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A TOUCHSTONE OF DEMOCRACY

The Japanese In America

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COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION
of the
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
289 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Price, 10 Cents

A TOUCHSTONE OF DEMOCRACY

The Japanese in America

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WHO'S WHO

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THE Congregational Christian Committee for War Victims and Services and the Council for Social Action present this pamphlet as one part of a total effort to alleviate the human misery at home and abroad which is the dreadful toll of war. One copy is being sent free of charge to every minister in our fellowship. We hope that it will be purchased and read by thousands of church people in the United States.

It is our belief that immediate measures of relief are essential, but that we must do more. The final resettlement of Japanese-Americans in normal community life is a charge upon the conscience of all Christians and of all lovers of democracy.

To that final goal, *A Touchstone of Democracy* is dedicated.

—ELIZABETH G. WHITING

June, 1942

THE END AT SANTA MARIA*

BY CLARENCE S. GILLET

April 30th was the end. For weeks, even months it had been known that the blow would fall. On that date all the fourteen hundred Japanese-Americans and their parents had to be out of the Santa Maria valley. Fertile farms and, for some, the homes of forty years must be given up. Tears and regrets might be held back in public and nonchalantly the whole exodus passed off up to the very end.

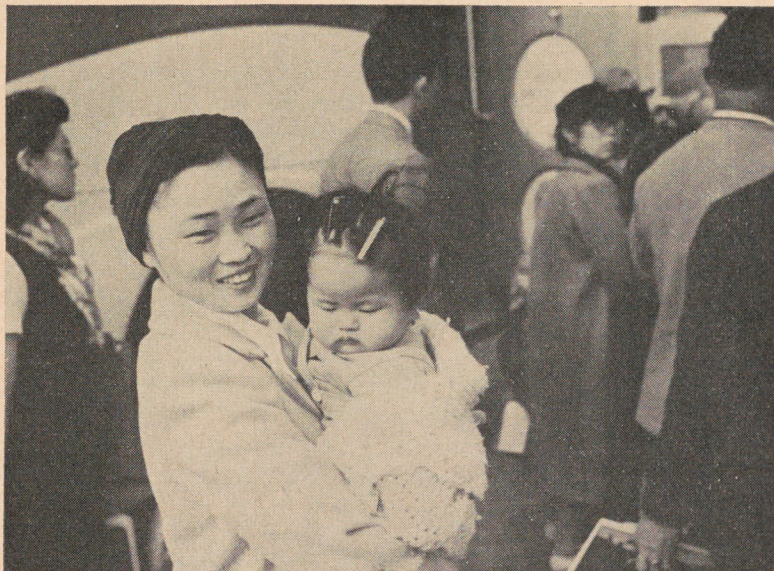
But once loaded on the huge Greyhound buses that would sweep them away from their homes, from the work of years, and from "the tie that binds," there came to brave Japanese the welcome relief of tears.

On Thursday evening before Easter—early so as to comply with the military 8 o'clock curfew regulations—nearly sixty members of the Japanese Union Church joined in the Fellowship Supper and Communion, remembering Jesus in the upper room before he and his disciples went out to the Mount of Olives.

Other Sundays and more waiting followed. Household goods were sorted and packed; a bare minimum of bedding and clothes could be taken. Sunday and dress-up things were not needed; in assembly and reception centers the dust and heat would be too severe. The final Sunday, April 26th, came.

Should any Sunday service be held—would any have the time and the heart to come? Yes, they would try. Thus, after their separate group meetings, came the final twenty-minute joint service in the simple but beautiful Japanese Union Church sanctuary. It was their chapel—with the sacrifice and savings of thirteen years they had created it—and now they were saying farewell. Above the lighted cross on the altar in the chancel,

*Santa Maria is 75 miles north of Santa Barbara.



Second and third generation Americans.

was the small round stained glass window of Jesus with a lamb in his arms, still radiant in the spring twilight.

Their pastor, who thirteen years before had helped to start the church, was away awaiting his own hearing. But he had not forgotten. "I send my sincere greetings at your last service in our own church. God bless you and protect you wherever you go," his telegram said.

The leader of the service did not stand in the chancel; the pastor was there in spirit and it was not fitting that anyone should take his place. The eighty or more young people and mothers sang a hymn, "How Firm a Foundation," and prayed, "Dear Lord and Father of mankind, forgive our feverish ways." A few words by the leader—half looking up at that radiant window—about seeing Jesus only, as the disciples had on the Mount of Transfiguration, reminded them, as they left their

church, that it was most fitting they should lift their eyes and see Jesus only. Then a few words entrusting their church and records to the pastor of the Nazarene congregation which is to use their beloved church while they are away and his simple heartfelt response. One stanza of the hymn, "Blest be the tie that binds our hearts in Christian love," and then, "Lead on O King Eternal, the day of march has come," and the benediction: "Now may the Love and Peace of God which passeth all understanding and which the world cannot give and which the world cannot take away, possess your hearts and minds now and always."

But that was not the end. With damp eyes and choked throats they silently slipped out. Then one old mother asked that the lights be dimmed and that she be allowed to return alone to kneel in farewell—beneath that window and before the lighted cross. Probably she would never see it again.

Eight o'clock—curfew—and on Thursday four days later all were gone!

Clarence S. Gillett has served for 20 years as an American Board missionary in Japan. He is a graduate of Union Seminary and received his doctorate in education from Columbia University. Mr. Gillett has been loaned by the American Board to serve as Executive Secretary of the Congregational Christian Committee for work with Japanese evacuees. This Committee will be financed by the Committee for War Victims and Services and will be administered by the Council for Social Action.

A TOUCHSTONE OF DEMOCRACY

BY JOHN C. BENNETT

The fate of the Japanese who have been evacuated from the West Coast will be a major test of the integrity of the Christian churches and of the reality of American democracy. In these days we are in the habit of thinking of scores of millions of victims of the war who have experienced the worst in cruelty and deprivation that our minds can imagine, and so it may seem that we should not become too much concerned about a hundred thousand people whose physical safety and economic security are guaranteed by the United States government. But these people, unlike the Poles and Chinese and others who have suffered most acutely, are in a direct way *our* war victims. They suffer from what *we* have done to them. Most of them are American citizens who believed until a few months ago that they had all of the civil rights that any American citizen takes for granted. The discrimination against them is based upon a different motive from that underlying the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis and it is certainly not attended by acts of deliberate cruelty. But externally there are some painful resemblances between this American way of dealing with a racial minority and the hated policies against which we believe that we are fighting. Whether or not America is really guilty of adding to its long-standing sin against the Negro because of race, another equally flagrant sin against the Japanese because of race depends upon what happens to the Japanese Americans during the next twelve months. The Congregational Christian Churches which have so fine a record in dealing with the Negro problem once again have a chance to aid and protect a racial minority.

