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JAPANESE AMERICAN STUDENTS: PIONEERS OF RELOCATION

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Table of Contents

	Page
Student Relocation Before Evacuation	2
Suggestions for a Government-Supported Student Relocation Program	3
Organization of National Student Relocation Council	6
WRA Assistance to Student Relocation	9
Services Performed by the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council . . .	19
Mutual Assistance of WRA and the Council	21
Early Response to the Student Relocation Program . .	22
Improvement in Public Relations	28
Liberalization of Policy	31
Transfer of Responsibilities from the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council to WRA	33
Accomplishment and Evaluation	35
Exhibits	

NOTE

In any discussion of the Japanese Americans, it is well to define three words that are used frequently:

Issei - aliens, born in Japan, ineligible to U.S. citizenship

Nisei - citizens, born in the United States

Kibei - citizens, born in the United States, who have returned to Japan for a significant period and may have received all or part of their education in Japan

JAPANESE AMERICAN STUDENTS: PIONEERS OF RELOCATION

The largest forced migration in the history of the United States occurred in the months of March and April, 1942, when approximately 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, two-thirds of them American citizens, were removed by military order from their homes in restricted areas of the West Coast.

This movement was effected under Presidential Executive Order authorizing the Secretary of War or Commanding Generals designated by him, to prescribe military areas from which any or all persons might be excluded. Beginning March 2, 1942, a series of Public Proclamations and Civilian Exclusion Orders were issued by the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command defining such areas and requiring that persons of Japanese ancestry be evacuated therefrom. The Wartime Civil Control Administration, an agency of the War Department, was set up to supervise the evacuation, and the War Relocation Authority, an independent agency, was created by Executive Order on March 18, to provide for the "relocation, maintenance, and supervision" of persons evacuated from the military areas.

After an initial "voluntary" movement of some 8,000 evacuees had brought strong protests from the governors of 11 Western States, the Wartime Civil Control Administration gathered the remaining persons scheduled for removal into temporary Assembly Centers to await completion of the relocation centers. These 10 relocation centers were constructed by the Army Engineers on selected sites in more or less isolated areas of 7 Western States--2 in California, 2 in Arizona,

2 in Arkansas, and 1 each in Utah, Idaho, Colorado, and Wyoming. Barrack-type buildings partitioned into apartments were built for living quarters, with messhall, bath house, and laundry facilities for each block of 14 barracks. Administration buildings, a hospital, and recreation halls were provided at each project. Services found in normal community life were provided by the Authority—schools, medical service, welfare counseling, and internal security. Evacuee-owned cooperative retail and service shops were organized, and community self-government was encouraged and aided by the project administration. Work opportunities were afforded to evacuees in administrative service and project maintenance and in the development and cultivation of agricultural areas contiguous to the center.

Student Relocation Before Evacuation

At the time of Pearl Harbor about 2,500 students of Japanese ancestry were attending educational institutions on the West Coast. Upon announcement of the evacuation program, many educators, student groups and church people became concerned about the future of the Nisei students. Efforts were made to have the students exempted from the evacuation order or to have instituted some selective procedure whereby only potentially dangerous individuals would be removed. When it became evident that no such concessions would be made, attention was directed toward placing as many of the students as possible in institutions outside the restricted zone.

Under the leadership of the YMCA-YWCA, the Pacific College Association, and West Coast college presidents such as Robert Gordon Sproul of the University of California, Lee Paul Sieg of the University of Washington, and Rensen Bird of Occidental College, committees were

formed to interview students and communicate with colleges and interested persons east of the military area. To coordinate the activity of the various groups operating along the Coast, a Student Relocation Committee was organized in Berkeley on March 21, 1942, and met weekly during April and May. Through their work, about 75 students were transferred in March and April to schools east of the restricted zone.

Suggestions for a Government-Supported
Student Relocation Program

There was early recognition that a program of student relocation might be valuable beyond the advantage to the individual students assisted. On March 17, 1942, Paul Taylor of the Department of Economics at Berkeley, wrote to Dr. Will Alexander, then a Consultant on Minority Groups with the War Production Board, suggesting that Nisei enrolled in West Coast colleges and universities be placed in land-grant colleges in the Middle West, with government scholarships provided for at least a portion of the group. He argued that

. . . This gesture will have beneficial repercussions among all the Japanese families who are evacuated, and perhaps of greater importance at the moment it will be a strong gesture to counter the effort of those within the country who already seize upon this evacuation as "race discrimination." . . . The military and naval authorities, now obliged to have Japanese language instruction for a year given to young white intelligence officers, will doubtless see readily enough what a crop of dependably loyal young "Japanese" citizens can mean to them in the future.

Another viewpoint was expressed in the preliminary report of the Committee on National Defense Migration (Tolan Committee). (Preliminary Report and Recommendations on Problems of Evacuation of Citizens and Aliens From Military Areas, Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, House of Representatives, 77th Congress,

2nd Session, House Report No. 1911, March 19, 1942.)

Little or no thought has been given to the welfare of evacuated children. These children should be fitted to assume a place in the average American community. Children of senior high school and college age should be given opportunity for study outside the Japanese community (relocation center) in preparation for their return to normal participation in the average American community when the war has ended. Because of local community resistance, this may be difficult for high-school students; it should prove feasible for those of college age.

Encouraged by the Committee Report, President Sproul on April 7, 1942, addressed a letter (Exhibit 1) to Congressman John H. Tolan, the Chairman, proposing that the federal government sponsor a plan to enable the Nisei to continue their education, and offering the cooperation of the University. He particularly emphasized the importance of the student group as future leaders of the Japanese American population.

Your point that a new leadership will probably arise within the Japanese groups as a result of their forced migration from an established social and economic milieu required careful consideration; for the character of that leadership, and the continued loyalty and friendliness of the entire group, will depend upon our general treatment of them, and particularly our efforts to see that they are permitted to complete educational programs in American-type schools and under the supervision of people wholly favorable to the ideals of democracy.

As a university administrator, I am particularly interested in the fate of those young citizens of Japanese ancestry who are being forced to leave colleges and universities in the restricted areas. They, above all others, will provide the leadership for their racial minority group in the future years. It is essential to the welfare of the nation that these leaders be given every opportunity to complete their preparation for this responsibility in a way which will insure wholehearted loyalty to this country, and deep appreciation of the essential justice which every citizen may expect from a democratic government."

In an attached memorandum he outlined a suggested plan whereby all collegiate-grade students desirous of continuing their education would be aided by federal scholarships to pay tuition and maintenance

in colleges outside the restricted areas or to pay fees for extension courses to be studied while in the centers. To execute the plan, he proposed a committee of university and college representatives to handle applications of students and relationships with receiving institutions and to determine the amount and nature of the assistance to be provided to the individual students. In order to estimate the cost and scope of such a program, the first task of such a committee would be to make a survey to determine the number of prospective students, their needs in terms of outside placement or extension courses, the best method of providing instruction in the relocation centers, and a suitable administrative procedure.

The cost of the program he estimated at possibly a million dollars a year, or more, offset to some extent by savings in maintenance of the students in relocation centers. He characterized such expenditure as "insurance on the future welfare of the American Nation," since

. . . We cannot safely neglect the morale and the loyalty of the future leaders of the American-born Japanese minority in this country, either on practical, political grounds, or on humanitarian grounds. Respect and love for democracy cannot be inculcated by depriving citizens of their rights and privileges without compensation, regardless of abstract or concrete justifications which may exist in the public mind.

Copies of the letter and proposed plan were sent to the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, to Henry Wallace, and other government officials, and to the presidents of universities and colleges who might support such a program. Inquiries were sent to educational institutions outside the military area to determine their willingness to cooperate by accepting Japanese American students.

Later, on April 24, 1942, President Sproul addressed the President, reporting that replies indicated general support for his plan, but that it could not succeed without financial aid from the federal government. He also pointed out that without the sponsorship of government leaders, and particularly the President, it would be difficult to influence public opinion to distinguish between the Japanese enemy and American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

Organization of National Student Relocation Council

These letters and others of a similar nature were forwarded to the Director of the War Relocation Authority for consideration in setting up the policies of the Authority. After weighing the matter, it was decided that WRA could not itself carry out such a plan, and on May 5, 1942, the Director requested Mr. Clarence Pickett, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, to establish a committee to assist him to formulate policies and obtain support for an extensive program of student relocation (Exhibit 2). In the letter, Mr. Eisenhower stated the responsibility of the government to select students at assembly or relocation centers, certify them for leave clearance, and to transport them from the restricted zone to designated educational institutions. Other phases of the program, by implication the responsibility of the committee, were to develop an understanding of the problem in the universities and the communities in which they were located, and to provide work opportunities or non-federal funds for the support of the students.

In a letter to Dr. Sproul on May 6, 1942, the Director outlined the reasons for desiring the endeavor to be associated with a non-governmental organization:

. . . Stimulated by the suggestions you have made to Congressman Tolan and others, I have for some weeks been interviewing a large number of Members of Congress, university people, and others to determine just what approach to the whole problem would be most likely to succeed in the face of possible widespread public misunderstanding. . .

May I say that the decision to make this effort as much a private one as possible was arrived at only after many detailed consultations which convinced me that any attempt by WRA to handle the program as a Federal undertaking, possibly with Federal subsidies involved, would be defeated in the face of misunderstanding and near-hostility.

This university program is far more significant than is implied by the number of persons directly affected. It involves more than the current and future status of these young people in American life. If we can succeed in what we are setting out to do here, it may signal the beginning of a new public attitude and the breaking down of restraints. Immediately it will be encouraging to all evacuees loyal to this country who until now have experienced only a restraining hand.

Mr. Pickett reported in a letter dated May 16, 1942, that, the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee had voted to accede to the request of the Director, but pointed out that the extent of their work would be subject to the limitations imposed by the amount of funds they were able to secure, and that some time must elapse before the ground could be prepared for any actual movement of students.

As the first step in the formation of the cooperating committee, Mr. Pickett scheduled a conference in Chicago on May 29, 1942. Invitations were extended to the presidents or other representatives of leading educational institutions throughout the country, and to representatives of student organizations, churches, government agencies, the Japanese American Citizens League, and the American Friends Service Committee.

As support for his presentation at the meeting and as an implement to forestall public criticism, Mr. Pickett requested Mr. Eisenhower to attempt to obtain an expression of approval from the War Department. In transmitting this request to Assistant Secretary McCloy on May 18, 1942, the Director said:

I need not tell you how important this program is. We are restricting, because of military necessity and the safety of evacuees, the freedom of American citizens. But such restrictions need not and should not be absolute. The transfer of university students can symbolize the tolerance of a democracy at war and it can be a significant departure from the general pattern of control. It will boost the morale of all evacuees . . .

Mr. McCloy responded generously on May 21, 1942, with a letter to Mr. Pickett (Exhibit 3) that was most helpful, especially in the early phase when comparatively little was known about the evacuation and the Japanese Americans. The significant statement read as follows:

. . . 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 hearty approval. In particular, the suggestion for 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.

Responsibility for the WRA contribution to the student relocation program was assigned to the Community Management Division, as it was already organizing the elementary and secondary education program at the relocation centers. The Chief of the Division attended the Chicago meeting and reported that, possibly because of conflict with commencement activities, the representatives of educational institutions were far outnumbered by representatives of church and other organizations,

. . . but before the day's meeting was over it became apparent that it is to the church, missionary, and charitable student organizations that we will probably have to turn to finance most of the student relocation. Furthermore, it appears that we will find among the smaller religious and denominational institutions greater acceptance of the Japanese than seems to be the case among the larger institutions of learning.

