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After consulting with some members of the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play I am drafting this reply - which is not official for the Committee since it has taken no stand on your Bill or Resolution - to your frank and welcome letter of June 22nd.

Your first proposal is to deport every Japanese alien. It is my understanding

- (1) that all - or virtually all - these aliens were admitted to our country in full conformity to our laws as these laws stood at the time of their admission.
- (2) that a large proportion, perhaps a majority, have never been back to Japan since immigrating to the United States.
- (3) that of all aliens, including those who have returned to Japan for a visit, two-thirds have not been in Japan since 1925, or more than seventeen years ago.
- (4) that the majority of these aliens have children, or even grandchildren, born in the United States.
- (5) that, with relatively few exceptions, no accusation whatever of crime or malfeasance against our country has ever been lodged against these aliens.
- (6) that 39 percent of the "American citizens who happen to have Japanese parents" are under 15 years of age (1940 census), and that these children (or grandchildren) are the American citizens who would experience in most intimate ways the results of separation of families that deportation of aliens would entail.

In view of these considerations I believe that deportation of Japanese aliens could hardly fail to injure "loyal American citizens". As son of an immigrant, you will realize the hardship upon children of deporting their parents because of foreign birth of the latter. On the record, aren't most of these aliens innocent of everything except foreign birth, anyway?

As for Japanese Americans who are proved traitors, we think present laws on treason probably are adequate and certainly should be enforced.

It is true of course that Japanese are of a different race and color than the rest of us. Also that some of our people do not like persons of Japanese ancestry. But is there any substantial reason to believe that these Japanese aliens - with infinitesimal exceptions - had anything to do with "this war and the manner in which it was started?" Isn't it pretty clear, now that the dust has settled, that the record is to the contrary?

Japanese in Japan "are bent on destroying us," and I believe they should not be coddled. The distinction between them, on the one hand, and persons of Japanese ancestry in the United States, on the other, would not seem particularly difficult to maintain. Nor does it seem as difficult as some people appear to think to distinguish between guilty and innocent Japanese of American birth. The United States Army and the Department of Justice, among other government agencies, are making this distinction daily.

Why limit this To

Showed all Am. aliens in Japan
be cleared not now & never,
including business, church, etc. professional

Ruth Kingman's ~~proposal~~ to summary
of conference with John J. McCloy - on Oct 7/43
asst. Sec'y of War.

1. Continue letting nisei soldiers move freely anywhere in USA
2. Added emphasis on enlisting nisei WACS and their assignment to Pacific Coast
3. Return to Pacific Coast of Veterans of World War I, with full responsibility for their safety placed squarely on Amer. Legion.
4. Return of wives and children of nisei in service to the homes for which the husbands and fathers are fighting
5. Gradual return of law-abiding parents of those same service men and their wives.
- ✓ 6. Reinstatement of selective service for nisei. Sicilian precedent might be followed in South Pacific.
7. Assign an officer to Emmons staff to see that full and proper use is made of all news and announcements of policy which can be used on Pacific Coast to reassure the public. The great majority will willingly accept the judgment of our military leadership, as to treatment of the Japanese evacuees.

June 26, 1943

President Robert Gordon Sproul
University of California
Berkeley, Cal.

Dear Dr. Sproul:

You have been very good about backing up the Fair Play Committee, but there are two important men who need just the touch you can give. They are Mr. Knowland of the TRIBUNE and Governor Warren. Both of them have seemed to wobble strangely on applying constitutional and far-sighted procedures to the Japanese-American citizens.

The pressure on both of them from such powerful political groups as the Legion, the NSCW and the Eagles must have been formidable. But I am surprised and disappointed that both of them have not seen fit to stand firm for the enlightened policies now being followed by the War Department and the Department of Justice and the War Relocation Authority, both as to releasing and resettling the nisei, and as to treating the nisei in the armed forces just like any other enlisted men.

The Governor's speech at the Governor's Conference at Columbus, you may have noted, reverted to his testimony before the Tolan Committee, maintaining that "lack of sabotage since thousands of them have been released is no proof at all that they don't intend to commit sabotage when the time has arrived." He therefore asserted that "No more dangerous step could be taken than to release them at the present time".

I am really astounded that any lawyer could adopt such logic, in face of the really positive evidence that no sabotage was committed by any person of Japanese race either before, during or after Pearl Harbor, either in Hawaii or on the mainland, and further, that no charges of either sabotage or any other suspicious conduct have been made against the thousands of the evacuees released during the last eight or nine months, according to Dillon Myer.

I need not say more, but will simply leave the matter to your own good judgment and tact. Let me add that I am writing as an individual, although several members of our Committee have said how they wished you might do something of this sort.

Sincerely yours

Galen M. Fisher

July 13, 1943

Personal

Honorable Earl Warren
Governor of California
Sacramento, California

Dear Earl:

I presume upon my friendship with you to write you regarding a matter over which I am much concerned. I am convinced that we must deal fairly with the loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry who have been evacuated from our state.

You have recently been quoted in the press as believing not only that these people should not be returned to California during the war but that you also oppose the plan of the Federal Government to relocate loyal persons in non-military zones where they might aid in meeting the manpower shortage. The July 5th issue of Life Magazine states that you oppose any release from the Relocation Centers with the words "No one will be able to tell a saboteur from any other Jap...We don't want to have a second Pearl Harbor in California This isn't an appeal to race hatred."

Unfortunately there are already evidences that your words are being exploited by vigilante-minded individuals. Some with whom I have talked believe that you have been misquoted. Some think that you were referring to the disloyal persons who are now confined in internment camps and that you did not have reference to the many loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry who are living in the Relocation Centers.

The Committee on whose letterhead this is written and of which I am an active member, does not suggest that even loyal evacuees should be returned to the West Coast at the present time. But it does strongly support the position that Americans of Japanese ancestry who are found to be loyal should be permitted to find their places in industry and agriculture outside the military areas. Our opinion is backed up by authoritative testimonies by J. Edgar Hoover, Colonel K. J. Fielder of Army Intelligence and others. I enclose some of these supporting statements.

Frankly, Earl, I feel it would be sound for you to take a long view and a nation-wide view of this question, which is so clouded by war-time emotions here at home in California, with doubtless a considerable element of emotions that have their root in economic jealousies. As far as I have been able to learn, people in the Middle West and East are more sensitive to the preservation of the liberties of American citizens including those so unfortunate as to look like our present enemies. The fundamentals of the Bill of Rights have weathered many an emotional storm in our Nation's history, and I feel sure you believe as I do that it will weather this one. You have already helped it weather local attempts at embezzlement by domestic enemies of various Caucasian ancestries; I am one of those who hope it may please God to permit you to do so on a nation-wide scale.

So if you have been misquoted, will you not take steps to set the matter right?

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Alfred J. Lundberg

AJL:MFS

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
Governor's Office
Sacramento

July 16, 1943

Mr. Alfred J. Lundberg
1106 Broadway
Oakland (4), California

Dear Al:

I have your letter of July 13 concerning the Japanese who have been evacuated from our State and calling attention to my statements on the subject at the recent Governors' Conference. In it you say, "Unfortunately there are already evidences that your words are being exploited by vigilante-minded individuals." If this is the fact, I sincerely regret it because nothing is more destructive than vigilante spirit and action, and I have consistently opposed both throughout my public career.

I am very happy to discuss the subject with you because I believe that both of us speak the same language and are motivated by the same interest. I have been intimately acquainted with your humanitarian instincts ever since we both joined with others in Oakland to form the Religious Fellowship some fifteen years ago. However, I cannot make any apology for the things that I said concerning the evacuation and relocation of Japanese, because I believe them to be true and in the interest of safety of our State and Nation.

I believe these views are not colored by race hatred or by "war time emotions here at home in California with doubtless a considerable element of emotions that have their root in economic jealousies," stated by you to be prevalent. It is my opinion that the Japanese, whether born in Japan or in this country, were rightfully evacuated from this area and placed in Relocation Centers under the authority conferred by Congressional Act, signed by the President and acted under by the Commanding General charged with the military safety of this section of our country. At that time everyone from the President down acquiesced in the procedure. I heard of no objection being raised by governmental agencies or citizen groups, although they had ample time to do so. I am persuaded that the reason there was no such objection was that the public feared the activities of these people, as did the Commanding General. At that time the affair at Pearl Harbor was still ringing in our ears. Now that the details of that incident have been somewhat dimmed by passing of time, there is a movement to undo that which was then done in the interest of safety. Personally, I am of the opinion that little has happened since Pearl Harbor to justify us in abandoning protective measures. Certainly our victories do not add up to any such total.

On the other hand, I am of the opinion that if the European War should be terminated successfully in a reasonably short time we will still have a terrific war on our hands with the Japanese and that it will take the lives of hundreds of thousands of our boys to win it. In short, I believe that the same smugness that brought about the laxity ending in the disaster at Pearl Harbor is beginning to permeate our country again, and that unless we do keep uppermost in our minds the formidable military establishment of Japan, the degree of her preparation, and the imperial designs, we may have another Pearl Harbor. I pray that it may not be so, but that if it should be, California, through an appreciation of the dangers involved, may have protected herself against the blow falling here.

I cannot help believing that you and your committee share this belief with me: otherwise you would not have said in your letter "The Committee on whose letterhead

July 16, 1943

this is written, and of which I am an active member, does not suggest that even loyal evacuees should be returned to the West Coast at the present time, but it does strongly support the position that Americans of Japanese ancestry who are found to be loyal should be permitted to find their places in industry and agriculture outside the military areas." That statement indicates to me that you believe exactly as I do; that regardless of the place of their birth they cannot, under existing war conditions, be trusted in this vital war area. The only difference, apparently, in our thinking is that you are of the opinion that they can safely be released from sequestration in other parts of the country, while I am of the opinion that under our way of life a potential saboteur is a menace to our war effort, regardless of where he may be released.

In this country of ours where people are free to come and go as they please without any system of espionage, there is no limit to the dangers involved in setting a potential saboteur loose in any part of the country. The destruction of an aeroplane factory in Kansas City is just as much a disaster as the destruction of one at Burbank, California. The destruction of bridges and tunnels in the Rocky Mountains would be just as great a disaster as similar sabotage in the Sierra Nevadas. The destruction of Boulder Dam, which is outside the combat area but which furnishes a major portion of the water and power for war industry in Southern California, would be just as serious as the destruction of the Pitt River Dam and others in the combat area serving war industry in northern California. It is on this theory I believe that if the evacuees cannot safely be returned to California they cannot safely be released anywhere.

As I view the situation, your position, giving full credit for the humanitarian motives prompting it, is not one based upon principles but upon expediency for the safety of our country, as is mine. If it were otherwise, and your conclusion was based upon the Bill of Rights which was referred to in your letter you would contend that every person born in this country of Japanese parentage would, under present conditions, be entitled to every right of citizenship; that is, the right to come and go and assemble, not in some parts of the country, but in every part of the country, including this combat zone where you and I and others have the same privilege. For obvious reasons you and your committee do not rely upon this principle in arriving at your conclusion.

There is an old saying that one cannot eat his cake and keep it, and it seems that that is the situation in which we find ourselves now. Either we take the protective measures that we know in our hearts are necessary to insure safety of our country or we abandon them as being in conflict with some principle of law. We cannot do both in this situation, and our Supreme Court unanimously recognized this fact recently in sustaining the curfew regulations on those of Japanese ancestry. It arrived at its conclusion reluctantly, as we all do in such situations. Nevertheless it was firm and unanimous in its conclusion that because of the peculiar situation of those of Japanese extraction, a distinction could, under the Constitution, be made. How far they will go in sustaining these procedures I do not profess to know, but I am of the opinion that it will go as far as it believes the necessities of the situation justify.

Lieutenant General DeWitt, the Commanding General of this area, has expressed the firm belief that in order to insure the safety of the area none of the evacuees should be returned. Inasmuch as the original evacuation was made under his direction, I see no reason why we should doubt the wisdom of his present opinion on the subject.

July 16, 1943

Reduced to simplest terms, our difference of opinion on the subject, if we are in disagreement, would seem to depend upon whose judgment we are going to accept as to the action required to protect us against fifth-column activities, which are part and parcel of Axis warfare. I personally choose to take the opinion of the Commanding General who is charged with our safety, rather than the views of experimenters who sometimes fall into the error of supporting their theories to the extent of disregarding very obvious precautions that should be taken against the dangers of modern warfare. I think there can be no doubt that the evidence which has recently come to light in some of the Relocation Centers shows a shocking indifference to the safety factor. I suppose you are aware that for a long time there have been thousands of people in California including army, navy, coast guard, local law enforcement and civilian patrols, guarding our coast line against possible landings of Japanese saboteurs from submarines. We have been warned by the government time after time of the probability of attempted landings. Should the evacuees be returned to California and given the right of unrestricted travel, who, I ask you, could tell the difference between a loyal Japanese on our coast line and a saboteur?

Some months ago the country was in a turmoil over the secret landing of six Germans who had been trained in the techniques of sabotage in Germany and sent to this country with that knowledge and the necessary funds to disrupt our war effort. Fortunately they were apprehended by the F.B.I. They were promptly and properly tried, convicted, and executed, and those who assisted them were likewise punished. It was a serious situation, but compared with the potentialities involved in releasing all those whom the social workers in Japanese Relocation Centers put the stamp of loyalty upon, it is but a drop in the bucket. We know how Japanese, wherever born, are indoctrinated with the ambitions of the Japanese Empire and of their efforts to achieve them.

As a matter of plain, simple fact, Al, it seems to me that we could not expect the average Japanese born in this country to give his loyalty to America in this war of survival. Again I hope that in saying this I am not giving vent to any feeling of race prejudice or hatred but rather to a recognition of loyalties that are born of home, family, race and religion. I would expect to be so judged if I were in Japan. Suppose that as young men, you and I had gone to Japan to live; that we had brought our American wives with us and had there brought our children into the world. Suppose, further, that they had lived in our American homes, more or less isolated from the Japanese society and culture, prohibited from acquiring citizenship or land, and perhaps never even learning the Japanese language. Suppose they had never known any other environment prior to the outbreak of this present war, where do you believe their sentiments would now be? Would they be for Japan or would they be for the United States of America; and given the opportunity to help one or the other, which do you believe they would help? I believe I know what both your children and mine would do under the circumstances; and I believe that Japanese, so born and reared, would react even more strongly because their government is their religion as well, and their Emperor is their God.

I have no doubt that there are many Japanese who came to this country because they would rather live here than live their lives under conditions as they are in Japan. I am also certain that there are many of their children born in this country who would have the same loyal sentiments that you and I have. For them this is a tragedy. War is a tragedy to millions of people. If there were any reasonable way of determining the loyalty of these individuals, I would be the first to insist upon their having the right to all the freedoms that we have. Unfortunately, I believe there is no way of determining this fact, or if there is, it has not been tried.

July 16, 1943

Frankly, as a citizen and public official I am not willing to adopt the theories or the practices indulged in by the Relocation Authorities to determine this fact. If, on the other hand, General DeWitt who is charged with the military security of the area and who has been intimately connected with the situation since before Pearl Harbor, or Director J. Edgar Hoover of the F.B.I., were to pass favorably upon the release of any of these individuals, I would accept the decision cheerfully and without question.

In conclusion let me say again that I appreciate the humanitarian sentiments which impelled you to write--the sentiments that have brought your committee together, Also that fundamentally there is no real difference of opinion between us and that we are both guided by a desire to do for these people those things which are consistent with the security of our nation. The only difference between us, as I view the situation, is that you do not believe the elements of danger in this group are as serious as I do, and that you base your opinion, as to the danger involved, upon the opinions of the workers in the War Relocation Authority. While I base mine upon army and navy officials and the members of the F.B.I. and other law enforcement officers as well as upon the opinion of the Commanding General for this area.

You may be sure that so far as is consistent with this belief on my part, I will do everything possible to protect the lives and property of these people as I would all other citizens of our country. It was in this spirit that I said at Columbus, Ohio, that I was not making an appeal to race hatred, but rather an appeal for national security.

Trusting that you will convey these views to the members of your Committee; and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

(signed) Earl Warren

EW:ecp

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+ p. 4 ⑧

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Trusting that you will convey these views to the members of your Committee; and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

(Signed) Earl Warren

EW:ecp

Points to be embodied in reply to Governor Warren's letter of July 16, 1943, to Mr. Alfred Lundberg - suggested by G.M.F. Fisher

Page 1, par. 3: "I heard of no objections"

The most emphatic objections were registered with General DeWitt by the Northern California Committee on Fair Play. Until the end of February, it was taken for granted by this Committee and by many other representative citizens of California that only the most vital military areas would be cleared of enemy aliens and of persons of Japanese ancestry. When, however, the public agitation for indiscriminate total evacuation of all persons of Japanese extraction from the entire Coast grew insistent, the Committee presented to General DeWitt on March 9, 1942, a memorandum entitled "Selective Evacuation of Japanese-American Citizens", and Col. W.L. Magill, Jr., Director of Evacuation, approved by Henry F. Grady, the Chairman. On March 10, 1942, General DeWitt expected to discuss this memorandum with six members of the Committee, but being prevented by the unexpected arrival of Asst. Secy of War McCloy, he deputed Col. Magill to meet the six members, who were: Maurice Harrison, Chester Rowell, Monroe Deutsch, Jesse Steinhart, Galen M. Fisher and myself. We spent an hour in conference with Col. Magill.

The Tolson Committee Report includes a number of testimonies opposing indiscriminate evacuation, such as those summarized on pages 147-156 of House Report No. 2124. It is my belief that practically all the members of the Fair Play Committee, who represented many times their own number in a score of cities, were likewise opposed to indiscriminate, mass evacuation.

P.2, mid. and p. 4, par. 2, end: "Japanese, wherever born, are indoctrinated with the ambitions of the Japanese Empire".

Persons well acquainted with many Japanese-Americans in say that, with few exceptions, they are loyal to America. ~~Excludes~~ The conclusion of the Tolson Committee: "We cannot doubt, and everyone is agreed, that the majority of Japanese was: citizens and aliens are loyal to this country."

all

Nor do such persons agree with you that nisei are "indoctrinated with Japan's imperial designs". No one can say how many are subjected to attempts to indoctrinate them, but the ~~facts~~ record in Hawaii as well as on the mainland, combine to show that any such indoctrination has not "taken". Witness the testimony of Col. Fielder, Chief of Military Intelligence for Hawaii, in an address in Honolulu last March:

It would take much too long to tell you of the many concrete ways in which many of these people who were put on the spot have proved their love for America and have helped solve an otherwise ticklish military problem here.

The prominent Naval Intelligence Officer who wrote the article on "The Japanese in America" in HARPERS for October 1942 says on pp. 490 and 491 that he "considers that at least seventy-five per cent of the nisei are loyal to the United States" and that "of the Japanese-born alien residents, the large majority are at least passively loyal to the United States."

The further fact that the FBI and Military Governor of Hawaii found it necessary to intern only 390 Japanese and to evacuate only a few hundred more, and that as J. Edgar Hoover has said: that "We have had practically no trouble with the Japanese in Hawaii. . . there has been no sabotage or espionage committed in Hawaii, subsequent to Pearl Harbor. There was espionage committed prior to Pearl Harbor, but not by the Japanese population as such, but by espionage agents and consular agents of the Japanese Government." All this does not support the assumption of suc-

cessful indoctrination for Japanese ambitions, and against America.

P. 2, par. 2, end: they cannot be safely released from sequestration in other parts of the country.

Our Committee declares imits release of June 15, 1943 declares : "We have confidence in the present policies of the War Department." In brief, ~~that~~ those policies are: to allow more than 9,000 nisei to serve in the armed forces, ^{long} about half of that number in the specially formed Combat Unit; to allow all Japanese-American soldiers on furlough to move freely in the Western Defense Command area to make visits to relatives and friends; to allow no other persons of Japanese extraction to enter the Western Defense Command, with the few exceptions of ~~persons~~ those married to ~~persons of Japanese extraction~~ ^{mixed ancestry}; to allow all approved evacuees to be released from Relocation Centers, either to enter colleges or to resettle.

Emphasis must be placed on the word "present", for it is entirely possible that we may dissent from some future policy of the War Department touching the Japanese or some other minority.

For the present, however, we do strongly endorse all the foregoing policies. As to the alleged menace to our war effort from releasing evacuees in inland states, east of the Rockies, these facts themselves are impressive: Up to August 1, 1945, some 17,000 evacuees had been released and ~~within~~ ⁱⁿ a year, ~~ago~~, and not one case of sabotage or subversive work or suspicious conduct had been charged against them. It is my conviction that our German-American population, not to mention our alien German residents, are far more dangerous than the released evacuees, yet you do not advocate that all or any large number of the German-extraction population should be sequestered. It stands to reason that the Japanese Government would be stupid enough to use white persons for sabotage and espionage, rather than the easily detected, noticeable persons of Japanese race in the interior, - or even on this Coast. In this connection, recall Hoover's statement that in Hawaii the espionage was done only by official representatives of the Japanese Government. That was in peace time. In war time, when there are no officials, white agents would almost certainly be used.

P. 3, par 1, mid. You imply that we are inconsistent in not insisting on the full maintenance of the Bill of Rights, even in war time, for Japanese-Americans.

It is true that the Committee is firmly committed to maintaining the Bill of Rights, and so is the President of the United States. He and his advisor ^{Reverend} decided that the overriding demands of national self-preservation required a temporary curtailment of the Bill of Rights, and Executive Order 9006 was accordingly issued on February 19, 1942. We likewise approve a certain degree of curtailment for the same reason. The difference of opinion arises over the degree of curtailment. Thus far, our Committee has not defined the degree of curtailment that it approves, beyond saying that it has "confidence in the present policies of the War Department". We have not worked either privately or publicly to persuade the War Department to change these policies. Yet, at the same time, we are committed (as the President must be) to the full restoration of the liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights as soon as it is compatible with the national security. That the War Department is moving in that direction is evidenced by its decision allowing soldiers of Japanese ancestry on furlough to visit relatives and friends.

I personally believe, and some other members of the Committee also believe that the President should have limited more closely the authority conferred upon the War Department, so that due process, such as hearings, would have been given to all prospective evacuees, as it was given to those who were interned. Failure to do that was a fundamental mistake.

In this connection, let me express the opinion that the resort to the unAmerican device of protective custody of the Japanese residents, in order to prevent mob violence against them, is a humiliating degradation of the authority of Government and of the majesty of the law. I agree with those who hold that danger of mob violence could and should have been averted by bringing to bear the full authority and prestige of both the federal and state governments.

P. 3, last par. Confidence in General DeWitt's judgment.

~~I am not questioning the public statements of the Western Defense Command that national security and military necessity required~~

So far as I am aware, the only reasons given publicly by the Western Defense Command for the total and indiscriminate evacuation of the Japanese were those covered by the phrases "national security" and "military necessity". In view, however, of the statements made by General DeWitt to the House Naval Affairs Subcommittee on Housing, as reported by the Associated Press, I cannot but wonder if anti-Japanese race prejudice on his part may not have played a considerable influence. You will recall his disparaging allusions: "It makes no difference whether the Japanese is theoretically a citizen - he is still a Japanese. Giving him a scrap of paper won't change him. I don't care what they do with the Japs so long as they don't send them back here. A Jap is a Jap." It was appalling for the highest representative of the federal government on this Coast to show such bias.