It is easy to start an argument concerning the necessity of the evacuation of all Japanese, aliens and citizens alike. The benefit of the doubt should certainly be given to the motives of the army in ordering the evacuation. Because of the long record



At the Santa Maria Japanese Union Church—On guard.

of doing everything too late that has had such tragic results for the democracies, the civilian has little right to criticize the army for acting on the basis of the worst possible contingencies. Moreover, there is a case in favor of evacuation as the only sure means of protecting the Japanese themselves from mob violence if there should be raids upon our coast. We must distinguish between the issue raised by the evacuation from coastal areas and the question of future policy. Even if this evacuation was necessary, it is still a very evil thing to deprive American citizens of all of their liberties by administrative fiat, without due process of law. Whatever is to be said about the government which has adopted this policy with obvious reluctance, there is no doubt that a large part of the public deserves condemnation for accepting it with complacency and sometimes for advocating it for selfish motives. Those who have emphasized the military necessity of evacuation as a means of disposing of a minority whose property they coveted or whose competition they sought to remove are themselves the real enemies of America, not the

Japanese against whom not one proved case of sabotage has been reported here or in Hawaii. Those who say that the Japanese Americans are not American citizens because Japan still claims them as citizens threaten the citizenship of millions of Americans of European ancestry as well. Those who say that there is no reason to be disturbed about what is happening to the Japanese because our own soldiers have no better conditions in the camps than the Japanese have in the Assembly Centers seem to forget that our soldiers do not have to watch their families, perhaps their sick children, undergo unaccustomed hardships.

A few days ago I visited one of the Assembly Centers where there are several Japanese students from the Pacific School of Religion. In that Center there are over eight thousand people. They are kept as prisoners, however much that fact may be disguised—prisoners who have committed no offence. The external conditions could be much worse than they are. Food and sanitary arrangements—the worst features of some other Centers—are fairly good. There is no heat for the cool mornings and evenings. What is really bad is the psychological situation. This evacuation policy has falsely suggested to the public that its hysterical suspicion of the Japanese Americans is true. This has been a blow to their morale as Americans. The government owes it to them to clear them of suspicion by setting up boards that will pass on any doubtful cases. There is nothing for most of the people in the Center, especially the older people, to do. Everything is drab except the distant view. And there is no hope. These people have left their homes with no prospect that they can see now of having homes again in a normal community. Their next destination—a government settlement, perhaps in Idaho—four or six months from now may prove to be better but it too will be artificial and it will offer little to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the younger generation. It is not the least humiliation that this Center is a race track where many of the Japanese are lodged in horse stalls. Accommodations have been hastily improvised but there is general testimony to

the effect that in the various Centers they have been improved. Even those who are most critical of all things military are impressed by the fine spirit shown by the army in its relations with the Japanese. *The Federal government has been far ahead of the public in its sensitivity to this human problem involved in the evacuation.*

Galen Fisher in his article will explain the plans of the government and the next steps which the public should make possible by its cooperation. The government has no desire to keep the Japanese prisoners for the duration of the war. The fact that they allow students, even alien students, to go East as free men, even paying their Pullman fares, indicates that wherever any responsible group or institution can guarantee the safety of the Japanese the government is glad to have them go. The only alternative to what I have called imprisonment or to what at best would be a kind of protective segregation is the acceptance of Japanese Americans by normal American communities. This pamphlet will make many suggestions on that point. If the government fears that the Japanese will be made the victims of war hysteria or race prejudice in communities in the Middle West, there will be no choice but to keep them together where they can be guarded by the army. If the evacuation of the Japanese from the coastal areas was a military necessity it would seem to be the duty of patriotic citizens to cooperate with the government by receiving Japanese in their midst, particularly the younger generation which can be easily assimilated. If the evacuation was not a military necessity, it is even more the duty of Americans to atone in whatever way they can for what must be regarded as an outrageous act of injustice. Those of us who know many of the younger generation of Japanese Americans can assure all who have not had that privilege that if these young people are given half a chance they will soon win the confidence and friendship of those with whom they live and work. The Colleges and Universities on the West Coast which know Japanese students because they have had thousands of them have shown by their efforts on their behalf that they be-

lieve in them. This speaks well both for the institutions and for the students.

This problem of the evacuation of the Japanese was primarily the concern of the states on the West Coast. But it is now primarily the concern of the states east of the Sierras. It is a national problem with which our churches must deal on a national scale. We still have a chance to prevent this evacuation from inflicting lasting wounds upon many thousands of young Americans. We still have a chance to prove that American citizenship means the possession of civil rights by all minorities. We still have a chance to show by our actions that we do not intend as a nation to increase the burden that the sin of racial prejudice has imposed upon men.

THE DRAMA OF JAPANESE EVACUATION

BY GALEN FISHER

PROLOGUE

Calling the Evacuation a "drama" is by no means a figure of speech. It even falls naturally into five acts. The stage is vast—a score of states. The cast of actors is immense: the hundred thousand evacuees, the Army, the Relocation Authority, the anti-Japanese agitators, the champions of constitutional rights, the democrats and Christians who, with Bobby Burns and Jesus, hold that, regardless of race or color, a "man's a man for a' that," and the millions of citizens who seem to be mere spectators, but whose attitudes may determine whether the drama shall be tragedy or melodrama.

Some day a Victor Hugo, a Tolstoi, or a Steinbeck may weave a notable historical novel out of it all. Longfellow's "Evangeline" depicted the removal of 6,000 French Acadians; perchance another poet will make the removal of 100,000 Japanese into an equally moving tale.

ACT I. DRIVING FORCES

The impersonal fact is that during the winter and spring of 1942 some powerful social forces playing upon the Pacific States of America resulted in the summary eviction of some 100,000 residents of Japanese lineage from the broad coastal region known as Military Area No. 1. The military historian might say that this unprecedented event in American history was caused primarily by the fact of a two-ocean war, the West Coast being thereby left in danger of a Japanese invasion, in which fifth columnists might play a disastrous part.

