

COPY

CULBERT A. OLSON

State of California

Department of Industrial Relations

DIVISION OF IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING
State Building
Los Angeles

January 26, 1942

Dr. Robert K. Lamb
c/o Congressman John Tolan
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Bob:

I wish you would give the contents of this letter your immediate and thorough consideration, and if you think well of the proposal which I am outlining, I wish you would take it up at once with Congressman Tolana and advise me of the results as soon as possible.

As you can perhaps imagine, the Japanese situation in California is quite bad. There is much unemployment, both of the alien and citizen groups. Some 200 or 300 instructors in the Japanese-language schools are unemployed; fishermen at San Pedro are unemployed and will in all likelihood remain unemployed for the duration; the shopkeepers and merchants likewise face a critical situation, as do the professional people. Estimates which I have received place the number of unemployed Japanese in Los Angeles County alone as around 9,000 and 10,000. Some of these people have certain assets upon which they are living at the present time, but they are nearing the exhaustion of these resources, and still further unemployment is almost certain to result.

The situation is greatly complicated by reason of the fact that there are a number of special interest groups who are all too willing to take advantage of the situation and to "muscle in" on the Japanese. In the big Seventh Street and Ninth Street Markets in Los Angeles, a few Japanese commission houses in the past have been able to survive active competition, but their non-Japanese competitors would, of course, like to see the Japanese commission agents eliminated, which would in effect give them a monopoly on the highly valuable produce exchange business in Los Angeles. The Nissei groups cannot take over these commission houses since our State Department of Agriculture has rigid requirements such as \$5,000 cash bond and a showing of \$25,000 in liquid assets. Lacking the necessary capital, the Nissei groups cannot enter this field. Then, too, Mexican field labor crews, as well as Filipino field workers have an axe to grind so far as the Japanese are concerned. The general population is not aware of these aspects of the problem.

In the meantime, as you know, the general feeling against the Japanese has begun to intensify. I was surprised at the generally satisfactory situation immediately subsequent to December 7 -- in other words, I anticipated more trouble than actually developed. But within the last few weeks there have been indications that a campaign against the Japanese will be launched soon. There have been minor acts of violence in Stockton and in Imperial Valley. Attorney General Warren has also moved into the situation

L.A.
do not return

Mr. W. L. Evans, Cong.

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and called a conference of law enforcement officials to consider the Japanese situation, and also to consider the possibility of evacuating all the Japanese from the coast. You will also know, of course, that Congressman Leland Ford has made similar proposals. In fact, there has been much talk in the last two or three weeks about the possibility of evacuation.

On the affirmative side little effective action has been taken. The Japanese-American Citizens' League has tried to do what it can. There is a committee fair play toward the Japanese, headed by Chester Rowell in San Francisco, and a somewhat similar committee in Los Angeles headed by Dr. George Gleason. Both committees have been paper committees only, and have accomplished very little, and do not seem to realize the gravity of the situation. Furthermore, I seriously doubt that local citizens' committees can hope to cope with this problem. If the war situation goes from bad to worse in the Far East, which is a possibility, feeling against the Japanese is almost certain to mount in California.

4 I have come to the conclusion that the only way to cope effectively with the problem is through a congressional committee of inquiry. Such a committee at this time would enable the various groups to "blow off steam" in California. It would also give the Japanese an opportunity to state their side of the question in a way that would come to nation-wide attention. It would also enable their friends to come forward and state their opinions. It would also "blow down" irresponsible rumors, and would likewise expose some of the self-interest that motivates certain groups. There is no doubt whatever in my mind that the work of such a committee would constitute front-page news at the present time in every newspaper in the United States.

The basis for such an inquiry would in itself be unassailably sound, to wit: that before anything is done vitally affecting the Japanese, both citizens and aliens, a public hearing should be afforded these people. It is utterly unrealistic, incidentally, to try and distinguish between citizens and aliens in the Japanese population. During this emergency, all Japanese faces look alike to the non-Japanese.

There would also seem to be some likelihood that the Dies Committee might realize the possibilities of such an inquiry and come to California. In such an event, matters would only be gravely complicated.

Therefore, I would most strongly urge that Congressman Tolan come to California as soon as possible, and hold public hearings, say in San Diego, Los Angeles, Stockton, Sacramento, and San Francisco on this problem. It seems to me that you can well justify such an inquiry as being within the proper scope of the Tolan Committee. If, for example, the Japanese are to be evacuated from California and moved inland, this involves an out-migration from California. At the same time it would stimulate in-migration, for it would create a vacuum in the local labor market of very considerable proportions. You could, therefore, use this peg upon which to base the hearings. Incidentally, at such a proposed public hearing, it might be possible to get expert testimony to show what it would actually cost to transport thousands of Japanese families from the coast areas inland, and to house, shelter and otherwise provide for them wherever they were moved. This would certainly involve a staggering sum of money -- a fact which is, of course, not generally appreciated today, not to mention all of the other complications.

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I doubt if any state agency can hope to cope with this problem, and a congressional committee of inquiry seems to me to be the only effective means available. If you think well of this suggestion, it would be possible, of course, to have Mr. Kidwell and the Governor publicly invite the Committee to conduct such an investigation. As I see it, the situation is likely to go from bad to worse, with rumors multiplying, etc., unless and until the whole issue is given a fair and through airing. Once an investigation was made, then the reports and transcript could be effectively used by local groups to counter false rumors and reports. If it were announced that the Tolan Committee was coming to California and would, among other things investigate this issue, then this announcement itself would have a tendency to check the activities of these individuals who at the moment are pushing the evacuation idea.

I do trust that you will give this your immediate consideration and let me know that you think of the idea and its possibilities as soon as you can. I know that you will realize the gravity, actual and potential, of this situation and the necessity for meeting it as quickly as possible in a statesman-like manner.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

CMcW:y

CAREY McWILLIAMS, Chief
(signed)

VIA POSTAL TELEGRAPH

OFFICIAL: NO TAX
NIGHT LETTER

FEB. 20 1942

ATTORNEY GENERAL FRANCIS BIDDLE
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON D C

RE WEST COAST ALIEN SITUATION WOULD LIKE TO RECOMMEND FOLLOWING PROPOSAL.
IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT BY EXECUTIVE DECREE PRESIDENT OF ALIEN CONTROL
AUTHORITY TO BE COMPOSED REPRESENTATIVES WAR NAVY JUSTICE AGRICULTURE
LABOR SOCIAL SECURITY AND SOME TRANSPORT AGENCY. FUNCTION MILITARY
AUTHORITIES TO DELIMIT TWO MAJOR AREAS ON WEST COAST VIZ PRIMARY MILITARY
AREAS IN WHICH NO LICENSING ANY KIND WOULD BE PERMITTED AND SECONDARY
MILITARY AREAS IN WHICH LICENSING WOULD BE PERMITTED SUBJECT TO CONTROL
OF THE AUTHORITY, BOTH AREAS TO BE SUBJECT TO MODIFICATION BY MILITARY
FROM TIME TO TIME. FUNCTION OF THE AUTHORITY ITSELF TO MADE UP OF FOUR
BUREAUS VIZ REGISTRATION AND LICENSING, RESETTLEMENT, MAINTENANCE AND
REEMPLOYMENT, AND ALIEN PROPERTY CONSERVATION. UNDER REGISTRATION AND
LICENSING THREE SEPARATE LICENSING BOARDS TO BE SET UP RE JAPANESE GERMAN
AND ITALIAN NATIONALS. SUCH AUTHORITY WOULD BE FLEXIBLE AND WOULD RELIEVE
ALL OFFICIALS OF UNNECESSARY RESPONSIBILITY AND WOULD COORDINATE ENTIRE
PROGRAM. REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF SOCIAL WORKERS AND LAWYERS THIS AREA
ARE ELABORATING PROPOSAL. FULL DETAILS CAN BE SUBMITTED. TRUST THAT
CONSIDERATION CAN BE GIVEN TO THIS APPROACH TO PROBLEM.

