

SURVEY

Doyle

SEPTEMBER 1942

30 cents

GRAPHIC

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Our Stakes in the Japanese Exodus

by Paul S. Taylor

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SURVEY GRAPHIC

MAGAZINE OF SOCIAL INTERPRETATION



Our Stakes in the Japanese Exodus

by PAUL S. TAYLOR

LARGE WHITE PLACARDS HAVE LONG BECOME FAMILIAR IN THE great military areas that blanket the West Coast. They are to be seen on telephone poles in residential districts, on lonely country roads, on buildings at crowded city street corners.

Their purpose was to instruct all persons of Japanese ancestry—by army command; under Executive Order; upon pain of penalties of an Act of Congress—to report to wartime civil control stations. In district after district the posting of these signs outlined the preparations and signalized the advancing schedule by which more than 100,000 men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry have been evacuated.

Today, for the most part, they are little more than a sort of reminder to the man on the street; vestiges from a sweeping exodus of people that has passed beyond. In a chain of ten assembly centers under the Wartime Civil Control Administration (U. S. Army), and four relocation centers under the War Relocation Authority (with capacities ranging from a few thousand to fifteen or twenty thousand) more than one hundred thousand evacuees, Japanese aliens and American citizens of Japanese ancestry, are gathered under military guard.

This is the largest, single, forced migration in American history.

There are people in the United States who have never seen, much less talked with, a person of Japanese ancestry. That is hardly surprising. The census of 1940 reported only 127,000* of them out of the 131,000,000 inhabitants in continental United States. That is, there are roughly a thousand of the rest of us to one of them. Eighty-eight percent of them lived in the three Pacific

states of Washington, Oregon, and California. Ninety-three thousand, or three quarters of the entire number, lived in the single state of California, where they constituted less than 2 percent of the whole population. Well toward two thirds are American-born. [See page 375.] Let me share with you three glimpses into loyal attitudes among these Japanese during the days of this impending evacuation.

THE AUTHOR—and his challenge

As few men, Paul Taylor knows intimately the patterns of American life from "Ole Man River" to the Golden Gate; from flooded bottomlands to the Dust Bowl. For he has explored schemes of livelihood, population currents, race relations—from the water-table crops that have sprung up in the old cattle country north of the Rio Grande to the steel mills that have overrun the sand dunes along Lake Michigan. His firsthand findings are crystallized in telling books, research volumes and governmental reports.

We singled him out to assess what in six months has come of the Japanese evacuation in terms of people and program. Instead he refers our readers to the report of the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. Here he does something more searching—goes beyond how an excruciating wartime measure has been executed or even the constitutional rights at issue where citizens are concerned.

In essence he asks all of us as Americans to take a really good look at what we are holding in our hands—not so much what military necessity required and what it didn't; but what's to be done now to fend against irreparable damage we are likely to do ourselves—damage internally, damage with our allies and potential allies, damage to our own children and their children and their chance of survival.

*In the Territory of Hawaii there were 158,000 more or 37 percent of the population of the islands, but these are not involved in an evacuation program.

I.

Standing in a strawberry field near Sacramento an alien, ineligible by our laws to American citizenship, said to me:

I don't worry. I believe in Uncle Sam. I leave it to Uncle Sam. I look Jap. Can't hep. I Japanese-born. All my brothers U. S.-born. I can't apply citizenship. I lots better than lots citizens. I do the duty. I never do wrong. I pay the tax. Our people sacrifice now. I don't want more sacrifice. They say "Your Jap orchard, you take care." Everything they still take care till last minute of evacuate.

Our people they don't know what comes but they gonna do right. Jap people don't talk much. Outside people don't understand much. Now is too late to talk; too late.

As background, here is a statement the Florin chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League made on May 16:

Fortunately, the busy strawberry season has helped us keep our heads. . . . Even now as the evacuation day approaches, we find busy workers picking ripe red berries for strawberry shortcakes to be enjoyed in hundreds of American homes.

Quietly they are packing away their precious possessions they have accumulated in the twenty to fifty years they have been in this beautiful community. In a businesslike manner, their ranches and their properties are being put in order and turned over to trustworthy hands. Mothers are busily sewing and packing clothing for their families. At night, after a hard day out in the strawberry patches or in the green grape vineyards, the entire family is busy crating necessities, and packing suitcases and trunks. . . .

