

speak, had been inoculated with a malignant germ before the doctor (WRA) took the case. Since then, both doctor and patient have worked hard to give the latter's healthful energies free play. The regimen might be called naturopathic; self-service, self-government, and a blend of work and such play as could be devised were its elements. To drop the figure, in each of the ten bare relocation centers, a city community had to be evolved from scratch. Nearly all the abilities needed to make up any city go round were to be found among the evacuees. They were put to work, with the Caucasians generally acting as supervisors. Self-government with freedom of expression and initiative were encouraged. This liberal policy has evoked loud protests from critics who persist in thinking of the evacuees as somehow criminals who ought to be "treated rough." But the WRA has stood its ground. To be sure, some of the Caucasian staff have been paternalistic, others have given too little authority to able evacuees or have pigeonholed good suggestions, and still others have let red tape clog the wheels; but as a rule, they have striven to live up to democratic American standards. Incidentally, it is not the fault of the WRA but that of the niggardly budget adopted by Congress that the wages paid to most evacuees are far below market level.

Only Two Major Disturbances

As to disorders in the centers, there have been major disturbances in only two of them, and only once did a center manager deem it necessary to summon the soldiers stationed outside for emergencies. The disturbances were fomented by small groups of agitators. The wonder is that there has been so little disorder and protest. Conditions in the centers inevitably generate friction, pessimism and frustration. Nerves are frayed; tempers are on edge; rumors and gossip spread like wildfire. It is the perfect setting for the trouble-maker. Any like number of white Americans, with their low boiling point on personal rights, would have staged an uprising within a week.

The issues underlying the disturbances were always complex and generally confused. The root factor was not loyalty or disloyalty to America, but resentment, especially over the indiscriminate character of the evacuation itself and against the abuse heaped upon the evacuees by press and public. It seems clear that some of the most active trouble-makers might well have been removed more promptly after last winter's disturbances. How salutary such a step would have been is shown by the fact that at Manzanar Center all trouble ceased after thirteen ringleaders had been sent to the

isolation center set up by the WRA at Leupp, Arizona. Similar effects have followed removals from other centers, although all told only 170 men have been isolated, of whom 100 were aliens and 70, citizens. Most of the citizens were those kibeï ("returned to America" youth) who were sent to Japan for schooling in childhood and became Japanized. Kibeï who go to the mother country later in life generally return hostile to Japanese imperialism. Several hundred of the latter and of nisei who have never been to Japan are now serving in the intelligence services of our armed forces.

So case-hardened had the evacuees become by May, 1943, that the Dies committee hearings on the relocation centers raised their temperatures but slightly. With characteristic fanfare, the committee announced in advance that a subcommittee, to be headed by Congressman Costello, would submit a report that "will oppose release of any Japanese whatsoever" and "will insist that 'known subversives,' estimated to number more than 25,000 in the centers, be taken from their 'comfortable environment' and placed in rigidly guarded department of justice camps for enemy aliens." This announcement was made before any member of the committee had visited a single center. It provoked Director Dillon Myer to make this comment when he appeared before the committee: "If the committee has evidence that there are more than 25,000 'known subversives' in relocation centers, we earnestly hope that it will be turned over to the authorized investigative agencies of the government and to this agency (WRA) with all promptness. As this is written (a month after the announcement) the committee has submitted to the War Relocation Authority no evidence whatever in support of this charge." According to reliable reports, the 25,000 "known subversives" suffered such a shrinking that the committee ultimately gave the WRA the names of only 600 "suspects." Careful investigation of intelligence and WRA records showed that **not one** of the 600 had an unfavorable record.

