

# POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL

Telephone: GRamercy 7-8534

112 E. 19th STREET, NEW YORK



Oswald Garrison Villard  
*Treasurer*

Mary W. Hillyer  
*Executive Director*

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Oscar Ameringer  
Harry Elmer Barnes  
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Evan Thomas  
Norman Thomas  
Lena Tulchen  
Harold S. Tuttle  
Mary Jo Uphoff  
*Committee incomplete*

March 6, 1942

President Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

I have been instructed by our Governing Committee to send you the following resolution which was unanimously adopted at our meeting this week:

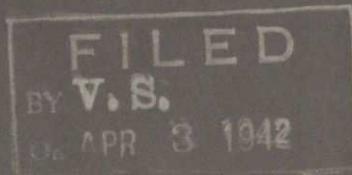
"Recognizing the real danger of subversive activities among aliens of the West Coast, we nevertheless believe that the Presidential order giving power to generals in command of military departments to evacuate any or all aliens or citizens from any districts which may be designated as military constitutes a danger to American freedom and to her reputation for fair play throughout the world far greater than any danger which it is designed to cure. We, therefore, ask the President for a modification of the order so that, at the least, evacuation of citizens will depend upon evidence immediately applicable to the person or persons evacuated. In the meanwhile, we call upon our members and all lovers of justice and fair play throughout the United States, and particularly on the West Coast, to use their influence against the wholesale exercise of a military power hurtful not only to the true standards of democracy and humanity but also to the production of proper foodstuffs at a time of world hunger. Finally, we pledge our support to any test of the constitutionality of the order."

We appreciate your heavy responsibilities and your anxiety of the situation on the West Coast but we do hope you will give as much attention as possible to this delicate problem.

Sincerely,

*Mary W. Hillyer*

Mary W. Hillyer,  
Executive Director

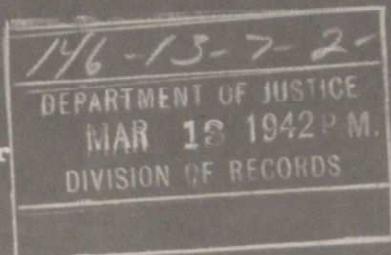


## Midwest Office

740 Rush Street  
Chicago, Ill.

## Maryland Office

328 N. Charles Street  
Baltimore, Md.



COPY

POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL

Telephone: GRamercy 7-8534

112 E. 19th Street, New York

Oswald Garrison Villard, Treasurer  
Mary W. Hillyer, Executive Director

April 23, 1942

My dear Dr. Taylor:

I am sure you are deeply disturbed over the treatment of Japanese aliens and citizens who are as devoted to our American ideals of democracy as any of us. Because we see a dangerous trend on the West coast, we feel it is imperative, if possible, to work for a more just and individual procedure. This is especially urgent as the West coast may become a precedent for the East coast.

With this note, I am enclosing a letter we are sending to President Roosevelt. We are inviting you to join the original signers of the letter:

Alfred M. Bingham  
John Dewey  
Harry Emerson Fosdick  
Mary W. Hillyer  
John Haynes Holmes  
James Wood Johnson

Rt. Rev. Mons. Liugi G. Ligutti  
Reinhold Neibuhr  
Clarence E. Pickett  
Harold Rugg  
Norman Thomas  
Oswald Garrison Villard

When we hear from you, the letter, with hundreds of signatures, will be sent to the President. We believe that this will be an effective way of informing Mr. Roosevelt that, even as we appreciate his problem, we are desperately concerned lest we slip into the pitfall of Nazi race ideology.

I am enclosing a postal which I hope you will send me by return mail indicating that you are willing to sign the letter.