There is nothing to fear or dread. We are in good hands, the army of the U. S. Let us, with high hope, prepare ourselves for this new adventure and with courage meet this Evacuation.

II.

An American-born merchant of San Francisco, graduate of the state university, wrote this letter on April 10 to his business connections:

Since September 1902—almost forty years ago—ever since we opened our door . . . we have enjoyed a mutually pleasant and profitable business relationship. Now the terrible flames of war, scorching all the earth, has finally reached us . . . and, as you are all aware, we must evacuate from the coastal areas inland. Thus we must of necessity close our door.

We want you to know that we go as adventurers to the future that awaits us. We leave with the thought that since all must sacrifice in times of war, this is our sacrifice and our bit toward the defense of our country. . . .

Our last thought to you: Thank you sincerely for all the help and service you have given us through the years gone by. May the human ties of our spirit of friendship transcend the chaos of war till better days come upon us. May God bless you till we meet again.

III.

With evacuation already an old story for most, the Tanforan Totalizer, organ of the assembly center at Tanforan race track near San Francisco, declared editorially:

To some, both here and on the outside, our observance of America's Independence Day in this center will undoubtedly seem to partake of the nature of a paradox. The surface irony of our situation is apparent enough. But to let the mind dwell on this single facet of the matter would not only be fruitless; it would be prejudicial to all our hopes of returning eventually to the main stream of American life as useful citizens.

The ideals which germinated in the birth of this nation as a free people are as valid today as they ever were. They still form the one bastion of man's hope for a better world, unburdened of the weight of fascist tyranny. If we allow the

apparent anomaly of our particular circumstances to tarnish our faith in the tenets of the democratic creed, we are divorcing ourselves from the current of humanity's highest aspirations.

In our observance of July fourth, then, let us not speculate idly and fruitlessly on the special constraints and hardships—and in many cases the seeming injustices—which the fortunes of the present war have laid on us. Rather, let us turn our thoughts to the future, both of this country and of our place in it. It is our task to grow to a fuller faith in what democracy can and will mean to all men. To stop growing in this faith would be to abandon our most cogent claim to the right of sharing in the final fruits of a truly emancipated world.

From Voluntary to Planned Migration

IT WAS ON FEBRUARY 19, SOME TEN WEEKS AFTER THE Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, that the Secretary of War was given authority to prescribe military areas from which "any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions" the Secretary or his designated military commanders might impose. In due course the western half, approximately, of Washington, Oregon, and California, and the southern half of Arizona were designated as Military Area No. I, and an adjacent area as No. II.

At first, persons of Japanese ancestry were encouraged to migrate voluntarily to other states in order, so stated the head of the Wartime Civil Control Civilian Staff, "to lessen the drain on the military and civilian resources involved in an immediate forced movement." Many difficulties faced those who made hurried attempts to uproot and transplant themselves. One was the hostility of inland communities to what they supposed to be an influx of people so dangerous to our national security as to require their removal from strategic military areas. The Tolson Committee reports: "The statement was repeated again and again, by communities outside the military areas: 'We don't want these people in our state. If they are not good enough for California, they are not good enough for us.'"

Nonetheless, about 6,000 had moved themselves in this fashion by March 29, when the military commander prohibited further voluntary migration by the Japanese.

In the meantime, steps had been taken toward planned and supervised migration. On March 23 migration began to Manzanar, in an isolated desert valley of eastern California selected as the army's initial center for evacuees. One thousand Japanese from Los Angeles volunteered to initiate the movement by way of example. The next day the military commander proclaimed curfew regulations for all American-born and alien Japanese, alien Italians, and alien Germans. Previous restrictions limiting travel to five miles from home remained in effect.

Evacuation of the Japanese, district by district, proceeded rapidly thereafter until Military Area No. I was cleared in early June. Intention to evacuate Military Area No. II was separately announced, and this was practically cleared by early August. Today the only Oriental faces on our western streets are Chinese, Filipino, or occasionally Korean or Hindustani.

The basis of the far-reaching decision to evacuate persons of Japanese ancestry was explained by the army officer in charge. Speaking before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in late May, he said, in part:

Now, if you and I had settled in Japan, raised our families there, and if our children and grandchildren were raised there, it is most improbable that during a war between Japan and the United States, if we were not interned, that we would commit any overt acts of sabotage acting individually. Doubtless, in the main, and irrespective of our inner emotions, you and I would be law-abiding.