Such a travesty of justice were the Costello subcommittee proceedings that Chester Rowell, dean of west coast journalists, wrote that its Los Angeles meeting accepted "testimony of which, so far, not one word would even be admitted or heard by any judicial or quasi-judicial body in existence." The committee declined Director Myer's repeated offers to supply data or to appear in person or by deputy. Mr. Myer finally felt forced to give to the press "some fifty comments on statements reported in the press, allegedly made by witnesses before the Dies committee." I quote one of his comments:

The San Francisco Examiner, in a story from Washington dated May 25, attributed the following statements to Representative Thomas in the form of a direct quotation: "The Dies committee investigators and I found conditions very bad in the war relocation centers. At one camp the Japanese objected to a fence which confined them. They tore it down. It stayed down and the Japs are still roaming around there at will. . . . Camp newspapers are virulently critical of anyone who opposes Japanese interests."

Representative Thomas had never visited a relocation center at the time the story appeared. . . . It is true that a section of the fence surrounding the Minidoka Center has recently been removed and has not yet been replaced. . . . It was removed by evacuee labor crews working under orders of the War Relocation Authority and with the full knowledge and consent of the military authorities. The statement that evacuees are permitted to "roam around at will" is wholly inaccurate. . . . No evacuee is permitted to leave the relocation project area without a permit at any time. . . . If the "Japanese interests" referred to are those of imperial Japan, this statement is wholly without foundation. The War Relocation Authority has reviewed relocation center newspapers since they were first established and has never seen one line of criticism directed against any person because of his opposition to the interests of imperial Japan. If, on the other hand, the statement refers to the interests of the Japanese-Americans, criticism seems wholly in accord with the American principles of free speech.

When at length, on July 6, the Costello subcommittee allowed Mr. Myer to appear before it, he carried the attack deep into the enemy's lines by reading into the record the following devastating statement:

The manner in which the War Relocation Authority conducts its program is of concern to all the people in the United States, and it has significance which goes far beyond the geographic boundaries of this country. Undoubtedly, the WRA program is being watched in Japan, where thousands of American soldiers and civilians are held as prisoners or internees; in China, India, Thailand, Burma and many other countries whose collaboration we need if we are to defeat our enemies with a minimum loss of life. The program of the War Relocation Authority has been under investigation for the past eight weeks in such a manner as to achieve maximum publicity of sensational statements based on half-truths, exaggerations and falsehoods; statements of witnesses have been released to the public without verification of their accuracy, thus giving nation-wide currency to many distortions and downright untruths.

This practice has fostered a public feeling of mistrust, suspicion, and hatred that has had the effect of (1) providing the enemy with material which can be used to convince the peoples of the Orient that the United States is undemocratic and is fighting a racial war; (2) undermining the unity of the American people; (3) betraying the democratic objectives which this nation and its allies are fighting to preserve; (4) it may lead to further maltreatment of our citizens who are prisoners or who are interned.

The resettlement of the evacuees is decidedly unfinished business. A maximum of 107,000 evacuees have been under the care of WRA. Of that number only about 22,000 had been released as of October 1, 1943. Of these, some 8,000

were on short-term leave to meet the farm labor shortage. During May the number of releases rose to 1,000 a week, but at that rate it would take over a year and a half to empty the centers. What are the obstacles?

Until this summer, the bottleneck was the lack of jobs and of communities ready to receive the evacuees. Now, however, the WRA declares that the bottleneck is the reluctance of the older generation of evacuees to risk the plunge into a reputedly hostile world, where they might find it impossible to support a family. Many of them have young children. Two measures must be combined to break that bottleneck. First, it will be necessary to convince the reluctant evacuees that a democratic welcome awaits them in hundreds of communities east of the Rockies. Second, plans must be worked out whereby groups of ten to thirty families can be settled in rural and small-town communities all over the north central and middle west states—not bunched in little colonies, but scattered within courting distance. The right of the loyal evacuees ultimately to return to the west coast is beyond question, but many of them are already planning to live permanently east of the Sierras. Such a dispersal will be socially sound and will mitigate the situation on the coast.