Sincerely,

(signed) Mary W. Hillyer

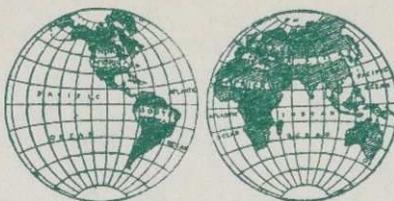
Mary W. Hillyer

# POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL

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Telephone: GRamercy 7-8534

112 E. 19th STREET, NEW YORK



**News Service**  
for immediate release

Oswald Garrison Villard  
*Treasurer*

Mary W. Hillyer  
*Executive Director*

FOR RELEASE  
SUNDAY, MAY 10, 1942

## HEARING WITH ROOSEVELT ON JAPANESE PROBLEM REQUESTED BY POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL

A hearing with President Roosevelt was requested today by the Post War World Council to discuss the plight of the Japanese on the west Coast. This request was made public by Mary W. Hillyer, Executive Director of the Post War World Council, in a letter to the President.

At the same time, Miss Hillyer forwarded to Mr. Roosevelt 200 signatures of men and women throughout the country who are requesting the President to set up civilian hearing boards to determine the loyalty of the Japanese.

Among the signers are: Edith Abbott, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago; Helen M. Beardsley, Executive Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, Los Angeles; John Beardsley, Judge, Los Angeles; Ernest Besig, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, San Francisco; Franz Boas, Columbia University; Raymond Booth, Executive, American Friends Service Committee, Los Angeles; S. P. Breckenridge, University of Chicago; Kenneth L. Brown, President, Denison University, Granville, Ohio; E. W. Camp, Lawyer, Los Angeles; George A. Coe, Fairmont, California; Ned N. Dearborn, Dean of Adult Education, New York University; John Dos Passos, Writer, Provincetown, Massachusetts; W.E. DuBois, Atlanta University; Christopher R. Eliot, Cambridge, Massachusetts; John F. Finerty, Attorney, New York; Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Writer, Arlington, Vermont; Leo Gallagher, Attorney, Los Angeles; H. J. Gibbons, International Representative, United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees of America.

(more)

Esther Fiske Hammond, Santa Barbara, California; Sidney Hook, New York University; James H. Hubert, Urban League; B.W. Huebsch, Publisher; Stanley Armstrong Hunger, St. John's Presbyterian Church, Berkeley, California; Josephine Johnson, Novelist, Iowa City, Iowa; Arthur I. Lelyveld, Rabbi, Omaha, Nebraska; Max Lerner, Professor, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts; Eduard C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work; Hugh E. Macbeth, Los Angeles, California; Dwight Macdonald, Editor, Partisan Review; Frank McCallister, Southern Secretary, Workers Defense League; Broadus Mitchell, Economist, Wendell, Massachusetts; Elizabeth Page, author, Los Angeles, California; Frederick D. Patterson, President, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Councilman, New York City; A. Philip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Frederick L. Redefer, Executive Secretary, Progressive Education Association; Robert W. Searle, Chairman, Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action; Mark Starr, Educational Director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Dr. Clinton J. Taft, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, Los Angeles; Channing H. Tobias, Senior Secretary, Colored Work Department, National Council of the YMCA'S; James Wallace, Business Man and Church Leader, Los Angeles; Newman I. White, Professor, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

The full text of Miss Hillyer's letter follows;

"I have the honor to send you one-hundred additional signatures of distinguished men and women throughout the country who are requesting you, in the enclosed letter, to set up hearing boards for American citizens of Japanese origin and Japanese aliens on the West Coast. These signatures supplement the ones we sent you last week.

"With this letter comes a request from the Post War World Council for a hearing with you to discuss the pressing problem of the Japanese on the West Coast with a few of the signers of our letter.

"We appreciate the many and difficult questions you have at hand, but we believe our own democracy is threatened by this aggravating situation and hope very much that we may hear from you advising us of the time for an appointment."

Letter to Mr. Roosevelt is also attached.

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SIGNERS OF THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON THE JAPANESE SITUATION - 5/8/42

Edith Abbott, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.  
Mrs. G. E. Andrus, Boulder, Colorado.  
Bedros K. Apelian, The Church in Radburn, Fair Lawn, New Jersey.  
Cyrus LeRoy Baldrige, Artist; Member Willard Straight Post, American Legion.  
Elfie R. Beale, Santa Barbara, California.  
Helen M. Beardsley, Executive Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, Los Angeles.