But when the final test of loyalty came—if United States forces were engaged in launching an attack on Japan—I believe it is extremely doubtful whether we could withstand the ties of race and the affinity for the land of our forebears, and stand with the Japanese against United States forces. To withstand such pressure seems too much to expect of any national group, almost wholly unassimilated, which has preserved in large measure to itself, its customs and traditions—a group characterized by strong filial piety.

It is doubtless true that many persons of Japanese ancestry are loyal to the United States. It is also true that many are not loyal. We know this. . . . The contingency that under raid or invasion conditions there might be widespread action in concert—well-regulated, well-disciplined, and controlled—a fifth column, is a real one.

Earlier, in terminating voluntary migration, the same officer had offered the additional explanation that they were "frozen" in their places to "insure an orderly evacuation and to protect the Japanese."

The army acted with dispatch and courtesy. The physical inconveniences and even hardships, the financial losses, and the keen mental anguish suffered by the evacuees resulted more from the basic decision to evacuate than from lack of skill in its execution. A corps of specially trained teams from civilian agencies aided the Japanese at civil control stations.

The Japanese American Citizens League gave a full measure of cooperation which set a standard for all Japanese. "If, in the judgment of military and federal authorities," said Mike Masaoka of the League, "evacuation of Japanese residents from the West Coast is a primary step toward assuring the safety of the nation, we will have no hesitation in complying with the necessities implicit in that judgment."

The Clash Over Public Policy

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION, of which Congressman John H. Tolan of California is chairman, began to hold hearings on the West Coast two days after the Executive Order which gave power to the Secretary of War. The testimony revealed almost complete disagreement among civilian witnesses of Caucasian ancestry over the appropriate disposition of those of Japanese ancestry.

The basic premise of all groups who advocated complete and total evacuation of all Japanese on the West Coast was that it was a military necessity because of the inability of the federal and state officials to distinguish loyalties among Japanese-American citizens and aliens. In the words of the committee, they . . .

. . . felt that no constitutional right or humanitarian consideration nor any consideration of the effect on agricultural production on the West Coast should prevent the complete evacuation of the Japanese from the area. It was their belief that evacuation was necessary for the protection of the Japanese themselves. They expressed in every hearing the fear of vigilante action unless complete evacuation were forthcoming. As a group they did not believe that the nation could afford to take chances with the Japanese population.

Persons of Japanese Ancestry

These are divided into two great groups:

Nearly 63 percent of persons of Japanese ancestry in continental United States, or almost 80,000, were born in this country, and consequently are American citizens. In the Pacific States and Arizona nearly 72,000, about the same proportion, were such.

Naturally every passing year brings more deaths among the first generation and births among the third, and so raises this percentage of citizens which already approaches two thirds.

* * *

The remaining 37 percent, about 47,000 in the United States in 1940, and about 46,000 in the Pacific States according to the Alien Registration, were Japanese aliens born in Japan. Among the Japanese these are known as *Issei*, or first generation. About 29,000 were males, 17,000 females. Their age groupings reflect immigration restrictions imposed long ago. Thus 35 percent of the alien Japanese of the West Coast were fifty-five years of age or over; 65 percent were forty-five years of age or over; 94 percent were thirty-five or over. Two thirds of these aliens had last arrived in this country before 1925, or more than seventeen years ago.

* * *

Contrary to a widespread belief, more than half of all persons of Japanese ancestry in continental United States have lived in urban communities. In the Pacific Coast states in 1940, only 45 percent of all gainfully employed persons of Japanese ancestry were engaged in agriculture. There were about 23 percent in trade, 17 percent in personal service, and 4 percent in manufacturing.

* * *

To round out these statistical estimates in terms of space and time, a further comparison can be made. The 1940 census showed that one quarter of all persons of Japanese ancestry in the Pacific Coast states and Arizona were under fifteen years of age. Of the aliens, less than one percent were under fifteen. Of the American-born, 39 percent were under fifteen—or almost two out of every five were minors below that age.

