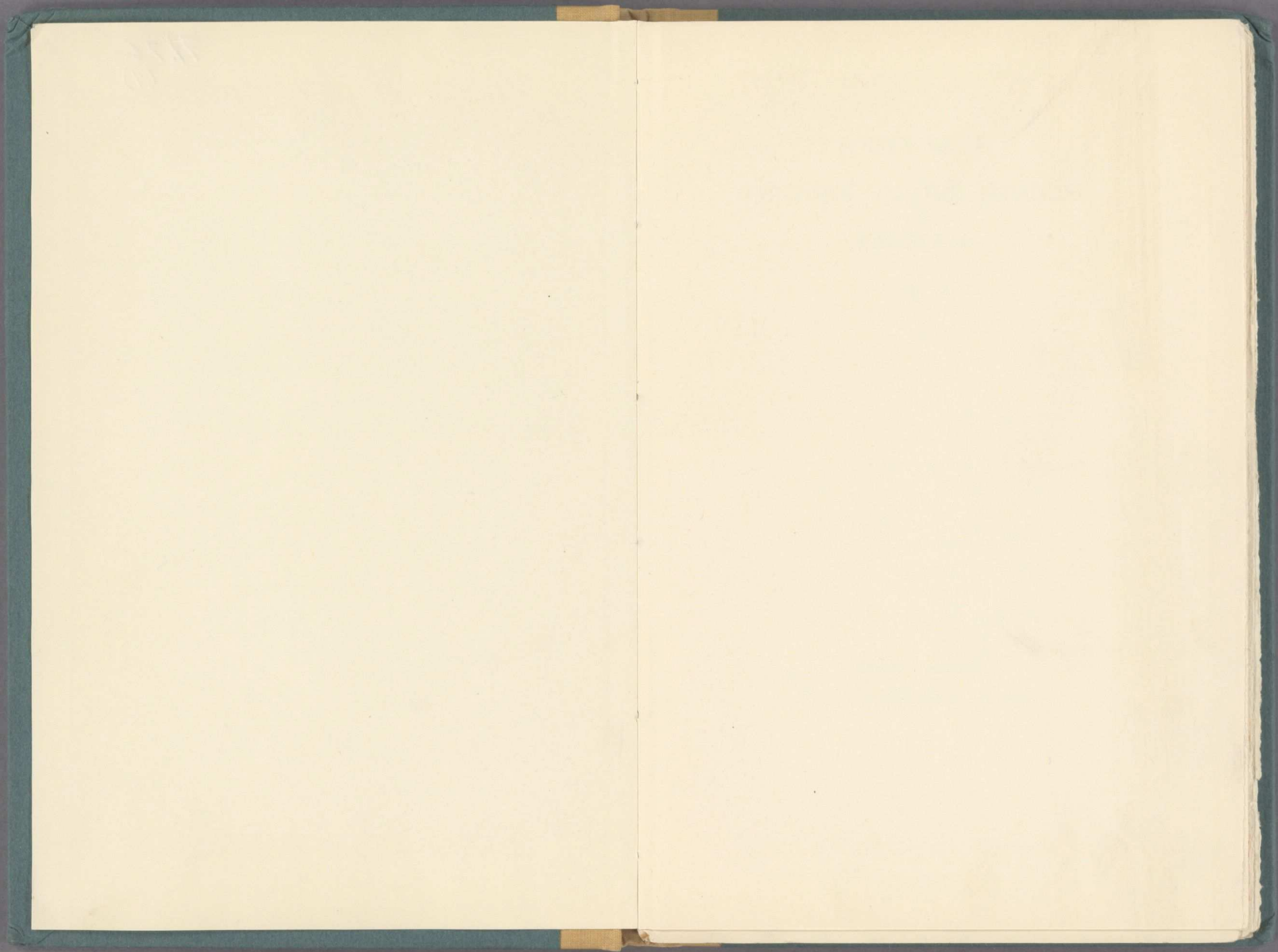


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FORTY-NINE
OPINIONS ON OUR JAPANESE

PROBLEM

Privately Printed

SAN FRANCISCO 1944

FORTY-NINE
OPINIONS ON OUR JAPANESE
PROBLEM



What does the author of this book think of the Japanese, both as a race and as a people?
"As much as I have been able to during my own mind, I am asking some people, like you, who think, what they think."
"I mean your reply will be most welcome."

How are the replies, including signatures and personal references. They come from men and women in the professions, agriculture, industry, finance, real estate, social service, etc. many white-collar men, some war-time men, many business men.
"I am sending copies to the contributors and to various government officials, the Spanish Ambassador, some newspapers and some educators."
"I am indeed grateful for the help of my respondents."

Privately Printed
SAN FRANCISCO :: 1944

NOTE

On February 14, 1944, I mailed the following letter to a representative group of Americans:

"What should be our attitude, and what should be our local and state and national policies regarding the Japanese, both now and post war?"

"Inasmuch as I have not been able to clarify my own mind, I am asking some people, like you, who think, what they think.

"I await your reply with much interest."

Here are the replies, omitting signatures and personal references. They come from men and women in the professions, agriculture, industry, finance, real estate, social service, etc; some white-collar men, some workers, some executives, some housewives.

I am sending copies to the contributors and to various government officials, the Spanish Ambassador, some newspapers and some educators.

I am indeed grateful for the help of my respondents.

A. I. ESBERG

San Francisco, California
September, 1944

FORTY-NINE
OPINIONS ON OUR JAPANESE
PROBLEM



ONE

A bit of background. Some months ago, the Selective Service Board asked me to make a report on certain Japanese, formerly living in this section and at that time in a relocation camp. These men had applied for release on the basis of volunteering for Army service. Our Board had been requested to find proof of their loyalty.

To boil down my resulting report into few words, I told the Board that absolutely no reliable information could be secured at this time but that my calls and visits had resulted in listing some underlying tendencies and trends that seemed to be generally agreed upon by those I talked with. These were:

1. That Japanese born and brought up in Japan could not be expected to be loyal at this time.
2. That second generation Japanese, born in this country were under the patriarchial influence of their

parents and that the outlook of parents and their own friends was much more likely to control their thinking than any amount of education here or the influence of white friends, and school companions.

3. That the Japanese mind was almost impossible to read. But, under the suave, unwrinkled face, there rankled the old scar of former exclusion, their inability to buy property in many locations, discrimination in employment, and beyond and underneath all of these, was a deep and carefully propagandized *race-hatred*.

4. Many times repeated was the statement that spies and agents had been active for years. The best of the Japanese youth had been going to a school taught by a former officer of the Imperial Guard. Complaints lodged with the State authorities brought no result. The school was closed more than six months before Pearl Harbor and more than half the pupils disappeared at that time. The Japanese baseball team also faded away at about the same time—with polite regret!

5. On the other hand it was generally agreed that there had been a few outstanding Japanese who were credited with good minds, high character and standing among the whites in the district. How much influence these few would now have among their own people at this time was a matter of grave doubt. But there was a sincere regret that they had been bundled

off in the general exodus without any mark of their good leadership.

6. In the orchard, farm and chicken raising sections, there was also expressed a feeling that it was a waste to herd these trained agricultural workers in idle camps, when there was much land and opportunity for needed labor of this class away from the Coast states.

7. Prof. X. made these specific generalizations as having a bearing on probable loyalty: The most likely to be loyal were the second-generation Japanese who were educated in this country and had made a visit back to Japan where they could contrast the working and living conditions. The least likely to be loyal were those of the second-generation who were sent back to Japan for their education and indoctrinization. He also emphasized the deeply ingrained race hatred as the worst hurdle to real American citizenship and loyalty.

Looking backward. While it will butter no parsnips for us at this time to look at the dirt on our own hands, it may make us better poised for future practical action if we consider what we have done to earn this race and color hatred—which is not limited to the Japanese mind.

Indians of a red hide owned this country when the

white man came in. We edged him out of his hunting grounds and, when he resisted encroachment, we coined the phrase, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." So we killed most of them, civilized the rest by teaching them to live on reservations which we chose for them. Southern planters bought black skinned *Negroes* to work the plantations as slaves. We fought a sectional war to liberate them and then gave them a status which has kept them in a state of smouldering resentment ever since. We encouraged *Chinese* to come in on the basis of cheap labor for our railroad building. When iron and steel development needed low-grade, tough labor, we threw open the door for all the *Slavs* who had the price to reach our shores.

After we had control of all the land, had finished the railroads, and our industrial empire was established, what happened to those who had been brought in or welcomed during these years? The Indians who were left, did not multiply and resigned themselves to what was left of life. The *Negroes* have multiplied hugely, have spread all over the nation—and are now one of our social and political headaches. The *Chinese*, as a whole have been good citizens and have specialized on laundering our dirty linen. The *Slavs* have prospered, gone to school and been pretty much absorbed.

In fact any good college football team and any list of All-American players is sure to contain quite a few "skys" and "vitches." The same assimilation is of course even more true of other European nationals.

What then is the difference in the present status of American-born children of foreign ancestry? For those who have white skins the sky is the limit of opportunity. And what is the outlook for redskins, blackskins and yellowskins? Of course from our viewpoint there is the question of eugenics—which may be basic—and also the difference of difficulty of assimilation in the "melting-pot." Then there is the question of economics from a labor standpoint. The darker skinned peoples have fewer wants and lower living standards and are willing to work for less than the whites who are protected by the Labor Unions.

As far as I know, Australia is the only major country which has taken a clear stand in having an "All White" immigration law.

The Japanese have still further causes for their deeply ingrained hostility to whites and to us in particular. We passed Exclusion legislation against them, have opposed their expansion into other lands and fought them in the open market for raw materials. In the light of the fact that Commodore Perry opened our trade with Japan at the mouth of Naval guns, this

must seem a bit tough to them. England, Holland and other nationals have taken over the islands that produce the raw materials that they need and have also taken the mixed dark skins of India under their benevolent wing.