The social historian might say that the evacuation was the resultant of a complex of forces,—the vigilantism of the West, the treachery of the Japanese Government, the unpreparedness

of the American forces at Pearl Harbor and anti-Oriental race prejudice, the present outburst being only the latest of the eruptions that began seventy years ago.

A more systematic analysis might conclude that there were five chief contributing factors:

1. *The Pearl Harbor attack.* Caught off guard by a combination of the trickery of Japanese militarists and the unpreparedness of our complacent military forces, the whole American public, and especially those living on the exposed West Coast, was seized with anger, chagrin and humiliation, which it tended to vent against the resident Japanese, as scapegoats.

2. *False charges of sabotage in Hawaii.* Circumstantial charges were made that Japanese-American citizens, some of them in the armed forces, drove trucks into parked airplanes and blocked the highways so that American officers could not reach their posts after the attack. The Roberts Report mentions espionage by Japanese agents, and there is no reason to doubt that it had been carried on extensively for years by them, as by other nations, but it does not mention sabotage, the detailed rumors of which did much to inflame public indignation. Even the chairman of the Congressional Committee Investigating Defense Migration, Mr. Tolan, said during the Hearing at San Francisco, on February 23, 1942: "... they had probably the greatest, the most perfect system of espionage and sabotage ever in the history of war, native-born Japanese. On the only roadway to the shipping harbor there were hundreds and hundreds of automobiles clogging the street. . . ." It was not until March that these wild rumors were officially spiked. Then letters and sworn statements denying any sabotage whatever in Hawaii were addressed to the Tolan Committee, by police and justice officials in Hawaii, and by Secretaries Knox and Stimson and an assistant to Attorney General Biddle. It was these rumors circulating and expanding for three months that fanned the flames of suspicion and hatred of Japanese on the Coast.

3. *The fear of fifth column activity.* Since the Japanese fleet and air force had obviously long planned the attack on Pearl Harbor, might they not have organized a formidable fifth column corps along the West Coast in order to make possible a similarly successful attack on its vulnerable industries and utilities? (In fact, no sabotage or evidence of organized fifth column activity has been discovered on the Coast.)

4. *The danger of mob violence against Japanese residents.* This danger was real. Lawlessness is a national habit. Lynch law has not been confined to the South. Many Westerners are proud of the vigilantism which some story-tellers have tended to glorify. If Pearl Harbor had been followed up by a Japanese attack in force on the Coast, the Army had good cause to fear that mobs of excited pseudo-patriots would do violence to the first Japanese they ran upon. It still believes that if the Japanese continue to capture American prisoners and if they should make an assault on the Coast during the foggy summer season, any Japanese at large would be in peril. Although the reasonableness of the Army position is evident, there is room, at the same time, to reproach the military authorities and, even more, the civil authorities, both federal and state, for yielding to popular clamor, without making a vigorous effort to calm public hysteria and to expose the sinister character of some of the loudest shouters for total evacuation of the Japanese.

5. *The Anti-Japanese cabal.* It would be quite false to charge that all advocates of evacuation were self-seeking or race-biased, but it is true that among them were the professional anti-Orientalists, such as the Hearst press, and certain politicians, merchants, farmers and realtors who itched for a chance to turn the anti-Japanese agitation to their own profit.

Such were some of the major forces that drove the nation, as by fateful necessity, to adopt the drastic policy of indiscriminate evacuation of citizens and non-citizens alike, of Japanese ancestry.



Santa Maria, April 30, 1942—Heading for Tulare Assembly Center.

ACT II. THE EVACUATION

The President, on February 19, 1942, issued an Executive Order authorizing the Secretary of War and such military commanders as he may designate, to prescribe areas "from which any or all persons may be excluded." "The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary."

This Order closely paralleled the recommendations made to the President on February 13 by the Pacific Coast delegation in Congress, and ended a long period of debate and uncertainty. Secretary Stimson designated Lieut. General John L. DeWitt to execute the Order and he, by successive proclamations, on March 12, 16 and 24, set the stage for the evacuation from Military Area No. 1 of every person of Japanese ancestry, including the progeny of mixed Japanese and Caucasian mar-

riages. It was a huge and difficult undertaking, but as someone has said, "When there's a tough job to be done that everyone balks at, call on the Army." No Government agency had blazed the trail into this unknown territory. Besides, the Army trains its officers to handle machines and men like machines, not a conglomeration of men, women and children complicated by the thousand details of property, businesses, physical handicaps and hindering emotional ties. That the Army finished its assignment within some sixty-eight days of the first actual removal, and did so without any serious breakdown, entitles it to our admiration. That it made some blunders is not to be wondered at. From the outset, the Army had the advantage of a surprisingly docile and cooperative spirit on the part of the Japanese affected. It also wisely enlisted the aid of federal civil agencies experienced in handling the human problems involved in the evacuation, among which were the Farm Security Administration, the Social Security Board, the Federal Reserve Bank, the U.S. Employment Service and the Works Progress Administration.

On the credit side one should mention these points: the un-failing courtesy of both Army and civil officials; their patience in hearing requests and complaints from both the Japanese and numberless citizen groups; the ingenuity in utilizing race tracks and fair grounds for Assembly Centers; the attempt to conserve and utilize the natural groups and organizations of the Japanese communities, such as the churches, family groups and the Japanese American Citizens League, whose members are American-born.

On the debit side must be mentioned: the confusion and distress and financial loss caused in part by the announcement of evacuation before preparations or even plans had been formulated; the overlappings and indefiniteness of function among the agencies of evacuation; the refusal to set up Hearing Boards or any other method of establishing loyalty and thus making possible selective evacuation; the limitation of evacua-

tion to Japanese, but including citizens, thus giving it the appearance, at once, of race discrimination and violation of constitutional rights; the iron-clad application of rules with apparent disregard of human factors and of such unfortunate results as the creation of disaffection among citizen Japanese and aggravation of the difficulty of reincorporating the evacuees into our body politic after the War.

Space permits the discussion of only one of these debit points, the Hearing Boards. Eminent groups of citizens, such as the Committee on National Security and Fair Play, headed by General David Barrows, Henry F. Grady, Presidents Sproul and Wilbur and Dr. Robert A. Millikan, urged General DeWitt to set up such Boards. They and many others familiar with the Japanese residents held that it would be but little harder to distinguish the dangerous from the loyal Japanese than in the case of persons of most other races, and that, by utilizing the Appeal Boards of the Draft, the hearings could be completed within five weeks. Even though a large number should be found disloyal or doubtful, and therefore refused exemption from evacuation, the mere fact of having been given a hearing would have a deep influence on morale, and would vindicate for all citizens the cherished guarantee of the Constitution, of "due process of law."

