espionage or sabotage, within our gates. We have competent official authorities to attend to that consideration, and they are attending to it, constantly and effectively. I do know that like the Americans of German descent, the overwhelming majority of Americans of Japanese origin wish to be and are wholly loyal to the United States, and not only that, but they wish to prove that loyalty in service to their native land. Relman Morin, of the Associated Press, reports from the Fifth Army in Italy that the first unit of American-born Japanese troops went into combat smiling with satisfaction as if they were going to a baseball game; their motto is "Remember Pearl Harbor", and their commander said that he wouldn't trade his command for any other in the Army. Their officers, said Morin, are unanimously enthusiastic about the quality and spirit of those men and said they never had seen any troops

train harder and more assiduously and never had any doubt as to what to expect of them in combat. A German prisoner was brought past their encampment one day; he gaped with surprise when he saw their faces and asked if they were Japanese. An interpreter explained that they were Americans of Japanese parentage. The German shook his head in wonder and said: "Ach; that's American." There are camps in our country today engaged exclusively in training these men for military service. I have met and talked to them. Their officers are proud of their charges.

"What I wish to say is merely this. Those Americans of Japanese descent have grown up in our country, in our democratic atmosphere. Most of them have never known anything else. Among those few who have been to Japan, most of them could not stand the life there and soon returned to the United States. The overwhelming majority of those men want to be loyal to us, and, perhaps surprisingly, the few who don't want to be loyal to us often say so openly. It does not make for loyalty to be constantly under suspicion when grounds for suspicion are absent. I have too great a belief in the sanctity of American citizenship to want to see those Americans of Japanese descent penalized and alienated through blind prejudice. I want to see them given a square deal. I want to see them treated as we rightly treat all other American citizens regardless of their racial origin - with respect and support, unless or until they have proved themselves unworthy of respect and support. That fundamental principle should apply all along the line - to every citizen of the United States of America."