The group adopted the name "National Student Relocation Council", which was later changed to "National Japanese American Student Relocation Council". Dr. Robbins W. Barstow, President of the Hartford Theological Seminary, was appointed field director for the program, and two subcommittees were set up. The subcommittee for the western area was to determine the number of students and to find out where they were, what scholastic and personal qualifications they had, their choice of school, and what funds they had available. This information could be used in selecting those students who should be helped, and also as a basis for WRA investigation prior to release of individual students. The eastern subcommittee was to canvass the colleges willing to accept students and to arrange for proper reception of the students. A number of problems were assigned to WRA for clarification or solution; the most among them were:

1. To obtain from the War Department a definite statement as to areas where students could be relocated.
2. To obtain permission from the Western Defense Command for representatives of the Council to enter the assembly centers to interview prospective students.
3. To work out a procedure for granting furloughs from assembly or relocation centers for educational purposes.

WRA Assistance to Student Relocation

Negotiations with Other Government Agencies

At the time of the organization meeting of the National Student Relocation Council in May 1942, a census was in progress to determine the number of potential students in the assembly and relocation centers,

and replies were coming from colleges outside the evacuated area in response to inquiries as to their willingness to accept students of Japanese ancestry.

The War and Navy Departments were carrying on programs of training and research at educational institutions throughout the United States. Early in June, on the basis of favorable replies from a number of schools, WRA staff members in Washington held conferences with representatives of these two departments to work out a procedure for determining which schools evacuated Nisei students would be permitted to attend and to obtain a statement of the policy on which approval would be granted or withheld. A list of 85 institutions willing to accept Nisei students was submitted for action.

On June 23, 1942, the War Department addressed a communication to the Authority transmitting the names of 18 schools which American citizens of Japanese ancestry who had not been educated in Japan might attend without objection by the Military Intelligence Section of the War Department. The ^{other} schools on the list had been eliminated, according to the latter, because "Persons of Japanese extraction should not be permitted to attend schools at which classified research projects are being carried on or which are located within twenty-five miles of important power installations, defense factories or railroad terminal facilities." However, it was indicated that further consideration would be given to individual cases where positive evidence of loyalty could be submitted.

The reply from the Navy Department, transmitted on June 21, 1942, indicated that the Navy Department would object to the attendance of persons of Japanese ancestry at schools carrying on classified

research projects for the Navy and at schools where Naval R.O.T.C. units were established.

In general, the results on the first list were very disappointing. Nearly all of the schools cleared by the War Department were small and in comparatively isolated areas. Twelve were denominational schools (three of them unaccredited), four were state-supported schools, and two were private schools. All offered limited curricula. The Navy policy, while it eliminated fewer schools, also had the effect of proscribing the larger institutions offering advanced courses in medicine, engineering, and other subjects in great demand.

Another series of conferences with the War Department was undertaken in an effort to obtain a modification of their policy. Negotiations were slow, since there was some doubt as to just what office in the War Department should have jurisdiction over the problem, and since the relocation of Nisei students, in the perspective of the War Department's responsibility for the prosecution of the war, did not rate a high priority.

A request made by the Authority to the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command resulted in permission for representatives of the Council to visit the assembly centers to interview prospective students, and a basis of operation had been worked out for release of students from assembly centers.

The regulations concerning interviews with the students were considered highly restrictive by the persons sent out by the Council. All interviews had to take place in rooms designated by the manager of the center; it was expressly stated that the visitors would not be allowed in the quarters of the Japanese. Use of the English language was

mandatory, and interviews were limited to the presentation of personal data and academic history records needed as a basis for placement. A member of the Internal Security force of the center had to be present at the interview. It was felt that prospective students could not feel free to discuss family and financial problems in the presence of a member of the Internal Security organization, and that the close supervision generated a tension which made it impossible to form a reliable opinion of the personal qualifications of the student.

All press releases by individuals or committees of the Student Relocation Council had to be made through the Public Relations Branch of the Wartime Civil Control Administration, and copies of all instructions to students or cooperating committees in the centers had to be supplied to the WCCA.

Regulations for the release of students were accepted as being reasonable and fair. A check of the student was made by the Military Intelligence Service (G-2) of the Western Defense Command, and it was necessary to show that the student had been accepted by an educational institution and that financial arrangements were adequate.

In addition to interviewing the students, representatives of the Council were permitted to form committees in the centers to encourage the Nisei to apply for permission to continue their education, and to distribute and forward applications. The interviews and the efforts of the committees aroused a far greater response than had been expected. By the end of July approximately 1,750 applications had been received, and the staff of the Council was deep in the work of obtaining transcripts and recommendations to complete the student files. A committee of

about 30 deans, registrars, and others familiar with the Japanese Americans and with the individual characteristics of the educational institutions open for their attendance, rated the applications and made an earnest effort to place the students in schools best suited to fulfill their personal and scholastic needs.

In deciding which of the many applicants should be helped, first consideration was given to those with outstanding scholarship records. Their records were then studied with attention to such factors as professional goal, potential service to the Japanese community, maturity of character, evidence of successful contacts with Caucasians, and special talents. The students finally chosen were thus a highly select group in terms of the benefit to be derived personally from the opportunity and for their mission in many instances of representing the Nisei in areas where no Japanese Americans had ever before been known.

As a scholastically select group, the needs of these students could not be satisfied in the type of institution where their attendance had been sanctioned by the War and Navy Departments.

To the staff of the Student Relocation Council, the students, the West Coast educators interested in the problem, and many schools eager to enroll Nisei students, the policies of the two Departments and the delays experienced in obtaining decisions were unjustifiable. For many of them it was the first experience with the operation of government agencies, and no allowance was made for the necessity of working through "channels", the abnormal situation prevailing on account of the war situation, or the unprecedented character of the problem. The Authority in this period received many letters criticizing the apparent lack of progress and urging that the Authority do something to speed

the release of students and to increase the number of schools available. Two apparently illogical attitudes were frequently commented upon: (1) that the War Department had approved and encouraged the organization of a group to help relocate Nisei students, but by the policy on clearing colleges was making it impossible to carry out such a program; (2) that citizens of Japanese ancestry who had left the restricted area during the period of voluntary evacuation or whose homes were outside the restricted area could attend any school they chose and were actually attending institutions proscribed for evacuated students.

Finally, on August 5, 1942, a much expanded list of approved schools was received from the War Department, representing the liberalization of policy which opened up a much more representative group of educational institutions. Elimination because of proximity to facilities important to national defense had been abandoned, and only the presence of classified research activities remained as a limiting factor. As a corollary to approving a larger number of schools, certain conditions were laid down by the War Department (Exhibit 4).

Although the original statement of War Department/^{policy} on June 23, 1942, implied that students might be given permission on an individual basis to attend proscribed institutions, this was not done until a new procedure was introduced in 1944. They did, however, on an individual basis, permit the attendance of certain students who were technically Issai or Kibei at cleared colleges, when an examination of the record and evidence prepared by the Council and submitted through WRA indicated no reason to doubt their loyalty to the United States. In many instances the student so cleared had spent only a short period in Japan and approval by the War Department was a matter of routine. Others had

for various reasons spent significant periods of time in Japan and had received enough education there to justify careful investigation.

The Navy Department, over a period of time, had submitted lists totaling about 80 schools at which the various bureaus were conducting activities of such secret character that there was objection to the attendance of students of Japanese ancestry. These schools corresponded fairly closely with schools which the War Department would not approve. There was, however, a small group approved by the War Department but proscribed by the Navy which was used as a test case to bring pressure for a change of policy. These included Columbia University, the University of Michigan, the University of Wisconsin, Northwestern University, Ohio State University, the University of Minnesota, and the University of Colorado. The case for opening the University of Colorado was strengthened by the presence in Boulder of a number of persons of Japanese ancestry who were teaching in the Naval Language School or employed in various other capacities. Although certain individuals in the Navy Department were sympathetic and cooperative, it was impossible to obtain any revision of the Navy policy.

A routine process of submitting the names of schools for clearance had meanwhile been worked out. Names of educational institutions willing to accept Nisei students were submitted to the office of the Assistant Secretary of War; those approved were checked against the proscribed list of the Navy Department, and the Student Relocation Council was notified of the names of the schools cleared by both.

Under the policies outlined above, which were in effect through December 1943, more than 500 institutions of higher learning were approved for attendance of persons of Japanese ancestry.

Another federal agency was brought into the student relocation program by the requirement in paragraph c in Assistant Secretary McCloy's letter of August 5, 1942 (Exhibit 4), of a record check by the Federal Bureau of Investigation before a student could be released from the center. When conferences were held with the Washington office of that Bureau, it was found that its staff was not large enough, with increased wartime responsibilities, to give service prompt enough to enable students to reach school in time for the fall term. By permission of the War Department, arrangements were made to continue release on the basis of the Military Intelligence check, to be followed by a check of the FBI records in Washington. Later, when the FBI staff had been expanded, faster service was possible and student leaves were granted on the basis of a record check made in Washington.

Although the FBI gave the service requested in an efficient manner, there was an extreme opposition to any appearance of sponsoring individuals whose names had been submitted for check in connection with both student relocation and the general relocation program. At one time the Director of the FBI wrote to the Director of the Authority protesting statements by WRA and Student Relocation Council staff members that the students had been "investigated" or "cleared" or even "checked" by the FBI. Such expressions, it was contended, were misleading to the public and indicated that the individual bore the stamp of approval by the Bureau. A memorandum from the Director of the Authority requested the staff and the Council to avoid the use of the offending terms. Correspondents were usually advised that the records of all students were checked by the FBI and releases were granted only in instances where there was no indication of disloyalty to the United States.

In dealing with the government agencies at this time there were certain individuals who were cooperative, open-minded, and desirous of just treatment for this group of dislocated citizens. The official attitude, however, was that the group was suspect until proved innocent. In the early negotiations on the student relocation program, it was suggested by WRA that students be released to attend any educational institution outside the military zone if an individual record check revealed no derogatory information. This suggestion was rejected on the ground that sufficient information about the Japanese could not be obtained by ordinary investigatory methods.

Other WRA Services

The first students to relocate were released from assembly centers under the WCCA policies outlined previously, and the earliest releases authorized by the War Relocation Authority followed the pattern fairly closely. At the beginning of the WRA program, the only other departures from the centers were short-term leaves for seasonal employment or to attend to personal business. The student leaves were the first to cover any appreciable length of time or to provide for the possibility that the evacuee would not return to the center. Procedures for granting student leave were very fluid until the end of 1942, changing to meet requirements of other agencies and to provide the best possible service through WRA facilities.

The procedures developed for clearing schools, checking student records, and granting leave (Exhibit 5) were comparatively simple, but a certain amount of confusion produced by necessary changes persisted through the opening of the fall term. Very few applications for student

leave were submitted and processed throughout in a routine manner.

Nearly all cases required special handling at some point--a request to the War Department to expedite clearance on a school, a request to the FBI for a telephoned report on a name check, a rush call to the Student Relocation Council for a document missing from the student file, or a check with the relocation center on a confused situation to determine if leave had been authorized. Even after the procedures became stabilized and were integrated into the general leave program of the Authority, there continued to be frequent inquiries on individual students. All this entailed a voluminous correspondence with the Student Relocation Council, the WRA San Francisco office, and the projects.