General DeWitt finally declined to allow hearings. His representatives argued that they would cause delay when speed was urgent, and that it would be practically impossible to establish the loyalty of anyone of Japanese race. One must honor the singlemindedness of the Army: it could take no chances.

The drama moved forward. The anti-Japanese agitators went offstage, leaving it to the overburdened officials, the religious and social service agencies and the dismayed Japanese. It was not strange that the Japanese were dismayed and bewildered: suddenly to be evicted from home and all the privileges of normal life, made wards of the government, looked upon as criminals by a large section of the public, and to be denied op-

portunity, even though citizens, to prove their loyalty. They could not learn when they would be evacuated, where they were to be sent, nor what to do with their homes and businesses.

Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Army to bring order out of the welter, and the friendly mediation of many religious and social service leaders, the situation remained confused until March 2. On that day General DeWitt proclaimed that complete evacuation of all persons of Japanese stock, whether aliens or citizens, would be begun shortly and completed within sixty days.

Church people were to the fore in multifarious forms of service to the evacuees. Local committees arranged to store belongings for the duration; they formed in Los Angeles a corporation to administer properties; in Berkeley, they ran a sale of art works by a Japanese professor, the proceeds to be given to establish a scholarship in the University of California for worthy students who had suffered from the war; they set up a clinic staffed by Japanese doctors and nurses to give anti-typhoid inoculations lest mothers with children be prostrated if they had to undergo two other injections upon arrival at a Center. These friendly efforts came to a climax during the last days of registration and departure. Beginning with the First Congregational Church of Berkeley, church plants were offered to the Army as evacuation stations. Groups of church women were on hand to provide a creche for the children of mothers while they registered, to taxi registrants from home to station, to talk with those who were waiting, and to serve tea and sandwiches, or even a tasty breakfast the day they left.

When the big buses or the long trains filled with outwardly smiling faces rolled off for the Assembly Centers, they were bidden au revoir by loyal friends from the churches and schools, or by fellow students, as at Pomona College. It was such cups of cold water that helped more than all else to heal the sting of parting and to lessen the resentment felt by some at what seemed to them an injustice and a disgrace. Fortunately, not a



Santa Maria, April 30th evacuation of Japanese-Americans and their parents.

few of them, particularly the citizens, managed to construe the eviction as "Part of our sacrifice in the interest of national security and winning the war." Wrenched loose from all their moorings, they are resolved to show that they, too, like earlier American pioneers, can defy the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. For the older generation, the evacuation is pathetic to the point of tragedy.

All of them have been in America for at least eighteen years—for they came in before the exclusion bar of 1924 was erected—and many of them came thirty or forty years ago. The Japan in which they were reared was far different from the Japan of today, and it is safe to say that many of them—practically all of those who are Christians—have no sympathy with her present policies.

ACT III. THE ASSEMBLY CENTERS

It was a tremendous job for the Army to prepare even temporary living quarters for 100,000 people within less than three months. The labor shortage and the priorities on supplies would have made it impossible for private contractors.

Eighteen Assembly Centers have been set up, practically all of them in race tracks or fair grounds, and all but three of them in California. The accommodations are simple to the point of crudity. If the Army had realized from the first that the evacuees, children and delicate mothers would have to be detained in these rude Centers for several months, it would doubtless have provided more adequate facilities. Observers who have visited several of the Centers say that the managerial Caucasian staff on the whole is kindly and well-intentioned. But good intentions are not always matched by competence, and in some cases they have lamentably failed to butter the parsnips. Governmental red tape and the priorities bottleneck can be blamed for some of the failures, but not for all. To be specific, in one of the better Centers there are practically no medicines or medical and dental equipment, even after a month of pleading by evacuee doctors and excuses by the management. In justification of these deficiencies, it should be said that all serious medical cases are supposed to be treated at the regular county hospitals, which have been most cooperative. Scarcity of plumbing supplies has led to the building of old style latrines with no partitions, and to absence of handwashing water in the "lavatories," and of sinks for washing the table ware which the evacuees carry to the messhalls. Such deficiencies inevitably undermine morale and they can not be counterbalanced by the appointment of Advisory Councils of evacuees, who too often find their recommendations are pigeonholed.

One of the best features of the Centers is the policy of using as many as possible of the evacuees in the various service departments. Those who get such a job count themselves lucky, for

the rest suffer acutely from nothing to occupy hand or mind during their unwanted leisure.

The compensation paid to evacuees working in the Assembly Centers, in addition to food and shelter, is \$8.00 a month for unskilled workers, \$12.00 for skilled, and \$16.00 for technical workers. The original proposal to pay evacuees approximately what privates and non-coms receive in the Army appears to have been dropped. That might have made the evacuees feel they were a sort of civilian army, and thereby have nurtured their self-respect.

Extracts from two of the many letters written to me or my friends by evacuees will give a clearer picture of the good and bad points of the Centers than pages of description. The first letter is from a cultivated woman, born and bred in California, who feels keenly the deprivations and the humiliation of her exile. She is in one of the better Centers. The English is her own. The stables she speaks of are the race horse stalls, whitewashed and enlarged by the addition of a small sittingroom in front.

"Our camp is getting better in every way. At first it was hard, harder than we ever imagined, but when I think of those ill-smelling, windowless stables, I think I could stand most anything. I'd die if I had to live there. So many of our friends are housed in those awful stables, and I can't help crying every time I pass there. You have no idea how awful.

"I spent three days nailing papers on floor cracks to keep the cold out. Some cracks were so wide I could put my finger through. We froze from cold drafts the first few days. It's a little warmer now.

"We Japanese love privacy, so our greatest ordeal is taking showers and going to the rest rooms. The lavatories are just wide enough to pass; two seats to a section, and no doors. Showers are single, but also doorless. Volunteer women clean the place every day, so it's kept very clean,—but one feels awful. So I take my shower at 5:30 a.m., but others get the same idea, so it is embarrassing.

"I find so many things I brought are useless, and what I need most, I haven't. So will you ask your friends to send me old clothes . . . especially sportswear,—sunhats, for standing in line in scorching sun for a long time at mealtime is an ordeal. . . . I never

dreamt a time would come when I'd have to ask for old clothes. I've got no pride left, for these are necessities. Please send some old shower curtains. I could put nails up and hook them across when I take a shower. Also old garment bags. Dust here is terrific. The walls are so thin that when I put a screw in, it went through. So when it gets hot, it's like an oven, and during the nights, it's like an ice-box.