Suspects to be Segregated

The numbers to be resettled will be reduced by not less than 18,000 when the process of segregating the eligible from the ineligible has been completed. The uninformed have been impatiently demanding that the WRA quit stalling and forthwith separate the sheep from the goats. But it is not so simple. If it were, the army would have done the separating during the months when the evacuees were in its custody. Although the evacuees were then near their homes, where information about them was readily accessible, the army gathered almost nothing except elementary identification data. For months the WRA and FBI have had hundreds of clerks sifting records and tabulating data gathered in the centers, by means of both the February army questionnaire and the conduct record for each evacuee.

The upshot of all this is that about 10,000 adults and 8,000 minors will be concentrated at the Tululake center for the duration. Among the adults are all those who want to go back to Japan. Not a few of these have no sympathy with militarist Japan but feel they will be pushed to the wall if they stay in America. The group includes also, of course, all those suspected of disloyalty, including some hundreds of Japanese *kibei*. The plight of the children is tragic, for they

are American citizens, totally ignorant of Japan and its ways and already mentally set by American ideals. It is to be hoped that many of these children as well as their parents may even yet be restored to American life. For the success or failure of settlement is not primarily a matter of humanity toward 100,000 people made homeless through no fault of their own. It is essentially a trial by ordeal of the validity of American ideals, even under the stress of war and the passions engendered by war.

WHAT RACE-BAITING COSTS AMERICA

THE EVACUATION of 107,000 Japanese-Americans from the Pacific coast states and their incarceration in relocation centers has raised profound questions concerning the meaning of "the American way of life." Does that way still connote liberty under law as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, the dignity and essential equality of all men, regardless of race, creed or status, as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, and the sovereignty of the people under God? In an attempt to answer this question, this article will weigh assets against liabilities as contained in our policy toward Japanese-Americans.

The chief liability to the American way involved in the evacuation is that it has impaired the value of citizenship in the United States. It is to be hoped that this impairment is temporary, but it must be faced for what it is. The suspension of full constitutional rights for law-abiding citizens and aliens of one race jeopardizes those rights for people of all races. Denial on the unconstitutional grounds of race of the rights which citizenship in the United States confers establishes a precedent for further denials on this and other irrelevant grounds. The fact that this denial was brought about through the pressure tactics of race-baiting newspapers, organizations and politicians that call themselves "patriotic" but depend upon incitement to race hatred and the threat of mob violence to realize their ends, shows how gravely menaced and how precariously held are the rights of all citizens.

The chief assets have been the partial vindication of the Bill of Rights for an unpopular racial minority, even in wartime, by decisions of the federal courts; the gradual restoration of equal status to Japanese-Americans by the war department; and the staunch support of the genuine American way by influential journals, by students, and by a host of religious, social and labor organizations. Some of the evidence for these general assertions as to liabilities and assets will now be reviewed.

The Un-American Legion

Certain "patriotic" organizations that pose as chief defenders of the American way have piously mouthed the phrase while flagrantly violating its spirit. This is especially true of the California American Legion, the Native Sons of the Golden West, the Eagles, and the Americanism Educational League. Just before the evacuation, representatives of the Native Sons and the legion filed suits to disfranchise Japanese-Americans. In pleading one of the suits,

former state's Attorney General Webb went so far as to call the fourteenth amendment a mistake. The Native Sons suit was dismissed by a federal judge, and the dismissal was sustained by both the circuit court and the U. S. Supreme Court. The legion withdrew its suit. Chastened by these rebuffs, the Native Sons this year adopted a resolution calling for denial of citizenship only to children born in this country of alien Japanese parents. The California legion, however, at its convention last month, adopted resolutions demanding the discharge of enlisted Japanese-Americans from the United States army and the continued detention of all the evacuees under army, instead of civilian, control.

Cemetery Despoiled

The self-appointed role of many legion posts as arbiters of other people's Americanism was illustrated recently at Portland, Oregon. The local Fellowship of Reconciliation assembled a group representing various communions and colors to trim the grass and shrubbery of the Japanese Buddhist cemetery, as "a gesture of good will and fellowship." Vandals had previously overturned many gravestones and done much damage, and since all Japanese-Americans had been evacuated there was nobody to repair the wreckage. The United Press reported the commander of Portland Legion Post No. 1 as saying: "The legion is not going to stand for this. It's a bunch of monkey business." One legionnaire laid hands on the leader of the fellowship at the cemetery gate, but others restrained him. The sheriff then closed the cemetery for the duration. Interference by the legion was a violation of civil liberty, which was sustained by the officer whose duty it was to enforce the law.