The volume of mail was further increased by form letters prepared and mailed by the Authority. As soon as evacuation became a certainty, many students on their own made application to educational institutions throughout the United States. At other schools, students of Japanese ancestry who were not residents of the West Coast military areas were in attendance or made application for entrance in the regular course of events. Many college authorities, both sympathetic and unsympathetic, were puzzled as to what their position in the matter should be and wrote to various government agencies and to the Student Relocation Council for information. After checking with the War Department as to their policy on the question, the Authority sent out a letter (Exhibit 6) to about 700 colleges listed in the Educational Directory published by U. S. Office of Education, explaining that applications or attendance of non-evacuee Japanese American students should be considered upon the same basis as any others. Another letter (Exhibit 7) notified proper officials when the colleges were cleared by the War and Navy Departments for student relocation.

Many of the students left the centers before WRA introduced the practice of supplying identification cards, and a moderate number experienced embarrassment or inconvenience when asked by officious or over-zealous persons for some proof that they were legally at large. In order to fill this need until the projects were able to send cards to persons already on leave, a letter (Exhibit 8) was sent to each student as evidence that he had been granted leave.

WRA did not pay for the transportation of students from the centers to the colleges in which they relocated. Mr. Eisenhower's letter to Mr. Pickett, asking him to set up a committee for student relocation, contained an indication that this would be done, but developments made it evident that the payment of travel expenses would be inadvisable from a public relations standpoint.

Services Performed by the
National Japanese American Student Relocation Council

The War Relocation Authority's student relocation activities were largely confined to relationships with other government agencies and facilitating the work of the Council through its own program, while the major effort of the Council was devoted to relationships with the students, the colleges which they were attempting to open for the attendance of Nisei students, and sources of funds to provide financial assistance to the students.

The top staff of the Council throughout the program included a National Chairman who acted largely in an advisory capacity, a National Director who supervised the staff in the office, and a Field Director who visited projects, educational institutions, and other groups and

individuals interested in the program. Other staff members had specialized responsibilities such as assistance with placement and financial problems.

The Council was staffed with a group sincerely interested in helping the Nisei. Many of them had personal friends among the evacuated students and had worked with them in campus activities. They were able to give to the students a highly personalized service that was valuable in keeping up morale in discouraging periods when the number of schools open for relocation was small, when long delays in clearing colleges and individuals were unavoidable, and when the students' personal desires were frustrated by family opposition or financial difficulties. No effort was spared by the staff, many of them volunteers, to encourage the students and make them feel that they were not just "cases", but were individuals in whose special problems the Council was interested.

One of the most frequent problems was lack of money for tuition and travel. Ordinarily the parents would have been able to provide for necessary expenses, but residence in the centers had eliminated the income of many families. Funds channeled through the Council enabled many Nisei to continue their education when it would otherwise have been impossible. About two-thirds of the funds came from the church groups, and the remainder from the World Student Service Fund and private foundations.

A tremendous public relations task was involved in opening up the colleges and universities in the unrestricted areas. The Japanese Americans had been so closely concentrated on the West Coast that they were virtually unknown in other areas, and the attack on Pearl Harbor had disposed the public in general to reject them. Even when the educational institutions were willing to accept the students, there was the problem of community acceptance. Usually some individual connected

with the college acted as sponsor to the student(s) and assisted with housing, employment, and social integration. If the number of students arriving at a school justified the formation of a committee, representatives of churches and other groups were asked to participate in welcoming the students and helping in their adjustment. Where local opposition arose after the arrival of the students, these same sponsors were helpful in explaining the situation.

The Council kept in direct touch with the centers through visits of the Field Director and through representatives of the Council on the projects. The project representatives of the Council were partly the choice of the Field Director and partly designated by WRA. They were selected for their interest in the students and for their ability to establish a rapport that would enable them to do a worthwhile counseling job.

Mutual Assistance of WRA and the Council

While the efforts of the Authority and the Council were generally directed into distinct and separate fields, there was a reciprocity of assistance in situations where this was helpful. A member of the WRA staff attended meetings of the Council to aid in an exchange of information. The Council was kept informed of relevant developments in WRA policy and was consulted in the preparation of instructions which affected their program. The Authority was able to give a Consultant's appointment to the Field Director of the Council and thus to pay travel expenses for several long trips to visit the projects. When the field offices of the Relocation Division were established, they were able to assist the Council in unfavorable community situations. The Council in turn arranged for influential educators and others to visit the policy

makers in the War and Navy Departments to present facts for consideration in making decisions, and their local contacts were useful in the general relocation program.

A particular instance of close cooperation between the Authority and the Council was the placement of student nurses. The nursing schools were perhaps the most difficult to open for the hospitals were fearful of the reaction of patients if Japanese American girls were assigned to care for them. Through the school contacts of the Council and the professional contacts of the WRA nursing staff, a few hospitals in large cities were induced to accept Nisei students. They found that the girls made excellent nurses and that patients actually asked for their services. Through articles in nursing journals and conversations at professional meetings the interest of other hospitals was turned toward the centers as sources of student nurses. The chief nurses on the projects supplied the Council with lists of girls who desired nurses' training. The U. S. Cadet Nurse Corps was open to Nisei, and the Chairman of the Recruitment Committee of the National Nursing Council for War Service urged the acceptance of girls from the centers for training under this plan. Almost 200 Nisei girls were enrolled in the Cadet Nurse Corps with the help of the Council, and it is believed that another hundred made their own arrangements.

Early Response to the Student Relocation Program

The response of the schools and the public to the student relocation program was in most instances generous and understanding, but protests were made by certain schools approached as to their willingness

to accept Japanese American students, and by individuals and groups. A number of these protests were based on a misunderstanding of the status of the students and the nature of the program, but many were the result of an inability to distinguish between the enemy in Japan and persons of the same racial origin in this country. Many of the letters are interesting as an indication of the sources of opposition and of support.

In July 1942, as a result of the inquiries sent out by the Student Relocation Council, the Governor of a southern state wired the Secretary of War, outlining difficulties which he felt would result from placement of Japanese American students in the colleges of that state:

. . . first there would be resentment to take our own sons and place them in the armed services and provide educational facilities in these colleges for evacuees. Secondly, it would provide an entering wedge for Negroes to make application to our state colleges which would further complicate matters. . . My conscientious advice is that it would be most difficult throughout the South for the reasons mentioned above. Suggest these potential Japanese American students could be more readily absorbed in institutions of higher education in those parts of the country where other minority groups are already well represented. . .

The wire was referred, through the WRA, to the National Student Relocation Council, which made the following reply:

Of course, it should be borne in mind that these young people whom we are seeking to relocate in colleges are Americans by birthright who have been brought up in our American schools and share our American traditions and ideals. Most of the young men would be only too glad of the privilege of taking their places with their fellow Americans in the armed forces, but this privilege is denied them. The effort of this Council . . . is to provide opportunities for them to continue their preparation for useful service and fuller assimilation into our national life.

We are fully aware of the fact that in some localities there are particular circumstances that make it unwise to consider the acceptance of these students. . . . Our experience is, however, that if the civil authorities, together with educational and religious leaders, seek to develop a proper atmosphere it can be done. It calls for social vision and constructive leadership of the sort that America ought to have available for just such situations.

A press release stating that the Authority was cooperating with the Council in the placement of 1,900 students of Japanese ancestry who had applied for relocation prompted a Newton, Massachusetts, woman to write to Senator Lodge:

In Fridays Boston Globe . . . there was an AP report regarding American born Japanese students. The officials of the War Relocation Board with the co-operation of the mid-western and eastern colleges are giving 1,900 of these students the chance to finish college. Imagine such a thing even being given a thought. Takeing the cream of our nation out of college and putting them in the front lines and allowing these Japs to take their places.

It's things like this that make the American mother boil over. What is your opinion? . . .

In reply to Senator Lodge's request for information to be used in preparing a reply, the Director of WRA said in part:

While the number of students who have applied for student relocation is in excess of 2,000, it is unlikely that arrangements can be made for more than several hundred to attend college this fall. Although the War Relocation Authority is in no instance giving financial assistance to evacuee students, there are a number of reasons why we believe the relocation plan merits active sponsorship.

More than two-thirds of the Japanese Americans evacuated from the West Coast are native born citizens of the United States. Many of them are young people of college age and younger. . . . it is our belief that their attendance at colleges and universities on the outside is the best means of providing these students with the type of democratic training they will require if they are to exert the right kind of leadership in their communities in the years to come.

. . . We believe that it will do a great deal to sustain the loyalty of the older residents in the relocation centers if they know that it is possible for a limited number of their children to enjoy the opportunities open to other American citizens of their own generation.

Mrs. B. expresses concern . . . that the evacuee students will "take the places" of other students called to the colors. It should perhaps be pointed out to her that over 4,000 Japanese Americans are now actively serving in the Army, and that the number would be considerably larger if the Army would accept them.

At Park College in Parkville, Missouri, the mayor and councilmen led the opposition to the presence of Japanese American students in the community, and were supported by the American Legion and the American War Mothers. President William Lindsay Young fought vigorously to maintain the liberal tradition of the college, and as a part of his campaign circularized townspeople and alumni of the school asking their opinion. The letter concluded, "Is war hysteria making us lose sight of our democratic ideals and priceless guarantee that all Americans are free, equal, and to have the same opportunities?" The responses were overwhelmingly in support of Dr. Young's position. One reply, which came from Connecticut, expressed briefly the spirit of the favorable replies:

In a world in which hatred and kindred emotions seem to have blotted out all semblance of reason, and bigotry under the name of patriotism has succeeded the small amount of tolerance which had seeped slowly into our consciousness, I would like to think that Park is doing a small bit in maintaining these forgotten virtues. Hold fast to the course you have set for Park.

Editorials appeared in the Kansas City Star and the St. Louis Star-Times, emphasizing that the prospective students were citizens, that they had been educated in American schools, and had been carefully

checked before they were released from the centers. Both pointed out the dangers of violating the principles of democracy and falling into the same intolerance that characterized the enemy.

Backed by the many expressions of approval, the trustees of the College voted to admit the students, and the county sheriff signed the necessary guarantee that they would be acceptable to the community. In his opening address on September 11, 1942, President Young stated his position forcefully:

Within this student body are young men and women whose ancestry goes into those nations with which we are at war. The blood of Italy, Germany, and Japan flows in our veins. But the ideals and the faith of the American way are in our souls. . . If we are not able to transcend those artificial barriers of a dead past, then the American way may be beautiful in theory but futile in practice. Were any student or teacher on this campus to show in any way the slightest ill-will toward the descendants of those with whom we are at war simply because of their ancestors, he will be showing that he either does not understand our constitutional democracy, or he has no faith in its worth. . .

(See Exhibit 9a for quotes from letters to President Young and a pamphlet containing the entire address, "Cool Heads for Hot Times.")

President William C. Dennis of Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, successfully defended the policy of the school against protests from certain residents of the town. The presence of the students became a political issue for a brief period.

At Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois, the local Legion protested strongly, and the general community attitude was such that no students relocated there at that time. A former consultant of the Authority traveled to Elmhurst at the request of the president of the college and a member of the local Citizens Committee and met with representatives of the Legion. He reported the meeting as follows:

. . . I talked with representatives of the chapter of the Legion for three hours. We did not convince them that they were wrong, and they refused to change their position at all. The discussion was entirely amiable, but the difference in viewpoint between the two sides of the table was much too great to bridge in one evening. My adversaries in argument impressed me as men who acted, as they thought, wisely, but they were profoundly ignorant of the situation. They think that political iniquity is biologically transmitted, that it is the policy of the United States to keep these people incarcerated for the duration, and that there is no real difference between the Nisei and the Issei.

While the colleges and universities on the West Coast could not accept students from the centers, they had supplied much of the drive behind the early organization to assist student relocation. In sharp contrast to their usual wholehearted cooperation was the attitude of the dean of the dental college in a southern California university who refused to release transcripts for students wishing to transfer their credits. The president of the university upheld the dean as acting "for the best interest of the dental student(s) who they regard as a ward of the army . . ."