P. 4, par. 1, mid. Safety factor in Relocation Centers.

If you have formed your opinions regarding the safety and efficiency of the Relocation Centers from press reports, especially those emanating from the hearings held by the Committee on Un-American Activities (Dies Committee) in Los Angeles, then you should certainly read the Comments made by the War Relocation Authority on those reports, a copy of which I am attaching. It is most unfortunate that so much of the testimony heard by the Dies Committee and reported in the press was either downright false, or distorted and malicious.

P. 4, last par. "Could not expect the average Japanese born here to give his loyalty to America," any more than ~~we~~ would ~~if we thought of them as Japanese~~ American children born in ~~atkins~~ Japan, if their parents had settled there.

I am told by ~~these~~ Americans who have lived long in Japan that the analogy does not hold, because they never knew a single American parent who considered that Japanese social and political institutions were superior to the American, and this is true even of the few Americans who have either married Japanese or become naturalized Japanese subjects, as ~~a few times~~ have done. They therefore doubt if Japan-born American children would become ~~The Japanese elders living in America, on the contrary, in many cases look upon American ideals and institutions as superior to those of Japan, and they rejoice in the thorough Americanization of their children in our public schools. In this connection, a friend has sent me an extract from a letter from a student of the psychology of the Japanese in Hawaii, writes: "The second generation are American citizens. Excepting those who were sent to Japan when very young and came back to Hawaii after they had reached their late teens, their psychological world is quite different from that of their alien parents."~~

P. 4 5, mid. Determining loyalty.

Members of the Hearing Boards who examined all Axis suspects seized by the FBI after Pearl Harbor say that they found little more difficulty in judging Japanese aliens than German or Italians. They applied the same rules of evidence. A fortiori, it would be possible to adjudge the loyalty of American-Japanese, who constitute about two-thirds of the total, or perhaps one-half of the adults. I

think one of the tragic results of the indiscriminate evacuation, which created the impression that all Japanese were suspect, ~~inasmuch as~~ plus the subsequent abuse heaped upon all "Japs" in this country, has been to drive many of them from the genuine loyalty toward America that they had cherished, toward disloyalty, or at least, a sceptical and passive loyalty. If we put ourselves in their boots, I have no doubt that a large per cent of us white Americans would have reacted just the same.

P. 5, par. 2. Passing on releasees.

~~I understand that~~ The War Relocation Authority appears to have been thorough and careful in checking all released applicants. Its procedure is officially summarized on p. 2 of "Supplementary Comments" C-0265, : "In granting indefinite leave to evacuees, the Authority checks all available records on the individual involved at the relocation center. If there is any evidence of questionable activity, a further check is made of the records maintained by the Federal investigative agencies. Every proper precaution has been taken and is being taken to safeguard the national security."

P. 5, last par. Basis for estimating danger.

According to the best information at my command, the following are the facts:

The War Department ~~is~~ fully approves the policy of the War Relocation Authority as to releasing and resettling evacuees. The same is true of the Navy Department as far as the release of nisei students to enter colleges is concerned. They are allowed to enter only those colleges explicitly approved by both the War and Navy departments. In Hawaii, the FBI was intimately involved in all the measures taken to seize and segregate all suspicious and dangerous Japanese. As you know, only 390 Japanese were interned in all Hawaii, and a few hundred more were evacuated to mainland Relocation Centers. The fact stated earlier that no charges of subversive activity by any of the 17,000 evacuees who have been released have been made by either the FBI or any other peace officers or government agency would not indicate that the resettlement policy is dangerous to the security of our nation.

On the other hand, one of the best ways to breed disloyalty is to treat a considerable body of professedly and apparently loyal people as though they were disloyal, and to heap abuse and threatened social and legal disabilities upon them. I am not maintaining that all the evacuees are loyal, nor that the authorities should abate their watchfulness against possible treachery by some members of the unconfined Japanese population, but I do believe that those who are opposing the present policies of the War Department and the War Relocation Authority touching the evacuees are hindering the war effort and ~~making~~ aggravating an already stubborn race problem.

September 2, 1943

Honorable Earl Warren
Governor of California
Sacramento, California

Dear Earl:

I am very grateful for your letter of July 16; it was good of you to take the time to set forth your views so fully and I am happy to have been able to convey them to some of the members of this Committee. The multiplicity of demands upon my time is responsible for my delay in replying, which I hope you will forgive.

I hope also, that you will give the whole subject further thought and study, for while - as you say in your letter - we are both earnestly desirous of serving our Country's best interests, there is a very fundamental difference in our respective approaches to this problem.

At the outset I should say that while I am interested, as you are, in movements primarily humanitarian, my interest in this Committee does not spring from that motive at all, nor even from a personal interest in persons of Japanese ancestry, tho I have many friends among them. It springs from a lively interest in a fundamental principle I regard as the most important of all American principles, the protection of minority groups. It is probable that my interest in that principle is primarily selfish, since I myself belong to minority groups in respect of ancestry, economic station, religious denomination, and (for the present only, I hope!) political party. I am persuaded that this Committee is thoroughly sound when it says: "Attacks upon the rights of any minority tend to undermine the rights of the majority."

At the moment, as an American, I am particularly interested in the question of minorities discriminated against on the basis of ancestry, since that was the basis of Hitler's rise to power. Upon the hypothesis that

"superior" and "inferior" qualities in human beings are determined by inheritance alone, without regard to environmental factors, rests the whole structure of Nazi justification for ruling the world and rationalizing the enslavement of all non-"Aryan" persons. Scientific men appear to agree that inheritance of certain mental and physical "characters" is a condition precedent to the development, through environment, of various attainments, but they admit no selection of these "characters" on the basis of "blood" or "race", or even that such a thing as "race" exists in the world in a sufficiently pure form to justify any sub-classification for biological purposes of the genus "homo sapiens" (which latter, as to many individuals, is doubtless a misnomer).

Here, then, is a fundamental difference of point of view in the Japanese question. You believe that persons of Japanese ancestry are, for that reason, "potential saboteurs"; that "they cannot safely be released anywhere"; and that "Japanese, wherever born, are indoctrinated with the ambitions of the Japanese Empire." You express confidence in the judgment of General De Witt, who, as you undoubtedly know, was reported by the Associated Press as having testified before the House Naval Affairs Subcommittee: "It makes no difference whether the Japanese is theoretically a citizen - he is still a Japanese. Giving him a scrap of paper won't change him. I don't care what they do with the Japs as long as they don't send them back here. A Jap is a Jap."

I, on the other hand, believe that a person is either loyal to our country or not, as the case may be, entirely regardless of the blood or the mixture of bloods that flows in his veins. It may be, as you say, that "social workers" and "experimenters" think so too, but in this matter they have not influenced my judgment at all. When I cannot know all the facts of my own knowledge, I prefer to depend on those whose experience leads me to believe that they are qualified to express an informed opinion. In this matter, I would disqualify General De Witt because of his obvious race prejudice as revealed in the testimony above quoted. But I would be guided by such as the following:

Col. Kendall J. Fielder, Chief of Military Intelligence, Hawaiian Dept.: "How differently a Himmler or a Rosenberg would have handled this delicate situation. Does any one for a moment believe that any of the axis crowd would give one of enemy race a fair chance to prove himself? Yet that's what was done in Hawaii - and so far it has proved militarily sound. That the situation is working out well is a tribute not only to wise administration, but to tolerance on the part of the rest of our good Americans here. * * * For the information of all who might be misled, there is none among us who has been

led into this policy out of a mawkish sentimentality or gullibility. To us, Japan and her people are a race of stubborn, hardy, despicable warrior zealots, who would stop at nothing to snuff out our lives and our way of life. Her army and navy must definitely be crushed. The question of Americans of Japanese blood is far different. They are Americans - and until they prove (or show themselves dangerously capable of proving) traitorous, they should be treated as Americans." (Address, March 1943 - underscoring mine.)

J. Edgar Hoover, Director, F. B. I.: "We have had practically no trouble with the Japanese in Hawaii. I made the statement before, that there has been no sabotage or espionage committed in Hawaii, subsequent to Pearl Harbor. There was espionage committed prior to Pearl Harbor, but not by the Japanese population as such, but by espionage agents and consular agents of the Japanese Government * * * The action taken and the prompt manner in which it was taken, took out of circulation those individuals who might have been the nucleus of any espionage or sabotage rings of either Japanese, Germans, or Italians in the United States." (Testimony before House Appropriations Committee)

Hon. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War: "It is the inherent right of every faithful citizen, regardless of ancestry, to bear arms in the Nation's battle. When obstacles to the free expression of that right are imposed by emergency considerations, those barriers should be removed as soon as humanly possible." (Statement announcing formation of a combat unit of Americans of Japanese descent, January 31, 1943)

Hon. Joseph C. Grew, former ambassador to Japan: "There are among Americans of Japanese race as fine people individually as you can find anywhere, and many of them are peculiarly anxious to repay Americans for freedom by making especially arduous efforts in the prosecution of the war. I welcome the policies of our government, which are designed to relieve the Nisei of discriminatory restrictions as rapidly and fairly as possible, and I applaud the action of the Army in setting up facilities whereby these Americans will be able to show the world what they are able to do." (Address, April 26, 1943)

Col. W. P. Scobey, Executive Officer, Office of Assistant Secretary of War: "The War Department has faith in the loyal Japanese Americans."

Lt. General Delos C. Emmons, Commander Hawaiian Dept.: "Enough Hawaiians of Japanese Ancestry have responded to the call for volunteers to form a combat team of approximately 4,000 men. * * The response to the call was highly gratifying. * * I believe they will make a splendid record."

Mr. Justice Murphy, U. S. Supreme Court: "Except under conditions of great emergency a regulation of this kind (the curfew), applicable solely to citizens of a particular racial extraction, would not be regarded as in accord with the requirement of due process * * It by no means follows, however, that there may not be discrimination of such an injurious character in the application of laws as to amount to a denial of due process of law, as that term is used in the Fifth Amendment. I think that point is dangerously approached when we have one law for the majority of our citizens and another for a particular racial heritage." (Concurring opinion in Curfew case - underscoring mine)

In addition to the foregoing, I have considerable information of my own on the Japanese question, due to the long residence of my wife in Hawaii where her family lives, my many friends there in every social station whom I have often talked with here on the mainland during the last thirty years, as well as my two visits to the island of Oahu during 1940 and 1941 (I was in Pearl Harbor on December 4, 1941, and left Honolulu on the 5th). One could not live in California one's whole life as I have, and have many friends among persons of Japanese ancestry in every social station, without coming to know how at variance with the fact is your expressed belief that "Japanese, wherever born, are indoctrinated with the ambitions of the Japanese Empire." It is indeed comforting for the future of America to know how futile were the efforts of the Japanese Government (and of many other foreign governments as well, particularly the German) to claim as citizens those of that "race" born on our soil, and to inculcate in them admiration and zeal for the land, customs, or social order of their ancestors. Even in Hawaii, so much closer to Japan than we are, and where children of Japanese ancestry nearly all went to privately maintained Japanese language schools every school day after attending American school, I know of my own knowledge that it just hasn't "taken" at all. As an investment, whatever money has been furnished by the Japanese Government all these years for these long-continued attempts at indoctrination has been a complete loss. With 37 per cent of the population of the Hawaiian Islands of Japanese ancestry, there was not one single instance of sabotage at the time of Pearl Harbor (lurid accounts in our local press to the contrary notwithstanding). There were no "arrows cut in the cane fields"; there were no "Japanese owned trucks blocking the roads"; on the contrary, Americans of Japanese ancestry in Honolulu were as surprised as were my friends in the "Big Five" at the dastardly sneak attack and equally anxious to avenge it, as the volunteering records for both military and civilian services amply indicate. The "laxity at Pearl Harbor" to which you refer in your letter, had nothing to do with persons of Japanese ancestry; the laxity, if any, was on

the part of Caucasian officers of our own armed forces, and on the part of Caucasian civilians in important positions who had "race prejudice in reverse," by which I mean that their lifetime contact with persons of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii had blinded them to the distinction between these Americans and the Japanese people of the homeland. They just didn't think the Japanese Government would be capable of such a deed as Pearl Harbor. I came back on SS "Lurline" with a friend of thirty years standing, a vice president of one of the leading banks in Honolulu, who didn't believe it even when we got the news from the lips of the ship's captain that Sunday morning (having sailed at noon the Friday before). He maintained absolutely that "there must be some mistake - it just isn't possible." As the radio was immediately closed down, he arrived at San Francisco still unconvinced until after landing. He had "race prejudice in reverse" - he attributed to the Japanese Government the good qualities of the Americans of Japanese ancestry he knew so well - just as your good self and General De Witt, in the reverse direction, attribute to the Americans of Japanese ancestry you apparently don't know so well, the bad qualities of the Japanese Government.

The prejudice is wrong in either direction, simply because the "blood" has nothing to do with it at all. If it did, and if you were consistent, you would certainly strongly advocate the isolation for the duration of all persons of German ancestry. They are German citizens, according to the home government. They have been subjected to attempts at indoctrination ever since Bismarck's time; you need only know what has gone on in Milwaukee, Cincinnati, etc., to know this. Bad tho it is, there is nothing in Japan's record to equal Germany's. Japan has only become an aggressor and a violator of accepted standards of conduct in the last half-century; whereas Germany has been at it since Roman times or earlier. Pearl Harbor hurts because it happened to us; how about Poland, Russia (attacked in the face of a treaty of friendship and mutual protection); Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and the rest? The execution of some American fliers hurts; how about the execution of the innocent population of the entire village of Lidice in Czecho-Slovakia? Since Bismarck's day the German national anthem was "Deutschland Uber Alles" (Germany over all the World). If blood tells, persons of German ancestry are far more dangerous than those of Japanese ancestry. You can "spot" the latter, not the former. Indoctrination, and sympathy with the ideals of the land of their ancestors, is shown by the record to have been much more effective with those of German blood than those of Japanese. Not one attempt at sabotage has so far been charged to any American of Japanese ancestry; but there have been many charges, and convictions, in the case of Americans of German ancestry. This in spite of the fact

that Hawaii has 37 per cent of its population of Japanese ancestry; and that 20,000 here on the continent outside of the Western Defense Command area were never sequestered, as well as the many thousands subsequently released from sequestration and scattered over the continent.

And now I wish to answer a few specific points in your letter:

It is not true that there was no protest at the inept and unAmerican handling of this situation by General De Witt. A predecessor of this committee objected; I was among those present when a sub-committee called on the General pursuant to appointment but he being busy on other matters, we spent an hour with Col. W. L. Magill, Provost Marshal. Col. Magill told us in substance that "the General had made up his mind." Many other protests are recorded in the Tolan Committee Report (see pp. 147/156). It should also be borne in mind that at that time, the falsity of the Pearl Harbor sabotage stories had not been effectively proven (if it has to this day among Californians); nor had the intelligent, American and effective method of dealing with this problem in Hawaii been made generally known. Also, in time of national emergency, many citizens are reluctant to question the judgment of the General in command, especially not having the proof, which we have later had from his own testimony, of the personal bias that may be influencing his judgment.

But the harm has been done. It cannot be promptly undone. However, be assured that our Committee is not at all departing from principle in not urging immediate return of loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry to this area now. That is not because we fear what they would do; tho it is true that the treatment they received may in some instances serve to destroy the admiration they had for our American institutions. It is because we fear what our prejudiced fellow citizens would do to them. We think it would be injurious to the war effort to make it necessary to devote the time of civil and military authorities to the maintenance of law and order and the protection of the rights of these unfortunate citizens, who were singled out by the General on the basis of blood to be branded as "dangerous" for that reason alone, while those of other enemy descents were not thus branded as racial groups.

The details of what happened at Pearl Harbor have not been "somewhat dimmed by the passing of time" in our minds, certainly not in my own; I'll never forget that trip home on a blacked-out ship whose owners heard nothing from her from Sunday noon until inside the bar, so that on Monday

they took out special high rate insurance against her loss with all on board. But as above pointed out, Pearl Harbor and other crimes of the Japanese Government do not in our minds make Americans "potential saboteurs" because they are of Japanese ancestry, any more than the attack on Poland makes Americans disloyal because they have German blood. We just don't think that the acts of the various governments of the world can be attributed in any degree whatever (be they good or bad acts) to Americans who happen to have that particular ancestry; we think all Americans should be judged on what they are as human beings and not as persons of a given ancestry (since all Americans except Indians are of "foreign" extraction).

We agree with you that we will probably have a "terrific war" on our hands to lick Japan, and that it will take thousands of lives to win it. It has already taken thousands of lives as far as we have gone in the German and Italian phase of the war; but in neither case do we feel that that has the slightest bearing on the loyal or disloyal attitudes of Americans, regardless of their racial extraction. Either that proposition is so or it isn't; if it's so, it is equally applicable to persons of German ancestry as to Japanese.

We agree with you that the danger from potential saboteurs is very great in any part of the country, considering how complex modern life has become and how dependent upon bridges, tunnels, power lines, etc., etc. Hence the need for the utmost vigilance all over the country on the part of F. B. I., Army Intelligence, and law-enforcement authorities of every kind. But we do not agree at all on the proposition that a person is any more of a "potential saboteur" because he is of Japanese descent, or German or any other for that matter. His "potentialities" are at least less if he is as readily recognizable hanging around a dam or a power line even in a stolen uniform, as one of Japanese descent would be.

We agree with you that "one cannot eat his cake and have it too." We cannot preserve the fundamentals of American principles but use Nazi methods just because they are "more efficient," unless we must do so temporarily to save our very existence, as we are doing in the regimentation of our free-enterprise economy in order to coordinate the production of the machinery of war. That is a deliberate (we hope temporary) surrender of rights and liberties of all citizens in which we all concur (in principle if not in administration). But to imprison whole minority groups for the duration on no other ground than their racial extraction is indeed the Nazi theory of "protective custody" 100%, and so complete a departure from fundamental American principles that it could only be justified if the necessity were as self-evident as the necessity for making guns instead of automobiles. It can

certainly not be justified merely because the General happening to be in command in one area has a personal race prejudice, when a General nearer the front faces an even worse situation by reason of numbers and successfully handles the matter otherwise.

This brings me to the paragraph commencing at the top of your page 4. Whose judgment shall we accept? That of a General who has himself admitted that he believes "a Jap is a Jap," or that of a General who has successfully dealt with an even keener problem along American lines; that of the Intelligence Officer of his department; and that of the facts themselves, i. e. the total absence of sabotage or attempted sabotage on the part of any American of Japanese ancestry or even alien of Japanese ancestry except the direct agents of the Japanese Government to which Mr. Hoover referred in the statement I quoted above.

Your analogy of the persons of American ancestry born in Japan with the persons of Japanese ancestry born in America omits an important fundamental fact. Everything depends on purpose and attitude. Immigrants from other countries of the world come to America to make it their homes; to enjoy its freedoms and its institutions; and to give their children opportunities they know from experience they would not have at home. It is their purpose to become Americans, and it is their attitude to cut the cord that binds them to their homeland. This, they recognize, is the land of opportunity; here is their future and their children's future. My own parents left Denmark for exactly that purpose and with exactly that attitude; and I personally know many, many Japanese whose parents left Japan for exactly that purpose and with exactly that attitude. I do not happen, despite a wide acquaintance, to know a single one whose parents came here "as agents of Japan," etc. Doubtless there were some; as there are some who have come here as "agents of Germany." The reason behind emigration from overcrowded "have-not" countries of low standards of living to America where "everyone is rich" (as they say in Denmark for instance) are not so complicated and so insidious as the suspicious would have us believe. They are the same reasons that induced our ancestors to come to the colonies; they wanted freedom and opportunity; they had the guts to pack up and leave the homeland; and when they got here they wanted to stay and to enjoy the "blessings of freedom for ourselves and our posterity." Indeed, the high percentage of older Japanese who planned to stay here for life is surprising in face of the fact that we deny them naturalization and discriminate socially against them.

Americans, on the other hand, seldom leave America (even under the New Deal) to find better opportunity

elsewhere; they seldom "feel at home" anywhere else; and you are probably right in most cases, they are Americans still. What a splendid tribute to the superiority of our country and our institutions! It's a one way street; it doesn't go both ways.

No, I am not under the influence of humanitarians, social workers or experimenters. But I am not gullible enough to believe biased testimony; not swayed by emotion enough to lose sight of fundamentals; and not willing to approve a wrong act just because it's irreversible for the present.

It is exceedingly difficult to cover so complex a subject by correspondence. The members of the Committee feel that the attitude of the Chief Executive of our State on this fundamental question will have an important bearing on the future solution of the problem that has been created by the indiscriminate evacuation. Many of us are convinced that there lies for you in the future an opportunity to serve our country on a much wider plane, in which case your attitude may have an important bearing on such proposals as that of depriving persons of Japanese ancestry of citizenship; deporting them; etc., etc., which in turn of course will be followed by like proposals to deport persons of other racial descents at future times when we happen to be at war with their ancestral countries. Once the Nazi principle that "blood counts" is admitted, there can be no logical end to the deportation of persons of differing racial stocks until all except the Indians shall have gone. In the evolution of time we shall probably be at war with many other nations, just as we are now at war with Italy and Japan which were our Allies only 25 years ago. If we exclude Caucasians from our future deportations, we still have the Chinese, Negroes, Filipinos, Malays, East Indians, Esquimaux, and many other so-called "non-assimilable" persons to deal with. It is an endless problem.

Therefore, some time at your convenience, we would like very much to have an opportunity to sit down with you and talk this whole question over. It cannot be but that a frank discussion of this important question would be helpful. If our point of view is wrong we certainly want to know it; and I know you well enough to know that if we can convince you that your point of view may in some respects be wrong, you will be the first to admit it. Will you be good

9/2/43, p. 10

enough to let me know when such a conference in the San Francisco Bay area would be convenient to you? I will undertake to make the arrangements.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Alfred J. Lundberg,
P. O. Box 58,
Oakland 4, California.

AJL:MFS

COPY

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Governor's Office

Sacramento 14

September 11, 1943

Mr. Alfred J. Lundberg
P. O. Box 58
Oakland 4, California

Dear Mr. Lundberg:

Your letter to Governor Warren on the stationery of the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play has been received.

The Governor has asked me to acknowledge receipt of the letter and to make known that office matters which must be disposed of before he absents himself from the State to attend a conference of Governors in Denver has made a personal reply impossible at this moment.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Verne Scoggins
Press Secretary

VS:EY

PLAN FOR CUSTODIANSHIP OF PERSONAL PROPERTIES OF ALIEN EVACUEES
(Sponsored by Berkeley Committee on Fair Play to Aliens of Enemy Nationality)
(Galen Fisher, Chairman)

- I. Origin -- Outgrowth of expressed need of evacuees for some means of leaving behind such personal properties the disposition of which is not provided for by agencies under W.C.C.A.
- II. Nature -- Office set up as clearing house, provided in and by First Congregational Church of Berkeley, Dr. Vere V. Loper, pastor.
 1. Staff on volunteer basis.
 2. Office merely clearing house by means of telephone and/or interview.
- III. Procedure --
 1. Contact with evacuees to be made through Japanese papers and office of Japanese American Citizens League, and through local W.C.C.A. office as need arises.
 2. Lists of names and addresses of reliable custodians, together with information as to quantity of goods they wish to care for to be compiled through cooperation of local churches and clubs, such custodians to be considered as permanent residents of Berkeley.
 3. Description of properties in form of Waiver (attached hereto) to be made in triplicate, each copy to be signed by evacuee and custodian, one copy to be retained by each and one given to permanent representative of Committee on Fair Play.
 4. Delivery to be made by evacuees to points not more than 5 miles from their homes.