John Beardsley, Judge, Los Angeles, California.  
Ruth Benedict, Columbia University.  
Carl B. Benson, M.D., Modesto, California.  
Emma C. Benson, Modesto, California.  
Ernest Besig, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, San Francisco.  
Alfred E. Bingham, Editor, Common Sense.  
Franz Boas, Columbia University.  
Raymond Booth, Executive, American Friends Service Committee, Los Angeles.  
Dwight J. Bradley, Executive Director, Council for Social Action of the  
Congregational Christian Churches.

Margaret Branscombe, University of Chicago.  
S. P. Breckenridge, University of Chicago.  
Oliver Hart Bronson, Santa Barbara, California.  
Kenneth I. Brown, President, Denison University, Granville, Ohio.  
Edna S. Burnett, Modesto, California.  
A. M. Butler, Dows, Iowa.  
E. W. Camp, Lawyer, Los Angeles.  
Carl Carmer, Author; Poet.  
Mrs. H. M. Chamberlin, Beloit, Wisconsin.  
Will Chasan, Writer.  
Travers Clement, Executive Secretary, Socialist Party.  
George A. Coe, Fairmont, California.  
Wayne M. Collins, Attorney, San Francisco, California.  
Mrs. Ed Colman, Richland Court, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.  
Jean Conklin, New York.  
Elbert Moore Conover, New York.  
Albert Sprague Coolidge, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.  
Isabel H. Corcoran, Buffalo, New York.  
Paul Cotton, Portland, Oregon.  
George S. Counts, President, American Federation of Teachers.  
Countee Cullen, Poet.  
Janet Daniel, New York City.  
Mark L. Dawber, New York City.  
Ned N. Dearborn, Dean of Adult Education, New York University.  
Clay dePase, Jr.  
Margaret DeSilver, Member, Governing Committee, Post War World Council.  
Dorothy Detzer, Executive Secretary, Women's International League for Peace  
and Freedom.

John Dewey, Philosopher, Key West, Florida.  
Witherspoon Dodge, Atlanta, Georgia.  
Frances Doherty, Madison, New Jersey.  
John Dos Passos, Writer, Provincetown, Massachusetts.  
Marjorie Drath, Oakland, California.  
Phillip V. Drath, Oakland, California.  
W. E. DuBois, Atlanta University.  
Max Eastman, Critic; Author.  
Justus Ebert, Editor, Lithographers Journal.  
Sherwood Eddy, Author.  
Irwin Edman, Columbia University.  
Christopher R. Eliot, Cambridge, Massachusetts.  
David Felix, Lawyer, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