Notwithstanding many and repeated warnings, we "mandated" at the last "peace," many seemingly worthless islands to Japan. She was busy for years in fortifying them—in spite of counter provisions of the mandate—and our Navy and our Intelligence(?) Services must have put us wise to this. Finally, we fed oil, gasoline, and scrap-iron to Japan, right up to the day of Pearl Harbor, turning deaf ears to Ambassador Grew and General Lee's warnings and prophecies.

When we finally declared war against Japan, it seemed necessary to move out the Coast Japanese population at once, as we feared an attack on the Coast. The Army did a good job of this, and those with the known dangerous records were kept apart from the mass of the others who might or might not be loyal. Then the pudding-headed gents of the WRA mixed the bad and the good apples in the barrel—and there we are.

What to do now? Here I am a mere, unreliable theorist, with all too little grasp of the facts. I can only theorize:

1. That Japanese soldiers, as well as Negroes, Chinese and Filipinos have given a good account of themselves in our Armed Forces. It would be unthinkable to use Japanese troops against their own race in the East, but they have done well in Europe. Why not increase the number?

2. Many now in concentration camps are trained in agriculture. The SSB is bleeding farms of needed labor now. Can any test sort out trustworthy men to raise crops?

3. If there is any possible chance, how about exchanging some for our men in Japanese camps—if any live to be exchanged?

4. The known bad-characters should be dealt with as they deserve in war time. Certainly kept apart from all others.

5. In every possible way we should set an example of enlightened horse-sense in treating the others—not only as a contrast to what the Japanese and Germans are doing—but also as morale to all nations.

And in post-war times? This gets away ahead in the fog of the absolutely unknown. It depends upon the outcome of the war, the terms of what I hope may be a "corridor of adjustment" and all other conditions—of which international politics will be an inescapable part.

It is to be expected that, if we do compel unconditional surrender of the Japanese, we will have a chance to face many plain facts that we have avoided before. For some considerable time, we will have to maintain peace by continued force but it is devoutly hoped that we may look at future adjustments from the standpoint of reasonable Japanese needs, as well as from that of our own security — of which the former must be a part.

And finally. Anthropologists and Eugenists tell us unblinkingly that man is naturally an aggressive, greedy, fighting, animal. They give us little hope of lasting peace and some of them prophesy the doom of the whole human race through war and pestilence.

"Be that as it may," this chap who writes these wandering words feels that, unless the so-called advanced nations have a deep change of mind and heart the poor old human on this earth will only put a comma or a semi-colon after this conflict. The question is, "Have Russia, Britain, China and the United States suffered enough to be willing to face basic facts of human nature, of nationalities and races so that they may slowly but surely work toward world readjustments on a rediscovery and recognition of those values of life that are universal? This will require the humility of sacrifice of many things that we United Powers

have felt are exclusively ours, the lessening of jealousies and fears and the putting of peace before material possessions or pride. A *very* large order, this!

But, to the degree with which it is accepted, will depend how we treat the Japanese — and every other nation in the so-called post-war period.

Two

Our "attitude" should express Tolerance. No nation can rise by stepping on another nation. Therefore, there should be no hatred — the first step should be to demand the truth about what led to this situation — is our foreign policy selfish, ignorant or plain stupid? Give us a Leader who will honestly present the facts — then start educating ourselves as well as the Japanese.

It's just as simple as that! But you and I know it is only with the help of a great Faith — and the Golden Rule — that we shall ever solve this problem.

THREE

In answering your note I shall probably sound quite vague. I guess that I am rather mixed in thought and feeling on the Japanese problem.

You know that I am a member of the Friends Church, don't you? Members of the Friends Church

from all over the country have made a special effort to alleviate the suffering of the American Japanese who have been uprooted from their homes and sent to camps.

It is not too soon to formulate policies, but when feeling is running high, we might do something we'd be sorry for ten years from now.

I say "wait until the war with Japan is over. Then face the problem. For now, let well enough alone."

FOUR

Regarding the Japanese—the question you ask me today. I have spent considerable time in Japan, as I think you know—keeping house there in the mountains for several summers. Have traveled much through their beautiful country. Then, they came into Shanghai in 1932 and again in '37. We saw, then, their barbarous and atrocious vandalism and cruelties. I feel, that in the light of all that has followed to reveal all this, we should guard our country and our future generations from their presence in our land. That they are never to be trusted as a race—and the loyal individuals quite helpless to influence those in power in their own land. I should return them *all* to Japan, and give no further opportunities to them here.

I hope you do not think me too harsh—but that is my conviction. You may quote me, if you wish. The slow starvation of our prisoners has been verified by those returning on the Gripsholm, and today I had a long account of it from X. In his camp are 800 men slowly undermined by very low rations—losing from 10 to 12 pounds a month! Sixty to 80 sleep in a room.

FIVE

The attitude toward the Japanese Americans in America is emotional, influenced by race hatred, jealousy, revenge and the propaganda of jingo newspapers.

I personally dislike the Japanese of Japan and the Germans of Germany about equally. Their bestiality is much the same. We bear down on the Japanese principally because of color and upon the West Coast because the war is nearer upon the Pacific.

Your question does not differentiate between the Japanese in America and those in Japan.

As to the latter I am for destroying as many of them and their possessions as possible during the war and for endeavoring to render them impotent for war afterward.

However, the Japanese in America, both native born and alien, have rights which we must respect. They are not responsible for what Japan has done any

more than Germans in America are responsible for Germany's acts.

I would favor permitting those in America to return after the war to their former occupations and location as soon as it is thought that their safety would not be jeopardized. We are making bad citizens out of many who have hitherto been good ones. They are entitled to justice and shipping them back to Japan would be both unjust and cruel.

To my letter add: "The Japanese who have been openly disloyal or who were educated in Japan or who sent their children to Japan to be educated should be sent to Japan at the end of the war."

SIX

In any event, I will get something off to you in connection with the subject matter as soon as I have had an opportunity to give it a little more study. I think it is a vital question and one that should be studied with extreme care, as I am convinced that its solution will have an important bearing on the future of our country.

SEVEN

However, it is too early to crystalize my views until the outcome of the war and until I know what kind

of a peace we are going to have. I feel very definitely on the subject, however, to this extent: we must either uphold our Constitution, or change it.

EIGHT

However in any case I would hesitate greatly in committing myself in writing at this time. There could hardly be much value from any terse answer. One would have to elaborate one's views at some length, including proper shading so as not to seem too arbitrary. Indeed I am far from having come to any clean-cut decision on this very important matter.

NINE

I have been giving the matter a great deal of thought and I find that I am approaching the condition in which you seem to be on this question. I am having some considerable difficulty in clarifying my own mind on it. Please be assured, however, that I shall very definitely let you have my opinion which, incidentally, is not going to be the same opinion that I would have expressed had you made your question to me verbally with the expectation of a prompt response.

I find that the more I think about this question the more difficult it is to find the answer.

TEN

I have made several starts at answering your note relative to the Japanese questions. My limited personal contacts with the race in the past make me want to take an "on the fence" attitude now. I would be delighted to discuss this subject with you sometime.

ELEVEN

Frankly, I didn't answer your letter because I haven't been able to work out in my own mind a clear point of view with which I could be satisfied.

You have undoubtedly seen or will shortly see the current issue of Fortune magazine, the whole of which is devoted to the handling of the Japanese situation post-war. I have not yet had a chance to read it, but I hope that it presents some constructive thoughts with relation to the California Japanese problem on which I have a much greater interest and considerably less of anything that might be classed as Christian or tolerant point of view.

I have very little use for the whole tribe and consequently my judgment is likely to be a little bit more biased than perhaps it should be.

TWELVE

In laying out plans we must take into consideration the character of the Japanese as a nation. They are a strange mixture of medieval feudalism extending through the Army and Navy to industry mixed with a modern industrial nation. Their philosophy of ancestor worship and the small value placed on the life of an individual mixed with aggressive commercialism and a desire to become a leading nation in the commonwealth of nations. Their domestic life belongs in the dark ages while their commercial life is as modern as any nation's. It is my belief that the modernizing of their domestic life will make them a nation that can be made to take its place along with the other powerful nations of the world.

Their islands are overpopulated. The population is made up on the whole of hard working aggressive people who make good business men and who can do a great deal more than most peoples when given land on which to raise crops. We have seen this here in California and the possibilities of the use of these qualities of the Japanese in raising the standard of living throughout the Orient are too great to be ignored for the sake of sentiment.

With this overpopulation in mind we can consider at least three ways of disposing of this problem.

- (1) They can be given additional land to develop.
- (2) They can be permitted to emigrate to other nations.
- (3) They can be kept within their own boundaries and restrained from further expansion by force.

Let us develop these premises.

(1) On the surface this does not seem practical politically or through public sentiment. The territory would have to come from the Philippines, Malay States, China or Russia. At the present it does not seem possible that we could turn any of this land over to them as a nation, however beneficial it might prove to be to those countries in the long run.

(2) The permission to enter other countries offers far greater possibilities. I see no reason why they should not be allowed to enter this country under the quota system the same as any other nation. The few Japanese entering in this way will never amount to enough to materially affect our political or domestic life. Emigration to South and Central America should be encouraged on a similar basis as well as to other civilized countries throughout Europe and Africa and Australia. This presents a problem of assimilation which all nationals must solve anyway with respect

to other Orientals and Negroes. If they are to be a respected nation with its place along with that of other nations they must be accepted socially. This can not be accomplished overnight but as they migrate to other parts of the world in increasing numbers and take their place in the lives of those other countries as respected citizens they will automatically earn this position.

The few hundred thousand that will migrate to "white" countries will not solve the overpopulation of the home land but will act more to bring these nations to understand the Japanese. The principal solution to the problem can come from vast areas in China and Siberia that are terribly backward and which can profit by the industry of the Japanese. It is to these places that large numbers can migrate. They would be social equals immediately and can intermarry and quickly become part of the life of these countries.