This plan, as outlined, has the approval of Mayor Frank Gaines, the Berkeley Police department (Captain Johnson), and the Federal Security Agency of the United States Social Security Board. The attached Waiver was drawn up by Mr. Elmer Nichols, attorney for the American Trust Company in Berkeley.

Statement to House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization

Hearing at San Francisco, August 24-25, 1945, Samuel Dickstein,

Chairman.

by ⁶alen M. Fisher

As a member of the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, and a Trustee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, but solely in my personal capacity, I beg to present this statement.

1. In view of the extraordinary record of loyal and heroic service rendered by the Nisei Combat and Intelligence Units in the United States Army, and the Presidential and military citations granted to them,

and also in view of the fact that after the first World War, Congress by special Act gave the right of citizenship to persons of Japanese ancestry who had served in the American Army,

I venture to hope that Congress will in the near future grant naturalization rights to all alien Japanese who have honorably served in our Government Services, such as the Office of Strategic Services, the Office of War Information, the Army Map Service, the Psychological War Service, and the Civil Affairs Training Schools; and also to all parents of Nisei in the U.S. Armed Forces or veterans honorably discharged from them, certain of the regular requirements being relaxed, as proposed in the Philbin Bill.

It would also be a sound and humanitarian act if Congress would give naturalization rights ~~also~~ to Japanese aliens who settled in the U.S.A. in their youth and have become in effect stateless, their sympathies being fully with the cause of the United Nations.

2. In view of the great importance of the United States' holding the confidence of the rising peoples of Asia, especially those of China, India, and the Philippines, I suggest that Congress should rescind the Barred Zone Act, and place all Asiatic nationals on the same quota basis as the Chinese people now enjoy. This action would mean that only a few hundreds, in all, would be entitled to enter this country each year. The moral advantage of such action would be very great, and at a time when tension between East and West is likely to be aggravated by the reassertion of Imperial control of colonial areas, such a liberal gesture on the part of the United States would exert strong salutary influence.

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The Committee on American Principles and Fair Play was formed to support and defend the constitutional rights of law-abiding persons of oriental descent in the United States and particularly of the Japanese American evacuees. Persons desiring to aid the educational program of the Committee either through financial contribution or volunteer service should write to the Executive Secretary at:

465 California Street, San Francisco 4, California

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Mrs. Ruth W. Kingman, *Executive Secretary*
Mrs. Katherine F. Kaplan, *Executive Secretary*,
Los Angeles

September 1944

PACIFIC COAST COMMITTEE

ON

AMERICAN PRINCIPLES AND FAIR PLAY

■

The Committee on American Principles and Fair Play vigorously endorses the following government policies. It is our conviction that these policies strengthen the war effort of the nation and are in line with our democratic traditions, based upon the federal Constitution.

1. Continued segregation of all disloyal persons of Japanese ancestry, in order to insure maximum national security.

"... all known subversive Japanese (should) be immediately segregated and removed from existing relocation camps and be confined in special detention camps for the duration of the war with Japan."

... Special House Committee of California Representatives: Costello, Englebright, Tolan, Izac, and Anderson.
(I.N.S. Washington, May 12, 1943)

"... Immediate internment of all disloyal Japanese."

... Recommendation by Senator Albert B. Chandler to Senate Military Affairs Committee.
(A.P. Washington, May 7, 1943)

2. The full recognition of the constitutional rights of loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry who have served in the armed forces of the United States.

"It is the inherent right of every faithful citizen, regardless of ancestry, to bear arms in the nation's battle."

... Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War.

"The first prisoner of war taken by the United States was captured by a Hawaiian-born Japanese American national guardsman, who overpowered the operator of a Japanese submarine, while patrolling a Hawaiian beach on Dec. 7, 1941."

... United Press, April 22, 1943.

"I have never had more whole-hearted, serious-minded cooperation from any troops than I have received from my present command."

... Lt. Colonel Farrant L. Turner, commanding 100th Inf. Battalion, U.S.A., formed from Americans of Japanese ancestry.

"Your record in battle has been marked by one outstanding achievement after another. You are always thinking of your country before yourselves. . . . You have written a brilliant chapter in the history of America's fighting men."

... Lt. General Mark W. Clark, Commander of the Fifth Army, upon the occasion of the presentation of a citation to the 100th Battalion in the vicinity of Belvedere, Italy, June 20, 1944.

3. The opportunity for loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry to resettle in the manner which, in the judgment of the federal government and in recognition of their constitutional rights, can make the greatest contribution to the national economy.

"In accordance with the directive in the Presidential Executive Order which created the Agency, the War Relocation Authority has developed procedures which are aimed at bringing about the relocation into normal communities of the largest possible number of the evacuated people consistent with the national security."

... Dillon S. Myer, Director War Relocation Authority. June 9, 1943.

"Every loyal American citizen should be given the opportunity to serve this country wherever his skills will make the greatest contribution—whether it be in the ranks of the armed forces, war production, agriculture, government service, or other work essential to the war effort."

... President Franklin D. Roosevelt, February 1, 1943, commenting on the organization of the War Department's combat unit for Japanese Americans.

4. Fair Play for Americans of Japanese ancestry who are loyal.

"The mass evacuation of Japanese did not imply disloyalty on the part of all Japanese and it does not appear either right or in accord with the American conception of democracy to retain these loyal ones in restrictive custody,"

... Colonel William P. Scobey, War Department General Staff.

"Having been in charge of military intelligence activities since June, 1941, I am in a position to know what has happened. There have been no known acts of sabotage, espionage, or fifth column activities committed by the Japanese in Hawaii either on or subsequent to December 7, 1941."

... Colonel Kendall J. Fielder, Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence, Hawaiian Department.

"The Americans of Japanese origin are an invaluable element in our population; I welcome their presence, and regret the bitter necessity of imposing on the trustworthy and loyal majority of nisei the restraints which are made needful by the bad behavior and evil repute of a minority I welcome the policies of our government which are designed to relieve the nisei of discriminatory restrictions as rapidly and fairly as possible."

... Joseph C. Grew, former United States Ambassador to Japan, April 26, 1943.

We support these government policies.

■

The Committee has taken no position on any suggestion that persons of Japanese ancestry be returned to the Pacific Coast at this time. We have confidence in the present policies of the War Department, and will support the War Department if and when it decides that national security will warrant such return.

Our primary concern is to insure the application of the following principles to the solution of these problems.

- (1) Attacks upon the constitutional rights of any minority tend to undermine the rights of the majority;
- (2) Attempts to deprive any law-abiding citizen of his citizenship because of racial descent are contrary to fundamental American principles and jeopardize the citizenship of others;
- (3) Legislation to deprive Americans of Japanese descent of any of their legal rights would set a precedent for depriving other racial groups of their rights and would weaken the confidence of our allies, particularly those in Asia and Latin America, in the sincerity of our professions to be fighting for the rights of all peoples;
- (4) It is un-American to penalize persons of Japanese descent in the United States solely for the crimes of the Government and military caste of Japan.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES:

1. Avoidance of statements or procedures subject to charges that the War Department is being urged to hasten withdrawal of the Exclusion Order. Emphasis should be laid on securing support for restoration of constitutional rights and whatever moves the War Department decides to be conducive to national security and the war effort, and that such support is a patriotic duty in war time.
2. It may reasonably be assumed that any return of evacuees will be subject to War Department approval and the availability of housing and employment.
3. Utilization of existing committees in churches, clubs, etc. that are devoted to social justice, and constitutional rights, getting them to adopt as their own project the plan outlined below.

PROJECT:

The preparation, in communities where considerable numbers of evacuees formerly resided, of proper attitudes toward, and employment opportunities for, such of them as may wish to return.

METHOD:

The approach is to be made only to individuals or small groups known to be committed to the constitutional right of the evacuees to return whenever the Army withdraws the Exclusion order, with the proposal that they undertake five specific things, namely:

1. If they or their friends definitely wish to employ competent returning evacuees, letters to that effect should be written to General Bonesteel (suggested form enclosed). Presumably, persons who formerly employed persons of Japanese ancestry might be among those to be approached.
2. Be ready, when the Army announces withdrawal of the Exclusion order, to make known, at once, their support of the Army action to the local press, to the War Department, and to local friends and neighbors.
3. Writing of letters to evacuees known to the writer, urging them to resettle, if practicable, in parts of the country where there is less anti-Oriental feeling than on the West Coast, but assuring them that if they definitely wish to return to this area, the writer will do everything in his power to smooth the way.
4. Help evacuees who desire church connections, to make contact with some Caucasian church that will welcome them as attendants and members.
5. The use of suggested reading material for development of sound and informed attitudes toward returning evacuees (see list below).

* * * * *

1. The Test of A Free Country: Speech by Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, President of the University of California.
2. American Fighting Men Speak Out: Compilation of letters from Caucasian and Nisei servicemen.
3. Ben Kuroki's Story: Text of Sgt. Kuroki's speech before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco.
4. Yori Wada's "Beyond The Horizon": Reprint from the University of California Alumni Magazine.
5. A Balance Sheet on Japanese Evacuation: by Galen M. Fisher.
6. What About Our Japanese-Americans?: by Carey McWilliams.
7. The Displaced Japanese-Americans: Reprint from Fortune Magazine.

Prices for pamphlets 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6:				Prices for pamphlets 1 & 7 (sample free)			
single copy	\$.10	25 copies	\$1.75	10 copies	\$.50	50 copies	\$1.75
12 copies	1.00	100 copies	6.00	25 copies	1.00	100 copies	3.00

Orders for pamphlets will be filled by: Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, 2234 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley 4, California.

Thos. Opura Secy Com. Council

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QUESTIONS ON RETURN TO THE COAST

asked Galen Fisher at a Reloc. Center
about June, 1944

Economic

1. In what fields are there business opportunities?

Retail produce markets, wholesale produce merchants, farmers, laundry, hotels, professional workers, etc.

2. How is the labor condition?

Is there a shortage?

yes.

3. Are licenses difficult to get?

Business licenses?

Professional licenses?

quite likely, I fear.

4. In what condition is evacuee property?

garage + other

5. What should be done to facilitate return to one's business or job on the Coast?

1) Keep up contact w/ firm + infl. white friends
2) ASK WRA + F.S.A. to advise
3)

Social

1. Is a gradual return advisable?

At what rate?

Imposs. to say now.

yes - + most desire that half + do not.
Over half had better go elsewhere

2. Who should return first? Why?

Servicemen's wives?

Servicemen's family?

Persons with property, business, job? if close + infl. white friends

Students, not subj. draft

3. Should preference be given to certain regions?

Northwest before California?

Districts with good community acceptance first?

not neces., but follow lead of Fed. auth.

4. Who is going to determine who should return first?

Has any mechanism been set up to regulate this?

5. What aid will be given returning evacuees?

WRA?

American Friends' Service Committee?

Salvation Army?

U. S. Army?

Others? Churches + YM + YW

Too early to say much,
but can count on them.

Questions--2

6. Existing ^{Japanese American} race attitudes on the Coast?

E.g. towards Negroes, Mexicans, etc. *Neg. bad + may get worse after war*
 What is the sentiment toward evacuee's returning? *Depend on local J. Am.*
 How are those who have already returned being treated? *No trouble*

7. How can community sentiment be investigated? *Better not stir up - await War Dept. action*

8. How is the ^{summa} housing situation? *Bad*

9. What action can be taken now to improve community acceptance on the West Coast? *Feature 100th + combat units, + settle in E.*

Legal

1. On what technicality are evacuees refused admittance to the West Coast. *Exec. order Feb. 19 still in force.*

2. What exceptions are now being made? *families - invalids - furlos*

3. Is the right of returning to the Coast now being contested in court. *Korematsu - still autumn.*

4. What is likely to be the outcome of this case? *If War D. doesn't rescind order, Court may.*

5. What are the prospects of returning to the Coast after the war for every evacuee? *Poor policy to plan it.*

6. What is the status of enemy alien desiring to return to the Coast? *Same as citizen, except has weaker legal standing.*

E.g. Ownership of property. *old laws still hold*
 Are leases to Japanese being renewed? *Don't know*

7. Are there other military rulings pertaining to this problem which we should know about? *Don't know*

8. What can be done legally about arrests made by the local police without any definite charges? *Court appeal + habeas corpus.*

9. Will evacuees be protected against physical harm? *Prob.*

10. How can the legal position of the evacuees be strengthened? *Federal + State Atty simult. action.*

November 5, 1945

REPORT FOR SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 1945 OF
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA BRANCH, PACIFIC COAST COMMITTEE
ON AMERICAN PRINCIPLES AND FAIR PLAY

By Gracia D. Booth, Executive Secretary.

Dear Mr. Crotty:

Following my report of activities for August, indicating the slow but steady trend away from the organization of community committees for Fair Play to Orientals and toward Councils for Civic Unity with fair play to all, the following will bring you up to date regarding my work for the months of September and October.

Pomona - The Pomona Council for Civic Unity, organized in August, reports an ever broadening community representation including the American Legion, Labor Unions, Women's Clubs, P.T.A., Negro group, Churches, (including Jewish and Catholic, both English and Mexican), and the cooperation of the college students. Representatives from the neighboring communities of San Dimas, Claremont and La Verne meet with the Pomona executive and they are all doing a splendid bit of cooperative community work on behalf of not only the returning evacuee but of other minority groups as well.

Claremont - The Claremont group, working through their various existing Church and community organizations and in close cooperation with the Pomona Council, report over 50 returnees happily settled in the Claremont and San Dimas neighborhood. In the near future a cultured Japanese American lady is to be the speaker at a women's meeting in the Community Church there. Next week, as a part of the Adult Education Program, there is to be a panel discussion of the Japanese-American question on the West Coast under the able direction of Dr. Henry Cook, of the Claremont Colleges. A constructive plan for community education and enlightenment is under process of formation.

San Dimas - Along with Pomona and Claremont this community has only good reports regarding the reception and integration of those returning from the relocation centers and are working closely with the Pomona Council.

La Verne - As yet unorganized, but keeps in touch with neighboring groups and does everything possible, as individuals and through local Church committees to aid the returnee.

Santa Ana - In mid-October Raymond Booth and I attended a meeting in Santa Ana where the provisional committee, appointed in August to consider the formation of either a Fair Play or a Civic Unity committee, definitely organized a Council for Civic Unity. Rev. John Ashley is their Chairman, and the local Rabbi their secretary. Backed by the community this group is sponsoring the Hostel and reports that integration seems to be increasing as more and more return and that fewer incidents are now occurring.

Vista - The last week-end in September I spent in Vista - Raymond Booth accompanied me - and the work and aims of both the Fair Play and the Civic Unity groups were presented to a smaller nucleus group on Saturday evening and at the regular "Forum" meeting on Sunday from 1:00 to 3:00 P.M.

Following our visit, a Fair Play Committee was organized, with Mr. Edward Moore, an influential and well known rancher, as Chairman, and Mrs. Hazel Dobbins, with whom I had worked closely since V-J-Day, as Secretary. A fairly wide representation of community interest makes up this committee and they are hoping that a Civic Unity Council may eventually develop.

Six families are now quite happily re-settled in this area and being well received; in fact, more or less taken for granted by the community at large. The Vista Committee for Fair Play is preparing a listing of homes and job possibilities and then they will contact people still in camps, whose names they usually get from returnees, and help to bring them out.

Recently, a garage belonging to the Ito family and containing the belongings of still another family, was burned down by an insane man who had at one time been in an asylum. He had been living on the property during the absence in the center of the owner and resented the notice to vacate.

The new Fair Play Committee, which includes representatives from the neighboring communities of Encinitas and Fallbrook as well, collected funds from the local citizenry and, with all the volunteer help they can muster, plan to cooperatively rebuild the Ito garage over the Thanksgiving holiday, as a community project. I am to meet their executive soon, when I expect to be in a neighboring city for an afternoon speaking engagement on Inter-racial Understanding.

Fallbrook and Encinitas - Part of the Fair Play Committee centering in Vista Community.

Escondido - I am to speak here in the near future on Race Relations, at the request of the "Women's Clubs of Escondido" with a membership of 130. Their concern has more to do with the problems of the local Mexican population and their attitude toward the returnee and toward the Mexican Nationals imported for fruit packing and the Jamaican negroes in the packing sheds--but all an integral part of our whole inter-racial problem here on the Coast.

These women are in close association with the women active in the Vista Fair Play Committee and definitely want me to give some sort of constructive suggestions and guidance for their future work.

Glendale - Here I have spoken to several different groups of Church women and just two weeks ago to a Sunday morning meeting of an Adult Forum in the First Congregational Church on the Returning Evacuees and Fair Play. Although no new committee is likely to result, at least many individuals and already existing groups are eager to be kept up

to date and are working together in quiet cooperation. Only a few Japanese are in that locality so far and it is doubtful if any large number will be settling there.

Gardena - Gardena has a provisional committee formed in August which also deems it best to function quietly and without too much publicity. Since open opposition is less and less apparent and the enemies of the Japanese less vocal, integration especially among school children seems to be progressing quietly and naturally. The nucleus group are gradually enlisting the interest and active cooperation of more and more representative people, hoping that a Civic Unity Council of Gardena (good old hot spot!) may eventually materialize.

For months past a local barber carried in his shop window the usual "no Jap" trade wanted sign. Many of the "Fair Play" persuasion talked to him about removing it but to no avail. Then suddenly the sign had disappeared! It was rumored that the F.B.I. had called upon the barber and given him the choice of either removing the Un-American sign or paying the usual fine as prescribed by state law. However that may be, Rev. Martin Eidsath is chuckling over the sight from the sidewalk, of a returned Japanese being shaved by this same barber and apparently a "jolly time being had by all" per barber shop technique.

Redlands - Mrs. James Tuck is deeply concerned that an Institute on Race Relations be set up at the University and our Committee plans to render all possible assistance, at her request. We have suggested that she contact the American Council on Race Relations as well.

The returning Japanese seem to be settling into the community picture quite naturally and without unpleasant incidents. Many fine spirited individuals work constantly through already existing organizations in the Churches and the welfare associations. Mrs. Tuck continues to be a guiding spirit.

The help of our committee was enlisted when a newly resettled girl of fifteen insisted on coming to Los Angeles over the protests of her two older sisters. We located her immediately and put the matter in the hands of the Welfare Section of the local W.R.A. The girl is in school here and everyone satisfied at the last report we had.

San Diego - Resettlement is progressing so smoothly and rapidly in San Diego that the Fair Play Committee organized there last spring is considering the advisability of merging into the broader "Mayor's Committee" for Civic Unity of San Diego. It is indeed gratifying to hear of a community which does not need an organization specifically for fair play.

El Centro - Reports from this area indicate that there is little expression of antagonism and ill-will and that people are coming in quietly and more or less taken for granted. Members of the East and West Association, of the Fair Play Committee at large and of the Friend's of the American Way all work together toward the same end and know each other and do not feel the need of still another organization.

Minneapolis, Minn. - Mrs. Emily Knuebuhl (former editor of Vogue) who visited Mrs. Tuck of Redlands last summer has been in close touch with our office since her return to Minneapolis. We have sent her much literature and carried on an extensive correspondence in regard to the work of Fair Play Committee as well as the Civic Unity Council. She has now helped to organize a Council in her city and keeps this office informed as to progress there.

San Pedro - The San Pedro Citizen's committee, growing originally out of the local Y.W.C.A. race relations set-up, has merged into a newly organized community committee for Civic Unity of which Father Nevin is the chairman. He has asked that I meet with his executive soon to help plan their program of education and action, stressing fair play for all as a means to civic harmony.

San Fernando - At the request of W.R.A. we traced down a rumor of active unfriendliness toward a student in the H.S. on the part of other students. We were thrilled to be firmly told that any student exhibiting any such un-American attitude would be immediately and completely ostracized by the rest of the student body. Incidentally, the rumor seemed to be wholly unfounded.

Long Beach - Recent reports show that this group is working actively and with general community support to secure fair play (sometimes in the very practical sense of decent housing) for the returnee and to aid in integration. Those in the newly opened housing project there are more than grateful for the Long Beach committee.

Santa Maria and Guadalupe - More than three hundred are settled now in this area and community reception becomes more receptive as more return.

Burbank - Our office has been in close touch with Rev. Martin L. Long, of the Baptist Church in Burbank, for several weeks. In mid-October I met with a small committee in his study. Mr. Booth was present also and explained the aims of the Council for Civic Unity. In a few days I am to meet a provisional committee, and discuss with them plans for their work as a Civic Unity Group. We sent more than 100 copies of "Myths and Facts" to be distributed at a recent Sunday evening service featuring a Japanese-American veteran whom we helped secure. When 130 returnees arrived at the barracks housing project on Monday in the rain they were welcomed by a delegation from the Burbank Ministerial Association and throughout the day were visited by other men and women of the community.

The Ministerial Association passed a resolution which appeared in the Burbank paper going on record as supporting the Constitution of these United States and re-affirming their faith in its provision to give equal rights, privileges and protection to all American citizens regardless of race, color, or creed.

Lieutenant Walter Dixon, head of the police juvenile department, and very active in the formation of "Sterling Clubs" for youngsters,

made the statement that children are children the world over and should be treated as such--then suggested that recreational facilities should be provided for the children in the barracks set-up.

Huntington Park, Bell and Maywood - Mr. Orwoll, Y.M.C.A. secretary in Huntington Park, reports no unfriendliness in these communities and an apparent quiet integration and acceptance of those who have returned.

Watts -- long a hot, hot spot! I am to meet a Y.M.C.A. staff member at the Watts Y.M. soon to discuss the situation there and endeavor to enlist, with his assistance and that of a Catholic priest and others, the interest of influential people in Fair Play and Civic harmony. This young man is a Negro and keenly interested in the whole minority question.

Lomita - As shown in a separate report to you following my recent day's visit to Lomita air-strip F.P.H.A. re-evacuation center, you will already know that considerable time has been given to this one place. Prior to the placing of returnees here we endeavored to reason with W.R.A. but to no avail. I plan to visit Lomita again very soon, as well as the other barracks projects in Long Beach, Burbank and Santa Monica to ascertain actual conditions and to check up as to whether local committees and individuals are concerning themselves with the need of the evacuee neighbor in their midst. The San Pedro group and many individuals, I know, have been deeply concerned over Lomita, and are cooperating with the welfare agencies in an effort to relieve the situation.

In addition to the organizational work above described, I have been doing much speaking and endeavoring to assist or point out to the evacuee the proper person to follow through with him, in answer to day and night calls for assistance and all types of personal services. We also have been instrumental in getting objectionable signs removed in and around L.A.

I have been asked to serve on a number of inter-racial and inter-cultural committees of such organizations as the Y.W.C.A., Church groups, social agencies, women's clubs, Jewish Sisterhoods, etc., etc. More and more requests come in for talks on Fair Play, Civic Unity or Race Relations from all sorts of groups. I am to address a League of Women Voters soon in Claremont, several P.T.A.'s and Girl Guides, and University Women's study group. All these requests show an increasing and sustained interest in this our common human responsibility. Likewise, the need of continued effort beyond the relocation (?) of our Japanese friends in the whole broad field of Fair Play to all minorities.