"We've all lost weight noticeably. But food is better. . . . Pregnant women and mothers with small children, old people and invalids are pitiful. Mothers and old people walking, groping in the dark to the rest rooms are a sight. Gosh! War is hell, even behind the lines. I think it's worse.

"Did you ever feel an indescribable longing for something you've loved? That is the way I felt when I left dear old —, the only city I knew and loved. Part of my life went out when I left it. My childhood, girlhood and womanhood, with all its accompanying sorrows and joys, all were left behind. I can't express the yearning for the place I called my home, and all my dear friends. My only wish is that God will let us return once more to all I hold dear.

"Our Sunday services are very simple and impressive. We feel nearer to God here. The very simplicity and earnestness of our hearts make the whole service more touching. In contrast, the young people are a great problem."

As the last sentence implies, the demoralizing effects of the unregulated, promiscuous life in the Centers upon the thousands of idle young people are an acute anxiety to the fathers and mothers. No school, little work or sports equipment, no privacy, family life and parental control broken down by mass living—there is cause for worry. Gradually, equipment for play, study, and other recreative activity is being supplied by private contributions. It seems as though the Army had planned the Centers with only husky men in mind. They can take it with a grin, but for infants, elders and refined women, it is hard on both body and spirit.

The other letter was written by a pastor, trained at Pacific School of Religion, in Berkeley. He writes thus of himself and his "church-in-exile":

"The trip to the Center on the train was to many of the children, their first railway ride. The country in early summer is beautiful. Our hearts cried, 'This is America we live in. This is our country,

and we must defend it. God bless America.' The train was guarded by military boys who are courteous to us internees. Yes, they are American youth, intelligent and companionable. We, too, have our sons in the American Army. They are pals to each other.

"The first sight of our new quarters was a dismay to our women folks—the look of the inside of a stable, whitewashed a long time ago. But with characteristic fortitude and quietness, they took it. 'It could be worse. Thankful this much is provided,' they all say.

"I suddenly found myself a shepherd of 5,000 souls. There are church groups from other cities, but their pastors are not with them. So it looks as though I'm to be a busy pastor. Here I have the freedom of living an utterly self-forgetting, self-giving life. Saturday evening last, our church Board met, and we are planning to carry on all regular activities."

Among the 100,000 evacuees in the Centers are some 16,000 Protestant Church members, and about 1500 Roman Catholics. Of the younger generation, it is estimated that more than one-third are Christians or pro-Christian. Hence it is not surprising that the religious services in the Centers are being attended by a large proportion of the evacuees.

Responsibility for organizing the services of worship and the Bible study has been assumed jointly by the pastors and lay church officers inside, and by Christian leaders outside who have long been associated in work with the Japanese. The central agency created to supervise and coordinate this outside cooperation is titled: "Western Area Protestant Church Commission for Wartime Japanese Service." This Commission is the accredited agent of the Federal and Home Missions Councils and of the Foreign Missions Boards. Representatives of twelve bodies compose it. The Government authorities recognize this Commission as the sole outside Protestant agency for supplying the preachers and other workers whom the Japanese within may desire.*

Between the lines, in the letters reproduced above, one can

*This Commission will be glad to answer inquiries concerning matters traversed in this article. Address communications to the Secretary, Rev. Gordon K. Chapman, 2729 Elmwood Avenue, Berkeley, California.

infer what a blow the evacuation has inflicted on the self-respect of the more sensitive spirits. When bystanders cynically say: "Why should they complain? They are safe and well-fed, and that's more than our boys at the front are enjoying," I wonder if they reflect that the boys at the front know they are heroes to a hundred and thirty millions of their countrymen. No matter what they suffer, they are buoyed up by a consciousness of nationwide admiration, and a knowledge that they are rendering a priceless service to their country.

The evacuees, on the contrary, are the objects of suspicion, if not of contempt, to many of the hundred and thirty millions. Considering that two-thirds of the evacuees are full-fledged American citizens, and that the rest of them have been charged with no crime, is it not plain justice and sound social policy to go out of our way to enable them all to maintain their self-respect? From that viewpoint, it would have been a wise investment to spend twice as much money on the Assembly Centers, and to send off the evacuees with the band playing and the flag flying.

Fortunately, the Relocation Authority seems to have adopted this viewpoint, and it is a pleasure to turn now to describe the Relocation program. The change from the Assembly Centers to the Relocation Centers may make many an evacuee feel like the ancient Israelites when they advanced from the wilderness to the Promised Land.

ACT IV. THE RELOCATION AREAS

Great credit is due both the Army and the various civil federal departments for the resourcefulness they have shown in devising solutions for the baffling problems set them by the whole evacuation business. And among all the schemes adopted, that of the Relocation Areas is perhaps the most satisfactory; at least, it will be if the paper plans are carried out.

It was on March 18 that the President created the War Re-

location Authority, to take over full responsibility for the evacuees after they had been evacuated by the Army. Among the essential features of the plans adopted by the Authority are these:

1. Five large tracts of government land east of Military Area No. 1 have already been selected, and as many more are in process of being found, capable of providing homes for the duration for all of the 100,000 evacuees. Each Area will have a Relocation Center.

2. Efforts will be made to give productive work to every able-bodied person above sixteen years of age: mainly agricultural, but also manufacturing of things that require hand labor. Teaching, engineering, and the other professional skills will also be utilized as far as possible.

3. Evacuees will be allowed to leave the Areas only for specific and properly guarded work projects. Like the Assembly Centers, the Relocation Areas will be surrounded by barbed wire and under guard, not only to keep the evacuees inside, but to prevent outsiders from intruding and possibly making trouble. Inside, however, largely self-sustaining, autonomous communities will be created, and life will be made as normal and satisfying as practicable.

4. Elementary schools and high schools will be maintained, in cooperation with the respective states and the U.S. Office of Education. Arrangements for higher education also are likely to be made, either by releasing students to attend outside institutions, or by inviting the establishment of extension courses by colleges.