John F. Finerty, Attorney, New York.  
Dorothy Canfield Fisher, writer, Arlington, Vermont.  
Henry Forman, Columbus, Ohio.  
Sallie T. Forman, Columbus, Ohio.  
Mrs. Harry Emerson Fosdick,  
Harry Emerson Fosdick, Riverside Church.  
E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University, Washington, D.C.  
Samuel H. Friedman, Editor, The Call.  
Varian Fry, Special Representative, Emergency Rescue Committee.  
Leo Gallagher, Attorney, Los Angeles, California.  
Anton Garden, Chicago, Illinois.  
H. J. Gibbons, International Representative, United Retail, Wholesale &  
Department Store Employees of America.  
Aron S. Gilmartin, Unitarian Church of Our Father, Newburgh, New York.  
Arturo Giovannitti, Italian Labor Bureau.  
Joseph G. Glass, Attorney.  
Dorothy Gleason, Modesto, California.  
Omar and Ryllis Alexander Goslin, Foreign Policy Association.  
Mrs. B. M. Graf, Modesto, California.  
Frank P. Graham, President, University of North Carolina.  
John C. Granbery, Editor, The Emancipator, San Antonio, Texas.  
Rev. Oscar F. Green, Rector, All Saints Episcopal Church, Palo Alto, California.  
Clement Greenberg, Literary Critic, Editor, Partisan Review.  
H. M. Greene, Madison, New Jersey.  
Mary Halliday, Santa Barbara, California.  
Albert W. Hamilton, Washington Representative, The Call, Washington, D.C.  
Esther Fiske Hammond, Santa Barbara, California.  
Charles Yale Harrison, writer.  
Agnes H. Harter, Venice, California.  
Robert Hegler, Buck Creek Camp, Marion, North Carolina.  
Eduard Heimann, New York University.  
Rebekah G. Henshaw, Providence, Rhode Island.  
Sidney Hertzberg, writer.  
Mary W. Hillyer, Executive Director, Post War World Council.  
George G. Hollingshead, Jersey City, New Jersey.  
Jesse H. Holmes, Professor Emeritus, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.  
John Haynes Holmes, Community Church.  
Sidney Hook, New York University.  
James H. Hubert, Urban League.  
B. W. Huebsch, Publisher.  
Allan A. Hunter, Hollywood, California.  
Stanley Armstrong Hunter, ~~St.~~ John's Presbyterian Church, Berkeley, California.  
Margaret N. Jackson, Santa Barbara, California.  
Philip C. Jessup, Professor, Columbia University.  
James Wood Johnson, writer.  
Josephine Johnson, Novelist, Iowa City, Iowa.  
Florence Jonas, New York City.  
Harold J. Jonas, New York City.  
Rev. Robert O. Kevin, Ph.D., Virginia Theological Seminary, Washington, D.C.  
Dr. Milton R. Konvitz, Newark, New Jersey.  
Maynard C. Krueger, Professor, University of Chicago.  
Agnes H. Kupelian, Santa Barbara, California.  
Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy; Former  
Councilman, New York City.  
Rev. Leon Rosser Land, New York City.  
Layle Lane, Vice-President, American Federation of Teachers.  
John Howland Lathrop, Vice-President, National Peace Conference.  
W. Jett Lauck, Economist, Governing Committee Member, Post War World Council.  
Arthur I. Lelyveld, Rabbi, Omaha, Nebraska.

Max Lerner, Professor, Williams College, Massachusetts.  
Aaron Levenstein, Economist.  
Alfred Baker Lewis, Distinguished Liberal; Member Board of Directors,  
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.  
Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary, National Council for the Prevention  
of War, Washington, D.C.

Maxim Lieber

Rt. Rev. Mons. Luigi G. Ligutti, Exec. Secy. Natl. Catholic Rural Life Conf.,  
Des Moines, Iowa.

Eduard C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work.

Dr. Edgar A. Lowther, Temple Methodist Church.

Walter Ludwig, Director, Pioneer Youth of America, Long Island City.

Hugh E. Macbeth, Los Angeles, California.

Dwight Macdonald, Editor, Partisan Review.

Mrs. Dana Malone, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Jerome MacNair, Lawyer, Los Angeles, California.

Horace Mann.

Benjamin C. Marsh, The People's Lobby, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Frank McCallister, Southern Secretary, Workers Defense League.

Elizabeth McManus, Social Worker.

A. Ross Meeker, Millburn, New Jersey.

W. D. Mendenhall, Whittier, California.

Morris Milgram, National Secretary, Workers Defense League.

Broadus Mitchell, Economist, Wendell, Massachusetts.

Lois I. Morganfield, Santa Barbara, California.

Pauli Murray, Washington, D.C.

Gardner Murphy, Bronxville, New York.

A. J. Muste, Executive Director, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Reinhold Niebuhr, Chairman, Union for Democratic Action.

Liston M. Oak, Former Chief of English Division of Spanish Republican Press  
Bureau.

Vera E. Olsen, Modesto, California.

Mary White Ovington, Board Member, National Association for Advancement of  
Colored People.

Olive B. Owen, Topeka, Kansas.

T. Ross Paden, Modesto, California.

Elizabeth Page, Author, Los Angeles, California.

George L. Paine, Member, Executive Council, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

H. Glenn Payne, Providence, Rhode Island.

Frederick D. Patterson, President, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Harriet Ida Pickens.

Clarence Pickett, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.

Henry W. Pope, Secretary, Harlem Citizens Committee.

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Councilman, New York City.