A rebuke was administered to the intolerance of both the legion and the public by Colonel Scobey of the army general staff, in the course of his testimony before the Senate military affairs committee's subcommittee on Japanese War Relocation centers: "I can give you the names of Japanese who served in the army or in the navy in World War I, who are members of the American Legion. These men in these (relocation) centers have contributed to the extent of their ability to assist in Americanization. They have tried to combat this sinister activity in the centers. They have been terribly hurt. They have been mistreated. They have had their membership in the American Legion posts canceled, and they have been condemned by people."

Postwar Race-Baiting

It is a pleasure to add that some legion posts in the middle west have gone out of their way to befriend evacuees settling in their communities and to champion the constitutional rights of all evacuees. One such post is in Madison, Wisconsin. Another is Post No. 84 in Northfield, Minnesota, which condemned an article in the June 1943 **American Legion Magazine**, urging the relocation of citizens of Japanese descent on islands in the Pacific ocean, as being "in direct violation of our constitutional guarantees," and vigorously protested "against our national magazine being used to foster race hatred in violation of our own constitution and the Constitution of the United States." An almost identical resolution was adopted later by the Minnesota legion convention.

In California itself, many legionnaires writhe under the legion's un-American policies, but while some of them keep on fighting they have found that a tight, politically minded hierarchy rules the organization. One of the hopeful omens is the bold criticism of legion leadership by the University of California **Daily Californian**, organ of the largest student body in the country. Referring to the rantings of National Commander Roane Waring and other officers, the editor says:

This purportedly 100 per cent American organization contains the seeds of fascism. The group in control has laid down a policy which is rampantly nationalistic; intolerant of other nations and other people; intolerant of minorities within the United States; lacking in regard for the rights of citizens and strongly emotional in its approach to social and political problems. . . . Would-be critics are frightened off by the legion's loudly proclaimed patriotism.

Closely allied with the California legion and Native Sons combination is the Americanism Educational League, headed by John R. Lechner, who has long been a professional patriot. He has been chairman of a local legion Americanism commission. For months past he has been agitating for permanent exclusion of the evacuees from California. As I write, word has come from Rt. Rev. Joseph McGucken, Catholic bishop of Los Angeles, that as a protest against its policies touching the evacuees he has directed Dr. Lechner to drop his name from the list of sponsors of the Americanism League.

Courageous Congressmen

Most west coast politicians have trimmed their sails to the anti-Japanese wind and dodged the question of constitutional rights. Notable exceptions are Representatives Jerry Voorhis, George Outland, Will Rogers, Jr., and Chester Holifield. Senator Sheridan Downey is to be commended for

having called forth, in July, the White House statement which for the first time showed that all departments of the government were supporting the WRA program. Representative John Tolan deserves credit for his fair conduct of the inquiries of the House committee, which gathered valuable data and made constructive recommendations as to the evacuation, but fell short of high statesmanship. Gov. Earl Warren's toadying to the "patriotic" organizations has disappointed many.

The final recommendations of the Dies Committee publicity on the relocation centers and the WRA have just been announced by Representative Costello, chairman of the responsible subcommittee. One of the three recommendations reads: "It is to be hoped that the War Relocation Authority will undertake a thorough program of Americanization in each of the relocation centers." I am puzzled to decide whether this is an instance of naivete or effrontery. A committee that has done all in its power to destroy the faith of the evacuees in American democracy and constitutional rights might better preach to itself. The poor quality of the committee's report may be inferred from the devastating comments made on it by Representative H. P. Eberharter, the dissenting member of the three-man committee. The United Press quotes him as saying: "The War Relocation Authority is doing a good job on a difficult problem. The findings (of his fellow committee members) are wind and fury, climaxed by feeble and meaningless recommendations."