In order that these migrations do not become the basis for conquest it is proposed that the Japanese enter these countries in controlled numbers, being relatively thinly spread throughout the native populations. It will be necessary to see that they move into the life of these nations not as Japanese nationals but as Chinese and Russian nationals. Japanese schools and clubs as such should be discouraged. In every way they should

be encouraged to use their industry and ability to improve the life and raise the standard of living in their adopted homes.

(3) This is shortsighted and on the face of it would sow seeds of discontent and desire for revenge which could only end in another war of aggression to get out of servitude.

Assuming that migrations can relieve the stress of over-population, the Japanese nation should be in a position in the business world as a nation of people whose living standards were comparable to those of other modern nations. They should be given every opportunity to compete in the world markets. The changeover of the Japanese laboring class from semi-slave to a self-respecting independent laboring class is one of the principal accomplishments we must work for. If Japan is to take its place in the business world, its labor must be on an equal basis with the labor of other nations both to prevent flooding world markets with cheap goods made by underpaid labor and to make Japan an importing nation as well as an exporting nation. They cannot be allowed to become a parasite in the world of commerce. All our hopes for continued high standards of living must be based on raising the standards of living throughout the world so that the backward Oriental nations with their millions of

people can supply us with some of our requirements for goods as well as be customers for products and services we have to offer.

In order to bring about this way of life, Japan's government should be revised and brought up to date. As far as possible they should have a free government. The power of the royal family and the feudal lords both in politics and business should be broken. It does not appear practical to start in immediately with a full democratic government. The Japanese people are too used to being governed by decree and of thinking of their emperor as having a God-given right to rule. Such a people cannot immediately turn to ruling themselves. They are too apt to become the prey of dictators who would leave them where they are now. For a number of years elections should be supervised by a committee of nations to be mentioned later. Heads of the nation should only be permitted to serve a few years and then retire to prevent dictatorship.

Ownership of the great industries should be spread among the people through stock distribution and taken from the control of a few families. This would tend to boost the standard of living through wide distribution of earnings as exemplified by the widespread stock ownership of corporations in this country.

The myth of the mystery of the Orient should be

exploded once and for all. There should be no chance given them to build secret navies and armies, build up armed bases such as Truk and war industries under other names. Diplomatic relationships must be on a frank and open basis. The pussyfooting diplomat coddling a nation and permitting it to arm for aggression under his nose must be a thing of the past. Strong arm diplomacy cannot be counted on from nations acting as individuals. Each nation has its axe to grind. One nation will want to build up a strong Japan, another a weak Japan for various reasons and the conflicting diplomacy of various nations cannot exercise a strong control over the international policies of Japan or any other nation. The only way this can be carried out is through a strong central committee of nations in which every nation is represented and from which it cannot withdraw. The policies of this committee will be carried out by an executive committee of a few powerful nations having spheres of influence reaching over closeby smaller nations. The entire committee of nations will act as a congress of nations and they will recommend policies to the executive committee. A court of appeals will be open to any member to determine its rights if it feels the overall policy has been wronged.

A constitution shall be drawn up setting forth the

duties of each branch, the rights of the committee, the methods of enforcement and clearly stating how far a country can go in developing armed forces and setting forth the way to stop such preparations for war or other predatory tactics when a nation has overstepped its rights. This committee of nations shall guide the policies of Japan and other nations along lines which will make them fit into the lives of nations.

In order to prepare Japan for self government the education of the general public should be started immediately. This is the primary step in developing a free government. Public schools should be established throughout the land and attendance should be compulsory.

Hand in hand with general education should go a free press and freedom of speech. Without these no free government can exist. The initial establishment of general education, free press and free speech shall be under the guidance of the committee of nations.

The money of Japan shall be tied to that of other industrial nations closely enough to permit free interchange of commerce and development of enterprises.

The development of modern methods of agriculture should go hand in hand with other improvements. The use of modern machinery, fertilizers and methods of agriculture should be encouraged, leaving out for the

present subsidies and allowances for not raising products.

It is not proposed that these developments in the Japanese domestic and foreign economy should be carried out in a paternalistic manner. They should be guided along the lines outlined and be permitted to work out the methods themselves. It is not anticipated that they will be relieved of all hardships and will retain their old independence of operation. These must be given up to some extent for the benefit of the world as a whole. Their relationship with other nations must be strictly observed and carefully censured so they can take their place as a respected member of the commonwealth of nations and not as a menace to peace and progress.

Well, there it is for what it's worth.

I know I have not strictly answered your question. I have written up what to do with Japan as a nation after the war. As for the American Japanese now I believe all except those which the FBI believes to be hostile to the U. S. should be taken out of concentration camps and encouraged to take their place in the life of this country as soon as possible. I believe they should be allowed to own property and that they should be discouraged from going back to Japanese sections in cities. They should be scattered throughout

the country as suggested in the overall picture and encouraged to take their place in our society as best they can. My overall policy remains the same. They must be assimilated as rapidly as possible and not segregated as an inferior race. This has been accomplished to a great extent in the Hawaiian Islands and it can be a fact here. They must be made Americans and not Japanese living on American soil with a pseudo citizenship.

THIRTEEN

1. *As to the admission of immigrants from Japan:*

For many years our policy has been not to permit any immigration from Japan. I see no reason why we should change this policy. It is possible, of course, that post-war conditions may develop which would make it wise for us to revise our whole attitude toward immigration from the Orient. But it seems to me that post-war conditions, insofar as they affect this problem, are so unpredictable that no purpose would be served by discussing these possibilities at the present time. Interesting fields of speculation might be opened, but calm consideration of long-range possibilities would be almost impossible in wartime.

2. *As to the treatment of Japanese nationals already in this country:* The treatment of enemy aliens during

wartime is a matter which is entirely within the control of the Executive. The Department of Justice has provided a hearing for each enemy alien before a local board of citizens and after such hearing and a recommendation of the board, the Attorney General has ordered either (1) internment, (2) release on parole, or (3) absolute release. The same procedure has been followed with Japanese nationals as with German and Italian nationals. It is my view that aliens should be interned where there is any reason to believe that there is any danger of disloyal action or sabotage. In the case of many of the Japanese nationals, both in Hawaii and on the West Coast, there is no particular need for internment; and this is especially true in the case of parents of soldiers who are fighting in the American army, where the alien has had no connection with Japan by way of contact with consular offices, visits to Japan, sending the children to Japan to be educated or otherwise. In the case of German and Italian nationals a suspicion of disloyalty may arise where no application has been made for naturalization over a long period of years; but this consideration does not apply to the Japanese, who cannot be naturalized. My knowledge of conditions in Hawaii and in some localities in this country leads me to believe that many of the older Japanese are not at all dangerous and that

their agricultural labor would be of real service in the war effort. However, each case should be judged on its own merits.

As to post-war treatment of Japanese nationals, the suggestion has been made that they be deported to Japan after the war. This does not appeal to me as being necessary. Most of them are people of advanced years and nature will solve this particular question before very long, without the necessity of taking these people from their children and grandchildren. It may well be that some of these elderly people may wish to return to Japan after the war, in which event they should be allowed to do so.

3. *As to the treatment of American citizens of Japanese ancestry:* This presents the problem as to which there is the great difference of opinion. All persons of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from the West Coast by military order about two years ago. It would be futile now to discuss whether or not the action was justified. They were detained in concentration camps at various interior points and thereafter (except in the case of those whose records indicated a disloyal attitude and who have been segregated at Tule Lake Camp) were given opportunities for employment at various inland and eastern points where they are gradually being resettled.

The charges made by the Hearst press and others that the Japanese have been coddled in the concentration camps and given better food than other civilians enjoy is in my opinion wholly without foundation. Many young men from these camps have volunteered for service in the American army and these American soldiers of Japanese ancestry have given an excellent account of themselves, particularly in Italy. I see no occasion to change the present governmental policy with respect to the Americans of Japanese ancestry. The responsibility is upon the War Department to decide when, if at all, during the war the return of these people to the West Coast would be safe from a military point of view; I don't see how the War Department's judgment in this respect can be very well questioned by civilians unacquainted with all the facts. If the War Department should decide that some of these men and women might safely return to the West Coast during the war and accordingly permitted them to do so, it would undoubtedly result in quite a storm in the columns of Hearst and McClatchy newspapers and also among Congressmen, state Senators, Assemblymen and other politicians, and as a result of all of this there might be considerable ill feeling on the West Coast and a possibility of rioting, disorder and personal violence. To me it is rather terrible to contem-

plate the possibility that the right of an American citizen to travel about the country should be denied because of the apprehension of race prejudice, or that the peace authorities should not be willing to go to any length to prevent rioting and murder. It seems to me that the result of submitting to this outbreak of race prejudice might be very serious in its effect upon other minority groups. However, I realize that others may not agree with my point of view in this regard.

So much for the treatment of these people during the war.

At the conclusion of the war it may be expected that efforts will be made to deprive these people of their citizenship and to deport them. Except in the case of those who voluntarily express a desire to expatriate themselves, I believe that any such movement would strike at the fundamentals of what we conceive to be our system of personal rights. It might have been better if there had never been any Orientals in this country at all. Incidentally, it might have been better if there had never been any Negroes in this country at all. But here they are; they have been recognized as citizens; they have attended our public schools, have voted, have generally been law-abiding and in many instances participated as Americans in community activities. It is true that general intermarriage of these

people with white Americans is not to be anticipated nor is it desired by our people, or, as far as I know, by the Japanese; but the same considerations apply to Chinese, Koreans and other Orientals, and no one suggests that they be deprived of their citizenship because of their racial extraction. Altogether, the solution of the problem, in my opinion, can best be worked out by extending decent treatment to these people without attempting to penalize them for the cruelties and barbarities of the Japanese military. The hatreds produced by war, however bitter and violent they may be, pass away before many years of peace if a sane attitude on the part of the mass of the people is encouraged. Current misstatements about the Japanese residents of the United States should be corrected, as, for instance, the statement that they were guilty of sabotage in Hawaii, which can be shown to be an absolute lie by the statements of the police authorities and others in Honolulu made shortly after Pearl Harbor. The problem, in my opinion, can be readily solved if a decent and calm attitude on the part of our people is fostered and preserved. In that event, the Japanese-American problem will not present one-tenth of the difficulty that the Negro problem is likely to.