After considerable pressure from the vice chairman of the Western Committee of the National Student Relocation Council, the transcripts were finally released. None of the students was given credit for any work done the second semester of 1942, although all had completed laboratory work and taken examinations which should have entitled them to credit for all or a portion of the hours carried.

Many of the educational institutions proscribed by the War and Navy Departments and highly desirable as sources of advanced training, were most willing to accept Japanese American students. In July 1942, President Hutchins of the University of Chicago wrote to the Assistant

Secretary of War (Exhibit 9b): "I should like to go on record as saying that the University of Chicago would be glad to admit such students . . ."

The University of Wisconsin made every effort to accept Nisei students. A particularly appealing case, that of a girl who had been offered a research assistantship in nutritional pathology in the graduate college, was made the basis for a special appeal to the Navy, since the War Department had approved Wisconsin for student relocation, but no change in policy was obtained.

Another outstanding student was accepted by Princeton, Yale, and the University of Chicago, none of which were cleared for the attendance of Nisei students until near the end of the program.

Two of the frequent bases of opposition--that young men of Japanese ancestry were permitted to continue their education while other young men served in the Army, and the suspicion that regardless of citizenship, the loyalty of a person of Japanese race must lie with Japan--were answered in the course of events.

Improvement in Public Relations

Before the attack on Pearl Harbor young men of Japanese ancestry had been inducted into the Army under Selective Service procedures, and at the time of evacuation some 4,000 were serving in the armed forces. After December 7, 1941, a period ensued during which some boards continued to call the Nisei and others did not. On June 17, 1942, all inductions were stopped by order of the War Department, and the Nisei were placed in Class IV-C: "Registrant not acceptable for training and service because of nationality or ancestry. . ."

Many young men in the relocation centers were willing and eager to enter the armed forces from motives of patriotism alone. Others

desired the reinstitution of Selective Service for the Nisei as a symbol of the restoration of their civil rights, an instrument to remove the Nisei from the pressures toward cultural Japanization exerted by the Issei influence in the centers, and an opportunity to answer effectively the accusation that American citizens of Japanese ancestry could not be loyal to the United States.

The first break in the Army's refusal to accept Nisei in the United States was the recruitment in the fall of 1942 of a group of young men with particular skill in the Japanese language to serve as instructors and translators for the Military Intelligence Service. Over 150 volunteers were obtained.

In June 1942 the 100th Infantry Battalion, made up of Hawaiian residents of Japanese ancestry chiefly from various units of the National Guard, arrived in San Francisco and proceed^{ed} to Camp McCoy in Wisconsin for training. In January 1943 the War Department announced the formation of a special combat team to be made up of Japanese American volunteers from the Hawaiian Islands and the mainland.

The 100th Battalion went overseas in August 1943 and entered combat in Italy in September. In October the War Department issued a release stating that the battalion had come through its "first test under Nazi fire with colors flying." Thereafter the exploits of the 100th Battalion and, after they entered combat in July 1944, of the 442nd Combat Team, were a dramatic denial of the accusations of disloyalty. Citations for group and personal acts of heroism soon made them the "most decorated" units of the Army.

The record of the Nisei in military service was not the only answer to the charge of wholesale disloyalty. Thousands of evacuees, both

aliens and citizens, relocated from the centers to work in agriculture and industry without a single instance of the sabotage that alarmists had prophesied. It became increasingly difficult to obtain support for attacks when ammunition for refutation became more abundant.

Perhaps the most effective weapon against prejudice was the actual presence of the Nisei in a community. By July 1943 over 1,000 students had been relocated, many of them in communities where a Japanese American had never lived before. The school officials and other local citizens often arranged opportunities for the Nisei to appear before groups to tell the story of evacuation and relocation. The selective placement by the Council had resulted in an unusually successful adjustment of the students in the schools and communities; there were few failures, either emotional or scholastic. A number of students made outstanding records and thus became familiar figures in the community.

One young man preparing for the ministry attended a college in South Dakota where he completed the accelerated course and graduated in 30 months. During his college career he won every oratorical competition in the state, won first place in a provincial (4 states) competition of a national forensic society, and won second place in a national oratorical contest sponsored by the Intercollegiate Peace Association.

A young woman who had finished her junior year in a West Coast college entered Mount Holyoke in February 1943 on a full tuition scholarship. After completing her undergraduate course she served as graduate assistant in Political Science while she worked on her M.A.

She received two scholarships for her graduate work at Mount Holyoke and is now working on a Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of Minnesota, where she has been awarded a fellowship. In addition to her scholastic accomplishments, she has contributed an article on the Nisei to a national magazine.

Other students have been elected to offices in their classes, in student government, and in various campus activities, and have received recognition as "most popular" boys and girls on the campus.

Liberalization of Policy

From the beginning of the student relocation program, staff members of the War Relocation Authority and officials of the Student Relocation Council had contended that security measures taken by the colleges to protect confidential activities from the access of unauthorized persons were adequate, and that to require special procedures for the attendance of students of Japanese ancestry was a form of discrimination that could be accepted only under protest.

In October 1943, a War Department directive placed the responsibility for security measures in plants and facilities important to the war effort in the Provost Marshal General's Office. Although the initial effect had been simply to transfer to that office the clearance of educational institutions, a series of changes of policy occurred which indicated that the officials of the Japanese American Branch of the PWGO shared the view that special restrictions on Japanese American students were undesirable.

In January 1944, a memorandum from the PWGO set up a procedure by which a student of Japanese ancestry, alien or citizen, might make application to attend an educational institution having classified

activities, located outside the Western Defense Command. Approval or denial was granted on the basis of the individual record and the type of activity in progress at the college. About 400 applications were submitted to the PMGO for consideration under this plan, with approvals in all except about 40 instances.

The same memorandum provided that thereafter no clearance procedure whatever would be required of Japanese American students attending educational institutions with no classified activities and located outside the Western Defense Command.

While applications were being processed individually, the Chief of the Japanese American Branch of the PMGO was conducting a survey of the various campuses to determine the geographical distribution of confidential activities and the security measures taken to protect them. The results of the completed survey and a record of the action taken on individual applications were presented by the Chief of the Japanese American Branch to various branches of the War and Navy Departments with the recommendation that all special regulations relating to Japanese American students be removed. He obtained the agreement of the War Department without too much difficulty, but it was only after prolonged discussions that the Navy bureaus acquiesced. On August 31, 1944, the PMGO rescinded all requirements for special clearance of persons of Japanese ancestry for attendance at educational institutions. The Nisei were thus free to attend schools outside the Western Defense Command on the same basis as other students.

The opening of the proscribed schools, first by individual application and later under no restriction, for the first time permitted relocated students of Japanese ancestry to attend a number of first-class

colleges and universities, such as Harvard, Yale, M.I.T., and the Universities of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Chicago.

In view of the change in the whole war situation and the improved public attitude toward the Japanese Americans, it is difficult to weigh the influence of the personnel concerned on the policy governing student relocation. It cannot be said that a less restrictive policy would have been set up at the beginning had the officers responsible for security measures in 1944 been in the same position in 1942. However, it is significant that when the determination of policy became the duty of a person who was convinced that the restrictions were unnecessary, he was able to obtain permission to discontinue them.

The last official barrier to the attendance of Japanese Americans at educational institutions of their choice was removed less than a month later. Early in 1944, while the mass exclusion order was still in effect, the War Department had begun to permit the return to the military zone of individuals and families who had valid reasons for going back and whose records gave no reason to believe them disloyal. About the middle of September, the West Coast newspapers carried stories of the return of a Nisei girl to Pasadena Junior College. The knowledge that the War Department would permit return to the military zone for attendance at an educational institution brought an immediate response from most of the West Coast colleges and universities, where groups were organized to assist Nisei in the centers to return.

Transfer of Responsibilities from the
National Japanese American Student Relocation Council to WRA

By the fall of 1944, the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council felt that two of its major activities could be transferred

to the Authority for integration into the general relocation program. Most of the placement work concerned high school graduates for whom service could be supplied by teachers at the project. The council had for some time been channeling information to one person at each project who acted as student relocation adviser. Through the Education Section of the Community Management Division, the Superintendent of Education was asked to arrange the other duties of this adviser so that sufficient time could be devoted to the student relocation program.

The big job of acquainting the colleges and universities with the program of the Council and the status of the Japanese American students had also been accomplished. In the occasional situations where educational institutions still refused to accept Nisei, it was believed that the field offices of the Relocation Division of the Authority could handle the difficulty.

The Council continued to provide financial aid to all students so far as they were able, and to assist in any unusual situations where their past experience was valuable.

In order to advise the counselors on the projects and the staff of the WRA field Relocation offices of scholarship opportunities, schools particularly desirous of receiving Nisei students, vacancies in nursing schools, and other facts that would be helpful, the Council prepared a Newsheet which was mimeographed and distributed by the Washington office of WRA. When it was first published, in the closing months of 1944, it appeared nearly every week, but as the closing dates of the centers approached the intervals became longer. The last Newsheet sent to the projects was dated December 14, 1945, and the final issue was distributed to the field offices in March 1946.

The final major change in policy relating to the student relocation program came in January 1945 after the announcement of the lifting of the exclusion order. In line with plans for liquidating the relocation centers, students were made eligible for the same financial assistance as other evacuees leaving the centers, which included payment of travel expenses to their destination.

Accomplishment and Evaluation

The War Relocation Authority fully appreciates the significance of the student relocation program and the work of the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council which made it possible. The final report of the Council, now in preparation, must be read to understand the extent of its activities.

The records of the Council account for only those students who were relocated with their assistance, but they give a general idea of their number and distribution. As of May 1, 1946, the Council records showed 4,761 college acceptances, and 3,613 students enrolled in 680 colleges, universities, trade, and nursing schools. (The difference between acceptances and enrollments is explained by students applying to more than one institution and by occurrences which prevented enrollment after acceptance had been gained.) Students have been enrolled in educational institutions in every state except Alabama. Roughly 300 are now in Pacific Coast schools, 750 in the Rocky Mountain area, 1700 in the Midwest, 150 in the South, and 600 in the East. The largest numbers have enrolled in the Universities of Utah, Nebraska, Denver, and Minnesota. There was no one time when the total number enrolled were in attendance, since there was normal turnover through graduation, service in the armed forces, and other factors. It is estimated that enrollment at any given time did not exceed the pre-war figure of 2,500.

The most direct and most obvious benefit accrued to the Nisei who were relocated through the Council's assistance. Many of them were embittered by the apparent disregard of their citizenship, and this opportunity to resume a normal life was a gesture of friendship and a recognition of their identity with other young Americans.

Although the Nisei themselves may not have recognized it, the opportunity to leave the centers was in itself very valuable. Life in the centers was not desirable for young people. Concepts of life outside became increasingly unrealistic as time passed, and apathy or actual fear of living again in normal communities tended to overcome them. In the summer of 1944, in an effort to stimulate interest among the potential students, some of the supporting agencies of the Council provided funds for relocated students to return to the projects. They talked to groups of interested young people and their parents, and at any opportunity related their experiences in their new homes. Their scholastic progress, their success in obtaining employment and housing, and their social acceptance into the schools and communities were encouraging to students who had been hesitating to go out and to their parents who were afraid that they might meet with unfortunate experiences.