Respectfully submitted,

Gracia D. Booth
Executive Secretary

UNSNARLING THE NISEI TANGLE
by Galen M. Fisher

Originally appearing in the CHRISTIAN CENTURY, November 8, 1944.

The problem before the nation is how to straighten out three skeins: politically, how to restore the constitutional rights of the Japanese-American evacuees who were expelled from their homes on the Pacific coast; socially, how to reincorporate 110,000 uprooted people into the body politic; and morally, how to make all possible amends for grievous injuries done to innocent people.

There are still many spots of focal infection, but as a whole the attitude of the west coast public has gradually changed for the better. Foremost among the reasons for this is the heroic record of the 12,000 nisei in our armed forces. The 100th battalion, in Italy, has been hailed by the war department as "the most decorated unit in the entire army." But the valiant service rendered by the nisei on the Pacific fronts has been overlooked. Note this tribute sent me by an important U.S. military officer in the south Pacific:

"On our Pacific fronts the thousand nisei in the intelligence, radio and other units are uniquely valuable. I say deliberately that they can contribute more per man than any other racial group to our victory over Japan. They have proved their loyalty by risking or giving their lives. They are playing a part in winning the war far beyond that being played by those non-combatants, safe at home, who have glibly assailed the loyalty and Americanism of all nisei and would deny them the rights we are all fighting to preserve."

The 32,000 evacuees already resettled in the middle west and east have as a group, made a very favorable impression. Moreover, there has been an awakening to the fact, as President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California has said, that "whenever and wherever the constitutional guarantees are violated in the treatment of a minority, no matter how unpopular or helpless, the whole fabric of American government is weakened."

Evidence of a saner public sentiment is at hand from that anti-Japanese hotbed, southern California. The Japanese Exclusion Association's initiative petition to prevent any person of Japanese ancestry from owning or leasing property in California fell short of the requisite number by 100,000 signatures. In one city where the Native Sons were canvassing for signatures to this petition, nine ministers quashed it by issuing a protest in the local newspaper.

The Spirit of Fair Play

At Pasadena, during September, a tempest swirled around a nisei girl whom the army had allowed to return to study at the junior college. Exclusionists demanded that the board of education should expel her. The board refused. The protestants fumed and won newspaper headlines. Of the 103 letters received by the board on the issue, 97 upheld its decision. The student editor of the college paper, himself a discharged veteran, declared that 90 per cent of the student body also backed the board. The fight came to a climax on September 29. The Pasadena chapter of the Committee on

American Principles and Fair Play held a public meeting, when Dillon S. Myer, head of the WRA, spoke, being introduced by Dr. Robert A. Millikan. Among those present was the temperamental spokesman of the exclusionists, George Kelley, and he was so impressed by the attitude and arguments of Dr. Millikan, Mr. Myer, and the chairman, Mrs. Maynard Thayer, that he publicly recanted and applied for membership in the Fair Play Committee.

Certain compensations have accrued from the evacuation. Prominent among them has been the thrilling chance that has come to many resettled nisei to do work for which they were trained, instead of being compelled, as so often on the west coast, to accept menial jobs or starve. Another compensation has been the wide dispersion of the resettlers, which has prevented re-creation of the little Tokyos that hindered Americanization. The fact that probably half of the nisei will elect to remain permanently east of the Sierras will go far to relieve the tension on the Pacific coast.

Still another compensation may spring from the successful experiment in unified Protestant religious work initiated in the relocation centers. But will the Caucasian churches of the country be Christian enough to welcome as full-fledged members the English-speaking nisei, or will the color line necessitate separate nisei churches? Again, will the home mission boards support the almost unanimous desire of the dwindling older Japanese Christians for united community churches after the war? It is a helpful omen that two Caucasian churches have appointed nisei associate ministers. Some of the nisei will not merge into the established Caucasian churches. For them, provision could be made in united Japanese churches of a duplex, two-generation character, with one of the ministers a nisei, or, possibly, a Caucasian.

Ill-Founded Popular Distrust

Popular distrust of the nisei often arises from doubt that they can become thoroughgoing Americans. Let me adduce evidence to dispel this doubt. In early 1943 the department of justice engaged Dr. Ernest B. Price to elicit information from evacuees who had recently been in Japan. The choice of an investigator was a happy one, for Dr. Price had spent sixteen years in the American diplomatic service in China, had been president of China Airways, Inc., and then had been director of International House at the University of Chicago. He could hardly be suspected of a pro-Japan bias. He says:

My assignment from the department was to go to three relocation centers and interview all the evacuees who had visited Japan since 1931, in order to extract information of value to our government in the war against Japan. Out of a population of some 23,000 in those centers, less than 700, or only about 3 per cent, had been to Japan during that decade. They included both non-citizens and citizens, the latter predominating and being mostly youths who had attended school in Japan. The interviewing was by invitation, and nearly all of them responded. Rather to my surprise, all but about 5 per cent proved to be ready to give me all possible information that would enable us to defeat Japan. The 5 per cent included both aliens and citizens. When one recalls the resentment felt by not a few of them over the evacuation and adds to that the great danger of reprisal to which they exposed themselves, their action showed where their loyalty lay.

I had no difficulty in determining when the witnesses were telling the truth or lying, for I had voluminous official data supplied me in advance, and I also cross-checked the testimony given by two or more witnesses who had visited the same areas. Even those witnesses who said they expected to return to Japan after the war often showed considerable aversion to the militarists of Japan. The result of the interviews was the accumulation of a large volume of fresh data of great value to our government.

What more grueling test of loyalty could be devised than that through which the nisei in the armed forces have cheerfully gone? Each of those 12,000 is being backed by at least four of his close relatives and friends. Witness the public occasions in Hawaii when thousands of residents of Japanese ancestry assemble to witness the presentation of posthumous honors to parents and wives of nisei killed in battle. It was with such scenes in mind that J. Belknap, a Honolulu columnist, wrote scorching comment regarding a memorial of the Nevada American Legion that urged the next national convention to adopt a resolution to deport all alien Japanese:

It would be interesting to hear the patriotic gentlemen from Nevada attempting to explain to the Big Island (Hawaii) alien Japanese mother of two American-born sons who lie dead in Italy, just why she was being deported from the land that her sons died defending.

As to the threadbare charge of nisei unassimilability, it would be safe to accept the very favorable verdict of their school and college teachers. Considering that nearly all the parents came from peasant homes, it is amazing that most of the children speak and act like other American youngsters, only perhaps with better decorum. Dr. Arthur L. Dean, a scientist, formerly president of the University of Hawaii, recently sent me these trenchant observations:

I have had a number of university students of Japanese extraction in my household. As far as I have been able to observe, they are moved to laughter and sorrow by the same causes and their faces express the same emotions as young people of Puritan descent. I find that I must like and dislike, trust and distrust, seek and avoid people because of what they themselves are, not because of their racial extraction or the color of their skins. It is time that we older Americans woke up to the fact that if the descendants of an immigrant group are not "assimilated," we have to look to ourselves for the causes.

Intermarriage of immigrant stocks with older stocks is doubtless an aid to Americanization, but not indispensable. In the case of the Japanese and Chinese among us it has been rare, partly because in nine western and southern states marriage with Caucasians is against the law. An amusing case of ignorance of the law recently came to light. At the Omaha convention of the American Legion a resolution was adopted favoring deportation of all persons of Japanese ancestry. A high official of the legion, a lawyer from California, said he supported the resolution because he had long lived in a

county where there were several thousand Japanese, and none of them had intermarried; therefore, they were unassimilable!

Signs of a Change

Like a bolt from the blue, on October 7 the attorney generals of California, Oregon and Washington petitioned the United States Supreme Court to remove all restrictions from persons of Japanese ancestry "as soon as the military authorities determine and the national security permits." This is a significant index of changing public sentiment, for it may be doubted if, a year ago, these officials would have dared do this. Even if the Supreme Court should grant the petition it would not automatically allow return of evacuees, since the petition leaves return to be determined by the military authorities. It might, however, force the WRA to release into unrestricted areas all evacuees in the centers.

Certain farmers and others who have profited from the evacuation beat the air and demand permanent exclusion from the coast, but a growing number of sober citizens take return for granted. The change in the wind is showing in the press. The San Francisco Chronicle has heretofore handled the evacuation with gloves, but on September 25 it editorialized: "Any (American-born) persons of Japanese origin who would be released from Arizona camps for resettlement are citizens of the United States. We do not know what right any state has to say where citizens of the United States shall or shall not live. . . . These citizens have been held by order of the army, which had authority to do so only by virtue of a war emergency. . . . It is for the army to say if the emergency is over as far as these individuals are concerned, and no state has any color of right to meddle."

Since the military authorities have declared that all danger of invasion has passed, the chief barrier to lifting the bars has been removed. Already the Western Defense Command has permitted numbers of evacuees to return and there have been no bad incidents. It is to be hoped, therefore, that all exclusion orders may soon be lifted, for if revocation is postponed until after the war, it will almost surely become a west coast political football.

New Problems

Nevertheless, it must be realized that the possible imminence of the return of a considerable number of evacuees raises several tough questions. Will not the returnees suffer bodily harm? G.I.'s, at least, seem to have no difficulty in differentiating between nisei buddies and treacherous "Jap" enemies. "A Chinese-American army captain wrote the Sacramento Bee from Hawaii: "It is not the returning soldier who will wish to torment and hound the loyal American Japanese. We'll do our fighting on the battlefields against our country's enemies, and not on the streets at home against our country's friends."

But will not race-baiters foment such a severe boycott that life will be intolerable? No, not if the army itself, and both state and federal authorities, together with leading citizens, demand order, fair play and cooperation with the government. In order to generate a public opinion that will strongly support this policy and also to secure offers of jobs for

returnees, groups of churchmen and other upholders of the Constitution are now bestirring themselves.

But what about aggravating the housing congestion? It is certainly to be hoped that the army will for some time allow only persons who have assured living quarters and jobs to return. Not a few Caucasian friends will count it a privilege to offer temporary lodgings, and many of the farmer-evacuees own homes to which they can return. Then how about thrusting a relief load on the coast states for the many aged evacuees and young children whom the evacuation has deprived of their property and accustomed communal aid? The bulk of this burden certainly should be borne by the federal government which ordered the evacuation.

Two fallacious popular assumptions will continue to hamper the smooth incorporation of the evacuees into our body politic, namely, the myth of a high birth rate and the belief that the majority of residents of Japanese origin, even of the American-born, have gone to Japan to be inoculated with Nipponism at its fountain-head.

As to the birth rate, the Tolan congressional committee's report says: "Contrary to alarmist predictions about the reproductive tendencies of the American Japanese, their birth rate during the past decade has been insufficient to balance mortality and emigration." The census shows that the number of Japanese births in California dropped from 4,971 in 1920 and the high of 5,275 in 1921, to 2,220 in 1930, and to 1,479 in 1940, which was 15.9 per thousand as against 16.1 for the general population. The Tolan report concludes that "the total Japanese population may be expected to drop substantially during the coming years."

As to deeper attachment to Japan, the data are illuminating. During the nine and one-half years ending with December 1941, the total numbers going from Hawaii to Japan averaged about 3 per cent a year, the majority of them being aliens. On the mainland, a government sampling of 17,956 nisei evacuees showed a similar ratio. Only 27 per cent of them had ever visited Japan, and of these the majority had not attended school there. Some hundreds who did spend some time at school in Japan proved to be disloyal and are now at Tulelake in special detention. But there is no basis in fact for the wild charges as to the wholesale inoculation of the nisei with Nipponism.

The Language Schools

Another moot question is: Should the Japanese language schools be reopened after the war? There were 291 schools on the coast, supported by fees and receipts from benefit affairs. In California, most of them used the readers approved by the state department of instruction, which were conducive to Americanization. About fifty of the schools were under Christian auspices. As to reviving the schools, Hawaii has pointed the way. There the leading nisei who compose the Emergency Service Committee voted in July against reopening them, but they advocated having Japanese taught in the public schools. It transpires that eight years ago this very policy was urged by the late V. S. McClatchy. He argued that for the Pacific Coast, Japanese was more important than French or German.

What safeguards should be taken after the war against attempts by Japan to induce citizens of Japanese descent to betray America? It will certainly be in order for our government to make it perfectly clear to the Japanese government that tampering with the loyalty of Americans of Japanese ancestry will not be tolerated. Even if it should be covertly attempted, the odds are all with us. Notwithstanding the high-powered propaganda conducted by Japan for years past, there was no known sabotage committed against the United States by a Japanese-American resident on Hawaii or the mainland, and 9,500 nisei in Hawaii volunteered for army service the moment the lists were opened. With defeat, whatever lure prewar Japan may have exercised will disappear.

We may therefore conclude that the next decisive move must be made by the army. It can either continue the present policy of allowing only a few evacuees to keep trickling back to the coast; or it can lift the ban by a public proclamation, and with reasonable limitations allow all evacuees already released from the centers, and others whose records are clear, to return.

To numbers of eminent Californians, the advantages of a clear-cut proclamation appear to be overwhelming. In wartime, whatever the war department decrees as to national security is accepted as law. A declaration by it that national security no longer required exclusion and that all citizens are expected to support the army's decision, would silence opposition. Without such a proclamation, there is danger that sporadic disorder and violence might occur. The problem, even though serious, is not insoluble. The blot on our national escutcheon can be all but erased, provided that the authorities concerned and we, the people, have firmness to do the right as God gives us to see the right.

Additional Copies may be obtained from the
PACIFIC COAST COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN PRINCIPLES AND FAIR PLAY
2234 Telegraph Avenue
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PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

I, L. J. Bennett, Secretary of State of the State of Colorado, do hereby certify that the following is a true copy of the title, text and ballot of title of a certain proposed constitutional amendment:

An act to amend Section 27 of Article II of the Constitution relating to property rights of aliens.

The proposed initiative amendment to the constitution of the State of Colorado (of which the foregoing title is hereby made or constituted a part) is as follows:

BE IT ENACTED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF COLORADO:

That Section 27, of Article II, of the Constitution of the State of Colorado, be amended to read as follows:

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The Secretary of State, Attorney General and Reporter of the Supreme Court do hereby designate and fix as the ballot title and submission clause to the proposed initiative amendment to the Constitution herein the following:

An Act Amending Section 27 of Article	:	:	:
II of the Constitution of Colorado to	:	:	:
Provide That Aliens Eligible to Citi-	:	:	:
zenship May Acquire, Hold and Dispose	:	YES	:
of Real and Personal Property. Also	:	:	:
That Provision Shall Be Made by Law	:	:	:
for the Right and Power of Aliens In-	:	:	:
eligible to Citizenship to Acquire,	:	:	:
Hold and Dispose of Real Property;	:	:	:
Otherwise There Shall Be No Such	:	:	:
Right or Power as to Them, Directly	:	:	:
or Indirectly, Except as to Vested	:	NO	X
Rights Already Acquired and Guaranteed	:	:	:
by Law, Which Rights May be Dissolved,	:	:	:
Liquidated or Terminated by Law.	:	:	:

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the Great Seal of the State of Colorado, at the City of Denver, Colorado, this 21st day of February, A. D. 1944.

(SEAL)

L. J. Bennett
Secretary of State

Why I Oppose the Adoption of Amendment No. 3, the
So-Called Alien Land Measure

1. It is an undemocratic and discriminatory attack upon a small and defenseless racial minority numbering about 1900 elderly people of whom more than one-half are women.
2. It would not prevent Japanese or other oriental aliens from owning property in the state as it can be easily evaded through the device of taking title to property in the name of some friend or relative who is a citizen. In this manner, similar laws have been rendered totally ineffective in California and Washington.
3. It is probably unconstitutional in violation of the due process and impairment of contract provisions of the Federal Constitution.
4. Adoption would result in mix-up and confusion in connection with all subsequent real estate transactions. All persons conveying property in Colorado would probably have to record either a birth certificate or papers showing naturalization. Expense of real estate transfers would be greatly increased.
5. It plays directly into the hands of the racist. Pan-Asian propaganda of the warlords of Japan and would further endanger the lives of American prisoners of war.
6. It is a direct slap at our Filipino allies as it applies to them and every other person of oriental descent except Chinese.
7. It is the opening wedge for racial and religious intolerance on a broad scale. Similar measures were adopted by Pacific Coast states during the height of the power of the Ku-Klux Klan.

In my opinion all of these reasons are valid and any one of them is sufficient on which to base a conclusion that this amendment should be defeated.

ARTHUR A. BROOKS, JR.

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(SEAL)

L. J. Bennett
Secretary of State

TS.092A

COLORADO COMMITTEE *for Fair Play*

BULLETIN

DENVER, COLORADO—OCTOBER, 1944

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Purpose of the Fair Play Committee

THE COLORADO COMMITTEE FOR FAIR PLAY was organized to "combat discrimination, racial hatred, and racial intolerance and the fostering of the ideals and principles of fair play upon which the Government of the United States of America is founded." The immediate task undertaken is that of "combatting the vicious, discriminatory, and un-American principles embodied in Amendment No. 3, the Anti-Alien Amendment."

A number of organizations interested in these principles and this project are co-operating both financially and otherwise.

Individuals in hearty accord with the purposes are asked to become members or "Sponsors". Membership is open to any resident of Colorado.

LOCAL COMMITTEES

Cities or Communities are requested to enroll their own members, conduct their own activities, exchange ideas, suggestions, etc., hold meetings, and co-operate with each other and with Headquarters as far as possible. This is a State-wide co-operative effort.

ACTIVITIES

The Committee will collect and disseminate pertinent factual data, endeavoring to correct false impressions, false rumors, etc.

Use will be made of radio, newspapers, pamphlets, bulletins, public meetings, etc., so far as finances will permit.

FINANCES

Contributions are welcomed from organizations and individuals. Early contributions are urged, so that advance radio contracts, newspaper advertising, etc., can be arranged. The time is short.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership application form appears in this bulletin. Application cards will also be sent on request.

Copies of this BULLETIN will be sent singly or in quantity to our contributors and sponsors on request. Others ordering should send sufficient to cover cost of production and mailing. How many copies can you use? Apply to,

C. P. Garman, 621 Mack Bldg., Denver 2, Colo.

They Say...

"I admire the church for its stand on racial equality. Nobody is doing anything about racial discrimination but the schools and the churches."—A Sugar Company official.

"I wouldn't sign that petition. That isn't American. That's the work of a couple of

agitators. There's one of them lives near me. He calls me 'Tokyo', but he doesn't pay my bills for me. I've got to have Japanese help."

—An Adams County Farmer.

"It makes no difference to me whether they are Jap, Mexican or plain 'white'. You can't get anybody to run your farm. I've got to take whoever I can get. I didn't like the Japs I had last year, but I've got another lot

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ARTHUR A. BROOKS, JR.

this year, and I think they'll do more what I want."

—An Adams County Farmer.

"He's dead right; but I can't go about advocating it."—A Delta Rotarian after a
(Continued on page 7)

Proposed Amendment No. 3

SINCE its adoption in 1876, the Colorado Constitution has contained the following:

C.S.A. Art. II, Sec. 27. PROPERTY RIGHTS OF ALIENS. Aliens, who are or may hereafter become bona fide residents of this state, may acquire, inherit, possess, enjoy, dispose of property, real and personal, as native born citizens.

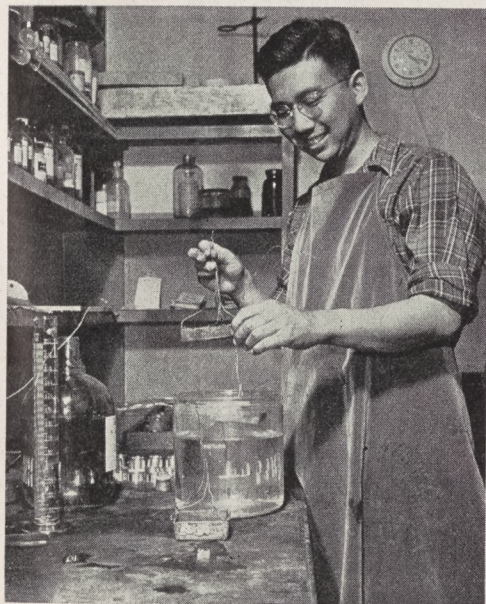
This wise provision, that property rights be enjoyed alike by citizens and aliens legally residents, still prevails in all but a few states. For 68 years no change was suggested in Colorado.

Now we are at war with Japan, the country from which 865 of our aliens came several decades ago (1940 census). Due to west coast evacuation, these have increased to 2,214. How many of these will remain after lifting of the military ban from the coast, is anybody's guess. Probably the guess that 40% may remain is as good as any. The ratio of Japanese aliens to the total population is .0017—less than two per thousand. (While it is irrelevant, the 1,869 citizens of Japanese ancestry (1940) has increased to 5,772 since evacuation. Therefore the total residents of Japanese race is .63 of 1% of the total population.)

Does the war with the country from which the 2,214 migrated and the fraction of .63% (total racial group) create a situation calling for the revision of the state Constitution? We believe that on November 7, the electorate will say "NO".

Jimmie Kamahachi

at work in the defense plant of the Hathaway Instrument Company, Denver, where he is a foreman. Mrs. Kamahachi also works in a Denver defense plant.



The proposed amendment follows:

Be It Enacted by the People of the State of Colorado:

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Doubly Discriminatory

Note that this amendment is *not even directed at all aliens*, but only at those "ineligible to citizenship." It would not apply to the 14,306 "white aliens" (1940 census) who might have applied for citizenship but have not. It would not apply to the 124 Chinese aliens, made "eligible" by the recent repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act. It would apply to the 2,214 Japanese aliens, and to any Filipinos, Koreans, Siamese, Burmese, immigrants from India, and the islands of the Southwest Pacific. Our immigration laws and our naturalization laws are not identical. At present the Philippine "quota" is 50 per year. There are representatives of other countries here, also. Neither

the Filipinos nor the others may become citizens. None of them could purchase property in Colorado under the proposed amendment, unless special laws permitting it are passed by the Legislature afterward.

Those who imagine that this amendment would discourage settlement of Japanese in Colorado are fooling themselves. It would not prevent a tenfold increase, though as already indicated a decrease is to be expected, amendment or no amendment.

Only 64 Japanese aliens own land in Colorado. Thirteen others own their homes, not on farms. But 82 citizen Japanese own land, and 17 own homes not on farms. The large part of the others, adults, are share-croppers or tenants. The aliens (average male age, 61 years), will finish out their lives, mostly on land owned by "whites"—citizen or alien.

If aliens can neither "hold" nor "dispose of" their property, what is to become of what they now legally "hold"? But doubtless the "due process" clause of the U.S. Constitution will be recalled by the courts, if forgotten by the amendment framers. In that case what was purchased legally will continue to be held legally, the last part of the amendment to the contrary notwithstanding.

While the foregoing are not the most cogent reasons for opposing the proposed amendment, they are more than sufficient for voting it down. We recall the editorial in a local Denver paper when the amendment first was drafted in its present form: "There is a serious question whether it is worth the effort to get it on the ballot by petition"; and the latter part "is about as clear as mud." We do not feel inclined to debate either point.

Convalescent Nisei

of the 100th Battalion, returned from Italy, at Moore General Hospital, Swannanoa, No. Car.

Miss Masako Takayoshi

assistant head nurse in the women's surgical ward, and Miss Matilda Honda, staff nurse, attending a patient in Colorado General Hospital, Denver.