The Senate committee on military affairs, through a subcommittee headed by Senator Chandler, also investigated the relocation centers, and its report contains valuable documentary material. Its first and best recommendation is that "the draft law be made to apply to all Japanese in the same manner as to all other citizens and residents." As to this, Colonel Rasmussen, a naturalized Dane in our army, who knows the Japanese language, told the committee: "Their record for loyalty, in my opinion, is unquestionable. . . . I have found it necessary to separate from my command approximately 4 or 5 per cent, who were definitely disloyal. Their loyalty to the commanding officer . . . is probably the most complete of that of any group in the United States. Once they have been under influence in the camps, it is different." As to the influence of the centers, Senator Chandler himself added, "They are breeding hatred, enmity, and trouble for the country in the future."

Press Undermines Freedom

Safe behind the constitutional guarantee of freedom of

the press, newspapers like those of the Hearst chain and the **Denver Post** prostitute their privilege by undermining the other guarantees of the Bill of Rights and degrading the American way. They have been foremost in arousing hatred of the evacuees and in denying their constitutional rights.

By no means all the disloyal agencies that are undermining the American way have been discussed, but enough have been mentioned to indicate how formidable they are. Yet arrayed against them, both on the west coast and the country over, are a multitude of loyal agencies, sufficient to warrant confidence that "they that be for us are more than they that be against us." Let a few of them pass in review. State and national conferences of leading churches and of the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s have declared themselves uncompromisingly in favor of democracy and justice for the evacuees. Through the Protestant Church Commission for Japanese Service, they have supported religious work in the centers, and they have further backed up their resolutions by facilitating resettlement and by contributing most of the scholarship funds for students admitted to eastern colleges. They influence millions of voters. Any California politician who has national aspirations will reckon without his host if he assumes that the rest of the country will blindly follow race-baiters of the west coast. One of the striking Christian pronouncements was the resolution adopted by Chinese-Americans at Lake Tahoe in July:

Whereas such propaganda as "No Japs in California" . . . is against all principles of fair play and harmful to true democracy—therefore, be it resolved that we, in consonance with the sentiment of Madame Chiang Kaishek as expressed in her speech, "No Hatred toward the Japanese people," condemn such activities as un-American, undemocratic and unchristian.

The joint committee on Japanese-American relocation set up by the Federal Council and the Home Missions Council has stimulated many religious and civic groups to welcome and employ released evacuees. A score of returned missionaries have ministered to the evacuees. The American Friends Service Committee has served all evacuees, but especially the youth. Under its management the Student Relocation Council has aided nearly 2,000 nisei to continue their education. The American Civil Liberties Union has helped greatly to win the favorable decisions in the courts. The C.I.O. has stood solidly for selective evacuation and for equal rights for law-abiding evacuees. In the A. F. of L., courageous leaders like Senator John Shelley and John Wagner dissuaded the California state convention from backing the disfranchisement proposal. The Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, which includes many

eminent citizens of the region, has issued pronouncements which carry great weight and has done other things to stop race-baiting.

The war department has become an increasingly outspoken defender of the constitutional prerogatives of the Japanese-Americans. Secretary Stimson wired Mr. MacNaughton, a banker of Portland, Oregon: "Any proposition to deport all Japanese-Americans irrespective of citizenship or loyalty would not only be inappropriate, but contrary to our experience and tradition as a nation." Assistant Secretary McCloy wrote the San Francisco Down Town Association: "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." Colonel Scobey, executive officer to Mr. McCloy, wrote the San Diego county supervisors: "The war department feels that retention of 100,000 people in relocation centers at the expense of the government in time of war is not only unjust to those who can establish their loyalty, but it is an unnecessary expense. . . . To condemn the Japanese in this country as a whole for the actions of the Japanese militarists does not seem to be just or appropriate."