CAREY MC WILLIAMS CHIEF STATE DIVISION OF IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING

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11/10/42

COPY

State
McWilliams

WESTERN UNION MESSAGE

LOS ANGELES, FEBRUARY 21, 1942

A 15.05

HAVE WIRED FRANCIS BIDDLE TODAY AS FOLLOWS QUOTE PROPOSE IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT BY EXECUTIVE DECREE PRESIDENT OF ALIEN CONTROL AUTHORITY TO BE COMPOSED REPRESENTATIVES WAR NAVY JUSTICE AGRICULTURE LABOR SOCIAL SECURITY AND SOME TRANSPORT AGENCY. FUNCTION MILITARY AUTHORITIES TO DELIMIT TWO MAJOR AREAS ON WEST COAST VIZ PRIMARY MILITARY AREAS IN WHICH NO LICENSING ANY KIND WOULD BE PERMITTED AND SECONDARY MILITARY AREAS IN WHICH LICENSING WOULD BE PERMITTED SUBJECT TO CONTROL OF THE AUTHORITY. BOTH AREAS TO BE SUBJECT TO MODIFICATION BY MILITARY FROM TIME TO TIME. FUNCTION OF THE AUTHORITY ITSELF TO BE MADE UP OF FOUR BUREAUS VIZ REGISTRATION AND LICENSING, RESETTLEMENT, MAINTENANCE AND REEMPLOYMENT, AND ALIEN PROPERTY CONSERVATION. UNDER REGISTRATION AND LICENSING THREE SEPARATE LICENSING BOARDS TO BE SET UP RE JAPANESE GERMAN AND ITALIAN NATIONALS. SUCH AUTHORITY WOULD BE FLEXIBLE AND WOULD RELIEVE ALL OFFICIALS OF UNNECESSARY RESPONSIBILITY AND WOULD COORDINATE ENTIRE PROGRAM. UNQUOTE. FEEL THAT THIS PROPOSAL OFFERS SOME HOPE OF DEALING WITH PRESENT DIFFICULTIES AND CONFUSED PROBLEM. ANY SUPPORT YOU CAN GIVE WILL BE APPRECIATED.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS, CHIEF
STATE DIVISION
IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING

Mar.7

Carey McWilliams, Chief of the Division of Immigration and Housing, California Department of Industrial Relations, became concerned with the rising tide of animus against the Japanese in January and suggested the desirability of a investigation of the situation by the Tolan Committee. (McWilliams to Lamb, January 26, 1942)

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TESTIMONY OF CAREY McWILLIAMS, CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF
IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING, CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, STATE BUILDING, LOS ANGELES,
CALIF. A15.05

Mr. BENDER. Will you give your full name to the reporter?

Mr. McWILLIAMS. My name is Carey McWilliams. I am chief of the division of immigration and housing, which is a part of the Department of Industrial Relations of the State of California. The division which I head of the State government is one which has been in existence since 1913 and is charged, by a statute in this State, with direct responsibility for the providing of certain guidance and information to alien immigrants in this State; and also the general responsibility for their welfare.

I appointed a committee some time ago for the purpose of working on details of a plan which might be submitted to this committee. I filed a copy of the plan with Dr. Lamb for the benefit of the committee.

Mr. ARNOLD. The plan will be incorporated in the record at this point.

(The proposed plan referred to above is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF CAREY McWILLIAMS, CHIEF, DIVISION OF IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING, CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, by reason of its wide experience in dealing with the problems of migration, resettlement, welfare programs and economic opportunities, is uniquely qualified to undertake its current investigation of the alien problem on the Pacific coast. In undertaking this, the most recent of its notable investigations, the committee has an unparalleled opportunity to render an important service to the Nation, not only in furtherance of its security in time of peril, but also in safeguarding those essential values which represent the finest elements of the American tradition. Those who have followed the rapid chain of events on the Pacific coast since December 7th, clearly recognize that the formulation of a national policy on the problem of the alien is of immediate and primary importance. The formulation of such a national policy is essentially a function of the Congress. This is particularly true in view of the fact that the problem by its nature and because of the changing character and aspects of the war, will be continuing in character, and therefore

cannot be approached as a temporary or transitory problem. It was largely for this reason that on January 26, 1942 I wrote to your committee explaining some aspects of the problem and urged that you undertake the present investigation. It was with genuine appreciation that I learned that the committee had decided to undertake the investigation.

In an effort to be of service to the committee I requested a small group of Los Angeles citizens to work with me in formulating a proposal to be submitted at the hearings. Included among these individuals are two outstanding lawyers of the community who have had wide experience in dealing with alien and refugee problems, and a distinguished social worker in the community who has also had extensive experience in dealing with the same problems. As a result of their deliberations I forwarded to the chief investigator for your committee, under date of February 20, 1942, a generalized statement of the proposal which is here presented in some detail. A copy of this telegram is included in the appendix. Copies were sent to the Honorable Francis Biddle, Attorney General, and to Senator Sheridan Downey. Thereafter I received from Senator Downey, under date of February 21, 1942, a wire as follows:

"Glad to urge upon Biddle fullest consideration your very comprehensive plan alien control."

The proposal emanating from this group was discussed in outline with numerous organizations, groups, and individuals directly concerned, and received universal commendation. In presenting the proposal, therefore, I would like to stress that it is not my personal proposal, but is the result of wide consultation and discussion with interested groups and competent impartial advisers. It does, however, meet with my entire approval.

One of the conspicuous merits of the proposal, in my judgment, is that while it was designed to meet a specific need on the Pacific coast, it nevertheless can be applied in other areas. Also, it contemplates a decentralized regional control under the general supervision of responsible Federal officials. The nature of the problem is such that a strictly centralized approach would not only place too heavy a burden upon Federal officials in Washington, but would also overlook the fact that a considerable measure of responsibility for the problem properly rests in the regions immediately affected. For there are special localized phases of this problem in every region which cannot well be ignored. The proposal here submitted combines the advantages of a carefully formulated national policy with flexibility of regional administration. It is my carefully considered opinion that it should receive your most serious consideration, and if possible, should be put into effect immediately.

On the score of great need for urgency, I most strongly recommend that your committee use its good offices to the end that this proposal be put into effect immediately by Executive decree. Legislative sanction should, of course, later be given the program. Subsequent legislative action can unquestionably clarify the national policy involved, but in such critical times and in view of the urgency of the problem itself, the desirability of immediate action by Executive decree is clearly indicated. By recognizing and acting upon this fact your committee would place the entire country in its everlasting debt.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problem may be said to consist of the following elements:

1. *Reestablishment of public confidence.*—This can be accomplished by a bold, decisive, and courageous act which will indicate an all-embracing comprehension of the problem and a readiness on the part of the military and civil authorities to deal with it in all its phases, within the law, and without further delay. This should be done in a manner which will safeguard all essential values and interests. It should at the same time provide the maximum security for the area and the greatest degree of coordination, effective administration, and speed possible under the circumstances. While some of this has been achieved by General DeWitt's proclamation, much necessarily remains to be done, and it is important that it be done at once.

2. *Prevention of unnecessary confusion and economic dislocation.*—The removal or shifting of scores of thousands of people from areas in which they have become well established and toward which they have been making important economic, social, and cultural contributions can easily play havoc with the lives and fortunes of the entire population in those areas. Unless carefully planned and even more carefully executed, mass evacuations will cause endless confusion, untold hardships, vast economic losses, serious and perhaps even irreparable injury to essential

agricultural and productive enterprises, and serious interference with transportation facilities. All this can affect our war effort in this area disastrously. It may affect just as seriously the areas to which the people will be moved. The facts and figures are in the possession of your committee and need not be included here.

3. *Avoidance of danger of false sense of security by removing aliens who may or may not be dangerous and leaving more dangerous enemies undisturbed.*—Experience in the various democracies throughout the world proved over and over again that spies, saboteurs, fifth columnists are not limited to aliens; that they are frequently found among native and naturalized citizens. Exclusive concentration upon and evacuation of aliens, many of whom have suffered infinitely more than we have from the enemy and have more direct and immediate reason to hate him than we have, may therefore be an unjust, unwise, and short-sighted policy. To treat all affected aliens alike may be equally unwise and in some instances as in the case of the political and religious refugees made stateless by Nazi decrees since 1933, inhuman. A comprehensive program should be based on the lessons to be learned from the experience of other democratic countries and should take advantage of the loyalty, knowledge, and eagerness to be of service on the part of friendly aliens from enemy countries.

4. *Provision for resettlement, temporary maintenance, reemployment, and prevention of social maladjustments.*—Wholesale evacuation such as contemplated will require anticipatory selection, preparation of large areas, coordination of transportation facilities, provisions for maintaining the evacuees at least during the transitional period, finding or creating suitable employment and the establishment of social and cultural resources for the readjustment of individuals and families. All this will require knowledge, experience, vast sums of money and great organizational and administrative skills, if personal and familial disorganization and deterioration are to be avoided. Since it is likely that the experience on the Pacific coast will be duplicated elsewhere, the costs may be multiplied many times and may constitute a serious drain on our national economy at a time when all energies and resources should be concentrated on winning the war. The population to be dealt with here, for example, is far in excess of the total number of people resettled by the Federal Government—and the costs therefore may be imagined. The wisest and most economical use of our resources is therefore essential.