The 1944 returnee project was so successful that the YMCA and YWCA in the summer of 1945 financed a similar program. Since the mass exclusion had been lifted and WRA at that time was in the process of closing the centers, a more mature group of students, as many as possible with a knowledge of the Japanese language, visited the centers to appeal to the Issei as well as the prospective students. The returned students

worked closely with the Relocation Division, and wherever possible the student relocation plan was made a part of a family relocation plan. As their contribution in recognition of the value of the returnee project, the Authority relieved the students of paying the usual project visitors' charges for maintenance.

The relocated students who sought employment usually found a much wider field of opportunity than they would have found on the West Coast where certain careers are virtually closed to Japanese Americans and advancement in others very limited.

The general relocation program of the Authority was furthered in a number of ways by the student relocation program. The students were the first evacuees to relocate to the East in appreciable numbers, and their excellent record as citizens and students built up a fund of good will for the entire group. Individuals and committees who had assisted in the adjustment of the students included other Japanese Americans as they began to come into the communities. The information provided by the Student Relocation Council to prepare the way for the students was equally useful in connection with families and individuals relocating for employment.

The experience of the students was evidence to those evacuees reluctant to leave the centers that their fears of physical violence were exaggerated, and that the occasional flare-ups of local opposition were not representative of the whole country. The honors accorded to the students and the good positions they obtained were hopeful indications that other Japanese Americans would be accepted on their merits.

Finally, during the closing period of the centers when many families were undecided where to go, the relocated students along with

other well-adjusted younger members of evacuee families, exerted a strong influence toward relocation in eastern areas of the country where they were more readily accepted, and against return to the West Coast where concentration forces them into the status of a "minority problem".

Six children of a Stockton, California, family were assisted by the Student Relocation Council to continue their education in the East. The parents relocated to Philadelphia, where four of the children are now attending school or working, and live at Fellowship House, an interracial settlement house.

When three children of another family enrolled in Swarthmore College, their parents followed them to Philadelphia and managed a hostel operated to assist other relocating Japanese American families. When the hostel was closed, they took it over and now run it as a boarding house.

In a letter to the Director of the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, the Director of the Authority acknowledged the contribution of the student relocation program to the goal of the Authority:

When the story of relocation is written and WRA's objective of emptying the relocation centers is achieved, we will be able to look back and say that the first impetus to resettlement out of the centers was provided by student relocation.

EXHIBITS

EXHIBITS

- 1 - Letter from Robert G. Sproul, President of the University of California, to John H. Tolan, Chairman, Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, April 7, 1942
- 2 - Letter from M. S. Eisenhower, Director, War Relocation Authority, to Clarence Pickett, American Friends Service Committee, May 5, 1942
- 3 - Letter from John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, to Clarence E. Pickett, American Friends Service Committee, May 21, 1942
- 4 - Letter from John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, to Dillon S. Myer, Director, War Relocation Authority, August 5, 1942
- 5 - Leave and Clearance Procedures for Student Relocation - Chronology
- 6 - Letter from D. S. Myer, Director, War Relocation Authority, to college and university presidents re non-evacuee Japanese American students, August 7, 1942
- 7 - Letter from Director of the War Relocation Authority to inform college officials that school has been cleared for relocation of Japanese American students
- 8 - Letter of identification for relocated students, signed by D. S. Myer, Director, War Relocation Authority
- 9 -
 - a - Items re Park College controversy
 - b - Letters favorable to student relocation program
 - c - Excerpts from replies to Director's letter to college presidents (Exhibit 6)
 - d - Excerpts from correspondence with Hon. Leland M. Ford, Member of Congress from California
 - e - Letter protesting student relocation program
 - f - Letters favoring student relocation program

University of California

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April 7, 1942

The Honorable John H. Tolan
Chairman Selection Committee
Investigating National Defense Migration
Congress of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tolan:

I have just finished reading the "Preliminary Report and Recommendations on Problems of Evacuation of Citizens and Aliens from Military Areas," issued by your committee under date of March 19, and wish to commend you and the committee members for the excellence of this study. Your summation of the problems involved in mass evacuation, recognizing the apparent unavoidable necessity of action, on the one hand, and advocating every possible service and courtesy to those evacuated, on the other, is both thoughtful and wise.

Among the many strong points made in your report several stand out in my mind as of exceeding importance because they relate to the long-term future of those evacuees, particularly the American-born Japanese, who are being asked to give up their rights as American citizens, regardless of how loyal they may be, in order to meet the exigencies of war, to safeguard military areas, and to relieve the apprehensions of their fellow citizens of Caucasian stock. I have been deeply impressed by the cooperative attitude of these Japanese-Americans, and by their willingness to make sacrifices cheerfully. It is essential that we reciprocate that cooperation to the extent of our ability in order that their experience shall leave a minimum of bitterness in years to come. No aspect of this reciprocal cooperation, to my mind, is more important than that of maintaining opportunities for the continued education of our fellow citizens of Japanese ancestry who are being forced to leave school by evacuation orders.

Your point that a new leadership will probably arise within the Japanese groups as a result of their forced migration from an established social and economic milieu requires careful consideration; for the character of that leadership, and the continued loyalty and friendliness of the entire group, will depend upon our general treatment of them, and particularly our efforts to see that they are permitted to complete educational programs in American-type schools and under the supervision of people wholly favorable to the ideals of democracy.

As a university administrator I am particularly interested in the fate of those young citizens of Japanese ancestry who are being forced to leave colleges and universities in the restricted areas. They, above all

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The Honorable John H. Tolan
April 7, 1942

others, will provide the leadership for their racial minority group in the future years. It is essential to the welfare of the nation that these leaders be given every opportunity to complete their preparation for this responsibility in a way which will insure wholehearted loyalty to this country, and deep appreciation of the essential justice which every citizen may expect from a democratic government.

The University of California has given considerable thought to this problem and with your permission I would like to make certain proposals toward its solution, and at the same time offer the services of the University in carrying them out should the Federal Government look with approval upon some variant of the plan and feel the need of cooperation from an institution peculiarly well-fitted to offer such help. The bare outlines of this plan are presented herewith as a separate memorandum.

Sincerely,

Robert G. Sproul
President

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PROPOSAL FOR THE CONTINUED COLLEGIATE TRAINING OF
CITIZENS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY FORCED BY EVACU-
ATION ORDERS TO INTERRUPT STUDIES

THE GENERAL PROBLEM

(1) No exact information is available on the number of American citizens of Japanese ancestry who are now enrolled in colleges and universities within prohibited or restricted military zones. If the general ratio of college enrollment to population of college age applies for Japanese-Americans, we may roughly estimate that of the 117,000 aliens and citizens of Japanese blood likely to be included in evacuation orders, some ten percent are of college age, and perhaps one out of eight or ten, of these, roughly 1200 to 1500 individuals, are attending junior or senior colleges or universities.

(2) These individuals will provide the major leadership for the rising generation of American citizens of Japanese ancestry whose normal life has been disrupted, whose future welfare has been made precarious, and whose loyalty to the United States has been clouded by the war situation. It is essential to the future unity of the country that these leaders be given the privilege of continuing and completing their educations under democratic auspices, in order that their leadership shall not be influenced by bitterness or a sense of unnecessary persecution, or more specifically, by Axis propaganda.

METHODS OF MEETING THE PROBLEM

(1) The most desirable method of meeting this problem would be to provide Federal scholarships for all collegiate grade students subject to evacuation orders who are desirous of continuing their educations, at colleges or universities of acceptable standards in non-prohibited or non-restricted military areas in the country which are willing to receive them. Because of the difficulty which may be encountered in providing part-time employment for these students under present conditions such scholarships would have to meet an irreducible minimum total cost of maintenance, for twelve months, of at least \$600, and would of necessity be more in some cases where non-resident or other fees are high.

For those students who find it impossible or undesirable to leave their families in evacuation centers, and whose course of study is of a nature to permit of special instruction by University Extension classes or correspondence, scholarships of sufficient amount to pay tuition and part-time maintenance should be provided.

(2) As an alternative to this proposal there might be a clear distinction drawn between students whose course of study is of such technical nature as to require residence at a college or university, e.g., medicine, engineering, dentistry, nursing, etc., and those students whose course of study is non-technical and capable of being followed by class work or correspondence without leaving evacuation centers. Full scholarships could then be offered to those of the first classification who wished to avail them-

selves of the opportunity, and restricted scholarships to those in the second classification.

SUGGESTED PROCEDURE

(1) The administration of an educational program of collegiate grade for American citizens of Japanese ancestry should be placed in the hands of a committee of university and college representatives acting for the whole group. It should not be administered by individual institutions or communities. The University of California is willing to proffer its services in forming and maintaining such a committee for the Pacific Coast, if desired.

(2) All applications from students should clear through this committee, and all inquiries to other institutions in the country should go out from this committee. Decision as to the nature of the assistance to be given individual students, and the amount of assistance to be rendered should be decided upon by the committee with the advice of the individual colleges and universities.

(3) As a means of estimating the scope and cost of the proposed plan, the first step would be to organize this central administrative or advisory committee and to authorize it to make a survey of needs and to present a definite plan. The object of the survey would be to determine more exactly the number of students involved; the nature of the facilities which they require, that is to what extent instruction can be provided in a few selected evacuation centers and to what extent it will be necessary to transfer the students to colleges and universities elsewhere in the country; the best method of providing instruction in evacuation centers through University of California Extension Division programs and similar programs which may be available at other Pacific Coast universities; and to recommend a detailed administrative procedure under an emergency full-time coordinator.

The cost of this program, including scholarship funds, special teaching staff and administrators will undoubtedly amount to a million dollars a year or more, but it will be a million dollars spent as insurance on the future welfare of the American Nation, and there will be substantial savings in the release of funds appropriated for the support of evacuation centers. Unless some governmental agency is prepared to take the responsibility for granting exceptions to evacuation orders for the great majority of American-born Japanese youth of unquestioned loyalty, there is no reasonable alternative to the adoption of a plan of emergency education such as is here proposed. We cannot safely neglect the morale and the loyalty of the future leaders of the American-born Japanese minority in this country, either on practical, political grounds, or on humanitarian grounds. Respect and love for democracy cannot be inculcated by depriving citizens of their rights and privileges without compensation, regardless of abstract or concrete justifications which may exist in the public mind.

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University of California

April 24, 1942

The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt
President of the United States
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

On April 7, 1942, following receipt of the Preliminary Report and Recommendations on Problems of Evacuation of Citizens and Aliens from Military Areas prepared by a select committee authorized by H. Res. 113, I wrote to the Honorable John H. Tolan, Chairman of the Committee, assuring him of our concurrence in the need for continuing educational opportunities for native-born evacuees of college age, and suggesting a plan for cooperation between the Federal Government and universities of the Pacific Coast in bringing this about. I presumed to take leadership in this matter because the University of California has registered more Japanese-American Students than any other institution, and has devoted considerable study to the problem.

A copy of this letter and the tentative plan was sent to you, as well as to other governmental and university officers for the purpose of stimulating reactions. Special letters were also sent to a selected list of universities and colleges, presumed to be outside of restricted military areas, inquiring as to their willingness to accept Japanese transfers. Replies received indicate clearly that there is general support for a concerted plan of action, and that such a plan cannot function without financial support from the Federal Government.

Conferences of University representatives with military and governmental representatives further indicate that the attitude of the President of the United States is likely to be the deciding factor in what is done or not done to meet the problem. It is difficult for the public to differentiate between enemy Japanese and American citizens of Japanese ancestry who seem in most instances to be loyal to the United States. It is unlikely that public opinion will recognize the importance to democratic principles and ideals of lending educational aid to loyal American citizens of Japanese ancestry unless government leaders lend sponsorship to some assistance plan.