5. As in the Assembly Centers, religious worship and related activities will be freely permitted.

The quality of the staffs now being assembled is so excellent that there is good ground to hope that this program will be executed in accordance with the best American standards. If so, it should go far toward restoring to the evacuees the self-respect which has been so sorely wounded. One thing which might well be done to that end is to arrange for the gradual multiplication of opportunities for intercourse between residents of the Centers and the people of the neighborhood. Individuals and groups might be invited in to give literary, musical and dramatic programs; athletic and debating teams might come in for competitions. Farmers and public officials might be asked to inspect the

methods used in the various public works and in the factories and schools. The best preachers of the state should be enlisted to speak to the people.

Yet when all these methods have been used, the stubborn fact will remain that life within the Centers will not be normal. It will be insulated from the free tides of America's coursing life. Sad experience with isolated Indian reservations should suffice to prove that only by merging any group into the general body of society can it either absorb the best things America has to give, or make its distinctive contribution to the common weal. This brings us naturally into the next and last Act of the drama—one in which all true lovers of democracy must play a role.

ACT V. REINCORPORATING THE EVACUEES INTO AMERICAN LIFE

With the coming of victory and peace, not the least crucial problem facing the American government and people will be how to treat the evacuees. Our answer to that question then will have been predetermined in good measure by what we do to them during the War.

There are two main alternative policies:

(1) Treat them as though they were criminals and "second-class citizens," "yellow-belly tools of their fatherland;" ship them all back to Japan; let them stay in the United States, but away from the Coast, and strip the Japanese-Americans of the franchise.

(2) During the War, recognize that two-thirds of them are fellow-citizens, and that all of them are guiltless before the law, the victims of circumstances beyond their control of Japanese government policies which many, if not most, of them abhor. Therefore, do our utmost to strengthen their faith in American democracy and justice and to narrow the gap erected by the war between them and the rest of us. Then, after the war, restore to them freedom of travel, residence and occupation, so

that they will resume their place in normal life more fully Americanized than they were before the war.

It may seem impossible for any sane supporter of a war for "the four freedoms" even secretly to entertain the first alternative. But along the West Coast there are many voices chanting such a chorus; and in the states beyond the Sierras many who have never known a Japanese are urging that they all should be kept in concentration camps and in no case be allowed to settle, even temporarily, in their communities. Evidence of this is at hand, not only in the press, but also in the signed statements made by all but one of the fifteen Western Governors to the Tolan Congressional Committee.

The only sound American basis for settling the issue is to ask: Which policy will help most to win the war, and will accord with the democratic principles for which we profess to be fighting? Or, in other words, which is better, segregation or distribution of the evacuees? The Army and the War Relocation Authority favor distribution, but have had to abandon it because public opposition would expose the evacuees to danger of mob violence.

Consider these facts: Until March 29, the Army was encouraging the Japanese to evacuate voluntarily, with the result that many of them rushed Eastward, before any preparations had been made either by themselves or by the government authorities. Some of them were insulted and warned to leave, and others had to be put in jail to protect them from enraged citizens.

The situation we now face has been pithily summed up by the Committee on National Security and Fair Play in these six paragraphs:

"The bottleneck in resettlement, therefore, is opposition in certain localities to the coming of even a few Japanese to settle in their midst. Until the mass of Americans is convinced that such opposition is an impediment to winning the war and a violation of American ideals, the policy of wide dispersal must remain in suspense, being replaced by concentration in Settlements under mil-

itary guard. That this is economically wasteful and socially unsound is evident from the following contrasts.

"Economically: In the Settlements, on wild land, they must be fed for many months before crops can be sown, at a cost of \$60,000 a day, and the devising of work for the more than half who are not farmers will be difficult. If scattered in normal communities, they would help meet the labor shortage, would at once be self-supporting, would increase war production, and the non-farmers could find city jobs.

"Socially: In the Settlements, they will be insulated from normal life, their American character diluted by segregation, a danger especially dreaded by the younger generation, citizens born. The stigma of suspicion will cling to all of them. In normal communities, they would enjoy free association with other Americans, their faith in democratic fair play would be confirmed, and their self-respect would be restored, so that after the war they could fit smoothly into American life.

"It is thus evident that the economic and social losses imposed on the nation by segregation are serious. Yet presumably patriotic citizens, through thoughtlessness or prejudice, are causing these losses by their unwillingness to allow Japanese, even though citizens, to settle near them.

"As soon as such opposition abates, so that it is safe for Japanese to be abroad, the War Relocation Authority can release them from the guarded Settlements, and resume the policy of scattering them in hundreds of inland communities. Precautions should, of course, be taken by the Authority to release only persons against whom the Authority and the F.B.I. have no grounds of suspicion, and preference should be given to American-born citizens, educated in our schools and colleges. The Authority should also require state and local officials and private agencies to give satisfactory guarantees as to protection, working conditions, and wages for the evacuees to be sent to their area.

"The sweeping evacuation was ordered on the grounds of military necessity, during the national emergency. It ill becomes any of those who excused that order to protest when the same national emergency dictates the settling of a few evacuees in their vicinity."

That local attitudes are not all hostile to dispersed settlement and that hostility can be mellowed into tolerance and friendliness is shown by three instances that have just come to my knowledge.

The first is reported in a letter from a University man in Wisconsin. It says that a band of eleven Japanese arrived from California, of whom two are citizen youth set to enter the University, and two are farmers. "I think they will be able to fit in, but they have been finding it hard. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists in particular are doing what they can to overcome prejudice and help them get a start." If this group had consisted entirely of citizens, its assimilation might have been much easier.

A professor in Denver University writes of a second instance: "I have just returned from giving some commencement addresses in northeastern Colorado and western Nebraska, in the beet sugar areas to which many of the Japanese have migrated from California. It was a relief and delight to learn that, so far, there is no evidence of friction, and indeed, the leading white citizens evidence a determination to see that no trouble shall arise. In most instances the new arrivals have been taken into the homes or the farms of the Japanese families that have long been Colorado or Nebraska residents."

The third instance reads like fiction. The two heroes of the tale are an influential and broad-minded white American rancher named George A. Fisher, and Fred I. Wada, citizen, for years a prosperous produce dealer in Oakland. In February, while the Army was encouraging voluntary evacuation, Wada went to Utah to search for a place to develop a settlement. He found an ideal combination: 4000 acres of irrigable land at Keetley, 39 miles southeast of Salt Lake City, on which stood fifteen dwellings, a large apartment house, and a \$25,000 schoolhouse, erected for the workers of a now defunct mine. All the buildings were empty but in good condition. Wada paid Fisher \$500 on the spot to clinch a lease on the property.