5. *Conservation of alien property to facilitate the evacuees ultimate rehabilitation and provision for possible deferral of tax payments and contractual obligations.*—A period like the present and an upheaval such as is bound to result provide ample opportunity for unscrupulous and self-seeking "carpetbaggers" to exploit the situation for their own selfish interests without regard to the suffering and privation to others. Like all scoundrels, they are ready to wrap themselves in their country's flag and to hide their real motives behind a display of patriotism. It was always thus and it will no doubt be repeated in this instance. If we are to avoid the scandals of the last war in connection with the office of the Alien Property Custodian, the mistakes of the past must be avoided and the lessons of the last war must be applied to the present situation. In all fairness, and from a practical standpoint, provision also will have to be made for possible deferral of taxes and contractual obligations.

III. OUTLINE OF THE PROGRAM

(a) *Creation of Pacific coast alien control authority by Executive decree of the President, consisting of representatives of the Departments of War, Navy, Treasury, Justice, Agriculture, Labor, and such agencies as the Social Security Board, Children's Bureau, United States Public Health Service.*—The practice of setting up special "authority" to handle special problems is now so well accepted, and has so many precedents, that its use in this instance cannot be questioned.

(b) *Designation of restricted zones and areas.*—The military authorities should designate two major zones on the west coast—primary military zones in which no one who is not essential to such zones from a military standpoint should be permitted to remain; the areas surrounding these zones on the Pacific coast strip to be designated secondary areas—areas in which persons could remain only after being licensed to live and work in those areas, such licensing to be subject to the supervision and control of the Alien Control Authority. Both zones and areas subject to modification by the military from time to time.

(c) *Bureaus of Pacific coast alien control authority*—1. *Bureau for registration and licensing.*—Although many people doubt whether there are any loyal Japanese, a doubt to which I do not subscribe, I am confident that large numbers of citizens of Japanese descent are loyal to the United States, despite the fact

that it might be difficult and perhaps even impossible to differentiate between the loyal and the disloyal. I believe that they, and certainly the citizens among them, are entitled to full protection until such time as there appears a reasonable doubt about their individual loyalty. Indiscriminate evacuation may seriously and needlessly affect our food supply, from which our civil and military population will suffer without in any way affecting our security. This should and can be avoided through an appropriate system of licensing.

Whatever be the attitude toward the Japanese, no one doubts that the vast majority of aliens of Italian and German nationality are entirely loyal to the United States. Of these two groups, the aliens of German nationality, who were rendered stateless, and their property confiscated by the Nazis, are in an especially tragic plight. Everyone knows the harrowing experiences to which these unfortunates have been subject in Germany, and in their migrations throughout Europe, and frequently other countries, before finally landing in free and democratic America. They were the first to suffer because of their political and religious views from the brutality and sadism of the Nazis. Now that they have found a new haven and are gradually adjusting themselves to a new life, they are again told, and this time, paradoxically, by the very democracy for which many of them fought and sacrificed, that they are suspect, that they are not wanted, and that they must again be on the move. The effect of all this upon them may become intolerable, as witness the recent suicide of Stefan Zweig, one of the foremost literary figures of the age.

Not only from the humane standpoint are these victims of our common enemy's ruthlessness entitled to special consideration. They include many of the world's foremost scientists, inventors, engineers, industrialists, writers, dramatists, artists, musicians, etc., who have made and can continue to make important contributions to our war effort, as well as by identifying, or at least indicating those in our midst, especially from Germany, who may be dangerous to our security. It is because of the seriousness of this problem and also because indiscriminate evacuation is bound to work unnecessary and useless hardship on persons who are in our country's service, that this problem is treated in greater detail in the appendix. (See appendix 2.) Here it can only be said that provisions must be made for treating the refugees from political and religious persecution from Germany, who were made stateless by Nazi decrees, as a separate group which should receive careful and sympathetic consideration, due care being taken to discover such subversive elements among them as may be present. There are many precedents for such treatment. The Alien Registration Division of the Department of Justice treated stateless aliens as a special group and created a special category in the recent registration of aliens. Insofar as is consistent with military necessity, they should be permitted to remain in their present habitat and continue to make their contribution to our social, economic, cultural, and intellectual progress. Their special knowledge of conditions in Germany and the methods of the Nazi regime should be utilized in discovering fifth columnists and saboteurs. In so doing we shall be profiting by the experience of England and shall be living up to the plea of our great President to the French authorities that all refugees be not treated alike.

What has been said with respect to German refugees applies also to large numbers of Italians who fled from Italy because of Fascist oppression and persecution. These people too can be of use to our war effort although to a lesser degree, and should be fully utilized. The registration and licensing bureau provided for above should make such distinctions and precautions possible.

2. The bureau for resettlement should be charged with the responsibility of locating and preparing areas in the interior for the receipt and absorption of the evacuees. Consisting, as this bureau should, of representatives of the appropriate government agencies, it would have available to it the knowledge, information, and facilities of the Federal and State agencies dealing with the land, the productivity of the soil, living standards and conditions, and the economic factors involved in such large-scale resettlement. It should also have available to it the special experience of the various Federal and State departments which have been responsible for providing relief—reclamation projects, Work Projects Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, etc.

3. The bureau for transportation should have the responsibility for providing the transportation facilities for passengers and freight to transport the evacuees to their new homes. Unless this problem is studied from all aspects, it is not unlikely that the roads may become clogged with the evacuees, and we may have a repetition of the tragic experiences of the French, Belgians, and Dutch when they evacuated their cities. This experience is too recent to require detail as to the

possible effect of the clogging of the roads and transportation facilities on the military effort of the country. It is of the utmost importance that this problem be handled with the greatest possible skill that our transportation authorities can bring to it.

4. The bureau for maintenance and reemployment should be built around the Social Security Administration and such governmental agencies as it may corral. It should be recognized from the beginning that the situation in which the evacuees will find themselves may be such as to undermine their morale, destroy any feeling of loyalty they may have toward the United States, and embitter them toward us, our government, and society in general. Leaving them to their own devices without constructive outlets for their pent-up energies and resentments may be disastrous. Proper organization to utilize their time, energies, and skills and to provide suitable recreational facilities is essential and will save as much from this tragedy as is possible under the circumstances. Since there is no way of knowing how long the war will last, plans must be made for a more or less permanent reemployment of these people. This can be accomplished by utilizing them in their respective occupations for creating decent living conditions in the areas in which they will be resettled.

5. The bureau for alien property conservation: There is ample evidence that social and economic vultures are already preying upon the unfortunate aliens who expect to be evacuated. They are told to dispose of their property and are frequently offered ridiculous sums which in panic and desperation the evacuees are inclined to accept. Stories are also being circulated which indicate that unless great care is exercised, and that immediately, we shall have a repetition here of what transpired in Germany and in other countries as the result of large-scale evacuation. People have been threatened that unless they dispose of their property to those who are eager for it, they will be reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and their property will be confiscated. In the absence of a statement from high government authorities to the contrary, the aliens who are at the mercy of rumors and rumor mongers have no choice but to accept what they are told at the moment. The immediate creation of an Alien Property Conservator or a bureau for its conservation, with an immediate announcement that transactions under duress will not be recognized and that the interests and property of aliens will be protected in every way, would not only give the unfortunate victims a sense of needed relief, but make them feel that they are living in a country where human dignity and human values are more than mere phrases mouthed by politicians. It is absolutely essential that the problem of alien property conservation be handled as an integral part of the entire program. In other words, alien property conservation should constitute a function of the authority proposed, and should not be handled in an unrelated and uncoordinated manner.