Wielders of Sword and Pen

I

"Numerous persons of Japanese ancestry are now serving with the forces of our country on the battle fronts and, according to all reports, are serving valiantly and well . . .

Every person good enough to fight for us is entitled to our respect and equal protection under our Constitution. — Wm. P. Haughton, Commander American Legion (Dept. of Calif.), Feb. 15, 1944."

May we add two items: "Likewise their parents." "Under the Colorado State Constitution," as hitherto.

II

" . . . I have worked with Americans of Japanese ancestry at home and in battle here in the Pacific, and they are indeed doing a wonderful job. Out here where the war is right in front, the prejudices that one hears so much about are absent. It makes a fellow feel pretty bad to see some people at home trying to destroy the very thing that we are fighting to maintain. I only wish there were some way to make the voices of the fellows out here heard.

I remain, very sincerely yours,
Glenn Abbott, Staff Sergeant, U.S.M.C."

III

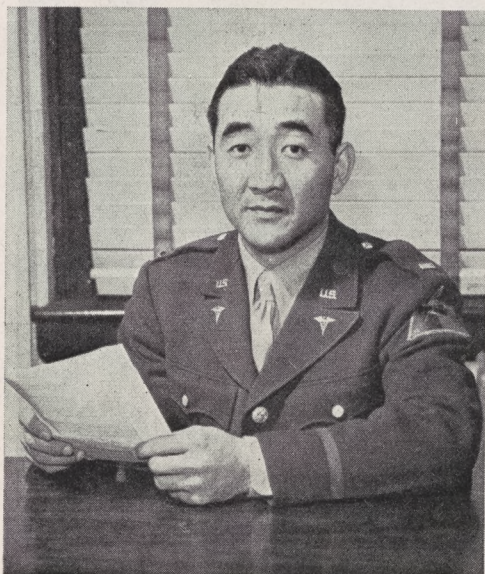
"Dear Assemblyman:

I am an American born American-Chinese, born in California, educated in California schools and firmly believe in American institutions. I have been in the army nearly

First Lt. I. Ozamoto

Long a Denver physician, Dr. Ozamoto was early called into service. His mother, his wife and children reside on Lawrence Street. Mrs. Ozamoto heard from him last only a few days ago. "Very busy", "Little time to write", "Always on the move" are some of his words. And they are understandable. The doctor is attached to the Third Army, under General Patton, last heard from in Southern France.

The 69-year-old mother will probably have no need to own a home, not if the son returns. But under the proposed Amendment 3, she could not, whether he returns or not.



three years. I was in the battle of Attu and am now somewhere in the Hawaiian Islands.

To read your narrow-minded race-hating campaign was a shock. This is a democracy. It is people like you who are leading the way to Fascism—the very thing millions of people are fighting.

The opinion you expressed that returning soldiers and marines would slit the throats of Japanese if they were to be seen on the streets of California is ridiculous.

Here in Hawaii Japanese are everywhere. They are even permitted in army camps. In town, thousands of servicemen who have fought the Japanese, mingle with them freely. Not once have I seen or heard of any incident of fist fighting or throat slitting. . . . There is only tolerance and benignity.

Sincerely,

William Leung, Sergeant, U.S. Army."

IV

"Many of us learn with despair and wrath that racism without justice, mercy or logic which indicts whole races of men according to the racial descent and prejudices of the loud-mouthed adherents of this evil doctrine is assuming menacing proportions at home. All that is lacking is incorporation of this spirit into the political program of our two major parties for America to begin the maelstrom which has engulfed Germany.

To get down to cases—by what rule of logic is a loyal American of Japanese ancestry placed on the same level with the executioners of Allied prisoners and airmen in

Lt. Yaeko Suyama, Army Nurse

Miss Suyama was a registered nurse, trained at the University of California. At the time of the west coast evacuation, with her family she came as a voluntary evacuee to Denver.

As soon as possible, she volunteered for army service. With another Nisei nurse Lieutenant, she was long stationed at Fitzsimons.

They were sent overseas to England where they now serve. Miss Suyama in a recent letter to her Denver sister says simply, "Now we are very busy."

Who knows what Colorado son may owe his life to her training, skill and nimble hands?



LT. COL. GORDON SINGLES



Lt. Col. Gordon Singles of Denver, commander of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion, paid the following tribute to his men:

"There are countless instances of battlefield heroism by these infantrymen fighting on the Fifth army front. They have plenty of guts, and aren't afraid to use their initiative during attacks. They've fought their way over endless mountains in Italy since last September. They have captured towns from Germans without assistance of other units. Recently they captured a German command post, complete with a large motor pool and an entire field artillery battery, all intact.

These Americans of Japanese ancestry take their hardships in stride. Battlefield instructions are carried out quickly. This alertness has made several otherwise impossible gains possible throughout Italy. Their spirit has won my admiration and respect, just as it has all observers who've lived in the field with them.

We've experienced stiff fighting in northern Italy, but the men display a willingness to fight the enemy, even after being in the line for long periods. One instance that comes to mind is a platoon of the 100th that met a German force three times its size. The Japanese Americans attacked nevertheless, and not only were the Germans beaten back but our prisoner stockade received many more Germans that day."

Japan and looked upon as creatures or things, NOT endowed by the Creator with the inalienable rights of human beings and citizens of the United States. . . .

Lieut. James Corning of Lamar, Colo."
(Somewhere in England)

In Lamar Daily News, Aug. 8, 1944.

V

"All of the Marines and army boys swear by the integrity and loyalty of the Japanese-American soldiers.

2nd Lieut. Morris Kritz"

(Somewhere in the So. W. Pacific)

The American Way

COLORADANS are asked to decide whether to continue to follow the American way or some other way. The American way was outlined by the founding fathers, and is well set forth in the Declaration of Independence. It is the way of democracy; the recognition of human rights—not conferred by government but forming the basis of all just government; justice for all alike, and not the exempting of certain privileges by those of any ancestry, race, color, creed; the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This certainly includes the right to own land to sustain that life and a home to house the happiness in, as long as others have those rights. Communism may take away those privileges from all, and fascism may limit them to a group—minority or majority. Democracy grants equal privileges to all bona fide residents. Anything less is a "limited democracy."

Does Colorado prefer to have her statutes shaped by the history, the traditions, the institutions of the nation of which she is a part? Why recall the history, the prowess, the institutions—religious, feudal, educational, patriotic, of Japan? Why copy the unsavory discriminatory legislation of California? California's climate is commendable, we know. We've heard it repeated many times. But California doesn't export it. Let her also keep her discriminatory statutes, or preferably repeal them. Perhaps she may yet do so. Racial ranting didn't keep a Costello in power. The latest attempt to increase her racial discriminatory laws failed for want of sufficient signers to the petition. At last there are groups unwilling for a vociferous clique to be the only spokesmen for the state. She may yet be saved.

Colorado has representatives of many "minority" groups—racial, religious, cultural. That any of them are a "menace" must be stoutly denied. On the contrary, each makes a definite contribution to our life. Colorado also has an excellent "Civil Rights Law," adopted years ago and later amended and reaffirmed. This law is intended to protect representatives of racial minorities against discrimination in restaurants, theaters and places of amusement. A democratic principle is involved and observance should be voluntary. It should be unnecessary to call on officers of the law to enforce it. Especially should it be unnecessary to put pressure on officers to keep them from protecting the violator. Yet, there are numerous signs in restaurants in different parts of the state showing that the law is openly flouted. There are theaters which violate it, not quite so openly, but with general approval. It would seem that there is some evidence to substantiate the words of the man across the seas who said, "My American brothers are dumb; they are stupid enough to think that there is in America such a thing as equality of race and creed." However, it is our thesis that these violations, open though they be, defended by some who consider themselves "the best people," are violations not only of Colorado's excellent law, but of the American Way, the ideas which are embodied in the Declaration of Independence and in the Bill of Rights of our Constitution.

Colorado must not retreat. She must not follow the precedent established by a neighbor when that precedent is undemocratic, un-American. We must vote down the proposal set forth in Amendment No. 3.

Level-Headedness Approved

THE MONTROSE FREE PRESS carried a report of Senator Edgar W. Bray's address to the Montrose Lions Club on the three most important measures to come before the regular and special sessions of the Colorado Legislature. Overshadowing the "Power Bill" and the "Labor Peace Bill" he considered the "Alien Property Rights Bill."

Mr. Bray first became suspicious of the bill when it turned out that the reported 2,000 purchases of land in Adams County in the last two years by Japanese aliens turned out to be but 23 purchases, by persons of Japanese ancestry, but seven of whom were aliens. His reasons for opposing the measure were given in the Free Press as: (1) "I will not vote in time of war to establish a precedent of legislation against a minority group, for if we legislate against one group and then another, no group is safe." (2) "I hope no vote of mine will end the life of any American soldier now held in Japan."

Among the letters received by the Senator later were the following:

Brighton, Colorado.

My dear Senator Bray:

"... I want you to know how much I appreciate your good work in spite of the heavy public pressure that may be against you.

Because there are people like you I have faith in America and its principle of fair play. ... I can assure you that we will never let the people down who have so much faith in our loyalty.

Faithfully yours,
H. S. (name withheld by editor)

Somewhere in Italy.

Dear Mr. Bray:

The folks sent me a summary of your speech given at the Lions Club. I certainly was glad to hear that we have a few level-headed men left. The article has been read by quite a few of my buddies and we agree with you 100%. ... Of course we are pretty much against the Japs, but those in the States are Americans, except a minority, and the American way is what we are fighting for. ...

Joe Burns,
(Former Montrose boy who attended State College of Agriculture)

The Voice of the Church

I

"Whereas, the pending amendment to the Colorado Constitution to restrict ownership of land by aliens is contrary to the ideals upon which the Christian church and this country were built; Be it resolved that the Colorado Congregational Conference do condemn this amendment as un-Christian and urge that we work diligently for the amendment's defeat at the polls this fall."

(Adopted at the Seventy-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Colorado Congregational Conference, April 15, 1944)

II

"We raise our voices in protest against the proposed Alien Property Owner Law, and urge all our ministers and laymen to speak and work against its adoption, as un-American, un-democratic, and anti-Christian. The prospect of the great state of Colorado denying ownership of property to the parents of American-born boys who are fighting for us in Italy is one to make all true Americans hide their heads in shame.

"If passed, this law will make a hollow mockery of the things we are professing to be fighting for, will make the sacrifices of our soldiers, sailors, and marines useless and in vain, and will put into the hands of our Japanese enemies the sharpest weapon possible.

(Adopted by the Colorado Conference of Methodist Churches, June 14-18, 1944)

III

October 5, the Colorado Synod of the Presbyterian Church in session at Pueblo, went on record opposing Amendment No. 3.

The same day, the Colorado Baptist Conference condemned the amendment on the ground that it is "un-American, un-democratic, un-Christian, and fosters discrimination, racial hatred, race violence and retaliation at a time when the ideology of racism is cursing the world."

A Worship Service

at Camp Shelby, before the 442nd left for Italy.



Colorado Vegetable Production

THE Colorado Japanese Vegetable Growers Co-operative Association (Brighton, Colorado), under contract of several years successful operation, sells the produce of its members through the Vegetable Producers Co-operative Association of Colorado (Non-Japanese). The latter establishes prices, and the two Associations agree that the produce of the Japanese association is to be sold under the same terms and conditions as that of the Vegetable Growers Co-op. Thus there can be no discrimination between the members of either association. All growers are to receive the same price for their produce and to pay the same cost to the Association for its services. The Association does business with nine large shippers, which handle all of the car-lot produce going out of Denver.

UNJUST AND FUTILE

Hartner Produce Company
Denver, Colorado
October 7, 1944

Dear Rev. Garman:

... It is true that I did state, and it is the fact that the Anti-Alien Laws which have been on the statutes of the States of California and Arizona for a long time, have not answered the purpose that was intended or solved any situation. I operated in both of these states when the law became effective, and I found that it made no change whatsoever in the Japanese situation in either one of these states; because first, it is not a just law, and a law that is not just does not have the support of the people. This particular law was evaded by the people who first thought it would be an advantage to the Caucasians. Second, the foreign born Japanese, who wish to buy land in Colorado, can be counted on the fingers of your hands. It is the younger generation, American born, who are the land buyers.

Sincerely,

Elmer Hartner

ONE ALIEN FARMER

George Morimitsu is an alien. He has resided in Colorado many years. By hard work he has been able to purchase 81 acres of land with a good house, barn, and equipment. He has owned this home for 6 years.

He has under cultivation 32 acres of beets and the rest in other vegetables.

Three of his sons are in the U. S. army.

As Sergeant Ozawa said at the special session of the Legislature, they expect Colorado to care properly for their parents while they fight her battles overseas.

Should George Morimitsu be permitted to make his contribution to our food supply?

Should he have recognition for his contribution of sons to our army?

If you agree, vote "No" on Amendment 3.

Colorado and California Out-State Shipments

Fruits and Vegetables
(CARLOADS)

	COLORADO	CALIFORNIA
1941	17,252	278,695
1942	24,046	274,497
1943	34,947	270,050

While the out of state shipments from Colorado have more than doubled in two years, there has been a decrease of 4,000 carloads from California. Of course it is the trend and not the total that is significant. The length of season and the acreage vary; and someone called attention to the climate!

Miss Rose Tanaka, Farmer

Miss Rose Tanaka owns and operates a farm near Henderson, Colorado. The photo is of Rose and Tom Tanabe (a relocatee from Rohwer, Arkansas) who helped her harvest her beet crop. Here they are atop the last load harvested just ahead of the first heavy frost, 1943.



Japanese Vegetable Growers' Co-Op 1944 ACREAGE

Produce	Total
Asparagus	22
Beans, Fct.	169 1/2
Beans, Mkt.	245
Beets	173
Broccoli	8 1/4
Cabbage, E.	356 3/4
Cabbage, M.	618
Cabbage, L.	205 1/2
Cabbage, Chinese	51 1/4
Carrots	276
Cauliflower	48 3/4
Celery, S.	54 1/2
Celery, W.	19 1/4
Corn, Swt.	43 1/2
Cucumbers	138 3/4
Cucumbers, Pic. Ft.	221 1/4
Cucumbers, Pic. M.	10 1/2
Lettuce, S.	461
Lettuce, F.	195 1/2
Cantaloupes	165
Honeydews	86 1/2
Onions	962
Parsnips	19
Peppers	35 9/20
Peas	185
Rutabagas	53
Spinach	155 3/4
Squash, H.	13 1/2
Squash, S.	90
Squash, T.	127 1/3
Tomato, Fct.	403
Tomato, Mkt.	294
Turnips	221 1/4

Alfalfa	1804 1/2
Beans, Dry	200 1/2
Beets, Sugar	2776 1/2
Corn, Field	401 1/2
Barley	745
Oats	94
Wheat	257
Potatoes	257 1/2

Farming Classification

OWNERS	37
CASH RENTERS	69
SHARE RENTERS	74
HAND SHARE RENTERS	8

TOTAL MEMBERS CO-OP..... 188

Colorado Harvesters

A Work Camp of high school girls conducted by the YWCA near Pueblo. Girls from Amache and from Pueblo—"black," "brown," "white"—eat, sleep, play, work together.



I am opposed to the so-called Alien Land Measure, for it encourages and fosters racism, one of the worst diseases in our generation. It will be used by Orientals as unfair propaganda against us and is an insult to Filipino allies. It is undemocratic, un-American, and Un-Christian.

Edna M. Kemper,
Denver Young Women's Christian Association.

Japanese and Japanese-American Residents in Colorado

SUMMARY—CENSUS—1944

	WRA Relocatees	Voluntary Evacuees	Former Residents	Total
1. Total number of persons in.....	2973	2342	2671	7986
a. Number of Issei.....	608	744	862	2214
b. Number of Nisei.....	2365	1598	1809	5772
2. Total number family members <i>not</i> in home.....	3373	1016	894	5283
a. Number in Relocation Centers.....	2094	96	30	2220
b. Number in Military Service.....	228	94	141	463
c. Number in other locations.....	1051	826	723	2600
3. Number of farm owners in county of residence.....	30	19	97	146
a. In name of citizen.....	26	14	42	82
b. In name of alien.....	4	5	55	64
4. Number of home owners (not on acreage).....	4	10	16	30
a. In name of citizen.....	2	5	10	17
b. In name of alien.....	2	5	6	13
5. Number of owners of farms in evacuated area.....	931	477	254	1662
a. In name of citizen.....	929	461	254	1644
b. In name of alien.....	2	16	0	18
6. Plans for future.....				
a. Number expecting to remain in community.....	524	634	2336	3494
b. Number expecting to settle elsewhere in state.....	53	36	51	140
c. Number expecting to return to former residence.....	904	873	19	1796
d. Number expecting to relocate outside the state.....	101	35	21	157
e. Number undecided.....	1297	633	66	1996

BELIEVE IT OR NOT, THEY AGREE

"The principle on which this Country was founded and by which it has always been governed is that Americanism is a matter of mind and heart.

"Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"The principles of 'political and economic democracy, regardless of race, color or religion' were reaffirmed by Henry Wallace in his nomination speech."

—LIFE, July 31, 1944.

"Anyone who injects a racial or religious issue into a political campaign is guilty of a disgraceful, un-American act."

—Thomas Dewey.

"We unreservedly condemn the injection into American life of appeals to racial or religious prejudice."

—The Republican Platform.

**Mirabile, they all agree,
And so do we; Vote 'NO' on '3'.**

COLORADO NISEI IN SERVICE

About 600 Colorado Nisei are in the army, including recent inductees; in addition are some 650 from Amache, and others awaiting the call.

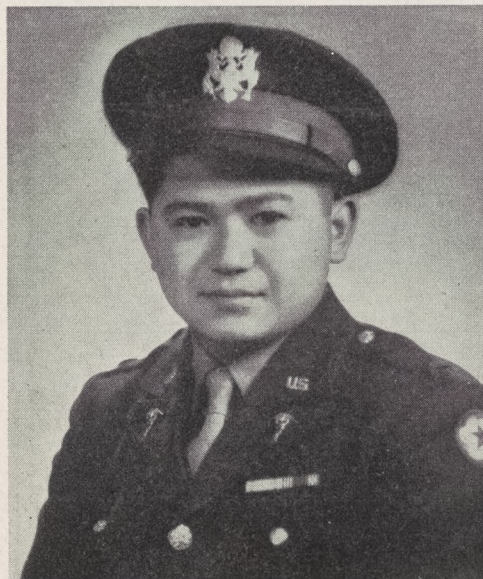
Reports of "killed" have come to relatives at Amache, Haybro and Kersey. Wounded are at Fitzsimons and points east.

Letters are being received from Colorado Nisei in England, France, Italy, German prison camp, South Seas, India, Chungking, China.

2nd Lt. Roy Maeda is Colorado born, a graduate of Colorado Agricultural College, at the top of his class. After graduation he was in the U. S. Government Soil Conservation service, until he entered the Army. Meanwhile he had married, and now a baby has come to live with his wife and his parents, awaiting his return.

Roy's father is one of Colorado's 64 land owning aliens. He can be classified as both an "old resident" and as an "evacuee." He was a tenant farmer near Kersey for many years. A few years ago he "went west." In 1942 he returned and purchased about 30 acres near Brighton.

Roy is in Medical Service, and was last heard from in New Guinea. Will his parents be supporting his wife and baby on their 30 acres when he returns? November 7 will decide. Vote "NO" on Amendment No. 3.



"I think it is silly. I'll vote against it."—A Denver Business Executive.

"I don't want to go up against the pressure groups which would besiege the next Legislature if this Amendment carries."—A State Senator.

"If Colorado people are as level headed as they think they are, you'll win, hands down."—A Californian.

Doesn't he know that on that question he must vote either "Christian" or "heathen?"

HOLD HIGH THE TORCH

"To you with failing hands we throw
The torch: be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep
Though poppies grow in Flanders Fields."

Faith was broken—lowered the torch.
Now sons of those sleepless ones
Trample poppies and crosses
Alike, in Flanders fields.

Do we support their battle
To crush the barriers to brotherhood—
Equality of race and creed?

Or send we bullets to our sons
The while we also comfort foe—
Drawing the line of race, promoting hate
As did the one of Aryan boast.

Seldom comes there chance
To father, mother, wife,
To cast so clear a vote—

Defend the cause for which the soldier
Fights.
Hold high the torch!

**VOTE "NO"
ON AMENDMENT NO. 3**

Colorado Committee for Fair Play

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W. H. Bunker
Prof. J. W. Cohen
Mrs. Willard Topping
Two Anonymous Waves

BUENA VISTA

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LOVELAND

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W. L. Thornburg

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Hugh Cronin
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Rev. Thomas J. Wolohan

REDVALE

Senator Edgar Bray

ROCKY FORD

Rev. H. C. Alley
Rev. Archibald J. Kearns
Rev. Robert Tully

STERLING

Vance Austin

WALSENBURG

Victor H. Schroeder

WHEAT RIDGE

Charles Bissey

They Say...

(Continued from page 1)

speaker had spoken against adoption of Amendment No. 3.

"Tell them that every bit of agitation for anti-Japanese legislation provokes retaliatory measures against our prisoners by the Japa-

nese military."—A spy accusee, returned from Japan and imprisonment.

"This might be the point on which our country would break."—A State Senator.

"D— it. He's right, but I hate to admit it."—A Pueblo Rotarian, on hearing an address on the effects of racial inequality on American life.

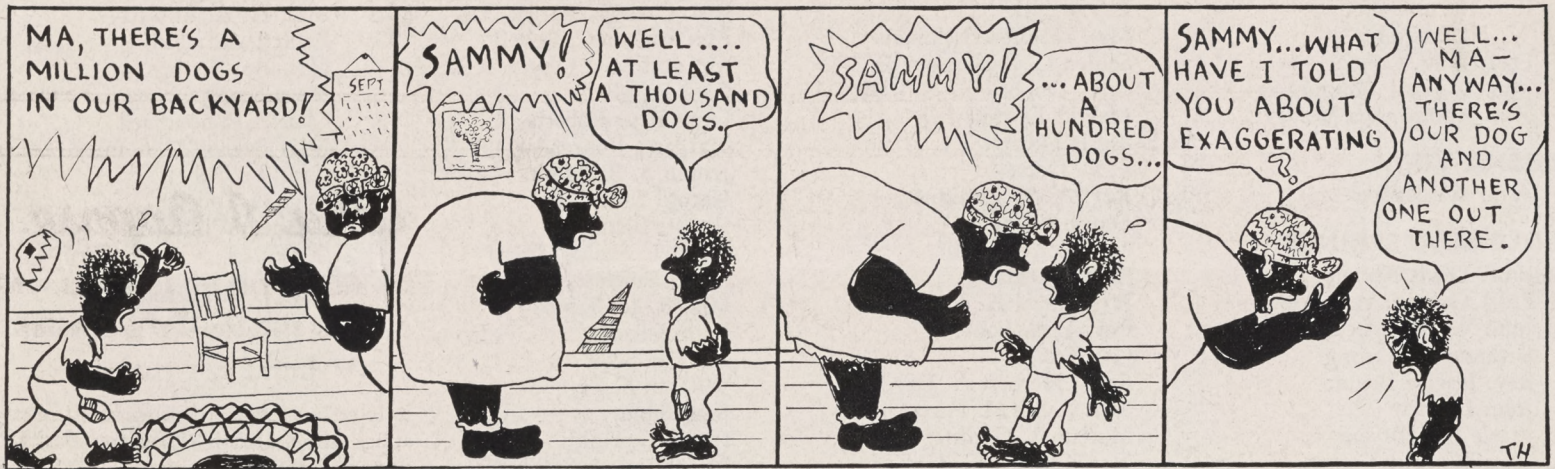
"No one has any rights that do not belong to all others."—A Greeley Physician.