All of the foregoing represents only my personal view of the situation.

FOURTEEN

It is my belief that during the war, Japanese should be kept in camps throughout the country.

After the war, all who choose to go to Japan and all whose loyalties have been under suspicion, should be deported.

While I am convinced this country would be the gainer if all Japanese were deported, such a procedure would seem unfair to the loyal American born Japanese. However, the states should, if there is sufficient popular demand, enact laws restricting or excluding Japanese residents. Feeling may be such, after the war, that it would be wise to allow no Japanese in certain parts of the country.

I have always believed there were too many Japanese on the Pacific Coast and personally feel that the closer we can come to total exclusion, the better for this state and any other state where they have lived in relatively large numbers.

FIFTEEN

Frankly, one of the reasons for the delay is that I am not too sure myself what kind of a comment to make.

My own feeling on this issue is that the Japanese are here and we must make the best of it. Eventually the

old generation will pass on and the remaining Japanese will have been brought up under American institutions and in the American way of life. There is no reason why they should be particularly inimical to American Democracy if they are given a chance to participate in it.

I do not suppose that there is any easy answer to this problem any more than there is to the Negro problem. One way to look at it is this: that we are fighting aggression and dictatorship and not any particular race or people.

This is "off the cuff" and not the result of any deep inquiry on my part.

SIXTEEN

Time after time I have set myself to answer your letter of February 21st on the Japanese situation:

Actually I wonder who can answer your questions of February 21st in such a fashion that they would be worth a damn more than thirty or sixty days from now. I don't think any of us are capable of looking ahead to know what is in the future for us in our relationship with Japan, to arrive at an intelligent conclusion.

I think that we will have to let a little time run against even the ending of the war, and until such

time as such emotions as hate, revulsion, and minor emotions and irritations have been dulled and set aside.

SEVENTEEN

I don't think I am qualified to give an opinion as I don't think much of them. However, I do think we should keep California for Californians and keep the Japs out as they surely ruin lots of the land they lease.

EIGHTEEN

I am rather nationalistic in my views or would be so accused. I think nations, like individuals, will get along much more peacefully and as friends if they mind their own business, do not mix up in others' affairs, and act together voluntarily only when the matter in question concerns their common interest. I think any alien people of a different race (including their offspring) *who cannot be naturally assimilated*, should not be allowed to become citizens or own real property, and their admittance to this country should be strictly limited for definite purposes. I would therefore favor deportation of most Japanese and their children.

Actually since such policy could not be applied constitutionally, my guess is that only a few bad actors will be deported and, in due time, the present anti-

Japanese feeling will fade away, as is usually the case after wars, and conditions will return to about as they were pre-war.

NINETEEN

Our attitude now toward the Japanese should be one of distrust. They are our enemy. Our attitude, post-war, should be one of suspicion toward all alien Japanese. We should always bear in mind the fact that their philosophy of life is almost totally different from ours. Our policies toward the Japanese should be:

1. *Now* a. Local—None should be allowed at liberty, citizen or alien.
- b. State—Same as above.
- c. National—The Japanese-Americans should be treated as any other citizen, after giving recognition to the fact that they have always been regarded differently in different sections of the country. Allowance should be made for this feeling, as a time of war is not the time to do other than preach tolerance in preparation for the day that it may be practiced under less emotional conditions.
2. *Post-war*—Despite any hopes and wishes it is a fact that when the war is over there still will be many millions of living Japanese in the world.

We some day will again be doing business with Japan. Japanese should therefore be allowed to come to this country under a quota system.

- a. Local—It probably will be many years before the Japanese will be kindly accepted in this community, and no effort should be made to force the issue. People forget, and gradually no doubt, Japanese will begin to return and to be accepted.
- b. State—Same as above.
- c. National—Japanese-American citizens should be accepted for what they are, that is, citizens. Alien Japanese should be deported. The enforcement of the quota system should be very strict, both as to quantity and quality.

TWENTY

Your note of the 21st regarding "Japanese" is a big order to put into a few words, however, will do my best.

First, the alien Japanese who are now in this country should be deported immediately after the war, to be dealt with as Japanese nationalists at the Peace Table. We have a Constitution which says American born Japanese are citizens with equal rights to ours; however, if by some method they could be persuaded to

go along with the aliens, so much the better.

Second, why don't we quit coddling the inmates of our Japanese concentration camps, and put them to some useful job. There must be something they could be made to do which would assist in our war effort and give them less time to think up ways and means of causing dissension within the camps.

I am not in favor of using Japanese tactics on the Japanese prisoners here, for our minds do not run in the same channels as theirs. They are naturally sadistic and would not hesitate to use the same methods on persons of their own nationality as they do our boys.

The Japanese are a people who cannot be assimilated with our race, so I believe the National Government should prohibit their entrance into this country entirely after the war. By this I mean they should not even be permitted here as on a visitor's visa, and any Japanese citizen leaving this country to visit Japan should not be allowed to return.

Their main industry here is farming, and even though they are good workers on the farm, they are not good farmers. They spoil our lands inasmuch as they take everything out of the soil and put nothing back. On this I speak from experience. I have had Japanese tenants and can say to you now that I would not trust them as far as I could see them.

I have given you my sentiments towards the Japanese as a race, but as to policies concerning them after the war, there isn't much more to say—for, as stated above, if the aliens are all deported and no more allowed to come in, the balance would be American citizens and they will still have to be carefully watched.

Trust the above is what you wanted. At any rate you can tell at a glance what I think of the Japanese.

TWENTY-ONE

Answering yours of the 21st, I am convinced that all Japs, including American born, should be expelled from the United States.

I have talked to many returning service men and for the most part find them of the opinion that the only way to subdue these people is to exterminate them. It will be too much for us to expect ex-service men to compete with people they have learned to hate so much after the war.

While at the outset, the feeling here in California against the Japanese ran higher than in other states, reported atrocities, confirmed by the boys that come home, will spread this feeling to all states of the Union.

I believe further that the boys in service are keeping an eye on the home front to appraise the support given them. Strikes, complaints about inconveniences and

greed for money, while the boys are enduring extreme hardships and giving their lives, is bad enough without the thought of the enemies' nationals being coddled by our own people after the war.

TWENTY-TWO

In reply to your very pertinent question regarding the Japanese, I must first admit I find my ideas and thoughts are not matured or clarified enough to be given you.

I am sure of one thing and that is, that California and the West, in fact, the whole country should be closed to them. All immigration stopped. They have proven themselves unworthy as well as unappreciative of the benefits they have received through living in our midst.

It is hard to know just what is right when we consider what good soldiers the Nisei have made. They may be good sons of this country, but do we want any more Japanese to enter our ports?

Their treatment in concentration camps should avoid coddling but at the same time be just and humane. There they should be given bare subsistence, I think, and work for their idle hands to do.

After the war I would like to see Japan cut off from all relations with the outside world. No trade and no

diplomatic relations would sever her completely and let her stew in her own juice.

TWENTY-THREE

In reply to your question of what our policy regarding the Japanese, both now and post-war and speaking for myself and family, it is our conviction that under no condition should any Japanese be released from internment during wartime.

After the war, all should be deported who before hostilities had not renounced citizenship to Japan and who during war have not proven themselves loyal to U. S. A.

TWENTY-FOUR

I do not know enough about the Japanese situation to answer your inquiry of the 24th inst. I suppose that, as far as the American born Japanese are concerned it would be only fair to settle their status on the grounds of their individual valuation. As far as the national Japanese post-war are concerned I imagine it would be only fair to give them an opportunity to develop their small industry.

TWENTY-FIVE

As far as I am concerned "NO JAPS."

TWENTY-SIX

Your question about the Japanese is quite an assignment. I have done a bit of thinking about it, and here is the result for what it is worth.

I think a great deal of nonsense is being talked on this subject, which is perhaps natural in wartime. So far as the treatment of the Japanese during the war is concerned, my feeling is that this is purely a military affair. Civilians know nothing about what effect the presence of Japanese, or of American citizens of Japanese descent, on this coast might have in hampering the war effort and complicating the possible defense problem. We may feel that we are safe from invasion or attack, but this again seems to me to be something about which the Army and Navy must make the decision rather than we. Undoubtedly much injustice is being done, particularly to loyal American citizens, but the state of popular feeling being what it is, I regard this as one of the consequences of war. It is no more possible to apportion injustices equally among civilians than it is to distribute casualties pro rata among soldiers.

As for after the war, there will be some kind of a treaty with Japan. Whatever is done to draw the teeth of that nation, we will be at peace and on friendly

terms with her, and I think the Japanese must necessarily be allowed to come back freely. Japanese aliens will have to be treated as fairly as other aliens, and citizens of Japanese descent entitled to the same treatment as all citizens. Those who have committed disloyal acts can, of course, be deported if they are aliens and subjected to the penalties of treason if they are citizens; those who are suspected of disloyalty but have committed no acts can, and should be, watched, and dealt with if anything can be pinned on them, but all this is true of non-Japanese as well as Japanese.

If I were to raise my voice now, it would be in favor of moderation and common sense in the whole matter. There is no use figuring on a Jap-less California after the war is over. Those of us who dislike the Japanese as a group have no more justification for their attitude than have the Nazis for their campaign against the Jews and many other groups. Race prejudices and religious prejudices unhappily exist; we may not be able to ignore them and it is childish to try to pretend that they are not there, but I think the thoughtful person has a duty to educate himself and everyone else whom he can reach with a view to overcoming such prejudices.