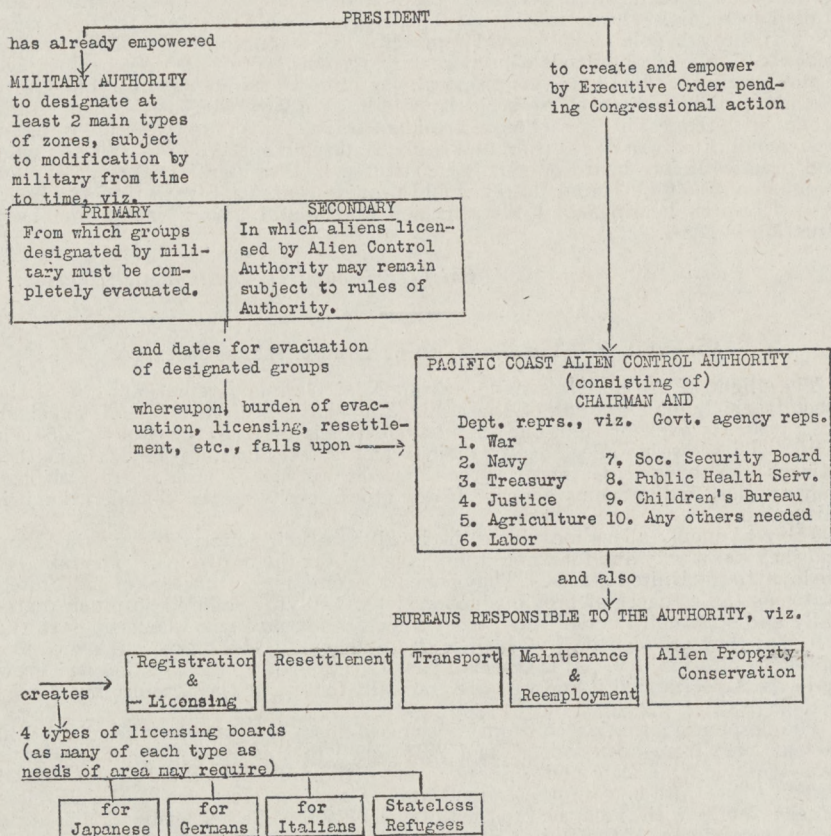
Also, a moment's reflection will suffice to indicate that there are literally hundreds of minor but important problems involved, such as the possible necessity for working out ways and means to defer payment of taxes and contractual obligations. All of these problems should be centralized in the Authority because of their intimate connection with the problem of welfare, maintenance, property conservation, preservation of morale, etc.

IV. CONCLUSION

The foregoing program will, no doubt, require modification from time to time as the situation develops. But if put into execution promptly with scrutinizing attention to the selection of the personnel and the elimination of the usual inter-departmental difficulties and jurisdictional conflicts it would, I am confident, meet all the requirements set for it. It would above all demonstrate that democracy can work efficiently, effectively, and with that consideration for the welfare of the people who brought it into being, which differentiates it from autocracy and makes it worthy of any sacrifice.

APPENDIX A.GRAPHIC OUTLINE OF STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

of proposed

PACIFIC COAST ALIEN CONTROL AUTHORITY

APPENDIX B

FEBRUARY 20, 1942.

Dr. ROBERT K. LAMB,
Tolan Committee,
San Francisco, Calif.:

Conferred with group of social workers and lawyers last night who feel that time is all important element in this matter. As I indicated they propose immediate establishment by Executive decree President of Alien Control Authority to be composed representatives War, Navy, Justice, Agriculture, Labor, Social Security, and some transport agency. Function military authorities to delimit two major areas on west coast, viz, primary military areas in which no licensing any kind would be permitted and secondary military areas in which licensing would be permitted subject to control of the authority both areas to be subject to modification by military from time to time. Function of the authority itself to be made up of four bureaus, viz, registration and licensing, resettlement, maintenance and reemployment, and alien property conservation. Under registration and licensing three separate licensing boards to be set up re Japanese, German, and Italian nationals. Our feeling is that this proposal should be submitted to General DeWitt through Tolan for approval in principle. Such authority would be flexible and would relieve all officials of unnecessary responsibility and would coordinate entire program. Feel that this proposal should be transmitted to top officials in Washington immediately, in particular Biddle, Wallace, McNutt, Downey, and others, with request it be laid before President before any summary action is taken. Your committee can develop factual background and specific proposals re policy and practice before board once it is constituted by Presidential decree. If such action could be taken immediately would provide committee with time to undertake thorough hearings and investigation and would also in meantime keep situation in hand.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS,
Chief, Division of Immigration and Housing.

APPENDIX C.—THE PROBLEM OF THE STATELESS REFUGEE

The plight of the stateless refugee from Nazi Germany represents one of the most tragic human dramas of the age. They have been persecuted, expelled, their property expropriated, and they have expatriated from the country of their birth. They owe no allegiance to their former country because they were neither citizens nor subjects of Germany at the time that war was declared. Nevertheless, they are classified as enemy aliens. If any group merits special consideration it is this group.

The real enemy aliens may have the loyalty to their country to sustain them, and they know why and for whom they have to bear the hardships. The refugees are loyal to the United States. They hope to become as good citizens of the United States as the refugees of previous generations. Having suffered so much materially and spiritually under the Nazis, they cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that they are identified with their deadly enemies, the Nazis. It seems like adding insult to injury. It is especially hard for the younger generation who grew up in the American spirit and who are gradually forgetting the terrible experiences of their past.

The desperate situation confronting some of these refugees may be gleaned in part at least from documents 1 and 2 attached to this appendix. The first is from a native American who is about to enter the military service of the United States, whose wife is a refugee from Germany and therefore one of the stateless refugees facing with them the prospect of evacuation while her husband is fighting in the armed forces of the United States. The second document is from one of the most prominent local attorneys to whom they turned in their despair.

The urgent need for reclassification either by separating the refugees from the enemy alien group or by licensing the stateless refugees or by clearing them individually from the stigma of being enemy aliens becomes apparent also when the moral and spiritual strain on the refugees is taken into consideration. Special consideration is essential. Fortunately, there is ample precedent for such consideration.

The Attorney General has already exempted the following groups from being classified as enemy aliens:

1. Registered Austrians are not considered enemy aliens despite the possibility that there are many potentially dangerous persons among them as in any other group.

2. Persons of German, Italian, or Japanese citizenship who have acquired any other citizenship (i. e., from Lichtenstein which could be bought easily and cheaply, or Haiti or some small South American country) are also exempted despite the possibility that there are as many potentially dangerous persons among them as in any other group.

3. Citizens from Danzig are also exempted "pending the final decision whether they are enemy aliens or not."

There are other exemptions of less importance such as enemy aliens serving in the ranks of the United States forces, Koreans, immigrants from certain Mediterranean islands, etc.

It may be hoped, therefore, that sooner or later the Attorney General will see his way clear to making similar exceptions for the stateless anti-Nazi refugees who applied for naturalization upon their arrival here, but have not been here long enough to acquire full citizenship.

Since the situation on the west coast may require more drastic regulations in the very near future, it should be possible to license all aliens of enemy nationalities who are registered with the Alien Registration Division of the Department of Justice as stateless.

The importance of this suggestion for the west coast becomes evident if the figures for enemy aliens are borne in mind. The new registration figures will probably show that half of the so-called Germans in California and the majority in Los Angeles are, in fact, anti-Nazi stateless refugees with first papers who planned to become American citizens and who may be presumed to be as loyal as any other alien group in this country. The 1940 alien registration showed about 19,000 Germans in California, approximately half of them being refugees. The situation has probably not changed much since then. The State of Washington has about 3,000 German aliens and Oregon has about 1,800 German aliens with probably a similar percentage of anti-Nazi refugees. Therefore—as far as the enemy aliens of the white race on the west coast are concerned—the possibility exists that, owing to a wrong classification, Americans will either stop distinguishing between refugees and Nazis or will have their attention diverted from the real enemies.

Quite aside from the humane aspects of the censoring proposal, there are some important benefits to be derived from the presence of the stateless refugees in this area because of the service they can render to the United States by pointing to the real enemy aliens in our midst. The services they can render in this respect may be enumerated as follows:

1. *Identification of imposters.*—Imposters, especially if posing as refugees, can be identified by loyal stateless refugees, by checking their past. An imposter can prepare a plausible story for the last few years and can have falsified documents to substantiate his story. But he cannot have such documents to cover his entire life. The refugees, coming from every important city and town in Europe, can immediately check and expose him if he talks about his past, or they can prepare detailed questions to ask him which he will be unable to answer if he is an imposter, or they can suggest what person in the United States would know him intimately if the story he tells is true.

2. The Federal Bureau of Investigation cannot possibly have specialists for every problem concerning Europeans, in every local office in every city of the United States. The local offices cannot obtain help from headquarters for every individual item. But whether a given question is significant or not, only the expert can tell. An informal group organized locally and consisting of selected and trustworthy refugees to assist in selecting significant instances, if letters or documents are found which do not seem important enough to send to Washington, but which should be checked up locally, can be of inestimable value.

3. The same set-up might be used to check on the refugees here. There are many refugees who, by their past, their activities, their American relationships, are beyond suspicion. They could form an advisory board and sift most of the refugees here at least on some such basis as the following: (a) Valid reasons for loyalty to the United States; (b) no reasons for suspicion; (c) requires watching; (d) definitely suspicious.