"I am opposed to taking anything from anybody."—A Pueblo Businessman.

"The neighbors want me to buy more."—An alien land purchaser, whose wife is a citizen.

Exaggerated Rumors

COLORADO VERSION, FEBRUARY, 1944



Sammy: "Three thousand Jap aliens have purchased properties in our county in the past two years."

Public: "No Sammy, there aren't 3,000 Jap aliens in the whole state." Sammy: "Well, 2,000 then."

Public: "No, Sammy, look at the record."

Sammy: "Well, the recorder says there really were seven."

Do You Know That...

Americans can and do own land in Japan. Prior to 1925, only leaseholds were permitted; then fee simple ownership became possible.

English and Americans can, and have become naturalized citizens of Japan, including some from Colorado and California.

Colorado Committee for Fair Play

Membership is open to any resident of Colorado who approves of the purpose for which it was formed, namely,

"To combat the vicious, discriminatory, and un-American principles embodied in Amendment No. 3, the Anti-Alien Amendment."

Factual data will be collected. An educational campaign will be conducted within the amount of funds contributed for the purpose. Broadcasts, newspaper publicity, bulletins, public meetings are contemplated.

Contributions from organizations and individuals will be welcomed.

Communications and contributions may be sent to C. P. Garman, Secretary-Treasurer, 621 Mack Building, Denver 2, Colorado; TAbor 8460.

BEING IN HEARTY ACCORD with the purpose of the Colorado Committee for Fair Play, I gladly become a member and assist in the expenses thereof as herein indicated

Basic membership, \$1.00 _____	_____ Bank check
Associate membership, \$5.00 _____	
Contributing membership	_____ Cash
\$10.00 _____ \$ 25.00 _____	_____ Postal order
\$50.00 _____ \$100.00 _____	

Name _____ Address _____

RESOLUTION

"Be it Resolved, That the Colorado Conference of Social Welfare go on record as emphatically opposed to the adoption at the general election in Colorado on November 7 of Amendment No. 3 (commonly known as the Anti-Alien Japanese Property Ownership Amendment).

It is the opinion of this Conference that such amendment is wholly unjustified in fact and is a decided step in the direction of dangerous class legislation. One of the principal objectives of the present war is to forever eliminate the anti-racial philosophy of our Nazi and Fascist enemies. The proposed amendment is obviously aimed at a very small minority of our population solely on racial grounds, and is wholly out of keeping with our professed war aims and concepts of democracy. It further violates the long-time standards of this state and of the United States generally relative to our treatment of aliens."

—Resolution passed by the Colorado Conference of Social Welfare at the Shirley-Savoy Hotel, Denver, Colorado, on Oct. 6, 1944.

Initiated and Referred Laws No. 3

Property Rights of Aliens (Part of Ballot)

The Secretary of State, Attorney General and Reporter of the Supreme Court do hereby designate and fix as the ballot title and submission clause to the proposed Initiative Amendment to the Constitution herein the following:

An Act Amending Section 27 of Article II of the Constitution of Colorado to Provide That Aliens Eligible to Citizenship May Acquire, Hold and Dispose of Real and Personal Property. Also That Provision Shall Be Made by Law for the Right and Power of Aliens Ineligible to Citizenship to Acquire, Hold and Dispose of Real Property; Otherwise There Shall Be No Such Right or Power as to Them, Directly or Indirectly, Except as to Vested Rights Already Acquired and Guaranteed by Law, Which Rights May Be Dissolved, Liquidated or Terminated by Law.	YES	
	NO	

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the Great Seal of the State of Colorado, at the City of Denver, Colorado, this 16th day of September, A. D. 1944.

(Seal)

L. J. BENNETT,
Secretary of State.

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Colorado Committee for Fairplay

Membership in this committee is open to any resident of Colorado who approves of the purpose for which it was formed, namely,

"To combat the vicious, discriminatory, and un-American principles embodied in Amendment No. 3, the Anti-Alien Amendment."

Factual data will be collected. An educational campaign will be conducted within the amount of funds contributed for the purpose.

Contributions from organizations and individuals will be welcomed.

Communications and contributions may be sent to C. P. Garman, Secretary-Treasurer, 621 Mack Building, Denver 2, Colorado; TAbor 8460.

B EING IN HEARTY ACCORD with the purpose of the Colorado Committee for Fairplay, I gladly become a member and assist in the expenses thereof as herein indicated.

_____ Basic membership, \$1

_____ Associate membership, \$5

_____ Contributing membership

_____ \$10

☐ Cash

_____ \$25

☐ Bank check

_____ \$50

☐ Postal money order

_____ \$100

If unpaid, how and when to be sent

_____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

COLORADO COMMITTEE FOR FAIR PLAY

Report of Executive Secretary
December 1, 1944

Historical

In January, 1944, pressure was put on Governor Vivian to call a special session of the Legislature to consider placing on the November ballot an amendment which would deny to aliens ineligible to citizenship the right to own property in the state. The clamor for this came from Adams County where the largest Japanese population resides, with backing from some other parts of the state. After conference with both proponents and opponents, the Governor acquiesced. Due study of the proposal by the Legislature was made--including an open hearing at which representatives of both sides presented their viewpoints. The proposal before the Legislature was not that of denying alien ownership, but only whether such decision should be referred to the electorate. It failed to carry.

Immediately following the session of the Legislature, a petition was circulated to secure sufficient names to place the proposal before the electorate by this method. This was easily done. The proponents incorporated as "The American League" and what became "Amendment No. 3" appeared on the ballot.

Quite a nucleus of opponents to the proposal developed within the Legislature and without. This was made up of representatives of various groups--religious, civic, educators, lawyers, and others. A hastily formed "Citizens' Emergency Committee" circulated a statement in opposition to placing the proposal on the ballot. Later, those in the Denver area held informal meetings to consider the advisability of unitedly opposing the proposed amendment. There was much doubt regarding the possibility of defeating the amendment, but the 50 or so attending the series of meetings decided that an attempt should be made. A program was adopted, and an Executive Committee was appointed. This was made up of: Arthur A. Brooks, Jr.; Dr. Prudence Bostwick; C. P. Garman, Secretary; Cora Riggle; Ruth Schacht. Later, the following were added: Robert Colwell, and Louise Evans. As members of the Finance and Publicity Committees: Leon E. Grubaugh, Harold Saks, Mrs. Helen Arndt, Barron Beshoar, and Wallis Reef.

Campaign

The necessity of assembling and publishing factual data was recognized. This was greatly furthered by a fairly comprehensive survey by the Denver office of WRA covering population, property, ownership, etc. of Colorado residents of Japanese ancestry. It was also recognized that the fundamental issue at stake was the maintenance of the principles and practices upon which America was founded. This resulted in the adoption of the slogan: "Keep Colorado American; Vote 'No' on Amendment No. 3."

C. P. Garman was made Executive-Secretary and Treasurer, in order to co-ordinate the work of the Committee and to extend the organization throughout the state. The Committee incorporated with prominent representatives from different parts of the state as directors. President R. G. Gustavson of Colorado University was made Honorary Chairman. The names thus added gave prestige to the Committee and assisted greatly in securing the large number of Sponsors from various parts of the state. Local activity was promoted in a number of cities and towns, and where possible, branch committees were formed. For this purpose, visits were made to Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Lamar, Rocky Ford, Grand Junction, Delta and elsewhere. Correspondence was continuous with representatives here and in other cities. A Larimer County Committee was formed, with H. H. Wright of Fort Collins as secretary, and other officers being leading educators in the county.

Finances

The financial problem loomed large when the Executive Committee took over. Our activities were necessarily limited by the funds available, and could be planned only as receipts were in hand or in sight. A few organizations offered aid. These included the Denver YWCA's contribution of \$150.00, and the American Association of Social Workers' contribution of \$50.00. Great encouragement came when Leon E. Grubbaugh announced a contribution of \$500.00 from the Council of Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches; also, the loan of Galen R. Weaver for two months, with salary and travel to and from Colorado. He also announced receipt of a gift of \$500.00 from a private party. Other contributions were received from religious groups: \$100.00 from the United Christian Missionary Society and \$200.00 from the Colorado Missionary Society (both organs of the Disciples of Christ). \$200.00 was contributed by another organization. Sums of \$5.00, \$10.00, and \$25.00 were received from other groups in Denver and elsewhere.

A detailed statement by the treasurer is being supplied to Directors and the Executive Committee. Copies will be sent to Contributors and Sponsors requesting it. Here is a brief summary as per December 1, 1944:

RECEIPTS

Contributed by Sponsors.	\$1,240.50
Contributed by other Individuals . . .	923.00
Contributed by Organizations	1,538.18
Miscellaneous contributions.	<u>62.03</u>
<u>Total.</u>	<u>\$3763.71</u>

EXPENDITURES

Office Secretary	\$ 360.16
Travel.	169.22
Postage	168.02
Radio Publicity.	1,143.49
Newspaper "Ads".	888.00
Printing	490.85
Other (Including McWilliams' Exp.) . .	<u>412.57</u>
<u>Total.</u>	<u>\$3632.31</u>

<u>BALANCE, Dec. 1, 1944</u>	<u>\$ 131.40</u>
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Publicity

Enrolling Sponsors was in itself an important part of the publicity campaign. Decision was made by many who had previously given little or no thought to the amendment. As the roll of Sponsors composed of leading citizens increased, its influence on the general public was cumulative.

Speakers addressed many gatherings--churches, service clubs, etc.--and special forums and public meetings were arranged. The secretary addressed such meetings beginning in July, along with enlisting Directors and Sponsors. Among the many others, those deserving special notice are: Arthur A. Brooks, Jr., Rev. Raymond Waser, Rev. Clarence Kemper, Prof. Wm. Bernard. Doubtless there were many others whose names were not brought to our attention.

The outstanding speaker in the campaign was Galen R. Weaver, who accepted invitations in Denver, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Montrose, Longmont, Loveland, Fort Collins, and Greeley. Both his ability as a thinker and speaker and his background eminently fitted him for this work. Long residence in Honolulu, that well-known racial complex, attendance at the biennial sessions of the Institute of Pacific Relations, presence in Honolulu prior to, at the time of, and after the Pearl Harbor

disaster, these combined to prepare him both as a narrator and an interpreter of the facts Coloradans were anxious to know at this juncture. His addresses well illustrated the fact that the discriminatory measure placed before us is but a small part of a national and international problem which did not originate and will not end in this state. For this reason, requests for his services continued to come in after the election and after his departure.

We were fortunate, also, in securing for two days the services of Carey McWilliams, former Coloradan, attorney, writer, lecturer, who has given much thought and research to America's racial problems, including the issues centering about Japanese immigrants and their descendants.

Radio and newspaper publicity were given greatest emphasis. This was channeled through Messrs. Goldberg and Gamzey, experienced in this work. Press notices and interviews were arranged. Four-inch "ads" were run in Colorado's 171 daily and weekly newspapers, and in the racial and religious organs available.

The following broadcasts were arranged for:

- 1 15 Minute Panel (Weaver, McWilliams, Garman) over KLZ-KVOR.
The same recording given over KMYR and KGHF (Covering Denver, Colorado Springs, and Pueblo).
- 1 15 Minute Panel (Bosworth, Grubaugh, Brooks) over KLZ-KVOR.
The same recorded over KFXA, KFXJ, KOKO (Covering Denver, Colorado Springs, Greeley, Grand Junction, and La Junta.)
- 18 Spot announcements over 8 stations, including Durango and Sterling, in addition to above.
- 6 Spot announcements over KGHF, Pueblo.

From our office, the following printed material was prepared and distributed

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 1,000 | Letterheads |
| 500 | Mimeographed Double Post Cards (Hotel Luncheon Invitations) |
| 2,000 | Hand Bills (McWilliams' Public Meeting) |
| 10,000 | Hand Bills ("Vote 'No' on Amendment No. 3"). Distributed at YWCA, churches, to factory workers, house to house calls |
| 11,200 | Post Cards to Rural Box Holders. (Discontinued as funds ran out). |
| 10,000 | Eight-page Bulletins. |

Competitors and Allies

The original pressure on Governor Vivian by Adams County legislators was seemingly brought at the request of truck farmers, largely of Italian descent. Dr. J. C. Wells, Mayor of Brighton, became head of the movement which organized as the "American League."

Mr. Wells was the main speaker at Forums and Public Meetings in the Denver area until near the end of October. Then he was joined by John R. Lechner, Austrian-born, naturalized American, associated with California anti-Japanese activities. He participated in public meetings at Brighton, Grand Junction and Denver. The last two, announced as not wanted, and with questions and discussion barred. Advertisements were run in the Grand Junction Sentinel and the Denver Post. The Post also carried an interview with Mr. Lechner, under the heading: "Expert Says Jap Landowners Drive Out American Farmers"; also, a charge by Mayor Wells that Pfc. Thos. Higa may have been brought into the state by the WRA to campaign against this amendment. This was refuted in the issue of the following day by Mr. Charles Miller, Denver WRA, who stated that this "is the bunk." Higa was released by the War Dept. to speak to Japanese parents on his observations and experiences on the Italian front. The Denver Post recommended a "Yes" vote on the amendment.

* The last two, announced as public meetings, turned out to be private meetings, excluding those not wanted, and with questions and discussion barred.

The Rocky Mountain News and the Pueblo Star Journal and Chieftan opposed the Amendment. It was also opposed, with reasons, by both the Colorado State League of Women Voters and the Denver Civic League. Also, by the Intermountain Jewish News, the Colorado Statesman and the Star (both Negro papers), and the Rocky Mountain Churchman. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Cosmopolitan Club, the J.A.C.L., the Farmers' Union, the Colorado Council of Churches and Colorado Council of Church Women, the Denver Council of Churches and Denver Council of Church Women, and many other Denver organizations also opposed the amendment.

Results

This report has been delayed, awaiting details which would make possible some evaluation of our work, or some lessons to be drawn for future use. At this time, such data are insufficient.

It was noticeable that in Denver, the Negro and Jewish precincts voted "no." On the other hand, Italian and Spanish precincts voted "yes." Also, the soldier voter throughout the state was strongly "No", even in Denver, Adams, and Mesa Counties where the civilian vote was reversed. It is evident that at least these groups knew what they were voting for and what they were voting against. Since this is the case, perhaps the confused wording of the amendment created less confusion in voting than we had supposed.

The following unofficial reports have been received:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Denver, civilian	73,033	62,776
" soldier	2,820	5,827
Adams County, civilian	3,915	2,563
" " soldier	74	223
Mesa County, civilian	6,230	3,862
Mesa County, <u>Official</u>		
<u>Total</u>	6,667	4,538
Huerfano County, <u>Total</u>	1,031	1,400
Otero County, civilian	1,403	3,757
Prowers County, soldier	46	172
Prowers County, <u>Total</u>	1,042	2,228
Morgan County, civilian	1,926	2,169
Crowley County civilian	374	663
Boulder County, civilian	6,107	66,357
Weld County, civilian	6,714	8,094
Colorado, civilian	161,506	173,375
Colorado, soldier
<i>Dec 8 Report</i> " <u>Total</u>	<u>173,652</u>	<u>173,752</u>
Montrose County reports: "No's led by 1,000 majority." Pueblo: "It was defeated here by about two to one." Grand Junction: "The soldier vote was just as strongly opposed ...as the county was for it."		

Quotations from some of the congratulatory letters may be of interest.
(Personal references omitted).

"I congratulate you personally, and the Colorado Committee for Fair Play, Inc., for the job that the Committee has done for Colorado. It simply goes to prove that a small group of good people with a good cause, who really put forth an effort, can do what to many people would seem impossible...." D. S. Myer

"It is great to read that you have prevented Colorado from going fascist, like California." A Pasadenan

"May we congratulate you on your successful campaign against Amendment No. 3..... It is to be hoped that any future legislation based upon the same un-American principles, wherever it may be introduced, will meet with as strenuous and effective opposition." Mrs. Ruth W. Kingman, Executive Secretary
Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play

Other messages have come from Coloradans, New Yorkers, and others.

The Future

Suggestions are being received that our Committee continue to function. There is ample work within the purpose for which we organized. Other similar organizations do not operate on a state wide basis. Definite suggestions will be welcomed.

Clark P. Garman, Executive Secretary
Colorado Committee for Fair Play

621 Mack Building
Denver 2, Colorado
December 1, 1944

THE FAIR PLAY COMMITTEE

The newly formed Pacific Coast COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN PRINCIPLES AND FAIR PLAY which will seek to defend the liberties of law-abiding persons of Oriental ancestry has gotten off to a strong start. President Sproul is Honorary Chairman, Maurice Harrison and President McGiffert are executive chairmen, and Ruth Kingman is the executive secretary. The Berkeley office is at 2207 Union Street.

The first act of the Committee has been to write each Sacramento legislator the following letter:

"Your initial acts as a legislator have indicated to the people of this State that you regard this session as extraordinary. The standards which guide your decisions and by which your decisions will be measured, are set above those of ordinary times. We note with satisfaction the evidences that you appreciate this state of affairs.

"Recognizing that in times of acute stress people are led easily into the advocacy of extreme and even dangerous measures which in calmer days would find little support, and that safeguards must be taken, we have formed this Committee on American Principles and Fair Play. Our purpose is to support the principles enunciated in the Constitution, and to that end to maintain unimpaired the liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. As a West Coast body the Committee recognizes its distinctive obligation, for the protection of all of us, to defend the liberties of law-abiding persons of Oriental ancestry. Against the background of our nation at war we believe that public impulses resulting from inflamed passions hastily crystallized into ill-considered legislation prior to the peace to be established with the peoples of the Orient, are to be distrusted, and that any proposals for such legislation should be carefully examined.

We are prepared to assist you in your manifest intention, as a legislator, to act not in terms of partisanship, but on the level of statesmanship which this crisis of our nation and of the entire world requires."

Today a letter arrived from one of the legislators. He wrote,

"This morning the Members of the Assembly have all received the letter from the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play.

"Because I know of your sincere feelings on this subject, and of the high principles that motivate your action, I thought you would be interested to know of the very fine impression your letter made upon the legislators." (Assemblyman Thomas A. Maloney, Speaker pro tem, moved to print the letter in its entirety in the official record, the Assembly Daily Journal. Speaker Charles W. Lyon, Assemblyman Arthur W. Gardner, Albert C. Wollenberg and Gardiner Johnson joined in the sponsoring motion which carried unanimously.) The letter continues, "In asking for fair play and statesmanship you displayed diplomacy and understanding. Your case could not have been expressed better."

The story of the Committee's formation and of the letter to the legislators was released simultaneously yesterday to more than 200 newspapers throughout the nation.

The program of the Committee is to be financed by private subscriptions and membership dues. Treasurer Harry S. Scott at 465 California Street, San Francisco, or Assistant Treasurer Galen Fisher at Orinda, California will be glad to receive checks from those who wish to be a part of this timely movement to protect our minorities. A General membership is \$2; a Sustaining membership, \$10 or over; a Student membership, \$1.

The Fair Play Committee believes that:

- (1) Attacks upon the rights of any minority tend to undermine the rights of the majority;
- (2) Attempts to deprive any law-abiding citizen of his citizenship because of racial descent are contrary to fundamental American principles and jeopardize the citizenship of others;
- (3) Legislation to deprive Americans of Japanese descent of any of their legal rights would set a precedent for depriving other racial groups of their rights and would weaken the confidence of our allies, particularly those in Asia and Latin America, in the sincerity of our professions to be fighting for the rights of all peoples;
- (4) It is un-American to penalize persons of Japanese descent in the United States solely for the crimes of the Government and military caste of Japan.

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPH C. GREW, FORMER AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN,
AT UNION COLLEGE, SCHENECTADY, N. Y., ON APRIL 26, 1943:

"We know, in this country, what persons of Japanese race, retaining part - the good part - of Japan's wonderful culture, can perform. The Americans of Japanese origin are an invaluable element in our population; I welcome their presence, and regret the bitter necessity of imposing on a trustworthy and loyal majority of nisei the restraints which are made needful by the bad behavior and evil reputé of a minority. There are among Americans of Japanese race as fine people - individually - as you can find anywhere, and many of them are peculiarly anxious to repay America for freedom by making especially arduous efforts in the prosecution of the war. I welcome the policies of our government which are designed to relieve the nisei of discriminatory restrictions as rapidly and fairly as possible, and I applaud the action of the Army in setting up facilities whereby these Americans will be able to show the world what they are able to do."

"These Americans of Japanese origin are to Japan what you and I are to England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, France and other European countries. They are Americans, but they are also the "cousins in the New World". I am proud of my trans-Atlantic cousins, and do not feel myself to be any the less American for that; and I would respect any American of Japanese descent who tried to contribute to our common, free American life those especially good qualities which he may have inherited from his trans-Pacific origin. We in America are in a real sense the apostles of the future; we show the rest of mankind what men of diverse races and cultures can accomplish with a common good will. We Americans, of all races and creeds, fight the evils of despotic and selfish militarism. There can be no compromise between ourselves and the arrogant exclusiveness of self-styled men-Gods of Japan - no more than between ourselves and the self-styled Aryans of Germany. In our war - against caste and privilege, wherever they may exist or occur - the contribution of Americans who are of Japanese descent is of real value: first, because they are living proof of our non-racial free unity; secondly, because they make a valuable and wholesome contribution to the sum total of our American civilization."

EDITORIAL IN BALTIMORE SUN, OF APRIL 26, 1943:

WHEN INDIGNATION BECLOUDS JUDGEMENT

Indignation at the Japanese execution of some of the flyers who flew with General Doolittle has inspired Senator Stewart to propose that all Americans of Japanese descent be stripped of citizenship and confined in concentration camps. By demonstrating the extreme of intolerance to which blind fury can drive a presumably responsible man, this proposal should give many people a sobering realization of the danger of permitting anger and indignation to overwhelm the firm, disciplined reasoning which the war emergency demands.

On second thought, Senator Stewart himself must realize this. What he urges would violate one of the basic principles of American citizenship. It would represent acceptance of the Axis technique of visiting vengeance upon the innocent for the deeds of others. It would be nothing less than an example of the Axis brand of racial bigotry and hatred.

This war will not be won, in the true sense it can be lost even in the winning, if we descend to the level of our enemies in any way but the relentless efficiency of the fight in field and factory and on the military battlefield.

STATEMENTS REGARDING RUMORS OF SABOTAGE IN HAWAII

Rumors of sabotage by Japanese at Pearl Harbor are still being repeated and believed by reputable people in California eighteen months after December 7, 1941.

In order to provide authentic refutation of some of these stories, the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play have obtained, through Charles F. Loomis, Director of the Morale Section of the Hawaiian Military Government, official statements from W.A. Gabrielson, Chief of Police of Honolulu, and Colonel Kendall J. Fielder of the Military Intelligence Headquarters.