TWENTY-SEVEN

The question you pose is not quite as simple as you have expressed it. By that I mean that in attempting to answer your question one should properly divide the Japanese in this country into at least two classes, to wit: those who are still aliens, and those to whom American citizenship has been granted. Some one might also, more or less reasonably, argue that the Japanese in this country should be individually classified as "loyal to this country," or "disloyal." This latter classification, to me, seems entirely impracticable. I have dealt directly with Japanese (in the Hawaiian Islands) to a far greater extent than most Americans, and my experience with them has completely convinced me of the utter impossibility of attempting to make any such classification such as "loyal" and "disloyal" among such a large number.

To get back to the first two types, to wit: the Japanese citizens of the USA, and the Japanese aliens in the USA, I feel (undoubtedly like every other reasonable American) that the principle of granting citizenship to any individual, and then depriving that individual of his citizenship not because of any individual behavior, is most repugnant, and does violence to our sense of fair-play.

I don't know how many Japanese-American citizens there are, but let us assume there are 100,000. If those 100,000 Japanese-American citizens were widely scattered (say preferably in the interior states) I do not think that I could regard them as a very serious national menace. I also think it quite conceivable that a Japanese-American citizen might acquire a full sense of loyalty to this country, even to the extent of bearing arms against Japan. The likelihood of a Japanese attaining this degree of loyalty would obviously be considerably enhanced by the prolongation of his residence in the USA, and also by the prosperity he had enjoyed, and the property he had accumulated here. This sense of loyalty would probably increase with each succeeding generation, and it is also quite conceivable that, in the course of time, the succeeding generations of the original immigrant citizens would intermarry more and more with Americans, and thereby the distinctly Japanese traits become dissolved in our Melting Pot.

I readily concede that a sizeable group of Japanese, living on the Pacific Coast of this country, might be a definite menace in the event of war between Japan and us. I can readily believe (as I have read) that the Japanese fishermen along our Pacific Coast have included officers of the Japanese Navy, who accumulated a lot of very important military information for Japan,

respecting our harbors, vulnerable spots along our coast-line, movements of our naval units, etc., etc. Unquestionably, if Japan had been able to attack our Pacific coastline, those groups could have been very harmful.

In the territory of Hawaii the possibility of the menace from Japanese, at a time that we were at war with Japan, would be very much greater than here on the mainland. On the principle that the Constitution follows the Flag, I suppose that we would be unable to discriminate as between island possessions and the mainland. But the Constitution in its present form, would I suppose, prevent our depriving the Japanese "as a class" of their already acquired citizenship. In fact I do not see how an amendment to the Constitution, unless it involved an amendment of the Bill of Rights, could operate to deprive *all* Japanese citizens of their citizenship. In any event such amendments, or legislation must necessarily be in a sense retroactive, which, as I understand it, would again require another amendment.

Supposing we were able to pass new legislation, and to adopt new amendments to the Constitution, calculated to enable us to deprive *all* Japanese citizens of their citizenship, should such legislation confine itself to only Japanese?

Respecting the other classification of Japanese, to wit: the alien Japanese in our country, the problem, from a technical point of view, is of course far simpler. It is quite conceivable to me, as I have suggested above, that a limited number of Japanese, even aliens, scattered throughout the United States would create no national menace. It might be argued that if we had not had a vast number of immigrant aliens in this country during the past decades, we would not have developed the country as rapidly as we have. That vast quantity of immigrants, whose standard of living was such that they were willing to work for far lower wages than our own American people found acceptable, has unquestionably accelerated the development of the country. On the other hand, it might be argued by some that the laboring classes would have been better off if they had not been obliged to meet the competition of those aliens. There was a time when, aside from the question of wages, we did not have enough labor in this country to carry on the vast work of development, and the importation of foreign labor on a large scale seemed wise, and to the best interests of all classes. We might argue that the mistake we made during that period was that we did not make a greater effort to obtain more European immigrants, and exclude from the beginning any sizeable influx of Ori-

entals. On that point one could argue *ad infinitum*. It definitely involves the question of race discrimination, which, in its essence, is the basic problem that your question propounds.

I think no one can question the full propriety of any nation limiting, as it sees fit, the aggregate number of immigrants to be admitted. Probably the fairest way would have been, from the start, to have had more carefully considered quotas respecting various nationalities. From my experience both in the Hawaiian Islands, and in this country, I would definitely prefer admitting Chinese in preference to Japanese, although in some respects the Japanese have advantages over the Chinese. From the point of view of law abiding citizens I consider the Chinese more desirable than the Japanese.

I have not heretofore made any attempt to think this Japanese problem through. Possibly we would have been wiser if we had not made the Japanese eligible for citizenship, excepting as to the third generation of uninterrupted Japanese residence in this country, but that suggestion is not in any way constructive when it comes to solving our present problem.

I realize that so far I have in no way answered your questions. Enumerating some of the complications and difficulties of the problem does not serve your purpose. With the distinct understanding that I do not by any

means feel prepared to pronounce final judgment, nevertheless, if I have to state my position today it is as follows:

(1) To my optimistic mind, the military threat to this country by Japan is in process of being removed for some time to come.

(2) The imminence of a Japanese military attack on this country would have to be far more vivid than it is today to warrant our proceeding in any manner that would completely disregard all the rights we have legally extended to our Japanese citizens. I think it is highly important that the world as a whole retain deep respect for this country. I believe that many nationalities all over the world are hoping that this country will take a large share in the guiding of world-wide policies. It would be a particularly unfortunate time for us to do anything that might more or less reasonably be regarded as a breach, not only of contract, but of good faith.

(3) Respecting therefore the Japanese who have become citizens of the USA, I hope that a policy can be worked out whereby the rights we have granted them shall be respected. Undoubtedly to date those rights have not been legally respected, and possibly some reparation, in the form of some compensation for losses sustained would be in order, although we have

to recognize that, in principle, no monetary compensation could technically justify the damage done. Whether we like it or not, I believe that the Japanese citizens of the USA should have their full rights restored, which necessarily involves full freedom of action on their part.

Unquestionably if we have proper evidence that any Japanese-American citizen has acted in a manner that would warrant depriving him of his citizenship, he should be so deprived and deported if possible.

(4) The alien Japanese now in this country constitute, in my mind, an entirely different type of problem. I do not believe in admitting to citizenship any race with whom we are not entirely willing to have our own people intermarry. For my part I have no objection to any American marrying a Japanese. I think our policy respecting the alien Japanese in this country should be determined largely on economic principles, having in mind a general policy of immigration involving all other nationalities. I imagine that this country will never open the bars to unlimited immigration, and I suppose that a quota system is unavoidable. On what basis those quotas should be worked out I do not know. If the sentiment of our people were, that it was to our best interests to deport the alien Japanese, I would not be disposed to oppose

it, but I do think that we have to keep in mind a general principle of absolute fairness and decency, eliminating, to the extent that it is possible, race discrimination. Again, there can be no question but that those individual Japanese, who have demonstrated themselves to be antagonistic to our country, should be deported.

Respecting that part of your question reading, "both now and post war," I can't see any particular distinction to the extent that Japanese-American citizens are involved. As regards the Japanese aliens of our country, I think that the question of our attitude towards them should be guided largely by the opinion of our military leaders.

Your question also asks for an answer in three categories, local, state, and national. Here again I do not see how we can properly make any distinction as between these three policies. I feel that whatever policy we adopt should be a national policy, but in this connection I have to plead complete ignorance as to the legal powers of any individual state respecting aliens.

I am quite conscious of the fact that none of the above contributes much to what you are trying to get, the only satisfaction that I can derive from it is the realization that if many of the other people to whom you have written answer as voluminously as I have, you

will be properly punished for inflicting your friends in such a manner just at a time when each of us is already exhausted and frantic over the intricacies of the Federal Tax Return.

If you have any further plans for tormenting your friends, why don't you circularize them on the Negro question. After you have exhausted that one I will still be ready for a few more friendly suggestions.

At this time, because of atrocity publicity, it would be very unwise to turn loose all the interned Japs.

TWENTY-EIGHT

If I were King, my minimum demands would be:

All Japs, whether U. S. citizens or not, who have shown any disloyalty to this country, however slight, would be deported as soon as hostilities cease. Any Japs who show any disloyalty in the future, or who refuse to swear allegiance to this country would be subject to deportation. Any who are convicted of felonies would likewise be deported. Any Japs who leave this country would not be re-admitted. Any doubts should be resolved in favor of deportation.

In their manner of waging war and in their unspeakable atrocities against prisoners of war and helpless victims generally, in violation of all moral and written laws, the Japs have exhibited certain fundamental

racial traits which should not be assimilated and which cannot be eradicated; and which characterize them as a people worthy of no consideration. They are one nation we can very well do without.

My maximum demands would be:

To deport all Japs; allow none to enter and have no commerce with the Japanese from now on.

TWENTY-NINE

I have your note of February 14th, and find that perhaps like a lot of other people, I have not given the Japanese question very much serious thought.

However, I feel very strongly, that for the present, and for the duration of the war, the Japanese should be confined in areas away from any strategic defense location. No doubt, we have at present confined many Japanese that are not friendly to our interest. On the other hand we must have a majority that are loyal Americans. I have had very little actual experience with the Japanese.

Through my contacts with Mr. X, I have learned much about how they think and feel about the relocation movement. In most cases I feel that the second and third generation of Japanese are loyal Americans.

My feelings are very strong about our post-war

Japanese policies. If we can smash the present Japanese Government completely, both on the battle field and at the peace table, and prepare a sensible post-war plan for the Japanese, and if the Japanese are made to realize that they are no longer a world power, then I think the Japanese-Americans will be Americans. Our way of life will be in great contrast to what the Japanese could expect at home. Over a period of years, we could erase all thoughts of old country contacts and leanings.

In closing, I feel that the Japanese should be confined until after the war, and following the peace, loyal Japanese-American citizens should receive every consideration.