4. Success in intelligence work depends largely on putting together two or more pieces of information. In cases where the refugees cannot furnish missing information, they most likely can indicate where it might be obtained in neutral countries of Europe (Switzerland or Sweden).

5. The following item from the newspapers may serve as an example of such services:

Mr. Gros, Mrs. Gros, and Mr. Reuter, all American citizens, were arrested in Beverly Hills by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mrs. Gros made a statement to the press to prove her husband's innocence. Without going into details here, it can be said that Mrs. Gros apparently does not know German foreign exchange regulations intimately (many refugees were forced to know this regulation better than lawyers or Federal Bureau of Investigation agents) because everything she said seemed to be prima facie proof of guilt, for anybody who knows the Nazi regulations. Had refugees been asked to check her statement, they would have known what questions to ask to establish guilt or innocence.

Such examples could be multiplied ad infinitum if there were an opportunity to learn and check the statements made by suspects.

If no general exemption or no license for the stateless refugee can be achieved, then it may be possible as a last resort to do what Great Britain has done. About 2 months after the war broke out, the refugees there were asked to appear before special tribunals, and if found to be genuine refugees, had the following stamped in their certificate of registration:

"The holder of this certificate is to be exempted until further order from internment and from the special restrictions applicable to enemy aliens under the Aliens Order 1920 as amended. Refugee from Nazi oppression."

Perhaps it may be possible to have a similar procedure on the west coast which would clarify in a short time the position of all persons who have registered as stateless during the recent alien registration.

APPENDIX C—DOCUMENT 1

MARCH 1, 1942.

Mr. JOSEPH P. LOEB,
Pacific Mutual Building, Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR Mr. LOEB: The world has reached a stage in its turning where I am in need of the counsel and services of an A 1 attorney.

There were two references on the radio today that the Army is considering evacuating all enemy aliens from the Pacific States including California. You may remember that my wife, ———, came from Mannheim, Germany, in 1939. She is now eligible for her second papers but we expect that this will take about a year. We are expecting to have an addition to our family some time in March. I may also be drafted into the armed services, some time in March. Thus, it may happen that ——— will be forced to leave the State in the very near future and face a rather uncertain future.

I would very much like to talk this matter over with you and to secure your professional advice. I will call you on the telephone Monday afternoon or Tuesday to see if I can make an appointment with you.

Thank you kindly for your consideration of this matter.

Yours very truly,

APPENDIX C—DOCUMENT 2

JOSEPH P. LOEB,
610 PACIFIC MUTUAL BUILDING,
Los Angeles, Calif., March 4, 1942.

MY DEAR MAURICE: I am sending to you herewith a letter written to me on March 1 by Mr. ———, whose wife, a Jewish refugee from Germany, fears that she may be classified as an alien enemy and compelled to leave the State of California.

The letter is written to me in my professional capacity, but Mr. ——— has consented that I send it to you, to be used in such manner as you may consider proper.

In order that you may have some further background for the case, and may better understand how it illustrates the hardship and I think injustice that will result from the indiscriminate classification of refugee aliens as enemies, I give you the following.

One of Mr. ———'s grandmothers was born in Los Angeles. His mother was born in Los Angeles, and his father in Akron, Ohio. Mr. ——— himself was

born in Los Angeles on March 24, 1914. He is a graduate of Stanford University and did post graduate work at University of Southern California and the University of North Carolina. His training has been in sociology and at present he is on the staff of the University Religious Conference at University of California of Los Angeles. Mr. ——— is a nephew of Mr. S. Tilden Norton, also a native of Los Angeles and active, as you know, in welfare and civic affairs.

I hope that the information which I am sending you will be helpful to you and to the authorities with whom you are in contact in your study of the enemy-alien situation.

Cordially yours,

JOE LOEB.

TESTIMONY OF CAREY McWILLIAMS—Resumed

Mr. McWILLIAMS. I should appreciate it if that could be done.

I might say one word in connection with the plan. The plan contemplates the establishment, by Executive decree, of an alien-control authority in which could be vested jurisdiction with respect to the several aspects of this plan. I think it is self-evident that such matters, as property conservation, are intimately related to other aspects of the problem, including resettlement, maintenance, transportation, and so forth.

The plan also would establish, as part of the authority to be created, a bureau for registration and licensing, all of which would be, as you can see, centralized in one authority.

The provision with respect to registration and licensing is very carefully patterned upon the English experiences, which have been testified to earlier today by other witnesses. I appreciate the opportunity merely of presenting the plan and I thank you for the opportunity.

Mr. ARNOLD. Thank you very much, Mr. McWilliams.

Mr. BENDER. The gentlemen of the American Civil Liberties Union.

MEMO TO: Mr. Frayne ✓

Attn: Mr. Greenock

Subject: Carey McWilliams' speech

File
McWilliams
A1505
25

Carey McWilliams, author and contributing editor to Nation, yesterday advocated adoption of a "real" national policy in regard to minority groups. Speaking at the Town Hall Forum in the Curran Theater, Mr. McWilliams answered the question, "Can America Solve Its Race Problems?"

Two basic assumptions are a durable peace and maintenance of present production levels, but solutions of race problems will not automatically follow these, he stated.

"A Federal policy of no discrimination should become our national policy" to replace the discrimination now sanctioned in law. According to Mr. McWilliams, a new federal civil rights statute is needed in government agencies, the armed services, government contracts, federal elections, immigration and naturalization requirements, etc. At present there are only local and indefensible policies on minorities.

The problem lies in what people think about minorities, not in racial differences. Americans fail to realize the race problem is changing constantly, never static, he explained.

While answering questions, Mr. McWilliams observed an "inescapably indicated" passage of a permanent FEPC. He also predicted that gains made in trade unions will be abolished by mass ^{un-}employment. "The amazing amount of interracial mixture in the United States" he attributed to the laws forbidding marriage between races. The Japanese-American problem, raised in the last question from the floor, had not been dealt with in his speech because of its vastness and complexity. Here he predicted no major trouble, and no more than 15,000 evacuees returning permanently to the coast during the war.

Mr. McWilliams was well received by the audience, particularly when he pointed out recent progress in minority problems.

Roe

Ann Guthrie
Editorial Clerk

S. J. Oki to McWilliams
April 17, 1942

A15.05

Not against the evacuation. His own idea same.

Need of a democratic solution. Stop jingo type of talk

Suggested a "pledge of disloyalty" to Japan which he says would definitely establish loyalties.

Conditions led to his plan to re-educate and democratize the J. communities.

J. communities in bad economic situation. Bad hours and wages

J. businessmen joined the Ch. of Commerce or Associated Farmers.

Collaboration of the employers in the Salinas and Venice Strick
These J. businessmen served as a link connecting the most reactionary sections of American and Japanese capitalism. (Hearst and the publisher of "that fifth column publication, Japan-California Daily) ..The mayors of Los Angeles stood on the city hall steps to be photographed with the "Nisei-queens" of that assinine festival the express purpose of which was "American-Japanese friendship"--friendship against labor and against Russia."

"...With their reactionary publishers sent to Missoula, Montana, the young intellectuals in the editorial rooms were now able to come out openly against fascism and for labor. The supreme irony was the Industrial Daily, established to combat left wing influence in the Venice strike, now freely quoting the People's World."

Talks of the injustices and stupidities of the armies orders.

Optimistic about the evacuation as it will do away with sweat shops and give the progressives a chance to lead.

EVACUEE RESETTLEMENT COOPERATIVE COMMUNITIES (plan)

1. Evacuate and resettle
2. Base site on need and ability
3. Cooperative communities under govt. agencies
4. Organize under an Evacuee Resettlement Corporation with J. and non-J. executive officers and staff under the sponsorship of WRA
5. Resettlement funds thru the RFC paid back thru frozen funds (shares)
6. Small, centralized. 100 to 300 families each
7. Central community for processing, manufacturing and distribution
8. Each unit should have specific tasks--division of production
9. Facilities for each unit so it may become self sufficient. (Note that this has been one of the recent Russian developments--V. G.)
10. Each community in a unit should elect a self-govt. committee
11. A leader for each community should be appointed
12. A board of supervisors of reps of communities should be the governing body of the unit. (The Soviet build-up idea. V. G.)
13. There should be a public school for several communities in each unit.
14. Library in English and J.
15. A Commons in each community
16. A playground, workshop, kitchen, laundry in each community
17. Newspaper
18. Radio Station broadcasting democratic, anti-fascistic programs
19. Hospital
20. Nursery and Maternity home
21. Production under a technical staff
22. Production quota and cooperative competition organized to raise the quota.
23. Consideration of the "fanning out" process which would gradually allow Japanese to melt into American life. Welcome non-J. into the community as members.