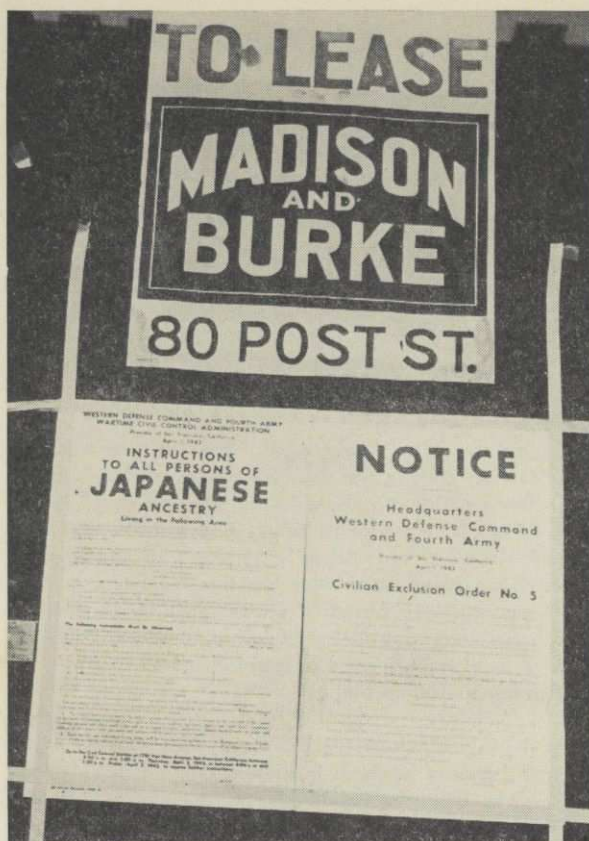
Witnesses who opposed wholesale evacuation of the Japanese were . . .

. . . generally agreed that subversive activities should be handled by the FBI, that the FBI is fully competent to handle sabotage and the espionage problems on the West Coast; that the great majority of Japanese citizens and aliens are loyal; that their loyalty can be ascertained; and that loyal Japanese are assisting the FBI in ferreting out disloyal aliens.

In general, these witnesses challenged every point made by those persons who favored complete evacuation. Both groups agreed only that the military must do whatever is necessary to prevent sabotage. They disagreed on every other point.

The details of this disagreement are not presented here. Seriously interested readers will write their congressman for a copy of the Tolan Committee report on *Evacuation of Enemy Aliens*. That report gives views of its witnesses and facts of its own collection in vivid detail.

Once evacuation was decided upon by the military, all groups, whatever their original reluctance, acquiesced. Serious legal questions of constitutionality remain, but these seem set for determination by the courts after long and mature consideration of (*Continued on page 378*)



Prologue: the evacuation order, the vacant store

The Japanese Exodus —from Coastal Homes to the Hinterland



Health protection begins early



Japanese evacuees arrive by train near the Manzanar relocation center in east-central California



Photographs by Dorothea Lange and Frances Stewart for War Relocation Authority

Japanese farmers help make relocation centers self-sustaining. Loading a potato planter at Tula Lake, Calif.



Two American-born Japanese in their quarters at Manzanar



Recreation has an important place at the relocation centers

a few test cases, not in quick actions likely to produce an immediate upset of the program with respect to the Japanese, whatever the ultimate outcome.

With our huge alien population of many nationalities in mind, the Tolan Committee has already recommended both review of the original Executive Order issued to meet the special West Coast situation, and consideration of means for "allaying public anxiety about, and discrimination against, those now classified as enemy aliens." In pointing out that "the time has passed for retrospective considerations as to whether decisions then taken were dictated by necessity," the committee reasserted its original position that to "generalize the current treatment of the Japanese to apply to all Axis aliens and their immediate families . . . is out of the question if we intend to win this war."

It is not so much with the past, then, as with the future that the American public will do well to concern itself. Not so much with the Japanese aliens as with those who are American citizens. The aliens, in a sense, are prisoners of war. Clearly, as such, they cannot now harm the nation by sabotage. Adherence to the standard set by General MacArthur when he took Japanese prisoners at Bataan will not only assure humane treatment but will deny to Japan any excuse to do less well by Americans who have fallen into its hands: "They are being treated," he said, "with the respect and consideration which their gallantry so well merits."

What of the American-Born?

THE AMERICAN CITIZENS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY PRESENT quite another problem. It is very complex, and it touches the very fiber of American life.

Among them are unquestionably those whose greater loyalties are to Japan. Whether their numbers increase or decrease will depend partly upon how we make our next decisions. The Tokyo radio today has its Lord Haw Haws born in the United States, and there are counterparts in the Black Dragon and other Japanese nationalistic societies of the American-born Kunze, fuehrer of the German-American Bund. Dangerous persons of this type already had been taken, not to evacuation centers, but to the internment camps in Montana, North Dakota, or elsewhere, that are especially provided for dangerous enemies of all nationalities. There they undergo examination and release or internment as hearing boards may decree.

