

## WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE?

Regardless of the outcome of the war, we are going to have to continue to live in a world in which the white race is in the *minority*. As colored peoples are reproducing themselves at a higher rate, whites will become more of a minority. Within our own country, we are going to have to live with fellow citizens who are Jewish, Negro, Oriental. Racial understanding and tolerance is practical common sense. Racial discrimination is a luxury we cannot afford.

As long as the present detention of the Japanese continues, we are sowing seeds which are leading to a bitter harvest. Before the war, the Japanese-Americans were model citizens—close-knit family life, low delinquency, brilliant records as students. Concentration camp life is dashing their hopes for the future, and the abnormal living with its lack of privacy is resulting in a breaking of family ties, and instances of lowering morals, gambling, petty larceny and cynicism.

No matter how good conditions in the Centers may become, the segregation of an entire racial group is recreating in the Japanese-Americans a racial consciousness they had long sought to avoid. Two-fifths of the citizens are children 15 or younger, yet we are forcing them to grow up divorced from Caucasian children and American life. While China, India, Burma and Africa are watching America's attitude on racism, we are creating in many of our Japanese-Americans the psychology typical of many Negroes: hopelessness, distrust of white men, bitterness.

Not less serious is the attitude of citizens outside the camps. The continued detention is making much of the American public assume that these innocent victims of war are "enemies of our country." Hatred and suspicion are double-edged weapons, and what we breed in war will live in time of peace.

The United States is engaged in a war which President Roosevelt calls a defense of "liberty, decency, justice." It is no time to avoid dealing with injustice at home, especially when that injustice will have results which will so directly condition the post-war world.



What's going to happen to me?

## WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

(1) The February 19 Executive Order of President Roosevelt (#9066), authorizing the War Department to designate areas "from which any or all persons may be excluded" should be modified to bring it within the spirit and practice of democracy.

(2) *Citizens* now in detention should be allowed to leave the Centers if they wish to resettle voluntarily except where the Government brings specific charges against an individual in the Civil Courts.

(3) *Enemy aliens* of Japanese ancestry should receive the same treatment as other enemy aliens and not be regarded as a racial minority. The increasingly liberal policy of Great Britain toward enemy aliens is to be commended; and by setting up public civilian hearing boards, the United States should adopt the British system of classifying enemy aliens and detaining only the dangerous.

(4) The government of the United States is morally obligated to provide economic restitution for the losses suffered by the Japanese. Those who have lost farms, businesses, or homes should be given the means to regain them.

(5) Adequate protection for Japanese in civilian life can and must be given by Federal, state, and local agencies.

It is clear that in order to gain these ends prompt and effective action must be taken to check the dangerous trend of public opinion regarding Americans of Japanese ancestry. It is suggested that the matter is of sufficient urgency to require the intervention of President Roosevelt and other high public officials on behalf of the Japanese-Americans. Every church, labor union, group, and private individual can help in this effort to diminish a racial intolerance which directly threatens our democracy.

Those living near one of the Japanese detention camps or knowing some of the internees personally can render a very real service by helping to provide the immediate needs of the camps for recreational and educational material, and by keeping in close touch with their friends.

## FOR FURTHER INFORMATION . . .

. . . the reader is referred to the Fourth Interim Report of the Congressional Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, Rep. John H. Tolan (Calif.), chairman. This may be obtained from your Representative in Congress. A complete bibliography for study of the problem may be had by writing the Berkeley address below.

Additional copies of this pamphlet are available at 5¢ each, 8 for 25¢, \$2 per hundred, from Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, Calif., or 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

## A Letter to President Roosevelt

from the Post War World Council, signed by hundreds of Americans, after acknowledging the difficulties of the situation, went on to say:

"We have seen no adequate evidence to convince us that an order giving complete power to the Secretary of War . . . to exclude from designated areas all citizens, or to restrict their actions in any way he sees fit, is either constitutional or democratic.

"It goes without saying that we fully support all necessary measures of counter-espionage for the detection and punishment of spies and traitors. But the overwhelming number of victims of the present military orders are in no sense spies or traitors. Our deep desire is for a rescinding of your order which is so at variance with democracy and the American tradition.

"The public opinion which prompted and supported your order seems, on the basis of the evidence submitted to the Total Committee and from other reliable statements, to have been borne in large part of ancient racial prejudices, greed for the land the Japanese have developed, and a popular hysteria inflamed by stories of Japanese sabotage and disloyalty in Hawaii. The truth of the latter has been formally denied . . . .