Evacuation and surveillance eliminate danger from enemy aliens or the few disloyal individuals who may exist in the second generation. The loyalty of the great majority, under this program of evacuation, should be safeguarded not merely by providing reasonable living regimes in evacuation centers, but also by affording opportunity for future leaders of this

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President Roosevelt
April 24, 1942

minority group to complete their educations. No attempt should be made to provide luxuries or unprecedented opportunities, but every effort should be expended to see that those who would normally have obtained college or university training are allowed to do so in spite of evacuation and in spite of economic handicaps caused by evacuation.

For your information I am attaching another copy of my letter to Congressman Tolan, and the outline of the plan I submitted. I am also enclosing a copy of a letter from the president of Washington State College which, I believe, expresses the attitude of many educational administrators. If you agree that the proposals made, or some variant of them, are reasonable, I respectfully urge that you indicate your approval to those government officers whose responsibility it is to organize, finance, and administer the evacuation program. If the winning of this war is not to leave us with additional problems of hate and bitterness, the welfare of minority racial groups among our citizens and the preservation of democratic procedures concerning them, must be carefully watched. There may come a time when the unquestioned loyalty of third generation citizens of Japanese ancestry will be vitally important to our nation and to democracy generally.

Sincerely,

Robert G. Sproul
President

GAP:JB

C
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P
Y

University of California

May 1, 1942

Honorable Henry A. Wallace
Vice-President of the United States
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Wallace:

As you probably know, the evacuation of American-born Japanese from west coast areas in accord with what seems to be the safest military policy, has occasioned a greater degree of sacrifice by many loyal citizens of Japanese ancestry, than by any other group in the civil population on the mainland. Colleges and universities on the Pacific Coast, notably the University of California with its large registration of citizens of Japanese ancestry, are seriously concerned with the possible effects of this evacuation after the war has been won.

In spite of the almost universal goodwill which these individuals of Japanese ancestry have shown, they would not be human if there was not some sense of injustice and resentment in the hearts of those who know they are loyal to the United States and to Democracy. Unless this natural reaction is compensated for in every possible way, we shall not be living up to our own conception of the dignity and rights of the individual, and we shall be weakening the loyalty of a whole group of our citizens.

Among many steps which may be taken we feel that it is especially important to protect the welfare of those citizens of Japanese ancestry who were in colleges and universities, or about to matriculate, when evacuation orders arrived. These young people will be the leaders and representatives of their minority racial group in future years. Upon their attitude, in large measure, will depend the inner feeling of the majority. It seems vital to us that the opportunities which these young Americans of Japanese ancestry were able to gain for themselves in the way of higher education should not be taken away from them because of a crisis over which they had no control. There is a basic justification for removing these people from areas of strategic importance, but it is unjust and unwise to attach an educational penalty to the removal. As molders of opinion in this and the coming generation of their fellows it is most desirable that these American citizens be convinced of the justice of the democracy in which they live and be allowed to complete their education under democratic auspices.

A few weeks ago, stimulated by the preliminary report of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives on evacuation problems, I proposed to the Honorable John H. Tolan, Chairman, a plan to meet the situation I have been describing. Later I sent copies of this proposal to President Roosevelt. I am writing now to call the matter to your attention because I know from past experience of your intelligent, warm-hearted interest in matters which are of vital concern to the welfare of the nation as a whole. Copies of the plan and correspondence are attached.

Yours respectfully,

Robert G. Sproul

FCS

Exhibit 2

War Relocation Authority

Washington, D. C.

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 in 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 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,

/s/ M. S. Eisenhower

Director

Exhibit 3

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,

/s/ John J. McCloy

Assistant Secretary of War

Exhibit 4

War Department
Office of the Assistant Secretary
Washington, D.C.

August 5, 1942

Dear Mr. Myer:

The attached list of colleges is approved for the enrollment of Japanese-American students evacuated from areas along the West Coast, under the following conditions:

- a. Only American citizen Japanese (Nisei) are eligible for enrollment. Those in the group of citizens known as "Kibei" are not eligible.
- b. The War Relocation Authority will assure the War Department that the college authorities agree to the enrollment of acceptable students, and that satisfactory arrangements have been made with state and local officials regarding the presence of these students in the community.
- c. All student records will be checked and cleared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation before the students are released from Centers to enter colleges.
- d. The War Department does not assume responsibility for the conduct of students after they are released from evacuation Centers to enter colleges. This responsibility rests with the War Relocation Authority.
- e. The War Relocation Authority will furnish G-2 of the War Department and appropriate defense commanders a list of students, including the name of the college in which enrolled, as soon as students are cleared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to enter an approved college.

If it is desired to send Japanese-American students to colleges other than those shown on the attached list, the names and locations of such colleges should be submitted to the War Department for clearance.

Sincerely,

/s/ John J. McCloy

Mr. Dillon S. Myer
Director, War Relocation Authority
Washington, D. C.

Exhibit 5

Leave and Clearance Procedures for Student Relocation

Chronology

During the history of the student relocation program, it operated under changing procedures, with each successive revision representing a liberalization or simplification.

April 1942

In the earliest period, leave was authorized for students in assembly centers by the Wartime Civil Control Administration, the civilian agency of the Western Defense Command, and by the War Relocation Authority for students in relocation centers. Requirements were: (1) a satisfactory individual record check with the Military Intelligence Service (G-2) of the Western Defense Command, and (2) evidence that the student had been accepted for enrollment in an educational institution outside the military zone, that his finances were adequate for one term, and that no antagonism would arise in the community because of his presence.

At this time no clearance of colleges was required.

June 1942

No change in authorization of leave.

The War and Navy Departments agreed to relocation of American citizens of Japanese ancestry who had not been educated in Japan, with the following restrictions:

War Department - would not approve educational institutions with classified (confidential) activities or located within 25 miles of facilities important to the war effort (railroad terminus, power line, war plant, etc.)

Navy Department - would not approve educational institutions with classified research projects or with Naval R.O.T.C. unit.

These restrictions obviously confined the available schools to small institutions in comparatively isolated communities.

August 1942

The War Department removed the 25-mile geographic restriction from its policy for granting clearance to colleges, freeing a number of schools with more extensive curricula.

Assistant Secretary McCloy's letter of August 5, 1942, to the Director of WRA (Exhibit 4) required a record check with the Federal Bureau of Investigation on each student before he was released. At that time the Washington staff of the Bureau was not large enough to handle this task promptly enough to get students out in time to attend the fall terms which were soon to open. The War Department gave permission to continue the check with G-2 of the Western Defense Command, to be followed by a check by FBI in Washington. After the FBI staff had been expanded to take care of increased wartime duties, it was possible to have the FBI check substituted for check by G-2.

When the responsibility for the record check was transferred to the Washington FBI, the Community Management Division of WRA became the channel for authorizing student leave from relocation centers. Forms supplying identifying information on which the FBI based their record check were transmitted through the Community Management Division and the results of the record check were reported to that Division. The Student Relocation Council transmitted to the Community Management Division the student file containing documents indicating school acceptance, financial resources, and satisfactory community sentiment. When the student file was complete and the satisfactory record check received, the project director was authorized to grant leave to the student.

The procedure ultimately worked out was the result of a trial-and-error process through a period of considerable confusion.

December 1942

In December the regulations for granting student leave were distributed to the relocation centers as Supplement 1 of Administrative Instruction No. 22 (Revised), as part of the general policy for granting leave from relocation centers. The Supplement was accompanied by a detailed outline prepared to assist project directors and others concerned with student relocation.

October 1943

The Provost Marshal General's Office of the War Department was designated as the agency responsible for security measures in plants and facilities important to the war effort. Clearance of colleges was taken over by that office.

January 1944

Procedures were set up by the Provost Marshal General's Office whereby students of Japanese ancestry might obtain permission to attend educational institutions important to the war effort.

If the student wished to attend such a school, he submitted to the PMGO a Personnel Security Questionnaire (or Alien Questionnaire) and a letter from the school showing that he would be accepted for enrollment. On the basis of the questionnaire and other information at their disposal, the PMGO granted or denied permission.

The PMGO supplied WRA and the Council with a list of colleges and universities to which this procedure applied. Japanese Americans could enter all other educational institutions outside the Western Defense Command on the same basis as other students.

For the first time, non-evacuee students of Japanese ancestry were brought under the same regulations as evacuees.

Students already in attendance at schools requiring PMGO approval were permitted to remain pending investigation.

August 1944

Rescission of all special regulations relating to attendance of Japanese American students at educational institutions important to the war effort located outside the Western Defense Command.

September 1944

First Nisei student returned to an educational institution in the Western Defense Command under individual permit granted by the War Department.

Exhibit 6

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Office of the Director

August 7, 1942

To College and University Presidents:

A number of inquiries have come to us asking whether it is permissible to enroll in colleges and universities American citizens of Japanese origin who are not now living at assembly centers operated by the War Department, or at relocation centers operated by the War Relocation Authority.

Neither the War Department nor the War Relocation Authority wishes to interpose any objection to the attendance of these students in colleges or universities and it is hoped that their applications will be considered on their individual merits exactly as applications from other American citizens.

Until the recent mass evacuation of all Japanese from western military areas, a large proportion of the students of Japanese origin was enrolled in West Coast universities. Most of these students are now living in assembly centers and relocation centers. The National Student Relocation Council, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, was established at the specific request of this Authority to assist in arranging for the placement of American-born Japanese students in colleges and universities outside military areas. The Council is, therefore, a quasi-official agency, and we bespeak your full cooperation in its program.

You may be confident that any student relocated at your university through the efforts of the Council will have undergone a thorough investigation as to his loyalty to the United States. The Kibei group who have been partially educated in Japan will not be granted leave either from assembly centers or relocation centers to attend colleges.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ D. S. Myer

Director

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Washington

We are pleased to be able to inform you that no objection is interposed by either the War or Navy Departments to the participation of your institution in the student relocation program. This means that you may proceed with the admission of Japanese-American students who were formerly or are now at relocation centers, with the complete assurance that all necessary governmental sanction has been obtained.

The National Japanese-American Student Relocation Council, established at the request of this Authority, has undertaken the responsibility of handling correspondence with the colleges, examination of student records, and other arrangements incidental to the selection and placement of students. We bespeak your full cooperation in its program.

A careful record check of all students is made before permission is given them to leave the centers in which they are now located. Such permission will be granted only where no doubt is entertained as to the student's loyalty to the United States.

Please accept our thanks for your interest and cooperation in the student relocation program.

Sincerely,

Director

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

WASHINGTON

We have been informed by the National Student Relocation Council that you have arrived at the institution to which this letter is addressed for the purpose of continuing your studies.

The W.R.A. is planning to issue permanent identification cards to all persons who are granted indefinite leave from relocation centers. As soon as these cards are issued, one will be sent to you. In the meantime, should any question arise as to your presence in the community in which you now reside, it will be permissible for you to use this letter as identification.

You are on indefinite leave from the Relocation Center of the W.R.A. for purposes of continuing your education, and such leave has been cleared with the War Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The school which you are attending has been approved for attendance by responsible officials of the War and Navy Departments, and should you or others desire further information concerning your status you are privileged to address the Director of the Authority at the above address at any time.

Immediately upon receipt of this letter you are requested to sign your name in the left hand margin in order to prevent use by others in case of loss or theft. Upon issue of your permanent identification card, please return this letter to the office of the Authority in Washington.

We wish you a successful college year and will be glad to hear from you periodically on how you are getting along.

Sincerely yours,

D. F. Myer
Director



Exhibit 9a

Excerpts from Editorial, Kansas City Star, August 26, 1942

LET'S PRACTICE DEMOCRACY

"If it were proposed to bring Japanese students from Japan or students from any other enemy source to American colleges, THE STAR would be among the first to protest...