Hubert Phillips, Professor of Social Science, Fresno State College
and member of State Commission of Immigration and Housing
to Carey McWilliams, March 6m 1942

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLES THAT SHOULD GOVERN THE REMOVAL AND RESETTLEMENT
OF JAPANESE IN PACIFIC COAST AREAS

1. No more voluntary evacuation--should be handled entirely by federal government
2. Actual care of evacuated persons should be committed to civilian governmental agencies experienced in matters of social welfare.
3. Designation of areas by the federal government:
 - a. Suitable for agriculture
 - b. adequate water supply
 - c. Feeding by federal commissary until economically established
4. No separation of families
5. Friends and former neighbors should be permitted to stay together
6. Insurance of adequate sanitation, medical service, and hospitalization
7. Schools and hospitals adequately staffed by second generation (Nisei)
8. Scrupulous observance of the civil rights of citizens.

(this is verbatim)

SUGGESTED RULES TO GOVERN THE REMOVAL AND RESETTLEMENT OF JAPANESE
RESIDENTS IN PACIFIC COASTAL AREAS

Zone B-1:

1. In this zone let the following remain:
 - a. First generation over 60 years of age
 - b. Second generation who are an established part of the economic or professional life of the zone
 - c. Second generation who are in college or high school.
2. Permit to come to Zone B-1 from Zone A-1
 - a. All second generation who can fit into the economic life of the community
 - b. All second generation who wish to continue high school or college work

Zone B-2

1. Remove to this zone:
 - a. All alines (except seriously ill) under 60
 - b. All second generation who have spent their formative years in Japan--the Kibei
 - c. All other second generation from Zone A-1 who cannot be be relocated, or do not wish to be relocated in Zone B-1.

Introduction by Frederick Thompson of Isamu Noguchi to C. McWilliams

Isamu Noguchi to C. McWilliams, March 1, 1942

Enclose plan which he may present to Tolan Committee

Noguchi is a member of the Nisei Writers and Artists Mobilization
For Democracy

"Memorandum for a government sponsored vernacular press to help the people of Japanese descent to realize the identity of their interest with that of the United States. "

The plan gives in detail an outline for a govt. sponsored newspaper.

Appended is a plan for a Documentary Film to be used for propaganda

Plan is to use it at Manzanar when the first 1000 arrive.

Film to demonstrate democracy at work thru a human story

STATE
COMMISSION OF IMMIGRATION
AND HOUSING

J. EARL COOK
BERKELEY

DR. HUBERT PHILLIPS
FRESNO

REV. EDGAR E. WILSON
FAIR OAKS

DR. OMER MILLS
SAN FRANCISCO

LEON H. WASHINGTON, JR.
LOS ANGELES

Culbert L. Olson
Governor of California



STATE OF CALIFORNIA
DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Division of Immigration and Housing

STATE BUILDING
LOS ANGELES
June 11, 1942

CAREY MCWILLIAMS, CHIEF

Fred Parr.
you probably have this
R.D.

A 15105

PROPOSAL IN RE FARM LABOR AUTHORITY,
Prepared by Carey McWilliams, Chief,
Division of Immigration and Housing,
State of California.

The existing war emergency has created a serious shortage of manpower throughout the nation. Shortages have been experienced in many skilled industrial classifications; and, within the last year, a shortage has developed in the field of agricultural labor. The extent of this shortage, actual or potential, in particular areas, such as California, is evidenced by repeated complaints from the growers themselves and the concomitant proposal, now receiving wide attention, for the importation of Mexican labor. Definite representations as to the necessity for importing Mexican labor have been made by responsible farm organizations in California to the national administration and to the delegation in congress. The congressional delegation has met with the Secretary of Agriculture; representations have likewise been made to the Attorney General; and delegations have been sent to Washington from California to discuss the whole problem.

Without going into detail concerning the proposal to import Mexican labor, it is nevertheless suggested that California agriculture is not likely to receive full relief from this source, even assuming that the many apparent difficulties in the way were to be eliminated. The Division of Immigration and Housing does not appraise farm labor needs; therefore this report is prepared upon the assumption that a shortage exists or will exist, but no attempt whatever has been made, in preparing this report, to estimate the extent of the threatened shortage. Nor is this report intended as an argument for or against the importation of Mexican labor. It should be pointed out, however, that the clamor for Mexican labor largely represents a traditional reaction on the part of large-scale California farm employers. Whenever critical shortages have existed in the past, California growers have usually met the situation by importing additional Mexican labor. But, without passing on the merits of the proposal to import Mexican labor during this emergency, it should be pointed out that there is reason to believe that California growers cannot, in the nature of things, expect full relief from this source. The Republic of Mexico has entered the war. As a result, heavy demands will be made upon available manpower in Mexico. There are, moreover, numerous practical difficulties in the way of importation which have not as yet been overcome. The agitation for the importation of Mexican labor has proceeded upon the assumption that there were no available alternatives. This proposal is made in an

effort to call attention to the fact that there are other available alternatives which, perhaps, in the long run would do more toward meeting the requirements of the present emergency than would the importation of Mexican labor.

In discussing the current farm labor shortage, some important considerations are frequently overlooked. It is not correct to state, for example, that there is a general national farm labor shortage. The current reports indicate that the problem is primarily restricted to certain areas, to wit, those areas which have always shown a high proportion of paid agricultural workers, one such area being the State of California. It is also frequently overlooked that part of the difficulty consists in the fact that definite labor procurement agencies, official and semi-official, have been established in the important non-agricultural industries, whereas no such special agencies have been established with respect to agriculture, if one may make a possible exception of the local farm labor supply committees. Consequently agriculture, as such, is at a momentary disadvantage by comparison with non-agricultural groups. Even in such states as California, the reports indicate the existence, not so much of a general shortage of agricultural labor as a series of specific problems with respect to particular crops, in particular areas, and with respect to emergency needs arising at peak periods.

all bombed cities are seen
cities.

Occupation

Employment.

Vocation

Work.

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specific problems with respect to particular crops, in particular
areas, and with respect to emergency needs arising at peak periods.

The reports also indicate that a considerable part of the problem, even in California, arises from the lack of transportation and the increasing immobility of farm labor.

With these considerations in mind, the following proposal is submitted;

That the federal government establish immediately, either in the Department of Agriculture, or in the War Manpower Commission, a national (or a regional) Farm Labor Authority; and that funds be provided said Farm Labor Authority to enable it to discharge the functions hereinafter suggested. Once established it is proposed that the Authority proceed to recruit, on a purely voluntary basis, a sizable farm labor force to be used to meet critical needs in connection with particular crops in particular areas. It is proposed that the force so recruited be utilized solely to prevent actual loss of important wartime crops through the shortage of farm labor. The proposed force would, therefore, primarily be used to supplement, in each case, the local available supply of farm labor. In other words, the force so recruited would not be utilized as the sole labor force in any given situation, but would rather supplement the local available supply in meeting the peak labor requirements.

It is suggested that said Farm Labor Authority be invested with power to do the following, among other, things:

1. To provide transportation, in all of its phases, in connection with the recruitment and distribution of the force referred to.

2. To provide full workmen's compensation insurance for the force so recruited and to establish an arrangement whereby the force so recruited might be brought within the protection of existing social security legislation.

3. To assume full responsibility for providing camps, in the fields, in temporary farm labor supply centers or depots, and in transit.

4. To undertake full responsibility for providing adequate public health services and emergency medical care for the force so recruited.

In recruiting the force suggested, the proposed Farm Labor Authority would offer the following inducements to secure an adequate number of recruits:

1. It would guarantee a specific daily wage for a definite period of time, whatever that period of time might be, whether six months or a year.

2. It might also offer, as a special inducement, a bonus to be paid to those workers whose services were satisfactory and who remained with the Authority for a fixed period of time. By way of illustration, a bonus of \$75 at the end of each six months period.

3. It would assure all recruits that they would be employed only at prevailing wages and that they would not be used in any manner so as to undermine local labor markets.

4. All of the services mentioned in the above paragraph, such as transportation and camps, would be furnished free, with no charge whatever to the workers.

5. Arrangements might also be worked out whereby recruits for the Authority would be given temporary deferment from the draft during such periods as they were working with the Authority.

It is suggested that there are many available reservoirs of farm labor in this country which have not been tapped to date. One such area, for example, is rural New Mexico. But available farm workers there lack even the means to get out of their immediate locality.