"To grant to Italian and German aliens a right denied to American citizens of Japanese origin is a type of race discrimination for which there is no ethical justification. . . . The whole process, we believe, is of itself a blow to our democracy and will gravely affect our reputation for racial fair play among the nations of the world. It is the type of discrimination which, throughout most of Asia, will greatly strengthen the hands of our enemies."

## AMONG THOSE SIGNING this letter were:

John Dewey  
Reinhold Niebuhr  
Norman Thomas

Clarence E. Pickett  
Harry Emerson Fosdick  
Oswald Garrison Villard



Over 100,000 residents of Japanese ancestry like these have been taken from homes and jobs without trial or hearing, put in detention camps. Seven out of every 11 are American citizens.

## AMERICAN REFUGEES

*If we do not extend humanity's kindnesses 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 the forty-eight states and force them into concentration camps without hearing or charge of misconduct, then we are tearing down the whole American system.—RALPH L. CARR, Governor of Colorado.*

## THE JAPANESE ON THE WEST COAST

Forming about 1% of the population of the Pacific Coast states, there were some 112,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living there in 1940. Over 70,000 were American citizens. They had an extremely low delinquency rate, very few persons on relief, and a birth rate slightly lower than the average for the population as a whole.<sup>1</sup> The largest number were farmers, laborers, or workers in domestic and personal service. Over one-fourth of all Japanese in the United States lived in Los Angeles county, where they formed less than 1% of that county's population.

The first Japanese coming to our shores were shipwrecked sailors or occasional stowaways in the middle of the last century; the largest number of immigrants came in the decade following 1900. At no time has the total number of Japanese in this country been more than a fraction of 1% of the total population.

Anti-Chinese agitation made California race-conscious, and an attack upon 15 Japanese cobblers in San Francisco in 1890 marked the beginning of an anti-Japanese prejudice present in the life of the West ever since. By 1900, mass meetings were urging their exclusion; Japanese school children in San Francisco were segregated; the California legislature had 17 anti-Japanese bills in 1909, some of which failed only after Theodore Roosevelt's direct intervention. The Japanese Exclusion League and the economically motivated Anti-Jap Laundry League fanned race prejudice and obtained discriminatory Alien Land laws which prevented alien Japanese from owning or operating agricultural land. Although only 185 Japanese a year would have been admitted under the quota system, race-conscious Americans forced passage in 1924 of a clause barring any Japanese immigrants.

Nor did feeling against the Japanese die after exclusion. Mobs in Oregon and Arizona forced them out of homes and jobs; a "committee of 1000" in Southern California worked to boycott all things Japanese; in the middle-thirties the Hearst press blamed the nation's slow recovery on the Orientals; attempts were made to get their land. Like the Negro, Chinese and Jew, the young Japanese-American has always had to buck this irrational race prejudice, and it is against this sordid background that all persons with Japanese blood have been evacuated, most of them held behind barbed-wire fences.

## ARE THESE EVACUEES LOYAL TO THIS COUNTRY?

The Congressional Committee investigating National Defense Migration, chaired by Representative John Tolan, reports: "We cannot doubt, and everyone is agreed, that the majority of Japanese citizens and aliens are loyal to this country." Edward J. Ennis, director of the Alien Enemy

<sup>1</sup>Sources of statements in this pamphlet may be obtained by writing Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, Calif. Most of the pamphlet is based on the Fourth Interim Report, Congressional Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, (May, 1942)

## "WE MUST REMEMBER WHAT WE ARE DEFENDING . . . ."—Roosevelt

Control Unit in Washington, wrote on May 2: "The loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the persons affected has not been seriously questioned by informed persons."

## HAVE OUR JAPANESE COMMITTED SABOTAGE?

In view of the widespread rumors, the following facts are important:

*The War Department has received no information of sabotage committed by Japanese during the attack on Pearl Harbor.* (March 30)

—Secretary of War Stimson.

*Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has informed me that there was no sabotage committed there (Hawaii) prior to December 7, on December 7, or subsequent to that time.* (April 20)

—Assistant Attorney General Rowe.

*. . . there were no acts of sabotage committed in the City and County of Honolulu December 7, nor have there been acts of sabotage reported to the Police Department since that date.* (March 19)

—Honolulu Chief of Police Gabrielson.

*. . . we have had no sabotage and no fifth column activities in this state (California) since the beginning of the war.* (February 21)

—California Attorney General Warren.