There are also the *Kibei*, those American-born Japanese who were sent to Japan for schooling. Their loyalties undoubtedly are divided, and as a group they have turned more toward Japan than those of the American-born, American-educated *Nissei*.

Certainly security must be maintained. It must be maintained within and without, during the war and during the peace that follows, and with a thought to the peace and to wars that may follow that—until men can break these ceaseless alternations of history. *It is in this full-scale perspective that determination of our future policy toward the American-born citizens of Japanese ancestry appears in its complexity and in its national and international settings.*

Straws in the Legislative Wind

MEANWHILE, PROPOSALS ARE LAID BEFORE THE AMERICAN people almost daily, formally and informally, by the

known and by the unknown. Read, for example, the news and safety-valve columns of newspapers. Such as

I say send the Japanese back to Tokyo.

We should make sure before we take the Germans or Japs in our country as citizens whether born here or not. The Japs especially should lose this most treasured possession. How many American-born Japs have we that are in sympathy with their parents' homeland? How can we know for sure that they are telling the truth if they pledge their allegiance to this country.

A California congressman introduces a resolution, H.J. 305, amending the Constitution so as to deny citizenship by birth in the United States to persons either of whose parents is ineligible to citizenship "because of race."

A trade journal noted in June that:

The vegetable industry of the West has been seriously concerned for the past three or four weeks over the rumor that these Japanese were to be placed upon a self-supporting basis as soon as possible and that it was the intention of the War Relocation Board to place these Japanese, or more especially those with an agricultural background, in a position to grow vegetables to be sold and marketed in competition with those grown by Americans.

A Tennessee Senator introduces a bill, S. 2293, to permit detention of persons of Japanese ancestry wherever they may be and for the duration. The Senate Immigration Committee, in reporting this bill favorably, urged that citizens of Japanese ancestry be disfranchised—by reversal of a Supreme Court decision forty-four years old. The bill drew opposition on the floor of the Senate, an Idaho Senator observing that: "In the beet fields our farmers are extremely short of labor. Many of the Japanese race have come there and are helping to solve an extremely critical problem." He requested time to ascertain "whether at this time the passage of such drastic legislation would make those Japanese so angry that they would stop work." A Utah Senator remarked:

If we can wink at the Constitution in the case of the citizen of Japanese descent, then the next step, of course, is to move out and begin putting in concentration camps citizens of German descent, and every other citizen of foreign descent in the United States who may have come or whose parents or ancestors may have come from some nation with which we are today at war.

The contention was put forward that Japanese law makes "every male citizen regardless of where born or when he departed from Japan" a Japanese citizen "subject to the Emperor of Japan until he has served his time in the Japanese army or navy." Senator Robert Taft dismissed this contention. Undoubtedly, he said, this was . . .

. . . the position taken by the Japanese; it is also the position taken by the Germans; and it is also the position which was taken by the English in the War of 1812. . . . We absolutely deny that the Japanese have any right to say that a man who is a citizen of the United States is a citizen of their country.

The Issues Get Into the Courts

LATE IN JUNE A SUIT OF MORE THAN ORDINARY INTEREST was brought before federal court in San Francisco. As attorney for the secretary of the Native Sons of the Golden West, U. S. Webb (former attorney general of California) argued that American citizens of Japanese ancestry should be stricken from the voters rolls of San Francisco. Webb argued, accord- (Continued on page 396)

ROCHESTER, SKIPPY SMITH AND CO.

(Continued from page 395)

cerns employ Negroes, but primarily as janitors, maids, messengers, and in certain clerical, mailing, and shipping jobs. Douglas Aircraft last December began hiring Negroes in production jobs after Donald Douglas himself was appealed to by William Mahue, Los Angeles county NYA area supervisor. Mahue's argument was that since the government is spending money to train youths, the companies have a responsibility in the all-out production effort to use available skills.

Employers have been quick to deny that they practice discrimination, and that is something difficult to prove. Negroes are interviewed and their applications taken with the utmost courtesy. "We'll let you know," says the interviewer, but the applicant all too rarely hears anything further.

Despite President Roosevelt's Executive Order prohibiting racial discrimination in war industry employment, some powerful labor unions holding contracts with war plants restrict their own membership to the Caucasian race, thereby

placing another obstacle in the path of qualified Negro mechanics.