"In reality, these young people are not Japanese, but Americans. Not only were they born in America, but they have been trained in its schools. They have been instructed in the meaning of democracy. We must be extremely careful in this period of stress not to violate the principles of our democracy while we are assuming to defend them.

"...

"From the outset of the war, it has been the function and the legal responsibility of the government authorities to deal with cases of disloyalty, actual and alleged. It is generally agreed that a good job of it is being done. It is haphazard, dangerous and hit-and-miss business for individual citizens or groups to attempt to settle these cases.

"The government will be responsible for the students at Park and elsewhere.

"The training afforded them would be a means of making them good American citizens, the aim of democratic instruction everywhere in this country."

Exhibit 9a

Excerpts from Editorial, St. Louis Star Times

WAR COMES TO PARKVILLE

"...Many years of tranquillity are currently interrupted by bitter controversy over whether three youths of Japanese parentage should be allowed to enroll this fall.

"...

"The difficulty seems to be that the opposition visualized the students as sinister figures without investigating their background. They are American citizens, having been born in this country...

"...

"...Here are three youths of Japanese parentage, born in this country and educated in its ideals. They have gone so far as to surrender the religious faith of their ancestors to adopt faiths of their native land. They are no more responsible for what happened at Pearl Harbor than is the mayor of Parkville himself.

"The motives of the war would be reduced to hypocrisy if the sensible attitude of Dr. Young does not prevail in this and similar controversies. If the United States cannot attain victory without emulating the intolerance of its enemies, it would not deserve the victory once it is won."

Exhibit 9a

Excerpts from letters against admission of students of Japanese ancestry

"It is my considered judgement that it would be detrimental to accept the Jap students you asked my opinion on.

"This is a government problem. If they are unfit for California schools and need to be moved inland Park College is not the place to put them. The Government should put them in a school of their own the same as they provide for other wards such as Indian schools and not pawn them off on Park - let them go to state schools supported by the tax payers..."

"You will have to list me as a 'conscientious objector.' And 'conscience,' as you know, 'makes cowards of us all.' I fear the development, in America, of a 'spirit of tolerame' which would, at the close of the war, exonerate the Germans and Japanese people and punish their 'leaders,' only. For I am, as you see, both militant and vindictive. I would resent the sight of Japanese upon the streets of Parkville.

"I do not attempt to rationalize my attitude toward innocent individuals who, unfortunately, are of either Japanese or German blood, I do not claim that it is a rational attitude. I merely state what it is. But I can account for its development. Need I specify the cause?"

"There should be no doubt as to what you should do with your Japanese students; if you lived out here in California right in the heart of the Jap settlement you would never hesitate. We have found no matter how much they say they are LOYAL AMERICANS there is still the matter of BLOOD IS THICKER THAN WATER and once a JAP always a JAP.

"I am for eliminating the Jap families for generations down out of the United States..."

Chula Vista, Calif."

Exhibit 9a

Excerpts from letters for admission of students of Japanese ancestry

"Having just read your appeal for opinions concerning the presence of Americans of Japanese ancestry at Park College I feel the urge to support you and the United States Government in keeping them on the campus.

"...

"This issue is bigger than it seems, for the attitude of the people of Parkville, if extended across the country, would mean the end of our democracy and make an empty gesture of this nation's fight for World Justice.

"...

"Yours for a more vigorous prosecution of the war at home and abroad.

Lieutenant in the Army"

"My heartiest congratulations on the stand you have taken in regard to the three Japanese students. I stand behind you and the Board of Trustees one-hundred per cent.

"Indeed, it will be a tragedy if, after offering up our best young manhood in this struggle for survival of our liberties, we lose them on the home front through class hatred, prejudice, and bigotry..."

"...

"I think that any one who holds race, creed or color against any person is just about as low as they can get. I have known several of the American-Japanese and they are as patriotic as any of the rest of us if not more so. A very good example of this loyalty to this country is shown by a former Park student, W.T. He is now a Private First Class in the Intelligence Service of the Army, stationed at Camp Savage, Minnesota.

"I feel that they should have the same opportunities as the rest of us and I am very glad to hear the Park College's officials and Board of Trustees are opened minded and are helping to make it possible for all to gain an education. That in my mind is the true American spirit.

Private in the Army"

Exhibit 9a

Excerpts from letter for admission of students of Japanese ancestry

"...I have read of your courageous stand in regard to the question of admitting Japanese-American students to Park College this fall.

"International circumstances and the public opinion of our own people have both dealt hard blows to thousands of innocent people of this minority group. In visiting the Assembly Centers I have been greatly impressed with the way in which these Japanese Americans have held up under such stress and strain. The rest of us have much to learn from them.

"Their contribution here at California has been tremendously significant, and I regret that the short term views of the present day have blinded so many people to such an extent that human values and fair play to minorities seem to have been shelved.

"Many of us in the West are in sympathy with your attitude on this question. We sincerely hope that the mid-west will respect them as personalities rather than as groups with a label ('enemies', 'Japs', etc.). In addition, we hope these people can return to our communities after the war.

"..."

La Canada, California

Exhibit 9a

War Relocation Authority
Washington

October 21, 1942

William Lindsay Young
President, Park College
Parkville, Missouri

Dear President Young:

I cannot resist adding a word to the attached formal notice which we are sending out to the Presidents of a large number of colleges and universities approved for student relocation.

The first real test of student relocation in a community was met at Park, and by all evidences met squarely. The courageous position which you took as an individual, and which was reflected by the student body of your institution, will go a long way toward establishing the essential right of Japanese-American students to take their place in American campuses on the same basis as other citizens of this country.

"This personal expression of appreciation is for your own information and, inasmuch as we are endeavoring to proceed with the student and general evacuee reemployment program without fanfare or publicity, your forbearance in disclosing the contents of this letter to the public would be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ D. S. Myer
Director

PARK COLLEGE *Record*

OCT.
1942

Cool Heads for Hot Times

OPENING ADDRESS AT PARK

Graham Tyler Memorial Chapel

September 11, 1942

By PRESIDENT WILLIAM LINDSAY YOUNG

PARK COLLEGE opens the present school year under extremely abnormal circumstances. The world is on fire.

The flames of hatred engulf the entire human race. It is not my purpose to discuss the war at this time, except to say that never were graver issues at stake. What I do want to say to you has to do with the life we are to live on the campus these coming months. *In our student body this year we have men and women who are the descendants of just about every nation on this earth.* We are, racially speaking a conglomerate and heterogeneous people. But, politically speaking,



we are a unified and homogeneous people. Whatever differences there may be in our racial and social heritage, we stand today unified in singleness of purpose under one flag. Whether our fathers were subjects of king or emperor in the East or in the West, we here today owe but one undivided allegiance, and that is to the Constitution of the United States of America.

War breeds hysteria and makes for emotional instability. Feelings become intensified and sound judgment is difficult to exercise. If we are not careful in our anxiety over the issues involved, we are apt to do damage to those very values which we are now anxious to preserve. What is the genius of the American way? Specifically, what are those values which we are determined to keep inviolate? We believe in government of the people, by the people, and for the people. We believe that every person is born with certain inalienable rights. We believe in the freedom of speech, assemblage and press. We believe that every citizen has equal rights before the law. Whether he be black or white, rich or poor, brilliant or ignorant. Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, Christian or atheist, he has equal rights to the privileges and benefits of our constitutional government.

Within this student body are young men and women whose ancestry goes into those nations with which we are at war. The blood of

Italy, Germany, and Japan flows in our veins. But the ideals and the faith of the American way is in our souls. All of us are the descendants of immigrants and loyal citizens of this country, no matter where our forefathers resided. The test, then, comes just here. Can we look upon our associates here, not as descendants of the English, the French, the Russians, or the Japanese, but as citizens of our commonwealth? If we can, let us thank God and take courage. If we are not able to transcend those artificial barriers of a dead past, then the American way may be beautiful in theory but futile in practice. Were any student or teacher on this campus to show in any way the slightest ill-will toward the descendants of those with whom we are at war simply because of their ancestors, he will be showing to the world that he either does not understand our constitutional democracy, or he has no faith in its worth. Park College has never in all its noble history, had any difficulties in such matters as we are now discussing. But Park College has never confronted a situation similar to what is now before it. We shall watch with great concern and interest the developments of the year before us to see if we have faith and the understanding necessary to keep intact the democratic way under these severe strains.

You have a right to know the position of the administration of Park

College in a time like this. This knowledge you shall have in English as plainly as I know how to use it. We will not tolerate un-Americanism on this campus. Any act of disrespect to a fellow American citizen, simply because his forbears came from an enemy country will be construed as a violation of the Constitution of our country, an affront to Park's catholicity, and a betrayal of the Christian faith for which we have stood down through the years.

We are opposed to the way of life represented in the leadership of the Axis powers. If they have their way, democracy will be no more and the blessings of freedom will become nothing but a haunting memory. But the Axis are not the only dangers to our liberties as we know them. There are those who, because of their intolerance and bigotry, would deny to a fellow American citizen his just rights because his great-grandfather's name was Fritz and lived in Berlin. What makes this spurious loyalty so dangerous is that it is cloaked in the garb of patriotism. In reality they are foes of what our young men are dying to preserve in that, within our very household, they repudiate the democratic process and betray the fundamental philosophy of the Constitution.

What, after all, makes a man truly American? Not the color of his skin, not the place of his birth, not the school or schools from which he is graduated, not the amount of money

he may possess, nor the membership in some particular political party or religious group. One may be lily white in complexion, born within the shadows of Mount Vernon, possess fabulous wealth, carry degrees from our greatest universities, belong to one of the two major political parties, and maintain membership in any one of the great religious groups of America, and still be minus those fundamental qualities necessary to sound Americanism. A white man murdered Abraham Lincoln. Aaron Burr, betrayer of his country, had a keener intellect, it is said, than George Washington. Some of the greatest political corruptions of our time are studded with men carrying university degrees. I am not depreciating the values of education or wealth as such. All I mean is that these are not necessarily evidence of good Americanism. Democracy is the outgrowth of a quality of soul, a temper of mind, a great faith, faith in the dignity and worth of man as such. Democracy means that one man's vote counts just as much as the other fellow's. It means equality of opportunity. It means the right to speak one's honest convictions on any subject, belong or refuse to belong to any political party, to believe or disbelieve as he pleases, just so long as he respects the rights of others and operates within the framework of constitutional democracy. Whether his name is Tony with Italian ancestry, Pat with an Irish ancestry,

Ivan with a Russian ancestry, Toyohiko with a Japanese ancestry, Sandy with a Scotch ancestry, August with a German ancestry, or Cabot with a Bostonian ancestry — the name and the ancestry are in themselves of no necessary significance. There are other questions which do have significance. Do these men believe in the Declaration of Independence? Do they believe in freedom as we have enjoyed it since the bitter days of Bunker Hill and Valley Forge? Do they believe in the utter supremacy of human values and in the sacredness of personality? Do they believe in the American way, and do they prove their faith by their works? The great American question is not "from where do you come," but "where are you going?"

This democratic faith calls for unity of purpose but that does not mean regimentation of practice. Again, this fact is what makes it so necessary to be on our guard in a time like this. One political party may say that its platform is best for the enrichment and preservation of the American way. Another may disagree and set up counter proposals. Both may be wrong. But, in any case, freedom of speech and discussion must never be thwarted except as it may be necessary for military reasons in time of war. Thus in our country we have sharp differences in racial and cultural strains as well as acute disagreements as to how best

to make our system work. In any case it calls for tolerance, broad-mindedness, and above all grim determination to preserve our political faith as set forth in the Constitution.