Once formed Farm Labor Authority would deal only with organized groups of growers and not with individual growers. By way of illustration, the Authority would enter into an agreement with a group of growers to provide a stated number of workers to meet an emergency need, subject to the following:

1. A guarantee of employment for an agreed number of workers for a fixed period of time at prevailing wages and subject to satisfactory conditions; and

2. The payment of a per capita fee designed to reimburse the Authority for its actual expenses in regard to transportation, camps, etc.

Some such Authority would have obvious advantages:

1. It could shift workers quickly and efficiently from area to area and from crop to crop under its central management. It could successfully "un-freeze" the present immobility of farm labor; it could function throughout an entire region.

2. It would make for the maximum effectiveness since by utilizing its force in a scientific manner it would secure for them regular and uninterrupted employment. No private grower or even group of growers can guarantee regular employment; but some such authority could make such a guarantee.

3. If any deficit should arise between the earnings of the force recruited and the guaranteed daily wage, it could be met by the Authority and would be regarded as an expense incident to the emergency. In this emergency we cannot afford to hesitate - we must act.

4. The proposal has the advantage of being based upon an existing pattern of farm labor operations which has always met an established need, namely, the private labor contractor system. But it also avoids the abuses which were inherent and still are inherent in that system. The proposed Authority could even employ some of the more experienced private contractors as its supervisors, as these men are well known to California growers and have had wide experience in all types of crops and in most areas.

5. Such a force need not be as large as might be expected since it could be spread out over a wide area to meet emergency needs. For example, 500 workers in one area, a hundred in another, etc., always having in mind that it would aid in supplying the difference between the local available labor supply and the actual peak time needs.

6. Under this arrangement, growers would be careful not to overestimate needs since they would be held responsible for the per capita fee charged by the Authority. They would, therefore, keep their needs within the realm of actual demand.

7. The system proposed has the advantage of being highly flexible and of meeting the transportation problem. It also provides for centralized control and direction. As such, it would go a long way toward rationalizing the existing chaos in the field of farm employment. It is well known, for example, that part of the existing difficulty arises by reason of the long standing failure of large-scale agriculture to work out a rational system of employment to meet peak-time needs.

The proposed Authority should, also, be vested with the following incidental powers:

1. To establish some type of priority system with respect to agricultural crops, at least so far as its own operations are concerned. For example, it is obvious that not all agricultural produc-

tion has equal significance so far as the war effort is concerned. Tomatoes may be of greater importance than strawberries. The Authority would offer its services only to those growers who were raising crops deemed vital to the war effort, but the Authority should be able to go further and to discourage the planting of labor-consuming but unessential wartime crops.

2. To work out arrangements whereby some type of wage standardization might be effected throughout an area or within a particular crop industry, so as to prevent "raiding" and the unnecessary movement of workers.

3. To make studies designed to bring about a higher degree of rationalization of farm labor employment in areas of industrialized agriculture.

4. To train, if necessary, agricultural workers.

as of June 1 1942

total registration

5,349 farms

complete

5,266 farms

incomplete

83

total acreage operated by

evacuees

210,179 $\frac{1}{2}$

total acreage turned over

subs.

207,942 $\frac{1}{2}$

acreage incomplete

2,237 $\frac{1}{2}$

826
83/5237
165
577
498
79
83

39

5266 | 207,942
2550 | 156,98
50962
47394
2568 | 1284
5266 | 2133

5266
1214
30064

21
04
95
79
11
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26
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Portland

Ref p. 12 -
Add to Japan K

CALIFORNIA AND THE JAPANESE

Despite the shock of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, few instances of violence toward resident Japanese were reported in California immediately subsequent to December 7th. Governor Culbert L. Olson made an admirable plea for tolerance, and other prominent individuals in the state echoed somewhat similar sentiments. This attitude was all the more commendable in view of the fact that anti-Japanese feeling has on two occasions in the past (1900-1908, 1913-1920) created great excitement in California. So quietly and successfully had the resident Japanese fitted into the economy of the state, subsequent to the enactment of the Alien Land Act, that most people had forgotten about them or had come to accept them as desirable residents. But, as the war in the Far East developed and with the release of the Roberts Report on the Pearl Harbor tragedy, feeling against the Japanese began to rise throughout the state. For the war in the Pacific naturally stirred nationalistic sentiments among some 30,000 resident Filipinos in California. The resident Filipinos have never been on the friendliest terms with the resident Japanese. Filipino field-hands work for Japanese foremen, labor contractors and growers. So, with the defense of the Philippine Islands being headlined in the press, the Filipinos became restive. On December 27th,

a riot between Filipinos and Japanese occurred in Stockton; and similar disturbances were noted in Imperial Valley and other rural sections of the state. Since then feeling has gradually risen. Some 45 cases have been reported to date in which Japanese have been attacked, several deaths have already occurred; and a number of suicides have been recorded.

The feeling of the Filipinos against the Japanese served to touch off the current wave of resentment and suspicion which, unless it is checked, is likely to produce the most unfortunate results. One group after another within the state, in the last few weeks, has begun to "sound off" about the Japanese; special-interest groups have begun to whet their axes; and, with 1942 an election year in California, the politicians have suddenly remembered the Yellow Peril, which, in other years, was a sure-fire political issue in the state. [Unfortunately, this agitation has taken form in a dangerous concrete proposal, namely, that all Japanese resident in California be evacuated from the state and interned for the duration of the war.] There are, of course, variations in the proposals. The American Legion wants all Japanese, citizens and aliens alike, moved from the state; the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County has requested the federal government to evacuate all alien Japanese; Mayor Fletcher Bowron, of Los Angeles, wants all alien Japanese interned and would like to see the American-born Japanese conscripted for civilian defense or farm labor; while Governor Olson, in a conference on February 6th, indicated his approval of the

total evacuation proposal. Just what, then, are the facts of the situation? What are the merits of the proposal?

The position of "enemy aliens" in time of war is necessarily precarious and difficult; but when a large group of enemy aliens are concentrated in one area and when they are as easily recognizable as the Japanese, their position becomes almost intolerable. Every Japanese face in California today is a target for curiosity, ridicule, and contempt. On April 1st, 1940, there were 126,947 Japanese in continental United States of which number, 47,305 were foreign born aliens, and, therefore, permanently ineligible for citizenship. Most of these Japanese are, of course, concentrated in California (93,717 of whom 33,569 are aliens); and they are also concentrated in area within the state (36,866 reside in Los Angeles County of whom 13,391 are aliens). Not only is the problem pretty largely restricted to California (which naturally makes for intense local pressure), but, theoretically, it enhances the possible menace of the group itself. As will be noted by the figures quoted, most of the Japanese nowadays live near the coast, and, therefore, when proposals are made that they be evacuated from "costal areas", it involves thousands of people.

The situation is also complicated by the existence of all sorts of "curious circumstances", calculated to cast suspicion upon the Japanese. For example, there were some 2100 Japanese living on Terminal Island in the Los Angeles Harbor District (a vital defense area) of whom 800 were

aliens. Why, the curious immediately asked, should this large Japanese fishing colony be located on Terminal Island? The answer is quite simple: there are ten fish canneries located on the island representing a capital investment of about \$30,000,000.00. It has been the location of the canneries which has anchored the Japanese on the island as fishermen and cannery workers, particularly as there are few residential areas in Los Angeles in which Japanese are permitted to live. There is no question but that the Japanese colony should never have been tolerated on Terminal Island. Despite the fact that most of the residents are either loyal or quite harmless, nevertheless the colony provided a convenient screen for possible subversive activities. But the situation could have been easily corrected by the government long before the present emergency by the simple expedient of ordering the canneries to move. That Japanese spies were working among the fishermen was, in fact, pointed out years ago by some of the Japanese themselves. Mr. Sachio Oki, for example, in letters to the New Masses, Ken, and the Los Angeles Daily News, emphasized this very consideration. Even despite the subsequent arrest and deportation of Lt.-Commander Itari Tatibana, as a Japanese spy, no action was taken to order the canneries out of the area. Within the last few weeks, the Department of Justice has wisely ordered all Japanese out of the district and, by a series of orders, has limited the areas within which Japanese aliens may reside. With these regulations, I think, no one can quarrel.