Because of the difficulties thus faced on either hand by Negroes in obtaining employment, some vocational schools have in turn been reluctant to accept them for training. Thus, a vicious circle exists in spite of an increasingly acute labor supply problem. In Los Angeles, Mrs. Fay Allen, only Negro on the Board of Education, has helped break down discrimination. Government subsidies to local vocational training projects also have aided in cracking it.

Skippy Smith's own experience in the Standard factory, and the subsequent successful mixed labor policy at Pacific Parachute, demonstrate that anticipated difficulties are to some degree imaginary. One of the white workers at Pacific Parachute put it aptly: "As far as we young people are concerned, it doesn't bother us whether we're working with white or colored folks. It seems that it's just the older ones and the employers who are worried."

OUR STAKES IN THE JAPANESE EXODUS

(Continued from page 378)

ing to *The San Francisco Chronicle*, that our naturalization laws and the Fourteenth Amendment were meant to "limit citizenship to the white race except for the American Negro," and that they "exclude the Chinese, the Japanese, Hindus, Hottentots and the islanders of the Pacific." Some years ago he presented a similar argument to another court, applying it to Mexicans of Indian blood. One of the documents presented to the Tolan Committee by a Joint Immigration Committee (of which Mr. Webb is a prominent member) carried the statement that "Another grave mistake was the granting of citizenship to the Negroes after the Civil War." Clearly in the light of American history, the proposal he advocated before the federal court has far-reaching implications—embracing our enemies, our allies, and neutrals alike.

On the one hand, statistics published by the National Bureau of Economic Research show that since 1650 the white race has increased tremendously in numbers as we expanded over the face of the earth. Three hundred years ago people of European stock made up 22 percent of the world's population. In the present era they have come to make up about 35 percent.

On the other hand, lowered birthrates have levelled off the increase in northern and western Europe, North America, and Australia. In 1940 the United States census reported for the first time that our net reproduction rate was somewhat less than sufficient to maintain our numbers.

In this perspective we may wish to resolve our attitudes towards other races and peoples with thoughts not only of our allies of today, but with some long thoughts, also, for our grandchildren and their potential allies if, and when, war should strike them.

Federal court in San Francisco rejected the suit of the Native Sons; but this may be appealed and resolutions of similar temper are still pending before Congress. In the safety-valve column at the time a correspondent wrote:

"Some of our local politicians who have endorsed this dangerous proposal should read again the Declaration of Independence and ponder the statement that 'all men are created free and equal.' To modify that noble phrase by saying it does not apply to American-born children of Japanese ancestry would dishearten our Negro soldiers, our

Filipino and Chinese allies, and the millions of British India, whose support we so desperately need.

"Let us win our battles in the field rather than look for easy victories over our neighbors' children."

The Chronicle's own comment was carried in a front page editorial:

"It is true, as Mr. Webb says, that the Declaration, and the Constitution for that matter, was written by white men. It is not true that it was exclusively 'for' white men. These charters are for human, not race principles, and to suggest otherwise now is to furnish excuse for unjustified accusation that America is not true to its principles."

The Issue in Our Colleges

LEADING EDUCATORS OF THE WEST COAST WERE DEEPLY DISTURBED at the dislocation of the collegiate education of loyal Japanese-American citizens. They have put forward a program which, as outlined by President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California, involves a cost "including scholarship funds, special teaching staff and administrators" of "a million dollars a year or more." To quote President Sproul:

"It will be a million dollars spent as insurance on the future welfare of the American nation, and there will be substantial savings in the release of funds appropriated for the support of evacuation centers. . . .

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

To this statement, Presidents Wilbur of Stanford and Holland of Washington State gave hearty support.

Recently the press reported objection by a California congressman to the release of Japanese-American students to continue their university education in non-military areas. One ground, he urged, was that every member of Congress has in his district "thousands of young men whose education was being interfered with. These young men were going into the army." This ignores whether loyal evacuees are outside

the army because they choose to be, and forgets the women.*

To quote Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Leland Stanford University and formerly Secretary of the Interior:

"Every effort should be made to avoid mistakes in this important action of our government. It has been impossible for me to answer the many questions put to me by these students as to *why*. Everything that they have learned from babyhood up in this country is negated by their present experience.