On returning to Oakland, Wada got the blessing of the Farm Security Administration, and then he spent a long evening with the writer, discussing how to create a Christian cooperative community, for he is an earnest Christian. "I am ready," he said, "to spend some thousands of my capital to do my bit in this way

for my country. I don't care if I never make a cent of profit from it. My great hope, as a patriot, is to make the enterprise contribute 'food for freedom,' and give some hundreds of my fellow-settlers a chance to be self-supporting, instead of being dependent on the government."

Wada soon assembled 140 people, nearly all Christians, possessing a variety of skills, so as to form a balanced community. Vowing to follow this modern Joseph Smith—minus the Book of Mormon—and to pool their possessions and abilities, they trekked to the ranch, taking along a large assortment of trucks and farm implements, and enough food to last them a year. As soon as the winter broke, they plowed and sowed their crops. The neighbors at first eyed them suspiciously, but their cash purchases soon dissolved distrust, and farmers from far and near, seeing their industry and skill, began to beg Wada to let them have some laborers. One landowner offered him a big tract for a branch colony, and so he sent 39 of his party off to settle there. Two trained housekeepers and a nurse were desired by leading residents of Salt Lake and a nearby town, so Wada filled the places with three competent women.

Fearing that the settlers might be attacked by lawless whites, a State Patrolman was at first assigned to the settlement, but he was soon withdrawn as being superfluous. Whatever peace duties are to be done are looked after by Mr. Fisher's son and the storekeeper, who have been made deputy sheriffs.

The colony operates on a thoroughgoing cooperative basis: all earnings and expenses are pooled. Wada is general manager and chief, but he receives no more than any other member. Regular church services and a Sunday School have been established, the sermons being preached by a neighboring white minister. The schoolhouse will soon echo to the singing and recitations, in English, of a flock of children. At the entrance to the village they have erected a large V, bearing the words, "Food for Freedom."

EPILOGUE

Not every inland state can match just the combination of favoring factors that have made this Keetley experiment so promising. But, given a sizable group of determined and patriotic citizens, and a careful selection of settlers, there appears to be no good reason why many other communities, both urban and rural, could not successfully absorb from two to twenty families of Christian citizen settlers of Japanese ancestry.

The villain of the piece, Public Hostility, is temporarily in the ascendant and, at the moment, the drama seems destined to end in black tragedy. But if the villain is converted, it can be turned into a radiant melodrama. The villain being in reality the myriad-headed populace of our nation and our churches, the process of conversion calls for a nationwide crusade, persistent and pervasive, by men and women who realize that to repeat the slogan, "the four freedoms for all men, everywhere," is hypocrisy unless they are ready to extend those freedoms also to the Japanese evacuees.

THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN SITUATION IN OUR EASTERN STATES

BY CHARLES IGLEHART

The Japanese on the Eastern seaboard are much better off than their brethren in the West. They are few in number—only two or three thousand in all—mostly with inconspicuous work in restaurants, homes and offices, and scattered widely. They are more nearly assimilated to American ways of life and are more nearly received by the Caucasian community. They are farther from the dangerous Pacific; in the East they have to fear no organized movement of expulsion from community life. They

have not been evacuated nor have they suffered the "protective custody" of their cousins on the West Coast.

Yet the difference is more apparent than real. They are under the same disabilities as are all others of Japanese race in this country. The fate of the Japanese in the West stares in the face of every Japanese in the East. They know that the President's executive order put the whole country under the emergency control of the Army. The East has been zoned for defense exactly as has the West. There "total evacuation" was ordered on short notice and without adequate preparation to receive the uprooted people. And the evacuation was not total at all but highly selective, no Germans nor Italians being taken but instead Japanese only and *all* Japanese. Furthermore, the precedent has been set for a complete disregard of any difference between the alien immigrant Japanese and their American-born sons and daughters who by our constitution are Americans.

Notwithstanding kindness on the part of most of the officials, the grim fact remains that 100,000 of these Japanese and Americans are now herded into temporary barrack shacks behind barbed wire under armed guards. They are over-crowded, without privacy and for the most part are being demoralized by idleness and shame. Nothing like this has ever happened before in American history. And it may happen in the East on a moment's notice. Certain army leaders in recent interviews have promised that for the present this is not contemplated. But the sword of Damocles hangs by a slender thread, and it paralyzes all normal processes of living. It doesn't help morale for the Japanese to know that the bottleneck in relocation is caused by the resistance of every American community to their settlement.

Added to their fear for the future is the present problem of getting a living. With many heads of families interned, with Japanese firms liquidated, with considerable local prejudice and with many government restrictions, subsistence is now for many a major problem. About 5 per cent are on relief and another 20 per cent must soon be taken on. Many more see the end of their

financial resources in sight, as they are unable to get jobs. We cannot speak in high enough praise of the concern the New York City Welfare officials have shown for the needy Japanese, nor of the unselfish efforts of private agencies such as the Community Service Society of New York and the Church Committee for Japanese Work. But this problem lies deeper than mere alleviation of economic distress through relief.

Behind the unprecedented policy of evacuation and wholesale internment we come upon a factor far deeper and more disturbing than military necessity. It is the matter of the attitude of us all toward racial minorities—in this case the Japanese. This has taken concrete form in the discriminatory practices and legislation of the Western States. But they have been upheld by the Supreme Court and assented to by Americans at large. We of the Eastern States cannot cast the first stone until we are certain that if we had been presented with this problem we would have solved it in any better way than has been done in the West. Actually we have not tackled the Oriental problem at all as yet. Along our Eastern seaboard in many cities one finds a single Japanese person or one family accepted in the local church, but that is about as far as our Christian powers of assimilation seem to go. In this crisis we know of more than one church which has made it known that it does not wish even one Japanese to cross its threshold. Until we correct our own attitudes we can scarcely have much of a contribution to make to the solution of this larger issue of the assimilation of new elements into our American life.

Our next task is to press for a change in our laws so that the un-American principle of exclusion and of civil disability on account of race shall be forever erased from our statute books. Our present laws offer no hope whatsoever for any constructive adjustment of our nation to the developing Asia of the years just ahead. And unless we can adjust we cannot live in the modern world with these neighbor millions across the Pacific.

The next duty laid upon us by this crisis is that of obtaining

exemption for all the second-generation Americans from the operation of this indiscriminate measure of detention. We dare not remain complacent while our fellow-Americans are suffering this injustice. We can render specific aid by welcoming in our neighborhoods any students or other selected persons whom the authorities may be willing to release upon the guarantee of reception and support in some Eastern campus or community.