Jackson H. Ralston, Former General Counsel, American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

A. Philip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Burton Rascoe, Writer.

Walter Rautenstrauck, Columbia University.

Frederick L. Redefer, Executive Secretary, Progressive Education Association.

Frederick Reustle, Pastor, Congregational Church, Jamaica, New York.

John Rothschild.

Harold Rugg, Teachers College.

Clarence E. Rust, Attorney, San Francisco, California.

Dr. D. P. Ryland, Los Angeles, California.

Cecelia Cabaniss Saunders, Harlem Branch, YWCA.

John Nevin Sayre, Executive Director, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Leslie B. Schlingheyell, Modesto, California.

George S. Schuyler, Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.  
Vida D. Scudder, Professor Emeritus, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
William Seabrook, Writer.  
Robert W. Searle, Chairman, Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action.  
Nellie F. Seip, Modesto, California.  
Sidney H. Skidell.  
John Sloan, Artist.  
Mark Starr, Educational Director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.  
Helen Phelps Stokes, Distinguished Liberal, Bennington, Vermont.  
Aubrey H. Straus, Richmond, Virginia.  
Paul B. Studebaker, Modesto, California.  
Lillian Symes, Writer.  
Dr. Clinton J. Taft, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, Los Angeles.  
Norman Thomas, National Chairman, Socialist Party, U.S.A.  
Harry A. Tifford  
Ernest Fremont Tittle, Minister, First Methodist Church, Evanston, Illinois.  
Channing H. Tobias, Senior Secretary, Colored work Department, National  
Council of the YMCAs.  
Willard S. Townsend, International President, United Transport Service  
Employees of America.

Carlo Tresca

Henry H. Tweedy, Yale Theological Seminary.  
Willard Uphaus, Executive Secretary, Religion and Labor Foundation.  
Oswald Garrison Villard, Former Editor of the Nation, writer.  
Arthur H. Wallace, Modesto, California.  
Dorothy C. Wallace, Modesto, California.  
James Wallace, Business Man and Church Leader, Los Angeles.  
Anna Strunsky Walling, New York City.  
J. Raymond Walsh, Professor, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.  
Gordon H. Ward, Professor, Blacksburg, Virginia.  
Charles C. Weber, Federal Council of Churches.  
Harry Wendrich, State Representative, Newark, New Jersey.  
Newman I. White, Professor, Duke University, Durham, N. C.  
Forman J. Whitney  
Pearl L. Willen, New York City.  
H. D. Willits, Portland, Oregon.  
Bertram D. Wolfe, Writer.  
Mrs. Webster Woodmansee, Hotel Astor, Milwaukee.  
Mary E. Woolley, Former President, Mt. Holyoke College.  
Helen F. Zimmerman, Buffalo, New York.

(list incomplete)

(Organizations are listed for identification purposes only.)

April 30, 1942

Dear Mr. President:

We are aware that your executive order of February 19th, under which more than one hundred thousand aliens and Americans of Japanese origin (of which seventy one thousand are citizens) are now being evacuated from the West coast, was prompted by a sense of military urgency.

We recognize fully the difficulties of the situation. But we have seen no adequate evidence to convince us that an order giving complete power to the Secretary of War or to the commander of each military area to exclude from designated areas all citizens, or to restrict their actions in any way he sees fit, is either constitutional or democratic. Enforcing this on the Japanese alone approximates the totalitarian theory of justice practiced by the Nazis in their treatment of the Jews.

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

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

The immediate and specific purpose of this letter is to urge you to extend to Japanese aliens, and especially to citizens of Japanese origin on the West coast, the right to a hearing before civilian boards to attest  
(more)

Mr. Roosevelt

their loyalty. This should be done, if possible, before evacuation from their homes and businesses, but also, in cases where they have already been removed, in order to establish the right to return to their homes.