"It seems to me important for us to visualize the situation that will develop at the end of the war if these young American citizens, with their great capacity for leadership, have been confined in camps, have had their education interfered with, and have had the disillusionment that must inevitably come to them."

Are we sure that our course is not of a sort to encourage young people of Japanese ancestry who are now in camps to place little value on their American citizenship? It would be natural that in these centers under guard they would find no ready answer for the taunt, "If you're American citizens why don't you walk past the sentry?" Yet if we wish to increase loyalty to America rather than to strain it, we must give their American citizenship all value possible under the circumstances.

Education, hitherto open to Japanese without restriction of race, is a logical point at which to infuse this value, hearten the loyal, and mitigate the anxieties of parents wherever born, whose personal hopes and ties naturally center increasingly in their children. Congress, under attacks by its members such as have been cited, seems reluctant at present to support the educators' plan. Efforts to transfer loyal evacuee citizens to colleges outside the military areas go forward slowly with such impetus as a devoted but private committee under the American Friends Service can give.

The Long Look Ahead

MOST AMERICANS WILL REALIZE THAT IN ITS BASIC ELEMENTS the problem of Orientals in our midst is not new. Long-time *Survey* readers may remember mellow passages under the title "Behind Our Masks," by the distinguished sociologist, Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago, who some years ago directed an illuminating appraisal of race relations on the Pacific coast. In *Survey Graphic* for May 1926, he wrote:

"It is probably true of the Oriental, as of other immigrant peoples, that in the process of Americanization, only superficial traits are modified—but most of the racial traits that determine race relations are superficial . . .

"Whenever representatives of different races meet and discover in one another—beneath the differences of race—sentiments, tastes, interests, and human qualities generally that they can understand and respect, racial barriers are undermined and eventually broken down. Personal relations and personal friendships are the great moral solvents. Under their influence all distinctions of class, of caste, and even of race, are dissolved into the general flux which we sometimes call democracy.

"It was a minor statesman who said: 'What is the Constitution between friends?' As the embodiment of a moral doctrine, this question, with its implications, is subject to grave qualifications, but as a statement of psychological fact it has to be reckoned with. What, between friends, are any of our conventions, moral codes, and political doctrines and institutions? It is personal friendships that corrupt politics. Not only politics, but all our formal and conventional relations are undermined by those elemental loyalties that have their roots in personal attachments.

"There is no way of preserving existing social barriers,

* Every day brings further incidents. Thus the *San Francisco Chronicle* of July 25, reported that the attorney general of California had filed application in the federal court to intervene in the citizenship suit of Mitsuye Eudo, twenty-two year-old American-born Japanese girl, now in the assembly center at Newell, Modoc County. (A suit to disprove Lieutenant General Dewitt's authority to intern herself and thousands of other American-born Japanese.)



except by preserving the existing animosities that buttress them."

This surely is a statement to be recalled and pondered as we look ahead.

Probably the best guide for the long look is the report of the Tolan Committee. Of the evacuation itself it says, "The decision of the military must be final in this regard." With regard to next steps the Tolan report continues:

"It is, therefore, with a sense of looking forward that these problems must be considered. Emergency measures must not be permitted to alter permanently those fundamental principles upon which this nation was built.

"The fact that in a time of emergency this country is unable to distinguish between the loyalties of many thousands of its citizens, and others domiciled here, whatever their race or nationality, calls into question the adequacy of our whole outlook upon the assimilation of foreign groups. To many citizens of alien parentage in this country it has come as a profound shock that almost overnight thousands of persons have discovered that their citizenship no longer stands between them and the treatment accorded to any enemy alien within our borders in time of war.

"The realization that this nation is at war must form the cornerstone of all our national policies in connection with the treatment of aliens and citizens alike. This realization of conflict must likewise carry with it an enlightened understanding and a thorough appreciation of the aims and purposes of that conflict.

"This realization, in turn, must motivate the operations of the War Relocation Authority, created by Executive Order of the President to administer the resettlement of persons evacuated from prohibited military zones. The majority of the evacuees to date are American citizens against whom no charge of individual guilt has been lodged. A constructive performance, therefore, on the part of the War Relocation Authority, will go far toward fashioning the whole pattern of our policy on racial and minority groups now and in the post-war world."

This task, the responsibility of the Authority in cooperation with the army—and the broader task of which it is a part, and which concerns our whole front as a democracy in ordering our relations with diverse peoples at home and abroad—calls for nothing less than the best that our statesmen can give.

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)