So let us resolve to be good Americans, loyal Americans, intelligent Americans. Let us resolve that we will not weaken our nation by cheap and slanderous remarks about those in our midst with whom we disagree. We are Americans, all. Let us prove to the world that while emotions surge about us like a billowy sea, while tides of hatred tend to render rational processes almost impossible, we will strive with the help of God to demonstrate democracy at its best on this hillside. Let us resolve to keep cool heads in these hot times. And, when we walk daily across the campus, look into the eyes of our fellow students and say to ourselves, "Though your folks came from a different land than mine, you are a fellow American citizen. No matter what others may say or do, we will live together as equals under the Stars and Stripes."

PARK COLLEGE RECORD

Sixty-fifth Year

Number One

Published by Park College at the
Park College Press, Parkville, Mo.

William Lindsay Young, *President*
Frederick Wm. Hawley, *President Emeritus*

Entered as second class matter October 18, 1928, at the Postoffice at Parkville, Mo., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Exhibit 9b

Sarah Lawrence College
Bronxville, New York

Office of the President

Mr. Dillon S. Myer, Director
War Relocation Authority
Barr Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Myer:

I have been asked to write you of my approval of the resettlement of Japanese Americans whenever the government feels that it is wise to take them out of concentration camps. We have offered a scholarship to Sarah Lawrence College to a Japanese girl from one of the concentration camps as a guaranty of our sympathetic interest in this endeavor.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ Constance Warren

President

Exhibit 9b

The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois
Office of the President

July 29, 1942

Dear Sir:

I understand that the War Department is now formulating a policy in regard to Japanese-American students in the universities of the country. I should like to go on record as saying that the University of Chicago would be glad to admit such students if it can receive confirmation from the War Department that such admission is not contrary to the policy of the Department.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Robert M. Hutchins

Mr. John J. McCloy
Assistant Secretary of War
Washington, D. C.

Exhibit 9b

The University of Wisconsin

Office of the President

August 26, 1942

Dear Mr. Rowalt,

I have just received your letter of August 18 and I am as anxious as you are to be cleared by the Navy Department. So far as I know we are not doing any confidential work for the Navy in our laboratories and our naval training activity is quite elementary as is the equipment. We have set aside a portion of the campus as a Naval Reservation. I think there is no question but that a reasonable number of applicants will be accepted wholeheartedly in this University community. So far we have had nothing but the most cordial relations with students of Japanese ancestry and there are at the present time several on the campus. Specifically, we have had several assistants in the Graduate School who are American born Japanese. We have had three or four during the summer.

In the last two or three years we have had fewer students of Japanese ancestry than in the decade before. At the present time I think we have one young Japanese on the campus who left the West coast during the period of voluntary evacuation. We have been waiting for word from you before assuring other students that they may enter in the fall. We have recently admitted two Japanese, one from Idaho and one from Colorado, for the coming academic year. I hope we may have an early determination by the Navy following the precedent laid down by the War Department. We have both Navy recruits and Army recruits on the campus and it seems to me that both are on all fours.

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ C. A. Dykstra

Mr. E. M. Rowalt
War Relocation Authority
Washington, D. C.

Exhibit 9c

Excerpts from replies to the Director's letter to College Presidents dated August 7, 1942 (Exhibit 6)

"...

"Conditions here are such as to render this procedure decidedly unwise. Not only would it be inadvisable, but if certain plans now on foot should develop as we expect them to, it would be practically impossible to house the students in question. Accordingly, please understand clearly that the University of _____ is not in a position to admit American-born Japanese students and that it will not do so."

"We have had under consideration a suggestion that some Japanese students might be sent to the _____ College. Because of the fact that some huge Defense Plants are located at _____, our School Board has considered it unwise for Japanese students even though naturalized or born as American Citizens should be sent to the College here."

"Thank you for your letter of August 7 regarding the status of students of Japanese origin."

"...

"Under the foundation of _____ Institute its educational charter does not provide for the admission of any except Anglo-Saxon students."

"We are sympathetic with the work you are doing with these people."

Exhibit 9d

Excerpts from letter written to the Director of the War Relocation Authority by Hon. Leland M. Ford dated July 16, 1942

"This will refer to the meeting you had on July 14, 1942, with Subcommittee on Japanese Evacuation, representing the three Pacific Coast States, Oregon, Washington and California, and the Territory of Alaska.

"The matter of releasing Japanese students, to finish their education in colleges and schools throughout the United States, was brought up. This matter had previously been brought up and was considered by this Committee in their meeting on May 8. The Committee, on May 8, unanimously decided against any such procedure on the grounds that it would undo the very thing that the placing of the Japanese in these camps originally started out to accomplish.

"This Committee originated the policy that these Japanese should be treated with the greatest courtesy and humanitarian treatment ... At the same time, they considered the safety and welfare of this nation as paramount to any other consideration.

"The F.B.I., Military Intelligence, Naval Intelligence and ourselves agreed that no one can tell those who might carry on espionage or sabotage from those who would not. We therefore decided that this was a very dangerous procedure."

...

Exhibit 9d

Excerpts from letter written by Mr. Myer in reply to Mr. Ford's letter of July 16, 1942.

...

"I am certainly in agreement with the feeling of your group ...that the safety and welfare of the nation is paramount to any other consideration. Consequently, I feel that this policy should be developed in such a way that no safeguards are overlooked and so that all agencies responsible for the conduct of the war and the safeguarding of our war efforts are fully conversant with what is being done. Furthermore, it is important that they approve of the actions taken. That is why we are working out details relating to the administration of this policy in close cooperation with the Navy Intelligence, the War Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"It is generally agreed -- and certainly it is accepted by this organization -- that the evacuation of important military areas on the west coast was necessary. It is believed, however, that in so far as sound procedures can be developed for making proper investigations, the rights of citizens should be respected in every way possible under wartime conditions, including the privilege of securing educational training. It becomes more and more evident that the Empire of Japan would like to prove to other nations of the Far East that this is a racial war. Therefore, it seems to us that actions of the U. S. Government must carefully avoid giving our enemies an opportunity to claim that this is true.

"The policy of permitting opportunity for further college education to citizens of Japanese origin has been in effect since early May. There seem to be many reasons why we should proceed with it, continuing to administer the program in close collaboration with the War Department, the Navy Intelligence, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and all other responsible agencies. Therefore, I cannot comply with your request that the program be held in abeyance."

...

Exhibit 9d

Excerpts from letter written to the Director of the War Relocation Authority by Hon. Leland M. Ford dated August 1, 1942.

...

"I want to say here and now that if any sabotage comes from the Japanese, or the morale of these people is changed, it is going to be the fault of you who change the policy. You are the head of this Department, and I am telling you that when anything happens to the Japanese or is done by the Japanese, the responsibility positively rests with you. You have been told in advance what the conditions are and you refuse to believe, or do not want to believe them.

"I have thousands of young people in my District whose education is being interfered with. Many of these are in the Army, Navy and other branches of service. They are in the service due to the vicissitudes of war. They are patriotic Americans. I cannot, therefore, see why you and yours insist upon giving the Japanese a better deal than you give to the Americans, and that is exactly what you are doing. In addition to that, you are jeopardizing the safety of this nation two ways: 1. By the damage to this nation that may be done by your new policy and second by the thousands of operators whose activities are going to have to be drawn from the F.B.I. and other sources, to watch the people you are releasing, and who had agreed to stay in camp, until your organization brought this new theory to them and apparently destroyed the original program."

...

Exhibit 9e

Northampton, Mass.
August 24, 1943

John R. McCloy, Esq.
Asst. Sec. War

Dear Sir:

"I wish to protest against the sending of Japanese students to Northampton by the War Department.

"Last month a protest was made to the President of Smith College against accepting any more Japanese students...

"President H. J. Davis insisted that the War Department request Smith College to take these students. After going over some of your correspondence..., I am not sure that the War Department sent them here under these conditions. If they did, I protest bitterly, against having girls from good American homes, sweating in the onion and tobacco fields, as well as in the heavy war industries in the Springfield area--their fathers, husbands, brothers and sweet-hearts in the armed services, while Japanese girls are enjoying the cloistered security of the Smith Campus, in the midst of a U. S. Naval Station.

"I do not believe that American public opinion will tolerate any such arrangement, once the searchlight of public opinion is focused upon it.

...

"It seems rather strange that I have to battle an alien President, of a college, with the American background of Western Massachusetts.

...

"The numbers here are small, the principles involved are broad, and can apply to the whole country...

P.S. Native Northampton Public Schools, Cushing Academy, Harvard 1916."

Exhibit 9e

Excerpts from reply to preceding letter dated September 14, 1943

"...

"I agree that a matter of principle is involved, and the principle which the United States Government has been following in this matter is stated in the attached copy of a letter from the President to the Secretary of War dealing with American citizens of Japanese ancestry in the Army:

"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."

Any attempt to prohibit the attendance of loyal American citizens at educational institutions because of their race or ancestry would be a clear violation of this principle and our entire democratic tradition. Just as there are girls of other racial and national extraction attending college, so there are citizens of Japanese descent working in the onion fields and war industries and serving in our armed forces.

/s/ D. S. Myer
Director"

Exhibit 9f

453 Kensington Place
Pasadena, Calif.
Aug. 8, 1942

Pres. F. D. Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We wish to appeal to you as Commander-in-Chief of the Army to make it possible for our young American citizens of Japanese ancestry to be dismissed from Assembly Centers or Relocation Centers to attend any of the thousand colleges willing to accept them. The army, we understand, has thus far only authorized seventeen colleges.

We recommend that hearing boards be set up in the camps to determine the loyalty of the students, and that they should then have the same freedom as young Americans of German or Italian ancestry.

We believe, after studying the Tolen committee report and as a result of knowing many Japanese students and their record as a group in California, that there is not occasion to treat them as enemy aliens. They have high ability and honor. If we treat them right, they will remain good citizens.

Yours truly,

/s/ Mrs. Gertrude E. Klause
/s/ Alvin F. Klause

Exhibit 9f

509 Welch Avenue
Ames, Iowa
September 13, 1942

War Relocation Authority
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dillon,

For the sake of full democracy in America, for our
repute in the world, for the support of the patriotism of
Japanese-Americans, it seems important that as many as
possible be brought back into normal American life. In
particular, can not the regulations for admission of
Students into school outside restricted areas be freed
from military control, made as workable as possible, and
then, with warm recommendations for their positive use,
be made known to the American people?

Yours faithfully,

/s/ Edward S. Allen

Exhibit 9f

University of California

Office of the President

October 12, 1942

Mr. Dillon S. Myer
National Director of the War Relocation Authority
Barr Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Myer:

I have just learned from the West Coast Committee of the National Student Relocation Council that as a result of the fine co-operation offered by your office and other government agencies, it has been possible to make arrangements for the continued college education of about two hundred young American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

We at the University of California, because we have dealt with more of these Japanese-Americans than any other university, and because our experience has led us to hold their ability, willingness to work, and personal integrity in high regard, are particularly appreciative of the efforts that you, and staff members of the Washington Office and San Francisco, have made on behalf of the N.S.R.C.

While our long acquaintance with these Japanese-Americans does give us deeper sympathy for the sacrifices which they have been asked to make for the safety of the nation, our appreciation of your efforts has a broader base. The degree to which we are able to protect the citizenship of this minority, within the limits of military expediency, will be a measure of our real faith in the ideals of democracy, not only in the eyes of our own future generations, but also in the eyes of minority groups whose support we are soliciting in all parts of the world.

Sincerely,

/s/ Robert G. Sproul