These, briefly, are the liabilities and assets that have accrued to the American way from the evacuation. It remains to press home the question: What effects are the activities of the agencies disloyal to the American way having upon the war effort? At home, they have hounded numbers of heretofore heartily loyal Japanese-American citizens into skepticism or even disaffection. At a moment when Negro-white conflict has occurred on the coast for the first time, they have thrown into the witch's cauldron an aggravated Oriental race problem. They have libeled 80,000 fellow Americans by persistently bracketing them with Nipponese militarists. They have robbed the nation of millions of work days by making efficient manpower idle, despite the desire of the War Manpower Commission and the Army to put it to work. They have undermined the very way for whose preservation the nation is fighting. Abroad, they have given the Chinese and other Asiatic allies good cause to think that Americans are no better than nazis in their contempt for the colored races. They have thereby made plausible the propaganda of the Nipponese warlords that they are the saviors of Asia from arrogant white oppressors.

If this indictment is true, then the men responsible for thus undercutting the American way must be branded as arch-subversives.

The Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play

Purpose: The fundamental purpose of the Committee is to support the principles enunciated in the Constitution of the United States, and to that end to maintain, unimpaired, the liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, particularly for persons of Oriental ancestry.

The Committee believes: That attacks upon the rights of any minority tend to undermine the rights of the majority; that legislation to deprive Americans of any racial minority of their legal rights would set a precedent for depriving other racial groups of their rights, and would weaken the confidence of our Allies, particularly those in Asia and Latin America, in the sincerity of our professions to be fighting for the rights of all peoples; that it is un-American to penalize persons of Japanese descent in the United States for the crimes of the Government and military caste of Japan.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman: Dr. Arthur C. McGiffert, Jr.

Vice-Chairman: Dr. Irving F. Reichert

Vice-Chairman: Dr. Paul S. Taylor

Treasurer: Mr. Harry S. Scott

Assistant Treasurer: Mr. Galen Fisher

Executive Secretary: Mrs. Ruth W. Kingman

Mrs. Wallace Alexander

Mrs. Ruth M. Fisher

Miss Leila Anderson

Mr. Alfred J. Lundberg

Dr. Monroe E. Deutsch

Mr. John T. Wagner

Mr. George Wilson

ADVISORY BOARD

Honorary Chairman

Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul

Bishop James C. Baker

Mrs. Nina E. Bancroft

General David P. Barrows

Mr. Frank S. Bayley

Dr. Benjamin W. Black

Mr. Allen C. Blaisdell

Bishop Karl M. Block

Mr. Bartley O. Crum

Mrs. Josephine W. Duvencneck

Mr. Henry Elliott, Jr.

Dr. Donald Erb

Mr. Ralph T. Fisher

Mr. Frank S. Gaines

Dr. Henry F. Grady

Mr. Gerald Hager

Mr. George Hjelte

Dean J. Hugh Jackson

Mr. Will O. James

Mr. George G. Kidwell

Mr. Harry L. Kingman

Dr. Tully C. Knoles

Mr. K. L. Kwong

Mr. Robert A. Leet

Chairman

Mr. Maurice E. Harrison

Dr. Vere V. Loper

Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin

Mr. Philip N. McCombs.

Mr. A. J. McFadden

Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin

Mr. E. B. MacNaughton

Mrs. Robert McWilliams

Dr. Robert A. Millikan

Father Joseph P. Mulkern

Dr. William B. Munro

Mr. Joseph A. Murphy

Mr. Richard M. Neustadt

Dr. Aurelia H. Reinhardt

Dr. Chester H. Rowell

Mr. A. B. Ruddock

Dr. Jesse F. Steiner

Bishop Bertrand Stevens

Mr. Joseph S. Thompson

Rev. Donald H. Tippett

Mr. August Vollmer

Father Edward J. Whelan

Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur

Mr. C. C. Young

Address Applications for Membership to the Executive Secretary
2234 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley 4, California

Membership Fee

General Member	\$2.00
Contributing Member	\$5.00
Sustaining Member	\$10.00 or over
Student Member	\$1.00