This is a principle partially established in dealing with German and Italian aliens. It has been recommended in detail by the Tolson Committee of the House of Representatives for the benefit of Italian and German aliens resident in the great area from which all Japanese have been evacuated. To grant to Italian and German aliens a right denied to American citizens of Japanese origin is a type of race discrimination for which there is no ethical justification. Many of these citizens are graduates of our schools and colleges whose usefulness as workers and citizens has been attested by the leaders of communities in which they live. This whole process, we believe, is of itself a blow to our democracy and will gravely affect our reputation for racial fair play among the nations of the world. It is the type of discrimination which, throughout much of Asia, will greatly strengthen the hands of our enemies.

We commend all action which has been taken, or may be taken under your authority to safeguard, as far as possible, the rights and interests of the victims of the present situation. We hope that the War Relocation Authority, in all its plans, will protect our fellow citizens of Japanese origin from exploitation by private interests which have acquired their land, or from a special serfdom in work battalions under the army.

Believe us,

Respectfully yours,

Alfred M. Bingham  
George S. Counts  
Countee Cullen  
John Dewey  
Sherwood Eddy  
Irwin Edman  
Harry Emerson Fosdick  
Frank P. Graham  
Mary W. Hillyer  
John Haynes Holmes  
James Wood Johnson

Harry W. Laidler  
Rt. Rev. Mons. Luigi G. Ligutti  
Reinhold Neibuhr  
Clarence E. Pickett  
Harold Rugg  
Mark Starr  
Norman Thomas  
Ernest Fremont Tittle  
Oswald Garrison Villard  
Mary E. Woolley  
incomplete

A 1050

C O P Y

WAR DEPARTMENT  
Washington

May 25, 1942.

Miss Mary W. Hillyer,  
Post War World Council  
112 East 19th St.  
New York City, N Y

*Add to Army +  
Evacuation*

Dear Miss Hillyer:

The President has referred to me for reply your letter regarding the evacuation of the alien Japanese and Americans of Japanese descent with the accompanying signatures.

You undoubtedly realize that a very difficult situation confronted us on the West Coast on the sudden outbreak of the war with Japan, but I very much doubt if even you could have appreciated the extreme seriousness and difficulty of the situation. Not only did great cities exist along the sea coast with large populations subject to possible attack, but some of our most important manufacturing establishments from which the Army and Navy obtain vital munitions were in the same locality. A successful attack might well have had a disastrous effect upon the war. As a consequence, the entire American populations of the West Coast States were left in a condition of great excitement and apprehension, and the nature of the attack on Pearl Harbor tended greatly to inflame our people against all persons of Japanese ancestry, whether citizens or not, and irrespective of their good or evil records as citizens.

Thus, the evacuation of all persons of Japanese descent from the immediate neighborhood of these sensitive key points of our vital defense became at once imperative, not only for the safety of our country but for their own protection. The number of these persons was so large, amounting to over 115,000, that individual action which would afford adequate protection either to them or to us, was impossible in the emergency.

At the outset, an opportunity was given to all who were willing to move voluntarily, to go wherever they wished, provided only that they left the neighborhood of the dangerous spots. This policy had to be abandoned, however, because of the opposition of the authorities and citizens of the interior states into which these people desired to move, and we had to supersede it by subsequent action in which the protection of the Army itself could be thrown around the persons who were moving.

We have made every effort to handle this thorny problem with the utmost care and humanity, and as a matter of fact, it has been very ably so handled by General DeWitt, the Commander of our forces on the West Coast. The conduct of General DeWitt and of the officers working under him has won the approval of all good American citizens in that neighborhood, and the evacuees themselves have expressed their appreciation of the consideration and care which has been shown them. Every reasonable effort has been made to protect them and their property and to provide for them an opportunity for useful employment as well as suitable recreation. I can assure you that we are alert to protect these people from exploitation of any kind.

*best in  
m.*

Miss Mary W. Hillyer

#2

May 25, 1942.

Whether it will be possible to deal with the evacuees on an individual basis, as suggested in your letter, is open to great doubt. The evacuation once accomplished is not easily undone. It is, however, the desire of all of us to hold down to an absolute minimum any interference with the liberties of individuals. We are not unmindful of the fact that the majority of those evacuated are American citizens.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Henry L. Stinson  
Secretary of War

A 16.214

POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL  
112 East 19th St.  
New York City

June 10, 1942.