## HOW MUCH ECONOMIC LOSS IS INVOLVED?

The evacuation forced sacrifice sales of business stocks, professional equipment, household supplies, nursery and farm products, and selfish interests gained at their expense. The Japanese lost at least 50% of their assets, the loss running into the tens of millions. The American nation lost millions of dollars worth of vegetables, the efforts of thousands of loyal, skilled citizens. One Yakima Valley farmer said: "The white farmer would have more land if he could get rid of the Japanese." Said one grower-shipper: "We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons. We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown men. And we don't want them back when the war ends, either."

## HOW DOES EVACUATION AFFECT AMERICA'S WAR EFFORT?

*Discrimination against aliens "engenders the very distrust and disunity on which our enemies are counting to defeat us. Remember the Nazi technique: 'Pit race against race, religion against religion, prejudice against prejudice. Divide and conquer.' We must not let that happen here. We must remember what we are defending: liberty, decency, justice."* (January 2, 1942)

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Detention of the Japanese *does* pit race against race; it *does* divide, creating well-founded suspicions among Negroes, Chinese, Jews. There is no liberty or justice in imprisoning American citizens without trial or charge of misconduct. The Atlantic Charter pledges America to racial justice. Will China, India, Burma, Africa, La in America—all watching our attitude towards colored peoples—believe our statements if our actions belie them? Axis propaganda is using the evacuation and continued detention to try to show other races that America's talk of racial justice is insincere.

## WHAT ABOUT LABOR STANDARDS?

The interned Japanese are being put to work in a War Relocation Work Corps which they virtually have to join, for able-bodied adults who refuse are in danger of being considered disloyal, charged for board and room. Enlistees are obligated:

1. To serve for the duration.
2. To faithfully perform all tasks assigned him.
3. To allow himself to be moved from place to place.
4. To accept in full payment such cash and other allowances as may be provided in the future.
5. While medical facilities are provided, no injury received or disease contacted can be made the base of any claim against the United States.
6. Any infraction of the rules or regulations or any act or utterance disloyal to the United States renders him liable to trial and suitable punishment.

These labor conditions represent the negation of most of American labor's gains, represent a form of involuntary servitude. The War Relocation Authority considers its centers "a partnership enterprise" between the Japanese and the government; but there is little partnership



Homes for evacuated Japanese-Americans . . . Puyallup, Washington.

in a scheme in which one side is under compulsion. The labor policy is not consistent with high calibre of the men in the WRA, and clashes with the resettlement ideals they have formulated. The plan is now under revision, and drastic changes are needed to bring it more into line with what we offer the world: "liberty, decency, justice."

## WHAT ABOUT OTHER MINORITIES?

The Joint Immigration Committee, most active anti-Japanese group, is motivated by "the determination of the Caucasians to keep their blood white," and feels "a grave mistake was the granting of citizenship to the Negroes after the Civil War." Such discrimination against people because of their ancestry affects *all* Americans; attempts to remove citizenship from Japanese-Americans admittedly endanger the rights of Chinese-Americans or Latin Americans with Indian blood. Race discrimination is a cancer; prejudice against one race is either wiped out or it poisons all races.

## WAS EVACUATION NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE JAPANESE?

A labor spokesman told the Tolan Committee that if this was so the entire evacuation "may well appear as one of the great victories won by the axis powers." No one doubts dangers to the Japanese-Americans as a result of our war with Japan. But to protect them by arresting them all introduces the concept of "protective arrest," a fascist practice that belies the essence of American democracy. This philosophy would mean that negroes could be arrested where the Ku Klux Klan was active, labor unions "evacuated" where there was popular feeling against them. America must protect her citizens, but by arresting the guilty and not the innocent victims, by a continuation of that tolerance to different ideas and peoples which is the life-blood of democracy.

## ARE THESE MEASURES CONSTITUTIONAL?

A number of cases have been filed to test the constitutionality of the evacuation and continued detention of American citizens without hearing or specific accusation. In San Francisco, Mitsue Endo (California born, 22 years old, with a brother in the armed forces), seeks release on habeas corpus. Her attorney argued: 1) Even if the evacuation were valid, the continued detention is unauthorized; 2) Evacuation and detention were conducted without due process of law—no hearing, no criminal accusation; 3) Even the war power is subject to civil liberties; 4) Citizens of Japanese ancestry were deprived of equal protection of the law, because of unfair discrimination, as citizens of German and Italian ancestry were not similarly treated. In Seattle, Gordon Hirabayashi, a University of Washington student, arrested for refusing to be evacuated, called this process "the violation of human personality. The very qualities which are essential to a peaceful, creative community are being thrown out and abused."