THIRTY

My personal attitude toward the wartime problem of the Japanese in our country is that we should leave it up to our governmental authorities. They should have all pertinent facts and know what to do about the problem. But I am concerned about the fact that American citizens of Japanese ancestry may have had, and probably have had, their constitutional rights abrogated in this war time. If this is so, it is a bad sign.

I believe that after the war, or sooner if it is feasible, we should adopt a policy towards all Japanese in this country that will accord to them exactly similar rights

to those we may accord to any other minority of Asiatic extraction in the United States.

After all, the peoples of this world are one family. We shall have to work out methods of mutual understanding and cooperation that will some time bring the certain possibility of peace to the world. Unless we can do this with minorities resident among us, the outlook for doing it on a world-wide basis is dark indeed.

THIRTY-ONE

In the first place I don't think we can do very much to alter the present status of the Japanese who were here in this country without changing the Constitution.

As to the alien Japanese I don't feel that I am qualified to dictate a policy regarding them to the powers that be, but will say that I am of the opinion that any one who is disloyal to the United States whatever his or her nationality should be deported to their homeland.

THIRTY-TWO

I think that it would be desirable to repatriate those who are Japanese subjects, paying them a fair price for their property. As to further immigration I think that a quota should be established for them as has been done with the Chinese. As to restrictions enacted by

California: I believe in such restrictions if there is to be mass settlements again. Since they have been pretty well distributed across the country possibly such restrictions will not be necessary. In themselves I see nothing against restricting races for if they are unassimilable or objectionable, I am for keeping them or anyone else out. I do not feel that we should love all people because they are human beings.

I am not for letting them back into California at this time because of the hard feeling that would be caused and, secondly, I should like to see them settle elsewhere. Your questions covered a lot of territory and I am sure that you will consider this for what it is — a curbstone opinion.

THIRTY-THREE

Now: Put the entire matter in the hands of the army and let it remain there for the duration.

Post War: I think this part of it cannot be gone into intelligently now and cannot possibly be decided upon until and after the war with Japan ends. Handle them as part of the Peace Treaty.

THIRTY-FOUR

I am not one of those who believe that the Japanese in this country should be mistreated or abused, al-

though I believe the disloyal ones should be kept in concentration camps and the remainder should be prevented from entering the Pacific Coast area or any other place in the country where they might do damage during the war. Of course, there is a difficult problem of determining which ones are loyal.

After the war, I believe that all the Japanese here, whether citizens or not (with the exception of those who have served in the armed forces and their families) should be returned to Japan. This would require a Constitutional amendment as to the Japanese who are American citizens. While this attitude may appear harsh, it must be remembered we have nothing whatsoever in common with the Japanese and they cannot possibly be assimilated.

If any substantial number of Japanese are permitted to remain in this country, it seems to me that at the end of another two or three generations we will have a situation equally as serious as the colored problem we now have. As you know, the number of colored people originally brought to this country amounted to only a few thousand, while now, after one hundred and fifty years, there are approximately ten million. As the Japanese multiply at least as rapidly as the colored people, at the end of another hundred years there will be little place left for the poor white people.

It seems to me that the war with Japan offers an excellent opportunity to prevent the Japanese problem from becoming serious.

I hope you will not get the idea that I am intolerant, but I believe that unless something is done to correct the Japanese situation we are eventually going to find ourselves in a position in which neither the white nor the colored and Japanese people will be happy in this country.

THIRTY-FIVE

Your letter of February 14th asking for my opinion regarding a proper attitude toward the Japanese imposes a challenge to separate emotional reaction from considered judgment. If such an effort were made on a wide enough front we should probably be rid of the specter of another world war.

It is difficult to recall vividly even at this short interval the acuteness of public concern in the months following Pearl Harbor, and if the Japanese had been able to press their initial advantage and blockade or perhaps invade the Pacific Coast, the general fear of preparation and cooperation by local Japanese might well appear to have been justified. However, no such invasion or blockade did take place, none of the widespread sabotage that was feared became reality, and

in a remarkably short time, any considerable danger of Japanese action against the Pacific Coast seemed to have become very remote.

It may be argued that the very effectiveness of our methods prevented damage of local origin. If this is true it does not affect the situation now. It means simply that adequate safeguards against sabotage have been taken, and certainly such precaution should continue. As for espionage, it is difficult to see how any danger on this score can exist today. Japanese nationals must be at a disadvantage in this field as they are readily recognizable in a non-oriental country. From the standpoint of national danger, therefore, Japanese spies in America today can hardly constitute a problem beyond the capacity of the F.B.I. to solve. It appears, then, that Japanese in this country do not now confront us with a danger in our prosecution of the war.

You ask what attitude we should take toward them. Obviously, we cannot take the same attitude toward all of them. The young Japanese serving in our armed forces deserve of us at least a high degree of sympathy and admiration. The apparently loyal Japanese whose records are being so thoroughly investigated by the F.B.I., and who are being relocated in areas remote from the Pacific Coast, appear to me to be entirely deserving of the favorable treatment they are receiv-

ing. In fact, to the Japanese who have been uprooted from their homes it can scarcely appear favorable, but if they are realistic they must recognize that their personal safety is involved. Many of the so-called "disloyal" Japanese are so classified because they have chosen to accompany their foreign-born parents rather than be placed in other camps as "loyal" Japanese. Toward all this group, so long as they are tractable, I see no reason for a harsh attitude. Finally, those Japanese who are seeking to cause trouble, who strike, riot, conceal weapons, disobey instructions, or in any other manner display hostility toward our authority, should be dealt with as strictly as our self-respect might permit. I see no reason why strikers should be fed, for instance. If we can believe the publicity, our kind treatment of interned Japanese has no effect upon treatment of American civil or military prisoners by Japan.

After the war I do not believe the problem will be a serious one. If we administer a crushing military defeat to Japan the presence of even a considerable number of her nationals in the United States will have no military significance. Economically, the presence of those who are here and the children they may raise will have no impact, except perhaps to provide us again with decent vegetables. I believe we should de-

port all Japanese who have been in the slightest degree troublesome during the war, and certainly records of these are being kept by the War Relocation Authority. I should regret to see steps taken to disenfranchise Japanese of the United States for no better reason than that they are Japanese, for in such action we would again be sowing seeds of conflict and violating our own principles. Surely, the Japanese problem after the war will not remotely compare in importance to the Negro problem, toward the solution of which we still have to take our first step. Incidentally, I haven't the faintest idea what the step should be.

THIRTY-SIX

The Japanese situation is one which is very difficult to fairly consider in the midst of a war filled with possibly the greatest hatred on both sides that the world has ever known. Pearl Harbor, the recently announced atrocities, etc., cannot help but influence any present opinion.

Those of us who think we know the Japs and have employed them for years, cannot help feel that they are people within themselves and not to be trusted. On the other hand, some of us who are now forced to do our own gardening and other household chores cannot help but recognize the industry of these little

fellows, so much lacking and discouraged in our own people through unionization, etc.

Looking beyond the future peace and forcing ourselves to be fair with the human race, and adhering to the principles of our so-called Democracy, I do not believe we can fairly exclude the American-born Japanese who is a rightful citizen of our country and against whom there is no proof that he is other than a good American citizen.

I believe that every Jap who is not an American citizen should be excluded from this country, that every Jap who is an American citizen and who can be proved to still have allegiance to the home land and is in reality not a sincere American citizen should likewise be expelled. The Jap that is sincere and fulfills all of the obligations of citizenship should be permitted to remain and inhabit California and its communities and again assume the economic place in our every day life.

The public soon forgets and will absorb that kind of Jap soon after the war ends. The other kind will always be a menace to our country and communities and we are better rid of such type of inhabitant.

THIRTY-SEVEN

As to our advisable present attitude toward Japanese

in the United States: I believe it should be dictated solely by our concept of national security in war time. If our military advisors believe all Japanese should be relocated, I go along with them. If this category includes American citizens of Japanese descent, relocation and other measures are justifiable on the same ground Lincoln suspended habeas corpus. A nation has a right to insure its survival in present danger even to the extent of depriving citizens of their liberties.

If our federal authorities later are convinced that national security no longer requires Japanese concentration in interior areas, then I believe the Pacific Coast states have a right to consider the security question from their own standpoints and be governed accordingly. I believe in fair treatment to the Japanese but this avowal does not deny that a racial difference makes it more difficult to detect and prevent sabotage by them in war time.

After the war the questions you raise are equally complicated. American citizens of Japanese descent who have a good record during the war, are entitled to all the privileges of citizenship. Some of my very good friends here do not hold this view but I cannot escape it. Unnaturalized Japanese can well be sent back to Japan and all Japanese immigration should be excluded. (This policy should also apply to Germans of

the same status.) While this solution does not square with the dictates of universal brotherhood, it is the best I can do so long as we remember the impacts of international immorality from which we have suffered since 1914. After men grow more civilized, it will be time enough to restore to Japanese nationals their opportunity here for racial intermingling. Our Negro problem will engage us sufficiently after the war without taking on that of Japanese assimilation.

If you are half the man I think you are, you will sit down soon and send me your answers.

I was told today by a Canadian friend that the Canadian government did not allow its Japanese citizens to enlist in the army. That was very clever of them for what are we going to do about that Japanese soldier in Italy who risked his life last week in saving a Major in our army?

THIRTY-EIGHT

In answer to your question about the Japanese, I never have really given this interesting question much thought. I find that the more I think about it, I decided it is a very interesting and serious problem which every American should be thinking about.

In regards to my attitude toward the Japanese, in the United States I believe, if they are American born

they should be given a fair chance to prove their allegiance to the United States, and if they cannot prove it in each individual case, keep them locked up in a camp, along with the foreign born.

After the present war, all disloyal and foreign born Japanese should be sent back to Japan and never be allowed to immigrate back into the United States.

Our national policy to Japan after the war, should be a very strict military rule over her, so as to never allow them to rearm again.

THIRTY-NINE

Your query of February 21 is rather a tall order and one which requires a tremendous amount of thought and research, without the certainty of reaching a satisfactory conclusion.