POLICE DEPARTMENT
City and County of Honolulu

May 12, 1943

1. The statement that Japanese trucks in Honolulu deliberately put out of commission several American airplanes is an absolute lie. The Military and Naval Intelligence services and the F.B.I. can verify that there were no Japanese trucks on any airfield, nor did any such trucks do any damage in Honolulu on December 7th.
2. There was no congregation of crowds, and the Army, Navy or Marine Corps was not called on to preserve order in the city. No American machine gunners cleared Honolulu streets of any Japanese before, on or after December 7th.
3. The statement that all over Honolulu had signs which read, "Here a Japanese traitor was killed", is another absolute lie.
4. There was not one act of sabotage attempted by any Japanese or any other person during December 7th or thereafter.
5. The Japanese bombed Oahu twice: on December 7, 1941, and sometime during the latter part of 1942, when four bombs were dropped in the hills back of the city.
6. There was no dynamite planted by any Japanese or anyone else in or about Honolulu in December; and no civilian ever used a truck to pick up any dynamite.

While no acts of sabotage were committed, the Japanese did maintain an excellent system of espionage.

(Signed) W.A. Gabrielson, Chief of Police

HEADQUARTERS HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT
Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence

17 May 1943

I was surprised to learn that some of the many Island rumors about the Hawaiian Islands during the first few days of the war are still prevalent on the mainland. They have been repeatedly denied by all authorities.

In connection with the six statements that Mr. F. enumerated in a letter to you, it can be positively stated that all are untrue. It is hardly worthwhile to refute them individually, but it might be of interest for you to know that the movie, "Air Force", was censored and the scenes about the misuse of the Japanese trucks and the Japanese snipers on Maui were deleted before the picture was permitted to be shown in Hawaii.

Having been in charge of military intelligence activities since June, 1941, I am in position to know what has happened. There have been no known acts of sabotage, espionage, or fifth column activities committed by the Japanese in Hawaii either on or subsequent to December 7, 1941.

(Signed) Kendall J. Fielder
Colonel, G.S.C., A.C. of S., G-2

FOR RELEASE ON MARCH 17, 1943

-----Release covering copies of letters to Legislators of California State Legislature.

Every member of the State Legislature of California today received an open letter from the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, commending the declared intention of the members of that body to rise above the level of partisanship in its enactments. The Committee, in its letter calls upon and urges the legislators to decide measures proposing race discrimination, especially those directed against Americans of Japanese ancestry, in a spirit of high statesmanship, avoiding haste, and with a clear look at our future relations with all Oriental peoples.

The Committee on American Principles and Fair Play was formed recently in San Francisco, is sponsored by prominent citizens of the community, and composed of people from all walks of life, including employers, financiers, professional men and women, church people and trade unionists.

Similar groups of citizens opposed to discriminatory legislation against the Americans of Japanese ancestry are forming in many communities in Central and Southern California, as well as in Oregon and Washington, and hope to be of assistance to the government in maintaining in the public mind a clear and farsighted view which will prove a constructive force in post-war reconstruction.

The Honorary Chairman is President Robert Gordon Sproul of the University of California. Other officers and members include Maurice E. Harrison, Dr. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Rabbi Irving E. Reichert, Dr. Paul S. Taylor, Dr. Mary Lyman, Mr. Harry S. Scott, Mr. Galen M. Fisher, Mr. Alfred J. Lundberg, General David Prescott Barrows and others.

The Committee believes:

- (1) That attacks upon the rights of any minority tend to undermine the rights of the majority.
- (2) That attempts to deprive any law-abiding citizen of his citizenship because of racial descent are contrary to fundamental American principles and jeopardize the citizenship of others.
- (3) The legislation to deprive Americans of Japanese descent of any of their legal rights would set a precedent for depriving other racial groups of their rights, and would weaken the confidence of our Allies, particularly those in Asia and Latin America, in the sincerity of our professions to be fighting for the rights of all peoples.
- (4) That it is un-American to penalize persons of Japanese descent in the United States solely for the crimes of the Government and military caste of Japan.

The fundamental purpose of the Committee is to support the principles enunciated in the Constitution of the United States, and to that end to maintain, unimpaired, the liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.

OVERHEARD IN AN EVACUATION CAMP

"And did you see this editorial? 'Nisei approve of internment,' the fellow says, 'because they realize there are many traitors among them.' How do you like that?"

"How do they know? No reporters have been here asking us. Why don't they find out our opinion before they quote us?"

Why not indeed? The press and the average well-meaning citizen have complacently assumed, since the Nisei have "cooperated" by obeying evacuation orders, that they approve of internment without trial for the duration of the war. Here are two young Christians discussing this "cooperation". Let us eavesdrop for a moment:

"Of course we went peacefully. You don't refuse when a policeman knocks at your door and says, 'Come on.' You go, and argue afterward. A \$5,000 fine or a year in jail didn't appeal to me."

"That's right. And then we might as well admit we were afraid of being called unpatriotic, when the politicians and the so-called 'service organizations' made such a hullabaloo about saboteurs."

And would these citizens have shown themselves unpatriotic had they fought discriminatory evacuation and internment? Some of them are beginning to feel that they were unpatriotic to submit. And in line with this thought, a Christian leader remarked during the evacuation, "We haven't done this to 125,000 Japanese, but to 130,000,000 Americans."

But here are two young men sitting on the bottom step of some bleachers, idly tossing pebbles at a post. Listen:

"It isn't as if we'd had a fair trial and were found to be dangerous. Nobody'd kick if it had been that way. But look at the Italian and German fellows--they went to language schools, too, had fascist salutes and all that. They are just as much Axis as we are. But we get put in prison. I don't get it."

"Well, not exactly prison. This is really a camp."

"Yeah, so is Daschau!"

Strolling past a group of workers just off duty in the kitchens, we note that they had special guests this evening:

"Forty of them came--reporters mostly, and what a spread!"

"Pork steak, tomato soup, salad and pumpkin pie, rice and gravy and bread and butter and pineapple jam. What a write-up we'll get and the public will be howling, 'Why pamper these Japs this way!'"

"It wouldn't occur to one of those fellows to ask if that was what we had to eat tonight. A slice of roast beef, potatoes and gravy and some canned peas. No soup, no salad, no butter, no pie."

"Well, we shouldn't kick. We aren't starving!"

"Oh, we'll live. But it's the idea of it that gets me. Here come forty representatives of the press to inspect the camp and what do they see? Do they go into the unsanitary, indecent toilets? Do they see the long lines waiting in front of mess for fear the food will run out and they will have to eat corned beef again? Or do they hear the little fellows crying in the night because they can't eat army rations and are hungry?"

"I tried to tell one fellow about the camp, but he shut me up pretty quick. 'Yes,' he says, 'I went through all that in the last war.' Sure, but his wife and babies didn't!"

These, after all, are minor irritations compared with the enormity of the whole program. Recently a bulletin put out by the War Relocation Authority at Washington was distributed throughout the camp. It dealt with the War Relocation Work Corps which is being set up to govern employment of American citizens in the camps. Look over the shoulder of one of these citizens as he reads, and discover what he is asked to sign as an indication of his "patriotism":

"Obligations of enlistee," states the bulletin. "The enlistee assumes certain definite obligations when he enlists." In brief, these include a promise to serve for the duration of the war and fourteen days after armistice, to perform faithfully all tasks assigned him by the Authority and to accept in full payment of wages "such cash and other allowances as may be provided by law or the Authority." An enlistee promises to go wherever sent, not to hold the Government responsible for injury or illness contracted, to pay any special assessments the Authority may decide to levy, if granted furlough to take outside employment he promises to pay his own transportation to place of such employment and return, and to support his family while working outside although the family must remain interned. Finally, he promises to make himself financially responsible for loss or damage to any equipment or tools issued him by the Authority.

"And they won't give us a job unless we sign this thing?" says a young man who has already made a name for himself as a commercial photographer. "This is impressed labor. I can't sign that!"

"Sure, I'm lazy, too!" This from a man who has made his living teaching the violin.

"No, look! Would I be an American if I signed a labor contract like that? Why, it is opposed to all that the National Labor Relations Board stands for. It abrogates every fair labor law in the country!"

"No choice of a job. They put me in the beet fields, or set me to work making camouflage nets, and what becomes of my technique as a violinist? I hear they have to pay me \$14.00 a day to make those nets, but they offer me \$8.00 a month, army rations and a room shared with six other people. And if the work is injurious I can't quit. Why do citizens have to submit to slave conditions in order to get a job?"

"Well, we've been asking for a chance to show our loyalty to the United States. Isn't this it?"

"Not for my money. My grandfather came to this country as a contract laborer, but I thought America was ashamed of that page in her history. Now she opens this same page on exploitation again for us--loyal citizens!"

"Don't get me wrong! I want to work--I want to show I'm an American. But I want to do it on the same terms as other Americans. I want to earn a salary at a job of my own choosing, like Spence and Joe and the others we went to school with. My family are dependent upon me, and I want Mother and the kids to live in a decent house, with wallpaper, or at least walls, with rugs and curtains, and the piano we used to have. At the least, I want to give them privacy, decency."

"I want to obey the same laws everybody does, not a special set made up for me because my grandfather came from a certain country."

"Sure. It all boils down to this: we want to be Americans like we've always been. Otherwise, what does the Bill of Rights mean?"

"That's it. This evacuation business, now. Even the newspapers are saying that it wasn't a fair way to do it, but they excuse it in the name of the emergency on the coast. Well, so far as Japanese living on the coast is concerned, that emergency is over. We're out of the danger area. So now they could give us a chance to prove our allegiance to America in a fair trial, and then let us go to work on an equality with our fellow citizens. There are plenty of jobs we could do for our country instead of sitting here worrying about our future and how we can make any provision for it on \$8.00 a month with special assessments to pay out of that!"

"You know, it strikes me that the fellows who drew up that labor contract would be the first to holler 'Un-American coercion' if they were asked to sign it themselves!"

"Well, this is our country, whether we get justice or not. When I get out, I mean to work for fair play for every minority group. You know I used to have some funny ideas about Negroes and Jews, but I know now what they have to buck!"

"I guess you're right. We never get to the top with a chip on our shoulder. And I'm on my way up, camp or no camp."

This is a sample of what interned citizens are saying. It isn't bitterness at the hardships you hear in voice or words, but the fact that America has used un-American methods in dealing with a minority group bites deep into their pride of country, and their pride in the achievements of their parents in the western states.

Whether this enforced migration of 125,000 people is to go down in history as a page borrowed from the Fascist Book, or as a necessary evil mitigated as soon as accomplished by a fair plan of free resettlement and employment of citizens and aliens of proved loyalty, will be decided in the near future. Will you add your voice to the growing demand that these people be accorded an opportunity to rebuild their lives under conditions consistent with the Bill of Rights instead of prison conditions and prison labor provisions?

There is a deep sense of desolation among the young citizens. "We are abandoned," they say. "The provisions of the Geneva Treaty protect our alien families, but not us citizens. And even the Constitution is meaningless if we can be interned without trial. We appeal to the conscience of the nation which produced Abraham Lincoln, for emancipation."

Instructions for Circulating Initiative and Referendum Petitions

Caution: Under the law, you cannot circulate this petition unless you are now a registered, qualified voter of the county in which you reside.

1—Do not circulate this petition or obtain signatures outside of the county in which you are a qualified registered voter.

2—Any voter of the county, male or female, who has registered since January 1, 1936, and whose registration has not been cancelled, can sign this petition. Others cannot. Voter must be registered from address he or she signs in petition.

3—IT IS A FELONY FOR ANY PERSON TO WRITE ANY NAME IN THIS PETITION EXCEPT HIS OR HER OWN.

4—A married woman must sign her own given name—NOT her husband's. For example: May Jones must sign her name—Mrs. May Jones—and not Mrs. John Jones. J. L. Jones must sign John L. Jones. THE PETITION MUST BE SIGNED JUST AS THE SIGNER HAS REGISTERED AS A VOTER. Ladies must use Miss or Mrs.

5—The signer must write in the petition his or her name and residence address, giving city or town, and street and number. If you have no street address use R.F.D. and Box No., also the name of the road on which you live and the nearest crossroad. The signer must also affix the day, month and year of signing. This cannot be done by the circulator. Example: May 1, 1944, may be written like this: 5/1/44.

6—Do not permit any signer to use ditto marks.

7—Do not write anything in the blanks under the word "Precinct." This will be filled out by our delegated representative.

8—Do not permit any person to circulate this petition for you. Each signature must be secured by you, as affidavit must be made that all the signatures secured on each section were made in your presence.

9—Do not leave a petition in a home or elsewhere and then call for it after it has been filled out with the names.

10—As soon as you have secured all the signatures you can, take each section to a Notary Public, Justice of the Peace, County Clerk, or Registrar of Voters, and swear to the affidavit to it. Under the Constitution the officer must not make any charge for swearing you.

11—When this has been done, return the petition to the person from whom you received it.

12—Petitions must be signed in ink or indelible pencil.

THESE INSTRUCTIONS MUST BE STRICTLY FOLLOWED

Return when finished to

JAPANESE EXCLUSION ASSOCIATION

608 South Hill Street — Los Angeles 14, California

Read Important Notice Below and Instructions On Reverse Side

Return when finished to JAPANESE EXCLUSION ASSOCIATION 608 South Hill Street, Los Angeles 14, California

SUPPLEMENTAL

T 5.092A

INITIATIVE MEASURE TO BE SUBMITTED DIRECTLY TO THE ELECTORS

ALIENS and PERSONS OF INELIGIBLE ANCESTRY. Initiative. Amends Alien Property Initiative Act of 1920 as amended. Prohibits persons ineligible to citizenship and persons of Japanese ancestry or other ancestry ineligible to citizenship under United States naturalization laws who owe any foreign allegiance from acquiring, possession, leasing, enjoying, chartering or transferring real property or watercraft or any interest therein. Property acquired contrary to act escheats to State. Regulates burden of proof of defendant's eligibility in cases under act. Engaging in prohibited transactions with ineligible aliens or persons of designated ancestry declared penal offense. Makes annual appropriation for enforcement of act.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA, } ss.
County (or City and County) of.....

To the Honorable Secretary of State of the State of California:

We, the undersigned, registered and qualified electors of the State of California, residents of the County (or City and County) of

....., present to the Secretary of State this petition and hereby propose a law to read as hereinafter set forth in full and petition that the same be submitted to the electors of the State of California, at the next succeeding general election occurring subsequent to one hundred and thirty days (130) days after the presentation of this petition, or at any special election called by the Governor in his discretion prior to such general election.

The Title and full text of said proposed act is as follows:

An act to amend "An Act relating to the rights, powers and disabilities of aliens and of certain companies, associations and corporations with respect to property in this state, providing for escheats in certain cases, prescribing the procedure therein, requiring reports of certain property holdings to facilitate the enforcement of this act, prescribing penalties for violation of the provisions hereof, and repealing all acts or parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict herewith," submitted by initiative and approved by electors November 2, 1920, Stats. 1921, lxxxiii; amended by Stats. 1923, p. 1020, by Stats. 1927, p. 880 and Stats. 1943, p. 2999.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

Section 1. Section 7 of the act referred to in the title hereof is amended to read:

Any Real Property in fee acquired in violation of the provisions of this act by an alien mentioned in Section Two of this act, or by any company, association, or corporation mentioned in Section Three of this act, or by any person of Japanese ancestry or other ancestry ineligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States who owes any allegiance to any Foreign Government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate, shall escheat as of the date of such acquiring, to and become and remain the property of the State of California. The Attorney General or the District Attorney of the proper county shall institute proceedings to have the escheat of such real property adjudged and enforced in the manner provided by section four hundred seventy-four of the Political Code and title eight, part three of the Code of Civil Procedure. Upon the entry of final judgment in such proceedings, the title to such real property shall pass to the State of California, as of the date of such acquisition in violation of the provisions of this act. The provisions of this section and of sections two and three of this act shall not apply to any real property hereafter acquired in the enforcement or in satisfaction of any lien now existing upon or interest in such property so long as such real property so acquired shall remain the property of such creditor acquiring the same in such manner. No alien, company, association or corporation, mentioned in section two or section three hereof or person of Japanese ancestry or other ancestry ineligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States who owes any allegiance to any Foreign Government, Prince or Potentate shall hold for a longer period than six months in possession of any real property acquired in the enforcement of or in satisfaction of a mortgage or other lien hereafter made or acquired in good faith to secure a debt.

Section 2. Section 8 of the said act is amended to read:

Whenever any watercraft or any right or interest in watercraft or any leasehold or other interest in real property, including cropping contracts which are hereby declared to constitute an interest in real property, but excluding interests in real property covered by Section 7 of this act, is hereafter created by any landlord or owner and acquired by any alien mentioned in Section 2 of this act, or any company, association or corporation mentioned in Section 3 of this act, or by any person of Japanese ancestry or other ancestry ineligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States who owes any allegiance to any Foreign Government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate in violation of the provisions of this act, then and in such event the ownership and/or interest of such person, company, association or corporation in the watercraft or real property and all of the right, title and interest of any such landlord or owner who has not acted in good faith after reasonable investigation shall escheat to the State of California as of the date of the creation and acquiring in violation of the provisions of this act. The Attorney General or the District Attorney of the proper county shall institute proceedings against both such landlord or such owner and such person, company, association or corporation to have such escheat adjudged and enforced in the same manner as is provided in Section 7 of this act. In the event that the interest of such landlord or owner is an interest less than the whole or fee, then in such proceedings the court shall determine the value of all of the right, title and interest of such landlord or owner, if any, and such person, company, association or corporation, as of the date of such acquisition in violation of the provisions of this act, and enter judgment for the State for the amount thereof together with costs. Thereupon the court shall order the sale of the right, title and interest of such landlord or owner and such person, company, association, or corporation as provided in Section 1271 of the Code of Civil Procedure. Upon the confirmation of such sale the court shall fix and determine the total costs and expenses of the county in which the case is tried in preparing and prosecuting such escheat cause, and same shall thereupon be repaid to said County out of the proceeds of the sale and the balance shall be paid into the State Treasury.

The provisions of this section shall not apply to any watercraft or real property, hereafter acquired in the enforcement or satisfaction of any lien now existing upon or interest in such property so long as such watercraft or real property so acquired shall remain the property of the person, company, association or corporation acquiring the same in such manner. No alien, mentioned in Section 2 of this act, or any person of Japanese ancestry or other ancestry ineligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States who owes any allegiance to any Foreign Government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate, company or association, or corporation mentioned in Section 3 of this act shall hold for a longer period than six months possession of any land or watercraft or interest in either, acquired in the enforcement of or in satisfaction of a mortgage or other lien hereafter made or acquired in good faith to secure a debt.

The provisions of this section shall not operate to divest any bona fide interest of any person, firm, corporation or association, which is acquired in good faith and for value and not in violation of this act prior to the filing of a notice of lis pendens in connection with an action for escheat under the provisions of this act.

Any share of stock or the interest of any member in a company, association or corporation hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of section 3 of this act shall escheat to the State of California as of the date of such acquiring, and it is hereby declared that any such share of stock or the interest of any member in such a company, association or corporation so acquired in violation of the provisions of Section 3 of this act is an interest in real property. Such escheat shall be adjudged and enforced in the same manner as is provided in this section for the escheat of a leasehold or other interest in real property.

Section 3. Section 9a of the said act is amended to read:

Section 3. In any action or proceeding, civil or criminal, by the State of California, or the people thereof, under any of the provisions of this act, when the proof introduced by the State, or the people thereof, establishes the acquisition, possession, enjoyment, use, cultivation, occupation, or transferring of real property or any interest therein, or the having in whole or in part of the beneficial use thereof by any defendant or any of such fact, and the complaint, indictment or information alleges the alienage and ineligibility to United States citizenship or the Japanese ancestry or other ancestry ineligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States and allegiance to any Foreign Government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate of such defendant, the burden of proving citizenship or eligibility to citizenship or lack of Japanese ancestry or other ancestry ineligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States and allegiance to any Foreign Government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate shall thereupon devolve upon such defendant.

Section 3. Section 9b of the said act is amended to read:

In any action or proceedings, civil or criminal, by the State of California, or the people thereof, under any of the provisions of this act, when the complaint, indictment, or information alleges the alienage, ineligibility to United States citizenship or the Japanese ancestry or other ancestry ineligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States and allegiance to any foreign government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate of any defendant, proof by the state, or the people thereof, of the acquisition, possession, leasing enjoyment, use, cultivation, occupation, or transferring of real property or any interest therein, or the having in whole or in part the beneficial use thereof by such defendant, or of any such facts, and in addition proof that such defendant, is a member of a race ineligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States, shall create a prima facie presumption of the ineligibility to citizenship and allegiance to a Foreign Government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate of such defendant, the burden of proving citizenship or eligibility to citizenship or lack of Japanese ancestry or other ancestry ineligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States and allegiance to any Foreign Government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate as a defense to any such action or proceeding shall thereupon devolve upon such defendant.

Section 4. Section 9c is added to said act, to read:

Section 9c. Ownership of real property by persons of ancestry ineligible to citizenship. Notwithstanding any other provision of this act no person of Japanese ancestry or other ancestry not eligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States who owes any allegiance to any Foreign Government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate shall acquire, possess, lease or transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this state.

Section 5. Section 9d is added to said act, to read:

Section 9d. Ownership of watercraft by persons of ancestry ineligible to citizenship. No person of Japanese ancestry or of other ancestry not eligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States who owes any allegiance to any Foreign Government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate shall acquire, possess, lease, charter, enjoy or transfer any watercraft, or any interest therein, in this state.

Section 6. Section 9e is added to said act, to read:

Section 9e. Transfer of real property or watercraft to persons of ancestry ineligible to citizenship. No person shall sell, give, transfer, assign, lease charter or loan any real property or any watercraft, or any interest in any real property or watercraft, to any person of Japanese ancestry or of other ancestry not eligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States who owes any allegiance to any Foreign Government, Emperor, Prince or Potentate.

Section 7. Section 13 is added to said act, to read:

Section 13. Enforcement. The Attorney General shall appoint and employ such number of deputies, clerks, stenographers, and investigators as may be reasonably necessary to enforce the provisions of this act.

Section 8. Section 14 is added to said act, to read:

Section 14. Appropriation for expenses of enforcement. There is hereby appropriated to the Attorney General out of the unappropriated reserve funds of the state the sum of one hundred thousand dollars per year to defray the expense of enforcing the provisions of this act, and paying the salaries of such deputies, clerks, stenographers and investigators as the Attorney General may appoint and employ for such purpose. All funds not used for the enforcement of this act shall be returned to the general fund.

NAME OF SIGNER	PLACE OF RESIDENCE		Date of Signing	Election Precinct
	Street and Number	City or Town		
1				
2				
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4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				

STATE OF CALIFORNIA }
COUNTY (OR CITY AND COUNTY) OF..... } ss.

....., being first duly sworn, on his oath states:
I am, and during all the time while soliciting signatures as hereinafter set forth was, a qualified and registered elector of the above named County (or City and County) of..... and the State of California; I am the person who circulated the attached and foregoing section of the Initiative petition of which said section is a part and who solicited the signatures to the said section; I have circulated said section in the County (or City and County) of....., State of California; all the signatures to the attached section were made in my presence and upon the date shown after each signature and were solicited by me within the above named County (or City and County) of.....; the signatures were taken between June 1, 1944, and June....., 1944, and to the best of my knowledge and belief such signature to said section is the genuine signature of the person whose name it purports to be.

Residence Address.....
Registered Address.....

Subscribed and sworn to before me this.....day of....., 1944.