Honorable Henry L. Stimson  
Secretary of War  
Washington, D C

Dear Mr. Stimson:

We appreciate the courtesy of your reply in behalf of the President, to our letter -signed by two hundred distinguished citizens, concerning the evacuation of alien Japanese and Americans of Japanese descent.

We have carefully considered the points you make and most respectfully raise certain questions.

(1) You imply that the very difficult situation on the West Coast existed immediately after the perfidious attack on Pearl Harbor. Such evidence as we have been able to see, including, more specifically, the evidence compiled by the Tolson Committee, suggests that the extreme feeling against the Japanese on the West Coast was by no means the spontaneous reaction to Pearl Harbor but was a slow development, compounded by many elements, including prejudice and greed. It was especially nourished by stories of sabotage in Hawaii, which stories were specifically denied in affidavits from responsible officials, presented to the Tolson Committee. Meanwhile, there has been no sabotage on the West Coast on the part of these Japanese and Japanese Americans. This testimony is further strengthened by many letters from the West Coast.

(2) The opportunity to move voluntarily, to which you refer, brought no relief to loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry and, as you admit, soon gave way to an order denying these people the right to move "by reason of the opposition of the authorities and citizens of the interior States."

(3) What has actually been worked out then is a policy of concentration camps. We do not doubt that, in general, the Army authorities have tried to be humane but no excellence of intention has changed the situation which was recently accurately described in a headline in The Nation as "Citizens Behind Barbed Wire."

All the evidence that we have seen and heard makes it clear that the Japanese, especially the Japanese Americans, have behaved with admirable loyalty; that they have suffered, however, extraordinary losses in property, despite some belated provisions for their protection, and that the quarters to which they are confined in temporary or more permanent camps are unfit for human beings and a disgrace in the eyes of Asia to the American way of life.

(4) The extension in principle of Army control over citizens, as well as aliens on the East Coast, emphasizes the constitutional issue - perhaps we should say an issue of fundamental liberty - greater even than the humanitarian issue of the treatment of the Japanese. The Presidential order of February 19th is, we are compelled to believe, without constitutional warrant. It certainly adopts the dictatorial principle that the interest of the State, as interpreted by its ruler, is the one supreme principle of justice. Under that order, and the subsequent orders on the West and East Coasts, American citizens may be removed from their homes, or their movements in the districts where they reside may be greatly restricted, without trial or hearing of any sort, by military order. This

(more)

June 10, 1942.

order need not apply, like martial law, for a definite emergency to all citizens. It may be indefinite and discriminatory in its application. This has been proved in the treatment of American citizens of Japanese origin who have not even been given such hearings before citizen boards, as have been granted to many German and Italian aliens. We can find no proof in your letter or elsewhere that the possibility of dealing "with the evacuees on an individual basis is open to great doubt."

We respectfully submit that your letter contains no such proof of overwhelming necessity or such complete lack of alternatives as to justify, even in an emergency, an act so contrary to the principles of American democracy, to the American tradition and the American Constitution. We doubt if it can command the support of the American people when once they know the facts.

We, therefore, renew our request that hearing boards be set up, although the American citizens who may apply to them are already in concentration camps, and that those who thus establish their loyalty be allowed to return to their homes. Basically, of course, our desire is for the rescinding of the President's order on which such a great structure of military control of American citizens has been erected.

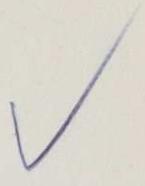
Since you wrote us at the direction of the President, may we respectfully ask you to refer this answer to him?

Sincerely,

(signed) Mary W. Hillyer  
Executive Director

For the Governing Committee.

Proposals -  
A 16.214



STATEMENT ADOPTED BY CONFERENCE ON JAPANESE EVACUATION,  
CALLED BY POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL AT THE RUSSELL SAGE  
FOUNDATION, 132 EAST 22ND STREET, NEW YORK CITY, ON  
JUNE 18, 1942.