Our Constitution, if carried to the letter, would prevent any removal, obstruction or restriction to liberties of citizens, even of Japanese birth or parentage, and would even interfere with the stamping out of those most dangerous Japanese night schools, which taught their children subversive doctrines and did everything to prevent them from becoming respectable and useful citizens.

The question is so complex and there are so many angles to consider that I feel it would take pages, and

days of study, to cover the subject even imperfectly, and I would refer you to the series of articles which are about to appear in the *Chronicle* and which undoubtedly will cast much light on the subject.

FORTY

Re yours of February 21st last—the Japanese—I believe that the action in removing all Japanese—citizens and non-citizens from the Pacific Coast and interning them was correct both for their own safety as well as ours. I think that they should be kept interned with the exception of those of American citizenship who join the armed forces of the United States.

After we win this war all American-born Japanese who upon rigid investigation are found to be loyal to the United States should have all rights as U. S. citizens restored. Those found to be disloyal should have their citizenship revoked, their possessions confiscated and they should be deported to Japan. Any American-born Japanese found to have property in his name that, upon investigation, is found to belong to an alien, should have his citizenship revoked and he or she should also be deported to Japan.

All alien Japanese in the United States and its possessions should have their property confiscated and should be deported to Japan.

Japan should be stripped of all possessions taken by conquest over the years such as Korea and Formosa and all Japanese should be confined to Japan proper. An army of occupation, consisting mostly of Chinese troops, should be kept in Japan for a term to be determined upon, no Japanese should be permitted to enter the United States and for a certain number of years at least Japan is to have no diplomats to the United States.

While I mention only the United States, I think that all of the above should also be the policy of those who are allied with us in the war against Japan.

FORTY-ONE

During the war, I feel that all Japanese should be kept out of California except of course those who are in concentration camps. With the strong feeling against them in this state, their presence here is very apt to result in violence, and also from the standpoint of security I believe it would be well to keep them inland. Undoubtedly there are many of them, both citizens and non-citizens, whose sympathies are stronger toward us than toward Japan. These could be inducted into the armed forces, or used as farm labor in localities where the feeling against them is not

strong enough to cause trouble. The selection of individuals for these purposes would have to be made with the greatest care.

After the war, those who are citizens and who will be loyal to their citizenship, should be allowed the same privileges which they had before. Also the loyal ones who are eligible for citizenship should be given the privilege of taking out their papers, and all the rest should be deported to Japan.

I make the above suggestions without claiming any knowledge of national or international law, but simply on the basis of the Constitution, which guarantees the protection of this country to all people who will abide by our laws, without regard to race or religion. My ideas on this subject are no clearer than yours, and the final decision should be left to those who have had practical experience in handling international problems.

FORTY-TWO

Pardon the delay in making reply to yours of the 21st ult., which tho brief carries a lot of questions about which I was likewise in doubt.

As to "National policy now," I quite approve of the Government's handling of the Japanese, be they loyal or the reverse, with certain reservations as to

whether it should have been administered by the Army or the WRA.

"Post-War"—send back the undesirable aliens, give the American citizens of Japanese ancestry and the loyal aliens the same rights and protection accorded all other minority groups and perhaps allow their future entry into the United States under the quota.

As to present State and Local policy, we need none, the Federal handling of the problem being sufficient. Post-war, however, is the rub. Hawaii cannot function without the Japanese; California has laws prohibiting their aliens acquiring real estate, which in the past were poorly enforced and only added to the prejudice. Many Pacific Coast members of our armed forces have been mistreated and killed in the South and Central Pacific and unless there is a complete reversal of opinion, the people of California and the Coast will not willingly permit the Japanese to return to their former homes and pursuits in this area.

But the majority, who are citizens by birth, have not only been loyally fighting with our forces but otherwise contributing to the war effort and have the right, legally and morally, of complete equality and protection.

However, it is my personal opinion that practically this right can only be exercised in sections of the

United States other than the Pacific Coast states where the prejudice is likely to remain so strong as to make residence intolerable. This is a future situation which can only be handled by trial and error and with complete cooperation of Japanese leadership until the problem is solved.

FORTY-THREE

I believe that our citizens of Japanese ancestry, particularly those who have never been to Japan, have been very unfairly dealt with by the people on the West Coast of this country. I do not blame the military authorities for their action immediately after Pearl Harbor, as I believe the steps taken were the best that could be done both for the protection of the West Coast and for the good of those who were moved.

It seems to me that it was poor judgment on some one's part to concentrate the disloyal Japs at the Tule Lake camp in this State, as this might have been better accomplished in the interior of the country somewhere.

My feelings in the matter are as follows:

1. *Nationally.* I believe that the national government, however constituted, will handle the Japanese problem, or rather the problem of "Japanese" citizens, in the post-war era in an equitable manner.

2. *State.* I have been sorely disappointed in Governor Warren's attitude, and believe that continual pressure should be put upon him by his friends so that at the proper time he may atone for his intolerant statements about the American citizens of his State, many of whom are serving in the armed forces. I hear much talk that his campaign was built in part on the issue of the Japanese in California.

3. *Locally.* I do not think there is much to be done at the present time besides continuing to support such organizations as the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fairplay. However, after the war is over the citizens of Japanese ancestry who have never had any Japanese schooling should have every right of any other American citizens to live on the Pacific Coast. All others had probably best be returned to what is left of Japan.

Incidentally, I am going to save some money in this next Congressional campaign, because I certainly won't give a thin dime to any candidates who have given such a horrible demonstration of bigotry and hatred toward their fellow citizens.

FORTY-FOUR

I am afraid that my knowledge regarding the Japanese question is rather vague. However I am submitting

the following opinions whether practicable or not.

1. A real attempt should be made to determine which of our internees is loyal to Japan and which to the United States.

(a) This should be possible through the F.B.I.

2. Those loyal to Japan should be exchanged or returned to Japan insofar as possible and where not possible should be kept in concentration camps for the duration.

3. Those loyal to the U. S. should be distributed throughout the country.

(a) This would prevent their congregating in small areas such as the Pacific Coast.

(b) Would help the labor problem, particularly the agricultural problem.

1. I know several Jap. Xs who are anxious to work as technicians.

(c) Relieve the post war problem of rehabilitating them.

4. The Japanese exclusion act should remain in force after the war including ownership of property.

5. The Japanese nation should be stripped of all her territorial conquests including the mandated islands of the last war.

(a) This would prevent further trouble from her in the future.

6. The military forces reduced or limited to a point which would discourage any inclination toward world conquest for many years.

7. A distribution of birth-control literature and education which would help to prevent their over-population of their own land and the necessity of acquiring new territory.

FORTY-FIVE

I am flattered that you should include me in your list of people who might have given some thought to our attitude regarding our policies toward the Japanese, and if I have been somewhat tardy in my reply it is only because I have been sparring for a bit of time to unify my scattered thoughts in the matter.

As for the present. I believe that the feeling at this time is too high against the Japanese, and the risk of sabotage too great, to allow the Japanese to come back to the coast area. I feel that there would be too great a possibility of a misguided uprising taking place that might have serious consequences as far as the United States nationals or war prisoners are concerned. A race riot, led by drunks or by people incensed beyond reason would hit the Japanese home propaganda harder than anything imaginable, and they, in turn, being worked up to a fever pitch, would probably seek

retribution beyond belief. From the standpoint of sabotage, the time is too short to actually try to weed out the "loyal" Japs from the "disloyal" ones. They are fanatics, and wonderful liars, and it might be too easy for a few "dangerous" ones to do considerable damage before being apprehended. The fear of facing a firing squad would mean nothing to a Japanese if he felt he were doing his Emperor a good turn. Would it be to an American in a similar position? I believe not.

However, I do believe that the Japanese should be allowed a chance to work if they so desire. If they could be put at work where they could be closely guarded, and where escape would be very difficult, they would be much more contented, and, if they so desired, could be of material help in aiding the war effort. Farming is their strong fort, and if allowed to go to areas away from the coast, and where feeling is not too high against them, they could materially aid the farm labor shortage, and be much happier with it all.

The post-war problem is both more difficult to work out and yet easier to develop. It is now clear that the Japanese have planned this war for years. We have glibly traded with them, strengthened them, carefully looked away when they bombed and wrecked Shanghai in '32, and then proceeded to fight the Chinese for

nine years before they turned on us. It is said that it will take a full generation to get the Hitler ideals out of Germany. I believe it will take a great deal longer than that to quell the Imperialistic attitude of the Japanese.

As I see it, there are three categories of Japanese. When you deal in categories you are bound to have certain injustices done, but for this problem I believe that this procedure is best.

First, there are the Japanese in this country, born in Japan, educated there, and recently immigrated to the United States. There is no question about these. Send them home.

Secondly, there is the group, called, I believe, the Isei, who were born in the United States, but sent to Japan for their education and training. The legal problem of citizenship is somewhat delicate, but I believe that these Japanese should be returned to Japan. We will never be able to overcome the effects of their education and training.

Thirdly, there are the Nisei, the Japanese born and raised in this country, educated here, and who, in many cases, speak only English. They should have their choice of remaining here or returning to Japan, depending on family ties or friendships. Once a Nisei has made his choice, and has been allowed to remain,

he should be given the complete freedom of any American citizen, with no strings attached whatsoever. There should be, however, one major stipulation: that no American-Japanese should be allowed to visit Japan for purposes of education or training, or for visits of an extended nature.

This will work hardships in a number of cases, but I cannot help but feel that any Japanese subjected to schooling in Japan can never, in his lifetime, become a 100 per cent American.

In closing, I believe that nationalistic and racial schools of any type should be abolished. This has nothing to do with religious schools, but is concerned entirely with Japanese schools conducted in this country, but receiving instructions from Japan. The same holds for the German schools, particularly prevalent in the Middle West, that turn out 1st class Nazis, and also any other school that attempts to teach a nationalism other than American.