Notary Public or other officer authorized to administer oaths under the laws of the State of California.

IMPORTANT— PLEASE READ

Be sure you read the instructions on the reverse side of the petition.
Have your friends sign the petition as quickly as you can just as they are registered.

DELAY MEANS FAILURE—

After you have procured what signatures you can in 5 days, regardless of how many, take the petition to a Notary Public or public officer and have it sworn to (no change can be made for this).

Then mail it to the Japanese Exclusion Association, 608 S. Hill Street, Los Angeles 14, California who are authorized to precinct and file the petitions with various county clerks throughout the state—Cost of postage is 3c.

If you would like more Blank Petitions fill in the following:

Please send me.....more petitions.

My name is.....

My P. O. address is.....

City....., California

If you have friends who are registered voters who would like to have petitions to circulate, kindly enclose their names on a separate sheet of paper.

TO The Tolan Investigating Committee

FROM Annie Olo Watson, Executive Secretary
 International Institute
 1860 Washington Street
 San Francisco, California

The International Institute was established in 1918 and since that time has worked consistently for the social integration of immigrant people in American life. We appreciate the privilege of offering recommendations on the important subject of enemy aliens and "second-generation" Americans who may be affected by federal regulations.

Because the process of assimilation has been in progress for a long time, it is difficult to draw a nice line between interests of aliens and citizens. There are, for instance, in the European groups affected by orders:

- (1) many families with both alien and citizen family members;
- (2) older men and women who came in before the literacy test was required;
- (3) older men who have belonged to the mobile labor supply which has been necessary in the development of this country, whose way of life has made it difficult to settle down and fulfill the requirements of naturalization;
- (4) aged parents who were brought over by naturalized sons and daughters;
- (5) those who have derived American citizenship from naturalized parents and for one reason or another are not in possession of documents proving their status;
- (6) American-born women who lost citizenship by marriage to aliens and have not yet gone through the process of resumption;
- (7) those who have not been able to complete the naturalization process because of long administrative delays in over-crowded naturalization offices.

Another European group which deserves special mention in the "hardship class" is the German refugee. They are for the most part a stateless people by virtue of having been expatriated from Germany and of not yet having satisfied residence requirements for completing naturalization here.

The Japanese elders, being "ineligible to citizenship," have therefore not been able to naturalize. Many of them, nevertheless, have lived as far as they could as American citizens and have never revisited Japan. Their American-born children are American citizens (nisei). The majority have been brought up in American schools and colleges and have never been to Japan. A minority were sent to Japan for most of their education (kibei). Not all Japanese parents registered their children for dual citizenship. There has been an active movement for a good many years on the part of the nisei to renounce dual citizenship. Petitions have gone in from them to our State Department for assistance in bringing about a simplified procedure for "expatriation." Several of their organizations, notable among which are the Japanese American Citizens Leagues, have long worked actively in bringing their membership into constructive civic participation. Though Japanese American citizens are still young, the average age being about 20, there is a considerable number with "third generation" American families. Our long acquaintance with Japanese Americans convinces us that their loyalty compares favorably with that of all other second generation Americans, and could be determined by means which are applied to other American citizens.

These people, European and Asiatic who were in the process of assimilation, are now caught by world circumstances and have suddenly become subject to regulations affecting all "enemy aliens." Because we are

convinced by our long acquaintance with immigrant people that the term "enemy alien" in the large majority of cases is only technically applicable, we offer a few recommendations:

- (1) That the greatest care be taken to measure the extent of evacuation and dislocation of the population by actual military necessity and not by surface urgency of groups seeking to further self interests.
- (2) That plans for resettlement be made and carried out by agencies thoroughly aware of the social implications, and skilled in the techniques, of resettlement and rehabilitation on a large scale.
- (3) That, therefore, both the moving and the resettlement be under the complete supervision of the federal government making use of existing local agencies both public and private as may be necessary, and bringing German, Italian and Japanese American citizen leaders into cooperation in planning and in putting plans into effect.
- (4) That there be administrative machinery for reviewing hardship cases of aliens with provision for warranted exemptions.
- (5) That American citizen Japanese be given the privilege of establishing their loyalty before properly constituted hearing boards and that subsequent differentiation in treatment be shown them, thus avoiding movement against a racial bloc of American citizens.
- (6) That adequate custodianship of property be arranged.
- (7) That advice be given through the press to deter unsupervised movement unless evacuees are able to plan with reasonable adequacy for their own resettlement.
- (8) That adequate increase in funds allocated to the Naturalization Service be made in order that naturalization petitions may be currently handled.

The morale and the unity among the American people are, we believe, important factors in the defense of our country. The United States is made up as is perhaps no other country, of minority racial and cultural groups. The degree of loyalty of all American minorities has great significance both for actual defense efforts and for effective reconstruction when peace comes. We cannot therefore be too diligent in safeguarding the deep underlying values of American citizenship.

This report is respectfully submitted with the offer of full cooperation to all government authorities concerned with immigrant groups, and in complete willingness to comply with measures that may be urgently necessary for military protection.

Our Japanese Refugees

By Galen M. Fisher

THE uprooting of 60,000 Americans of Japanese parentage from our western seaboard is for them an ordeal of personal suffering. It is also a test of their ability to rise above resentment and to maintain faith in their America and ours. For white Americans, it is a testing by fire of devotion to the letter and spirit of the federal Constitution, and of their ability to hold justice and national unity above antipathy toward persons of Japanese race. For white Christians, it is a challenge to demonstrate that Christian brotherhood transcends blood and skin color.

The presidential proclamation of February 20, 1942, authorized the secretary of war and the military commanders designated by him to "prescribe military areas . . . from which any or all persons may be excluded." Martial law was not invoked, but presumably the Supreme Court would validate the proclamation on the ground that it was within the powers of the President as commander-in-chief of the armed forces in time of war and national emergency. However, the fifth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution specifically provide that neither the nation nor the states shall "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law." The presidential proclamation could have been executed without violating this provision. There have been no hearings nor other "due process of law" for the Japanese evacuees.

One must sympathize with the army, especially after the grievous losses at Pearl Harbor. Their task of the defense of the Pacific coast is huge and difficult. But the army had no right in law to order the compulsory evacuation of 60,000 American citizens, *on the basis of their racial character*, without any pretense of judicial hearings. Its action smacks of branding a racial group as "second-class citizens" and sets a dangerous precedent. Someone will at once ask: "Did not the proof of fifth column activity by Japanese-American citizens in Hawaii on December 7 give the army ample warrant for taking drastic steps? Must it not protect the country against a possible body-blow even at the cost of suspending normal constitutional rights?"

No Sabotage in Honolulu

The irony of this argument was thrown into glaring relief on March 20, when the mainland press carried this startling cablegram, sent on March 14 by Honolulu Chief of Police Gabrielson to the Tolan Congressional Defense Migration Committee: "Pursuant request Delegate King, advise you there were no acts of sabotage in city and county of Honolulu December 7, nor have there been any reported to police department since that date. Police department had charge of traffic on Pearl Harbor road from Pearl Harbor to Honolulu shortly after bombing started with several officers on duty there. There was no deliberate blocking of traffic during December 7 or following that date by unauthorized persons."

The president of the Honolulu chamber of commerce and the chairman of the Honolulu Citizens Council wired jointly to Delegate King this additional information, in refutation of an equally false rumor: "Upon consultation with chief of police and heads of army and navy informed that to date there has been no single instance of Japanese truckdrivers or other truckdrivers running machines into U. S. planes on the ground, of Japanese or others disabling automobiles of army and navy officers, or of Japanese or others throwing furniture into the streets to blockade army and navy officers."

These telegrams raise uncomfortable questions: Why did not the Roberts report include such a declaration? Why did the secretary of war and the commander of the Fourth Army, who ordered the evacuation, allow the universally accepted rumors of Japanese fifth column activity at Pearl Harbor to go without denial, unless they likewise were in the dark, which seems incredible? Did the censorship at Honolulu prevent the truth refuting this damaging charge from getting to the mainland public by either wire or post? And finally, why did not more of us supposedly propaganda-proof citizens take the rumors with many grains of salt and insist on impartial proof?

If the Truth Had Been Known

The pity of it all is that the whole situation as to evacuation might have been radically changed if the truth had been generally known. One of the main arguments given by the army for removing all persons of Japanese race from the coast was to protect them from the grave danger of mob violence. That danger was real. It arose in part from well-founded reports that Japanese official espionage had been going on in both Hawaii and the mainland. But it arose even more from popular swallowing of the now discredited rumors of sabotage by civilian Japanese at Honolulu and Pearl Harbor. In defense of the army, it may properly be said that it is not their business to deny false rumors or to guide public opinion. But if the army is thus absolved from blame, then all the greater blame attaches to those federal civilian authorities who, if they knew the truth about the alleged sabotage, did not promptly make it known and thus allay the anti-Japanese hysteria which swept over the Pacific coast and went far to give the army a plausible justification for indiscriminate evacuation.

But the chain of evil causation goes much farther back. It includes the long record of anti-Oriental discrimination, especially in California. We and our fathers have sown dragons' teeth for sixty years. I am not denying that Chinese and Japanese immigration should have been controlled, but it should have been done equitably, as by the application of the quota to them as to all other peoples. As Carey McWilliams recently said in the *New Republic*: "After the passage of the immigration act of 1924, a statesmanlike policy would have made it possible for all resident Japanese to become citizens (and the same ob-

and other cities went the rounds of the offices where most of the large manufacturing concerns of the kingdom transact their business. The committees presented each office manager with an autographed portrait of Mussolini. Each portrait was accompanied by selected specimens of the duce's rhetoric. The instructions were to hang the picture in the most prominent part of the office, where it would be sure to strike the eye of every visitor. A recent checkup by fascist investigators showed only two out of about sixty of the portraits still on exhibition.

A Dictator Grown Old

The dictator is keenly aware of the grave perils he has conjured up for himself personally no less than for the future of his country. He has undergone profound changes, inwardly and outwardly. Today an unaccustomed silence marks the comings and goings of Benito Mussolini. The man who in the past used to go into action like a torpedo, delighting in the sound of his own voice and in the noisy demonstrations of the crowd, has lapsed into a state of gloom and lethargy. To be sure, he is within eighteen months of being sixty, but even on casual inspection he looks much older. He has given up his frequently advertised outdoor exercises, except for an occasional short gallop on the edge of the Roman *campagna*, where he stops at the shrine of the Madonna di Galloro. There he dismounts and steps into one of the three or four waiting autos and is driven back to the city.

Other changes in his traits and habits are no less obvious. His style of speaking is no longer the same, either in private or in public. The old bombast and grandiloquence have gone from him as gas escapes from a punctured balloon. The strong streaks of cynicism and misanthropy, nourished by much reading of Nietzsche, his favorite philosopher, have made him more than ever disdainful of human society. More and more he is withdrawing into his inmost self, spending hours in moody meditation. The titanic quality of the struggle in which his conceit and the blind faith in his destiny have engulfed him, is now testing the man's caliber and bringing out all of its defects. He feels overshadowed, dwarfed and deflated. With growing distinctness he hears the rumblings of discontent in his own land. They fill him with alarm and foreboding.

Ever since he hitched his wagon to the star of Berchtesgaden, there has been nothing either in the present or in the future which has held out hope to Mussolini for a happy ending of his personal fortunes. Even if Hitler retains his present mastery of central and western Europe, Mussolini will be at best another vassal wearing a Quisling livery. Eventually he may have to rely on nazi bayonets to maintain even a semblance of his old power. Hitler, on the other hand, is an adept in casting off instruments that have outlived their usefulness. Any genuine trust between the two men is unthinkable.

Preparations for Flight

If the Allies win, the best Mussolini can hope for is a life of exile and oblivion. They may send him to one of the barren and waterless islands along the Dalmatian coast, where in feudal times undesirable subjects were buried alive. That would be no more than the treatment

he was wont to deal out to his own political enemies. If at the critical moment he is favored by fortune, Mussolini might, like the late kaiser, escape into an exile of his own choosing. Ever since the days following the murder of Deputy Matteotti, when the whole structure of fascism and the fascist government rocked on its foundations, the duce has had in readiness all the necessary preparations for an emergency flight out of Italy to a spot of neutral sunshine.

With this end in view he some time ago bought up several farms on the shores of Lake Lugano in Italian Switzerland. Whenever he visited Milan Mussolini ran over to his Swiss estate and inspected the villa he was building. He might well have named it "Safety First," instead of "L'Impero," the name by which it is known among the rural population around Lugano. In a secret compartment of the great airdrome of Centocelle, just beyond the city limits of Rome, a fast plane is kept ready for instant use by day or night. From time to time the duce used to visit Centocelle and take the plane out for a little practice. The distance by air from Rome to Lugano is less than four hours. But when the fateful hour comes, will even such precautions suffice?

VERSE

The Night of Sorrow

THE stars have vanished from the midnight sky;
A deathlike hush enfolds the earth and sea;
And on the wind tonight I hear the cry
That echoed once from cruel Calvary.

In countless towns they crucify the Lord,
The Prince of Life devote to death and shame;
They scorn His rod of love and raise the sword,
And scourge the helpless lands with demon flame.

The swollen waves are red with human blood;
The earth is sodden with the nations' tears;
The world is steeped with sorrow, for a flood
Of wrath and woe has fallen on our years.

Thou Christ of God, we kneel before Thy cross;
Our path is dark—Thou art the only Way.
O grant us strength to bear this grief and loss
And lead us forth again into the day.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

We Move to Cataclysm

WE move to cataclysm. All the stars
Foretell a scene in sepia and red.
Old battlefields were as a robin's song
Compared to this new hell of fire and blood.
Automatons, gigantic, horrible,
Move up to flaming fronts where men are ground
To reeking pulp or blown to bloody mist!
Watchers from other planets may turn pale
To see our earth become a crimson Mars!

GEORGE ROSSMAN

servation also applies to the Chinese and Filipinos). Having permitted these people to enter the country, we should have made the best of the situation by making it possible for those who were then residing here to become American citizens if they so desired."

As in a Greek tragedy, the sad dénouement which has now come upon us is the nemesis of a chain of evil deeds.

High officials in Washington have recently complained that the limited number of protests against indiscriminate evacuation that had reached them from California had been drowned out by the raucous chorus in favor of it. Consequently they say they were forced to yield against their own better judgment. Unfortunately, there is truth in this complaint. To be sure, vigorous appeals for "selective evacuation," at least for citizen Japanese, were made by groups of eminent white citizens, notably by the Committee on National Security and Fair Play, headed by former Assistant Secretary of State Henry F. Grady, General David P. Barrows and prominent representatives of education, labor, religion, industry and law. Chester Rowell, California's most noted columnist, repeatedly argued for selective evacuation of both alien and citizen Japanese.

Why Protests Were No Louder

But it is also true that the mass of intelligent people in the churches and outside kept still, not because they favored indiscriminate evacuation, but apparently because they could hardly conceive that the authorities would adopt it. In support of their confidence in a temperate policy they had the precedent of Hawaii where, despite all the then accepted rumors of fifth columnists and the preponderance of the Japanese population, neither the army nor white civilians had made any move toward placing all Japanese in concentration camps, and only a fraction of one per cent had been interned. Furthermore, pronouncements appealing for fair play and democratic treatment of all Japanese residents had been made by the President, Attorney General Biddle, Governor Olson and other high officials. What wonder that hosts of liberty-loving citizens hardly dreamed that the army would actually yield to the clamor of the extremists!

Alas! they guessed wrong. The extremists, led by Japanese-baiters like Hearst, by irresponsible radio commentators and by politicians bent on catering to mass prejudices, were joined by business interests eager to crowd out Japanese rivals, as well as by honest patriots who believed every Japanese was a fifth columnist. The demand for unconditional and immediate evacuation was no doubt congenial to the military mind, which must reduce risks and wants to wash its hands of civilian problems. It is accustomed to handle men as mechanical units, rather than as bundles of democratic self-determination. So on the very day—March 3—that the Committee on National Security and Fair Play issued its release warning that "the indiscriminate removal of citizens of alien parentage might convert predominantly loyal or harmless citizens into desperate fifth columnists," General DeWitt issued his "Proclamation No. 1," and the supplementary orders for sweeping evacuation.

The die was cast. Yet even then, influential groups

persisted in urging General DeWitt to appoint hearing boards as a means of differentiating between loyal and disloyal or suspicious citizen Japanese. They argued that expulsion of any citizen bloc on the basis of racial origin would violate the principles for which America professes to be fighting, would drive loyal American citizens of Japanese descent to desperation and disloyalty and would play into the hands of Japan by giving her authentic support for her claim to be the protector of all colored races against the persecuting and arrogant white nations.

What of the effect of the total evacuation order on the Japanese? The older generation, for the most part, have suffered in stoical silence. Although all of them have lived in America for from twenty to fifty years, and many have longed to become citizens, our naturalization laws have denied them that privilege and mean-minded Americans have strewn their path with thorns. That there were potential fifth columnists among them is hardly open to doubt, as the arrest of over 2,000 by the FBI attests, although no widespread plot has been uncovered. It would not be strange if most of the Japan-born still felt a strong attachment to their fatherland. Yet theirs seems to be a divided loyalty, for thousands have been proud to see their American sons enter our armed forces.

The Nisei, citizens born, have shown divers reactions. Some have felt humiliated and despondent at having their loyalty impugned. Others have resolved to accept evacuation as their peculiar sacrifice for their country and to emulate the American pioneers who wrested success from adversity.

Atrocities Committed Against Japanese

Since December 7 there have been all too many atrocities committed against innocent Japanese by bullies or misguided pseudo-patriots. The curtains and blinds of Japanese homes are generally drawn. Uncertainty and gloom are the dominant mood. The prospect of evacuation is blighting careers, reducing prosperous families to poverty, forcing abandonment of farms and businesses into which has gone the unstinted toil of decades. For very many of them all this suffering is entirely vicarious, on behalf of a Japan whose policies they condemn. It would be easy to compile a volume of heart-rending stories. It must suffice to tell only one.

Hideo Murata was an alien Japanese who had lived in the town of Pismo Beach, near San Luis Obispo, for twenty years. As a veteran of the A.E.F. in the First World War he had been given an "Honorary Citizenship Certificate from Monterey County," signed by the county supervisors. This he kept as his most treasured possession. On the certificate were engraved these words: "Monterey County presents this testimony of heartfelt gratitude . . . her honor and respect for your loyal and splendid service to the country in the Great World War. Our flag was assailed and you gallantly took up its defense." When Murata heard reports that he was to be evacuated he was incredulous, so he sought light from his old friend the sheriff. To his dismay, the sheriff said that no exceptions were to be allowed. Murata thereupon went to a local hotel, paid for his room in advance, and next morning was found lying dead in his bed. He had taken

strychnine. In his pocket they found the certificate, with its official seal.

The crowd demanded evacuation, and got it. But few people foresaw the confusion that the action would produce and no one did anything about it in advance. I would be the first to pay tribute to the conscientiousness and high-mindedness of all the army officers and the federal officials whom I have recently been meeting, but this business of tearing 100,000 people from their homes and resettling them is complex and vast. It is not properly a military problem, but one in social engineering and political dynamics. In fact, military training unfits more than it fits men to solve it. It must therefore be a relief to the army, as it is to the rest of us, that the administration of the moving and resettlement of the evacuees has been given to civilian officials from the social security, agriculture and justice departments.

Looking back over the confusion of the last few weeks, I presume the army would agree with the social engineer that the cart got before the horse. It was a case of leap first and then look. Possibly it was inescapable under war conditions. Certainly it caused grief to the Japanese victims and chagrin to many citizens. Some of the Japanese in panic sold their property to sharks for a song. When the army, with the best of intentions, said that it favored voluntary resettlement, some Japanese rushed eastward only to run afoul of exclusion sentiment and threats of bodily harm. If the proclamation of evacuation could have been deferred until the blueprint of the resettlement program, including the custody of property, had been drawn, it would have prevented endless trouble and hardship. Failure to do this has weakened the confidence of the Japanese in the justice and efficiency of our government.

Voluntary Efforts Fail

With characteristic self-reliance, the Japanese have eagerly supported all sorts of proposals for resettlement "on their own." Several hundred of the Christians have backed a scheme for establishing a cooperative farm colony which has been zealously promoted by a number of Christian Nisei graduates in agriculture, medicine and economics. But despite all their efforts and the encouragement of federal agricultural officials, they have thus far failed to find any large suitable site. Either water has been lacking, or vital military plants were near, or the white inhabitants objected to Japanese settlers. Utah seemed to offer the most eligible sites, but even there protests against a "Japanese invasion" arose.

One of the worst fiascos happened in southern California. The Maryknoll fathers conceived the excellent idea of compiling an occupational census of adult Japanese to be used as an aid to intelligent resettlement. Some 23,000 persons signed up—practically the entire adult population. I understand that the fathers had given no assurance of immediate placement, but quite naturally many of the signers were ready to grasp at any straw and accepted roseate rumors as solid fact. When the truth became known that the fathers had no definite plans for employment or resettlement, the jolt was severe. Hope turned to cynicism. Another factor that has depressed

the spirit of the Japanese in southern California is that they now realize how much of the recent furor for total evacuation was worked up by ambitious politicians, notably by one man who wanted to make the anti-Japanese agitation a stepladder to the governorship.

The experience of the past few weeks with schemes for voluntary resettlement makes it evident that government must solve the problem. It is to be hoped that the spirit of voluntarism will be given as free play as possible, and that private agencies such as the American Friends Service Committee will be asked to cooperate. But the securing of land and the devising of ways to give useful employment to the hands and heads of so many thousands is something only government can do.

What the Churches Can Do

Far from leaving it all to Uncle Sam, there are two things that the churches in the interior states can do, and they should lose no time in starting. They can find work for a few Japanese Christians in their own communities and they can assure such Japanese as may come to live awhile among them of fair and friendly treatment. There are perhaps 4,000 Japanese Christian families. Even if only a fourth of them were to find work, that would raise the morale of all the others. The procedure is simple.

A central executive committee has been formed at Berkeley by representatives of all the Protestant churches having work among the Japanese. It offers to act as a clearinghouse between the Christians who want new homes and work, and the national boards and local white churches to the eastward who are to find openings. This committee is the agent of the Commission on Aliens and Prisoners-of-war created by the Federal and Home Missions councils in New York. Local churches who find openings for Japanese should send information as to nature of work, name and address of employer, wages, living arrangements and sponsoring committee in the church to the chairman of the executive committee, Dr. F. Herron Smith, 2816 Hillegass Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branch regional committees are being formed at Los Angeles, Seattle and Portland, Oregon. Churches that are instrumental in placing a few Japanese in their towns need feel no anxiety lest the newcomers become a burden on the community. The Japanese hold an enviable record for absence of dependency and of juvenile delinquency.

It is planned by the federal resettlement authorities to establish eight reception centers for evacuees in places just east of the prohibited areas. The evacuees will be moved community by community, so that the Japanese churches may continue to function as units under their pastors.

This evacuation is unprecedented in American history in the numbers involved and in the fact that the evacuees are all of one race. It is fraught with two-edged difficulty and significance. It may hinder or help national unity during the war. It may aggravate rather than reduce the problems of interracial assimilation after the war. It therefore behooves private citizens no less than public officials to follow every stage of the resettlement process with a cooperative hand but a critical eye. In it all, the churches may find unexpected opportunities for service.