A constructive way to help the Japanese in the Eastern States so that they may help themselves and their Japanese friends is by providing employment. Self-respect gained by remunerative work is worth more than any amount of relief aid in maintaining character and morale.

And finally, since all plans for free re-settlement are bogged down in the morass of a resisting public opinion throughout America, our heaviest pull must be in the promotion of an improved and an informed public sentiment toward our fellows of Japanese ancestry.

JAPANESE-AMERICAN STUDENTS

BY JOSEPH CONARD

For hundreds of young Japanese students who have lived and studied on the Pacific Coast, the evacuation from campus to Assembly Centre has cut off their education in mid-stream and threatened their potential contribution to democratic society.

What is the calibre of these students?

This spring, when the University of California announced the highest scholastic honor awarded to a graduating senior, the winner could not receive the proffered medal. For Harvey Itano, a straight A student and loved by all who know him, is an American with Japanese ancestors.

After twenty-five years of experience with Japanese and

Japanese-American students, Dr. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, President of Mills College, writes, "Throughout these years there has been no single case of personality problem or ethical question arising among Japanese students. Perhaps three-fourths of these Japanese women have been Christians, but in sense of responsibility and in the high standard of personal conduct, our Japanese young women have been one in their standard of quiet, industrious and courteous behavior. They have won the affection and respect of their fellow students of all racial groups."

In Southern California, the Theodore Roosevelt High School has announced that 26 per cent of its Japanese seniors were in the upper 10 per cent of their class.

When the University of Washington selected five organizations out of forty-eight to receive awards for outstanding scholarship this year, one of these five was the Japanese Students Club.

The Colleges of the Pacific Coast know well their Japanese-American students and, from Canada to Mexico, these institutions have united in vigorous efforts to provide an opportunity of continued study for their evacuated youth. From hundreds of Caucasians, the Student Relocation Committee has received letters like this, each about a different student: "I cannot speak about others, but *this* student I know, and he *must* be allowed to go on with his college work. He has outstanding possibilities as a student and he is completely dedicated to American traditions."

Importance of Relocation

For several reasons, the resettlement of Japanese-American students in Eastern Colleges is a crucial problem. Fortunately, new homes are more easily found for them than for other evacuees. This is true partly because students do not compete economically with Caucasians. Thus, the fears and hatreds which have been largely responsible for race prejudice against

the Japanese in California are obviated. Furthermore, college communities tend to be more liberal than others, and the college campus itself is particularly likely to offer an understanding new home. This last fact is verified by reports from across the country. In many resettlement questionnaires, "community response" has been forecast as being "uncertain," and in some cases even negative, whereas most reports from college campuses have been "favorable." Another factor which makes college relocation relatively easy is the existence of suitable housing facilities.

Aside from the fact that negative arguments and fears of community response are eased by the consideration just given, there are many positive arguments for continued college study. To force these students to abandon their work would be a tremendous waste of the time and energy already invested in the student's education. Dr. Monroe Deutsch, Vice-President of the University of California, states that it would be equivalent to the "destruction of an important part of our national resources." Added to this fact is the recognition that the attitudes of the entire Japanese-American group of tomorrow will be shaped largely by their future leaders, the men and women now going to or preparing for college.

The serious danger that present evacuation may introduce a new case of racial peonage will be increased if Japanese-American leaders are not given an opportunity for higher education. The entire group may, in such an event, be forced to a position of economic and cultural inferiority, and no policy could more seriously threaten the long-term future of the Japanese group in this country.

Finally, if the college students are given an opportunity to complete their studies, the morale of the entire Japanese-American group will be enhanced. An older evacuee, in a letter just received, describes some of the hardships of his present life and concludes that the really pressing problem is the education of the young people.

Number of Students Involved

In the college year 1941-42 there were 673 Japanese-American students in colleges of the evacuated zones in the state of Washington and 131 in Oregon. In California last year, there were 1684, of whom all but 29 were attending colleges in zones being evacuated. This means that about 2500 students should be relocated. These students are largely concentrated in a fairly small number of West Coast Colleges. The University of Washington included 458 before evacuation, the University of California about 430, Sacramento Junior College 216. About one-third of the students are women. Of the entire 2500 students on the west coast, there are probably less than 100 who are not citizens of the United States, and some of these came to this country in infancy.

A very large number of Japanese-American students are working in highly specialized fields. In a sample of 323 made in Northern California, 56 were studying medicine and 17 more were taking similar scientific courses; 61 were students of engineering or allied studies. Thus 134, or 40 per cent of the group, were studying in these two fields.

An extremely high percentage of students wish to continue their college work despite the maladjustments brought to them and their families by evacuation. A sample of about 750 students showed over 80 per cent wishing permits to transfer. Only 15 per cent of these, however, had sufficient funds to continue study without scholarship aid. Seventy per cent could pay part of their costs and another 15 per cent could pay nothing at all. There are two reasons for financial difficulty. 1. Families have suffered the loss of business and income through evacuation. 2. The overwhelming majority of students have attended State Colleges or Junior Colleges in West Coast States, where their fathers' taxes covered costs of tuition. Now there will be the necessity of paying out-of-state fees.

Plans for the Future

On May 29, Clarence Pickett of the American Friends Service Committee, at the request of the War Relocation Authority, convened a meeting of educators and other interested groups in Chicago to set up machinery for the relocation of students in colleges outside the prohibited areas. A National Student Relocation Council has been set up, and President Robbins W. Barstow, of the Hartford Seminary Foundation is serving as Executive Secretary. Members of the Council will represent college and university administrations, churches and student organizations. Federal officials will serve the Council as consultants and the entire program is proceeding at the request of the Federal Government, which plans to issue permits for the transfer of students after adequate investigation and after assurances covering financial needs, college admission and favorable community reception have been given.

All questions concerning the responsibility of colleges receiving students and all requests for general information should be addressed to the Eastern Office of the National Japanese-American Student Relocation Council, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Inquiries concerning the students, themselves, may be addressed to the Western Office, Union Street at Allston Way, Berkeley, California.

The National Student Relocation Council will place as many Japanese-American students as possible. Already more than 100 colleges have agreed to accept these students, and many more will do so. The major problems to be faced are public opinion in receiving communities, and financial need. All who read this article can help at both points. Overhead costs of the Council are already guaranteed. *Your* contribution will be applied directly to student aid.