This is a brief summary of my ideas in this matter. I should be very interested in hearing other opinions advanced and brought out by your inquiry, as I firmly believe that the only reasonable solution to this extremely important problem lies in open discussion that will eventually lead to the development of a practical plan.

FORTY-SIX

Your note regarding the Japanese is thought-provoking, to say the least.

Cultural pluralism has given us a mighty fine America. Acculturation—a process by which the strongest cultural attributes of the races which make up this country are synthesized into a distinct American culture—does, in a perfectly natural way, that which, attempted artificially, never works. The Nazi concept of racialism is the best illustration of an effort to produce a synthetic culture by fiat.

Over the years, the exclusion of Japanese from this country has pretty effectively eliminated the Oriental races from sharing in the cultural end-product. One guess is as good as another on what might have happened had there been no ban on the immigration of Chinese and Japanese.

I wouldn't hazard a guess on my own answer to the question, under circumstances other than those that have prevailed in the past.

I do feel, however, that prejudice against the Japanese in the United States—as Japanese—is no different from racial prejudice in any other form, or applied against any other race or nationality. Such prejudice attacks the validity of our American cultural pluralism.

The other question implied in your inquiry seems to concern the national attitude regarding the Japanese in Japan. With what little knowledge I possess of the underlying and precipitating causes of the war with Japan, I am inclined to believe that national policy regarding Japan in the post-war period need be no different from that regarding Germany and the other aggressor nations. This would mean elimination of the militaristic clique (at least, the policy-determining group) and the imposition of other penalties on those who carried out orders. To this must be added careful supervision of the media of public education and information—in other words, use of the very machinery which the aggressors have developed to install an acceptance of the validity of their aggression.

Since I am not a specialist on the Japanese, this opinion is nothing more than the reaction of a "man on the street."

FORTY-SEVEN

When the Commonwealth Club bulletin announced that Kuroki would be a luncheon speaker it was to be expected that people who think with their emotions would raise hell. I have also heard several firebrands say we ought to annihilate all Germans and Japanese. If we are to consistently follow democratic principles,

I think we must and should continue to make no distinctions between race and color, and recognize the truth that: "by their deeds ye shall know them." However, those aliens who have been shown to be unfit for citizenship should be deported, but only after due process of law.

FORTY-EIGHT

Being a Native Son of California I would like to express my humble opinion about the Japanese question as follows. As long as the Japanese Government exists and there are Japanese located in our States, it is my opinion that all Japs wherever located will be more than loyal to the Japanese Government, than they would be to the government where they are making their livelihood and riches.

If Japs are let loose in our states, especially California, after this war I can visualize our boys coming home and still finding Japs wherever they go. I think that our boys have seen enough of Japs and their way of life. Let's keep Japs out.

FORTY-NINE

I have been asked to express my thoughts on the Japanese problem from a local, state and national viewpoint.

I am putting these thoughts in writing with both

interest and reluctance; interest because I believe that the problem is extremely important, and reluctance due to its delicate nature, the fact that it involves the possibility of constitutional amendment (in itself a matter of no small importance), and deals with recommendations for the solution of a minority group problem in a nation whose very strength, stamina and wealth is the result of the assimilation and out-crossing with many of the minority groups comprising its citizenship.

I submit the following as "one man's opinion."

To make any intelligent recommendations, I think that it is most important to segregate the Japanese groups under two headings:

(1) United States born citizens of Japanese ancestry who have within one year of the declaration of war between the United States and Japan sworn allegiance to the United States and who have not, at any time, either expressed an opinion or committed acts against the welfare of the United States.

(2) All other persons of Japanese ancestry.

In Class 1, I state that a deadline on the swearing of allegiance to the United States should be established one year from the time of the declaration of war between the United States and Japan... I am not insistent as to the length of this period, but believe that a definite

period should be set, due to the fact that I am suspicious that many of the individuals of the Japanese race who first refused to swear allegiance to the United States would at a later date claim a change of heart in the hope that they would thus receive better treatment in concentration camps. These individuals might work to the advantage of the Japanese Empire by pretending allegiance to the United States and thereby receive privileges which would allow them more liberty and an opportunity to cover a large territory without suspicion.

In making the recommendations contained herewith, I am fully cognizant of the fact that some minority groups in the United States will disagree with me, feeling that any legislation limiting the privileges of a minority group might form a precedent by which other minority groups would suffer. I feel that on the contrary, my recommendations are favorable to all minority groups with the exception of the Japanese, who, I am sorry to say, I do not think are any longer entitled to a voice in the affairs of this country. It is my belief that persons of Japanese ancestry, both citizens and non-citizens, are in a class entirely by themselves; that they have proved through many generations that they are not assimilable and that while the loyal citizens among them are entitled to careful and

thoughtful treatment, the class as a whole unfortunately must suffer for the acts of a portion of the class and the nation from which they all originally sprung.

I recommend that prompt steps be taken through proper legislative channels toward a constitutional amendment by which all children born of Japanese parents after a specific date, whether the parents be citizens or not, be refused the privilege of citizenship in the United States and ownership of land, and that the date of such deadline be as of the date of the amendment to the constitution. This refusal of citizenship to extend to the very few cases of one-half, one-quarter or even one-eighth Japanese blood. This may seem to be very severe treatment, but is not nearly as severe as the feeling among many of our people that not only children should be refused citizenship but all Japanese immediately become disenfranchised and deported. I want to reiterate that this opinion of mine has nothing to do with vindication or revenge for the barbarisms of the Japanese, but on the other hand, is merely a move for security in this country from a race that is renowned breeders and whose danger, in my estimation, lies in their increasing hazard as a political influence. Considering the political influence possibility and that they are outbreeding us, according to statistics, four to one, it is not too fantastic to imagine

that in one hundred years from now, this country might have a Japanese president. I accentuate this political danger, due to the fact that I am convinced that our kid-glove, and in my estimation, assinine handling of our Japanese concentration camps is, at least partly due to the voting strength in this country of the present Japanese population. Unfortunately, we have many politicians who are more interested in votes than in the ultimate welfare of the country, and I am confident that many of the disloyal Japanese know that through their political lobby they can and have received political favors since Pearl Harbor.

I recommend that Group 1 be maintained in concentration camps in as comfortable quarters and with similar food and equipment as our armed forces; that they be allowed to work within the confines of these camps for their own betterment. In this connection, it must be understood that it is hard for the loyal Japanese themselves to know which of their associates are actually loyal and those who are only pretending to be so. In this particular connection, I would recommend that the FBI have constant access to the camps and as soon as there is any indication of the disloyalty of any individual, he be immediately transferred to Group 2.

I recommend that Group 2 be placed in separate

concentration camps with only the barest necessities consistent with humaneness and sanitation and that these camps be under the supervision of the United States Army and no one else, and that the FBI, working with the Army, be in constant touch with the activities of these individuals. If these persons want to work for small luxuries I think they should be allowed to do so but no funds nor luxuries should be allowed to be sent to these camps from outside sources.

I think it would be a serious mistake to allow any of either Class 1 or 2 to return to the Pacific Coast States for the duration, regardless of their expressed loyalty or citizenship. The Army found it necessary to remove them from the Pacific Coast States and I am of the opinion that both the Army and citizens of the Coast States prefer that they not be returned for the duration. I am also of the opinion that if they were returned, their presence in the Pacific Coast States would very probably lead to bloodshed and rioting, as there is a definite feeling against the entire race, and our police and armed forces are too busy with other matters to take any chances of an additional problem of this kind. These loyal Japanese, I am sure, realize this hazard and would themselves prefer not to return to a hot bed of anti-Japanese feeling. On the other hand, if this Group 1 is welcome in some of the other

states, they might be allowed to go to these sections in order to make themselves self-supporting but this kind of move accentuates the necessity of the most severe censorship on their activities by some non-political agency such as the FBI. If Group 1 were allowed their freedom, it is quite probable that they would have many friends and even relatives still in concentration camps in Group 2 and would do their best, both politically and with funds and luxuries to help these individuals in Group 2.

After the war (assuming we are victorious) I would hope that Group 1 could adapt itself to living among the other citizens of the country and that their children could enjoy the many privileges of the country, with the exception of the right to vote or the ownership of land.

Following the war, Group 2, in my estimation, should be deported immediately to the Japanese Empire, regardless of whether they were citizens of the United States or of alien birth.

Needless to say, I would recommend a Japanese exclusion act and not allow any alien Japanese of any class to enter the United States.

I am fully aware that the disenfranchisement of children of citizens of the United States is a serious matter, but I am sure it is necessary in this case for the

protection of the country as a whole. I realize there will be many who will say that Japanese citizens are now risking their lives in defense of our country. I am cognizant of this and proud of it. I am also aware that many U. S. born Japanese inducted into the Army have refused to accept military training. I am confident that there are many thousands of Japanese, even in Japan, who are not in accord with the military, but who as groups are not well enough organized or strong enough politically to influence their own government. It is unfortunate that these must suffer with the others, but such is the fortune of war and each nation must act for its own protection.

Japan has not been civilized over a long enough period to know what constitutes military honor in time of war. Their treatment of our men of Bataan and the execution of aviators is definite proof of this and until they, as a race, have graduated from barbarism I personally want no part of them and feel sure that there are many, many thousands of individuals in this country who feel the same way about them. Perhaps in another hundred years they might improve to a point where they should be welcome among the nations. I would hope that this might come true, as I have known individuals of this race whom I am sure would keep their word and perform like men under

the most trying circumstances. Again, I repeat that this type is apparently in the minority in view of the acts of their race as an empire.

I want to make one point clear to relieve the apprehension of some of the other minority groups in our country that a constitutional amendment such as above might endanger their own group. We have had and still have many minority groups in this country. The second and even many of the first generation of these groups have been easily and happily assimilated. Selecting one at random, consider the German-Americans in this country. Notwithstanding the atrocities credited to the German military machine, I have never seen serious feeling toward this race in the United States, and I think the general opinion of our citizens is that the absorption of this blood has, as a whole, been an asset to the nation.

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