The situation is also greatly complicated in California by reason of three important divisions of groupings within the Japanese population: issei, nisei, and kibei, for which division we are ourselves very largely to blame. The issei, or original immigrants, were, of course, permanently ineligible to citizenship. Never being quite certain in their own minds about their status here, they felt compelled, in many instances, to maintain some ties with Japan. They never knew but that they might some day have to return to Japan and, were they compelled to do so, they wanted their children to have some knowledge of things Japanese. Many of them, therefore, either sent their children to the local nihongo gakuen, or Japanese language schools, or, particularly the more prosperous, sent their children back to Japan for part of their schooling. The kibei (American-born Japanese who have studied in Japan) are naturally suspect, and there are some 2500 of them in Los Angeles County alone. The Immigration Act of 1924, by shutting off all further Japanese immigration, drove a deep wedge between the issei and the nisei; between the "old people" and the "young people". The issei group, largely by reason of the language difficulty, became isolated. Notably a law-abiding, thrifty, and hard-working group, they tended to center their lives in the Japanese community itself. They were outside the scope of the so-called Americanization programs, since they never could become citizens. Likewise, they remained dependent upon

the Japanese vernacular newspapers which, by carrying Domei dispatches, have propagandized the issei for years. They also kept close to the Japanese consulates and their own designated leaders. It is, therefore, probably true, as the editor of Doho (a left-wing Japanese newspaper published in Los Angeles) has stated that: "the majority of our Japanese communities have long been under deep Japanese influence" (December 11, 1941). The nisei, on the other hand, have tended to break away from the Japanese community. As a group they are well-educated and, despite the fact that many of them live under the same roof as the issei, they have few, if any, cultural ties with the issei group. Friction and tension between the two groups has, in fact, long been acknowledged. The presence of large resident kibei and issei groups, neither of which has received the proper educational attention from the authorities, serves to arouse suspicion and distrust. 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 observation also applies to the Chinese and Filipinos). Having permitted these people to enter the country, - whether the original policy was sound or ill-advised, - 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. But the truth of the matter is, however, that the Japanese were too valuable, particularly to agricultural interests in California, to permit the

adoption of a clear-cut policy. California did not want them deported; neither did it want them to become citizens. The resulting stalemate in policy was a bad compromise, indeed, as the present situation clearly indicates.

Since December 7th, a slow paralysis has crept over the once-prosperous Japanese communities. At first, the economic distress was not noticeable, since the Japanese, being thrifty by nature, had some reserves to utilize for their maintenance. But the situation has, in the last few weeks, gone rapidly from bad to worse. To begin with, there are some 550 families of Japanese aliens who have already been interned. These families, left stranded, are not eligible for public assistance. No Japanese may fish in coastal waters and, therefore, the fishermen are permanently out of employment. There are in Los Angeles County some 1172 Japanese-operated truck gardening farms, embracing 25,600 acres, of which group 553 are aliens and 619 are citizens. The whole Japanese community in Los Angeles, in a sense, revolves around the produce industry. But even the citizens, among this group of growers, are afraid to act. The Japanese produce firms which formerly financed their operations have either been closed or have their funds impounded or are themselves afraid to act. Some thirty-six American-born Japanese, civil servant employees of the City of Los Angeles, have been forced to resign their positions or to request indefinite leaves of absence, solely because of the nationality of their

parents. Mayor Bowron, in fact, has expressly stated that these employees were not even suspected of disloyal conduct. So far as the alien group is concerned there are, of course, myriad restrictions, the practical effect of which is to make it almost impossible for them to function. As this paralysis has spread, other occupational groups have been affected: retail merchants, professional men, property owners, domestic. If not yet dead, Little Tokyo is in the process of dying. This very fact of economic distress, however, has been seized upon as a further reason why the Japanese as a group should be interned. Other considerations have been urged in support of the proposals for wholesale evacuation and internment. If the coast were bombed, it has been said, there is danger that the non-Japanese population might go berserk and mob the Japanese; therefore, for their own protection, all Japanese, aliens and citizens alike, must be moved. As one official said to me: "we are at war with the Japanese people. Let's be realistic: all Japanese look alike."

The enthusiasts who are proposing these schemes for wholesale evacuation have not apparently considered some of the difficulties involved. If Japanese are to be interned "for their own protection", then the same argument would compel similar action with respect to Chinese and Filipinos. In a moment of hysteria, people are not going to distinguish between the three groups, despite the fact that the Chinese are sporting large buttons in their lapels designating themselves as "native born American

Chinese". Recently I saw a drunk on a street car shouting about Pearl Harbor and threatening an innocuous little Filipino as though he were the Mikado. Then there is, of course, the legal issue. The only manner by which American-born Japanese could be involuntarily evacuated, I take it, would be by a declaration of martial law throughout the area. Nor to date has any one bothered even to estimate what it would cost to evacuate 93,717 Japanese from California, much less to point out where and in what manner they might be resettled. I asked one official where he proposed to resettle these people and his cryptic answer was "Utah". But, somehow, I have a feeling that the people of Utah might object to the resettlement of nearly a hundred thousand Japanese in the state. What effect, moreover, would such a policy have upon the morale of several thousand American-born Japanese now serving with the armed forces of this country? Many of the Japanese in California possess special aptitudes and talents which should be valuable to the defense effort. Already some 15,000 acres of Japanese-operated truck farming in Los Angeles will be affected by the removal-of-alien orders that have been issued. Prices for vegetables have risen in Los Angeles markets as a consequence and will probably rise still further. People are prone to forget, in a moment of excitement, that special-interest groups have axes to grind against the Japanese. On the great wholesale produce markets in Los Angeles, the non-Japanese commission firms would, of course, like to see their Japanese competitors eliminated. "White-American"

nurserymen have already organized a boycott of Japanese firms.

Quite recently the movement for the wholesale evacuation of the Japanese has taken an even more dangerous direction. It has been proposed, for example, that all Japanese, citizens and aliens alike, be moved out of the coastal areas in California and put to work, on a semi-conscription basis, as farm laborers in the San Joaquin Valley "at reasonable wages". This suggestion has more than passing significance. For the first time in nearly twenty years, California agriculture, in 1942, will face a close balance between the supply and the demand for farm labor. For years the interests who control California agriculture have profited by the fact of a large surplus of agricultural workers. Through the use of this surplus, they have effectively checked organizational efforts on the part of the workers themselves and have been able to delay the adoption of improved labor standards. To put an army of Japanese conscript workers at the disposal of these interests, - an army unable to strike, unable even to protest over working conditions, - would be to give them one of the most effective scab labor reserves imaginable. Besides, to put large numbers of Japanese into the San Joaquin Valley, would be to invite racial animosity. Recently a modification of this proposal has appeared: to transfer all alien Japanese, and all Japanese-Americans under eighteen years of age, and certain other groups, to the Rocky Mountain states where "they could be used during the spring and fall when the sugar beet farms have their peak

load" (Los Angeles Daily News, February 10, 1942). The effect of such a proposal would be, of course, to displace long-resident Mexican sugar-beet workers in the same area.

Already irreparable damage has been done the Japanese population by reason of the tragic situation in which they find themselves. They will carry with them for years to come the marks of this experience. Patterns of cultural adaptation which, under more favorable circumstances and with a little more understanding, might have resulted in highly desirable conclusions, have been seriously interrupted, if not permanently disarranged. The Japanese should be encouraged to make their own contribution to the defense effort. Many of them are talented writers, radio technicians, linguists, artists. As collaborators on propaganda programs, their services would be invaluable. They all have a job to do and they should be permitted to do it. Likewise, an educational program addressed to the issei and the kibei in particular, should be launched at once.

Within the last few weeks in California the war has become exclusively a war against Japan. One would gain the impression, from reading the newspapers, that Germany and Italy were not even our enemies. Fascism, as such, seems to have been forgotten. Unless great care is taken, this war can become a race war, - a war against the Japanese alone. There is every reason, therefore, to demonstrate the democratic objectives of the war by fair treatment of the Japanese who are resident in California. The most

effective step in this direction would be the appointment of a fair-minded congressional committee to investigate all phases of the problem in California (for it is, admittedly, a complicated situation). In the meantime, local officials and local politicians should be cautioned to proceed with great care and to follow the lead of Attorney General Francis Biddle who has acted with conspicuous fairness and good sense under very trying circumstances. Were such a committee to be appointed immediately, I am thoroughly convinced that it would recommend, after a first-hand investigation of the facts, against wholesale evacuation of the Japanese. One of the most difficult phases of the present situation is that most officials, county, state and federal, are fearful of the consequences of inaction. Many of them will privately concede that they are opposed to some of the proposals that have been made, but they do not want to be made the "goats" should any difficulties with the Japanese arise. Unless this attitude is dispelled, as, for example, by a congressional committee of inquiry, the situation in California will increasingly become complicated by purely political considerations and local pressures.

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Los Angeles, Calif.
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