We recommend to the authorities both military and civil that evacuation be held within its present geographical bounds and be not allowed to spread beyond the zones indicated for present action.

Further, by administrative practice, or if necessary by a change in the President's direction, that after evacuation the entire matter of assembly and re-settlement be taken from military authority and put into civilian control through Federal Bureaus; and that the process be carried out as a necessary change in residence only and not as the military internment of unaccused persons in concentration camps, as present trends indicate it may become.

We earnestly recommend that every legitimate measure be taken to obtain for the American citizens of Japanese ancestry an exemption from the operation of this order for wholesale detention. We urge that boards of hearing be set up, or that some other process be provided whereby individual aliens and citizens may appear and establish their innocence of any potential danger even in war time, and that for those whose loyalty is unquestioned credentials be issued, both for their protection and for the reassurance of the public.

We recommend that every effort be made to see that these temporary shelters, intended for sifting only, and in which life can scarcely be maintained at a human level, shall not through any cause be permitted to become even semi-permanent. These camps with their crowding, imperfect housing, lack of privacy and meagerness of equipment or of facilities for normal living must not be tolerated except as a phase of the briefest, most temporary sort.

\* \* \* \* \*



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

# AMERICAN REFUGEES

*If we do not extend humanity's kindnesses and understanding to these people, if we deny them the protection of the Bill of Rights, if we say they may be denied the privilege of living in any of the forty-eight states and force them into concentration camps without hearing or charge of misconduct, then we are tearing down the whole American system.—RALPH L. CARR, Governor of Colorado.*

## THE JAPANESE ON THE WEST COAST

Forming about 1% of the population of the Pacific Coast states, there were some 112,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living there in 1940. Over 70,000 were American citizens. They had an extremely low delinquency rate, very few persons on relief, and a birth rate slightly lower than the average for the population as a whole.<sup>1</sup> The largest number were farmers, laborers, or workers in domestic and personal service. Over one-fourth of all Japanese in the United States lived in Los Angeles county, where they formed less than 1½% of that county's population.

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

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

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

## ARE THESE EVACUEES LOYAL TO THIS COUNTRY?

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

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

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

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

## HAVE OUR JAPANESE COMMITTED SABOTAGE?

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

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

—Secretary of War Stimson.

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

—Assistant Attorney General Rowe.

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

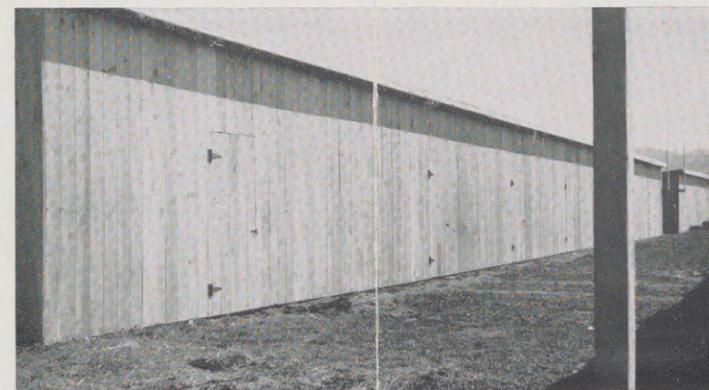
—Honolulu Chief of Police Gabrielson.

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

—California Attorney General Warren.

## HOW MUCH ECONOMIC LOSS IS INVOLVED?

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



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

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

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

(January 2, 1942)

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

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

## WHAT ABOUT LABOR STANDARDS?

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

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

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

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

## WHAT ABOUT OTHER MINORITIES?

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

## WAS EVACUATION NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE JAPANESE?

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

## ARE THESE MEASURES CONSTITUTIONAL?

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

## WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE?

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

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

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

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

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



What's going to happen to me?

## WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## FOR FURTHER INFORMATION . . .

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

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

## A Letter to President Roosevelt

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

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

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

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

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

AMONG THOSE SIGNING this letter were:

John Dewey  
Reinhold Niebuhr  
Norman Thomas

Clarence E. Pickett  
Harry Emerson Fosdick  
Oswald Garrison Villard