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THE STATE OF COLORADO
Executive Chambers
Denver

RALPH L. CARR
Governor

April 13, 1942

Mr. Bob Stone, President
Young Men's Christian Association
University of California
2227 Union Street
Berkeley, California

My dear Mr. Stone:

I am very grateful for the kind words contained in your letter of March twenty-sixth regarding my attitude toward the evacuation of persons of Japanese origin from the West Coast and their reception in the inland states of the West.

It seems to me that the whole answer is to be found in whether or not we really believe in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The whole answer is one of patriotism, and if you want to go a little further, as I do, it is the application of the Golden Rule to a very trying problem of life.

If we do not extend humanity's kindnesses and understanding to these people, if we deny them the protection of the Bill of Rights, if we say they may be denied the privilege of living in any of the forty-eight states and force them into concentration camps without hearing or charge of misconduct, then we are tearing down the whole American system. If these people are not to be accorded all the rights and privileges which the Constitution gives them, then those same rights and privileges may be denied to you and me six months from now for another just as poor a reason as the one which is now offered against the Japanese.

I appreciate what you say and your expression of commendation. Coming from those who know these people, I feel that it is an intelligent and a gracious endorsement of the policy which I propose to follow to its limits.

Yours sincerely,

(SIGNED) RALPH L. CARR
Governor of Colorado

RLC:mlp

Governor's Office
Denver, Colorado

C O P Y

August 29, 1942

Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, Commanding
Third Corps Area
United States Army
San Francisco, California

My dear General DeWitt:

Following our conversation at the Presidio, during which time I agreed to state in writing my attitude toward the proposed employment of Japanese evacuees from the reception center at Granada on farms and ranches in Colorado, may I say that I hope arrangements for the use of these laborers can be accomplished.

I understand, however, that your office, through the WCCA, in coordination with the War Relocation Board, has asked that the Governor of each state agree in writing that he approves of such projects, that he guarantees that the evacuees will be given "adequate protection and that he will see that the law is enforced within his state.

If "adequate protection" and enforcement of the law mean the substitution of state police for military police or the active use of some comparable state agency as distinguished from sheriffs' forces and local law enforcement organization, then the proposed agreement intends something which, as I interpret the Constitution and laws of Colorado, is beyond the power, and outside the jurisdiction, of the Chief Executive. Without Constitutional basis and in the absence of statutory authorization, the Governor cannot do the last two of those three things.

I will say this much however. You know that my attitude and the policy of Colorado, since the evacuation was first suggested, has been to cooperate with the National Government and with its various agencies in the placing, detention, protection and care of evacuees and all other persons when the Chief Executive of the Nation and the Army calls upon any state to take a position or to act.

We must have labor to harvest our crops.

These people have come freely into Colorado, have been denied no privilege accorded to any other citizen or to any other person legally within the confines of the United States. This will continue to be Colorado's policy.

2 - Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, Commanding
August 29, 1942

Further, I understand that County Commissioners and Sheriffs, in all places where the evacuees are needed to work, are ready to sign agreements to do the various things suggested to be done by the Governor. I know these places, I know the officials and I know the people in those sections. I can assure you that an agreement by the County Commissioners and the Sheriff of any county in Colorado, where evacuees might be used, will be carried out. They will enforce the law, protect the lives and property of all persons and see to it that violence and un-American activities are discountenanced and held in check. If farmers feel the need for such labor and ask for it, I believe it can be accomplished safely.

Should it develop that local authorities are unable to cope with any problem so that serious difficulties attend, then you may count upon it that as Governor I shall intercede immediately and act to protect the rights of all persons. In the meantime, I shall cooperate with local officials in every possible way.

If I guarantee "adequate protection" in the first instance, that would of necessity include the promise to use the defense force to police each situation. I have no money with which to do it. It would require an emergency approximating an insurrection to justify such a call.

I feel that, with this letter and with the assurance of local officials, the rights of all persons will be protected and the law will be enforced.

I hope that arrangements can now be made for the use of these workmen wherever the people need them and ask for them.

Very truly yours,

/Signed/ Ralph L. Carr
Governor of Colorado



JOHN MOSES
GOVERNOR

STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
BISMARCK

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March 9, 1942

Honorable John H. Tolan,
Chairman, House Committee,
Investigating National Defense Migration,
Room 203 Henry Building,
Seattle, Washington.

My dear Congressman:

I am addressing the original of this letter to the address you gave me in your telegram of February 26th, sending a copy to you at Washington, thinking that perhaps by now you are back in the Capital again.

In passing, may I say that during a recent visit to Washington, I had occasion to spend some little time on the floor of the House and had the opportunity of meeting some of the members of your California delegation. Congressman Voorhis told me that you still were on the coast in connection with the work of your Committee. I hope I may have an opportunity later to meet you personally.

In reply to your telegram, I wired you as soon as I returned from Washington under date of March 4th as follows:

"Reply telegram twenty-sixth delayed owing absence from State. North Dakota will cooperate to the extent of our ability with the Federal Government in every manner possible. Our State now has some 1700 enemy aliens interned at Fort Lincoln, Bismarck. Our state cannot assimilate any of these people. It may be possible to afford opportunity for employment but only during harvest season. No employment available at any other time. Further consideration will be given your telegram as promptly as possible."

Since that time, I have given the matter further consideration. Stating the position of North Dakota, I am frank to say to you that I do not believe there is any room here for enemy aliens be they Japanese, German, or Italian. They cannot be assimilated to the economic life of the State. North Dakota is the one state in the Union which has mysteriously escaped any defense industry or any military construction as the result of the war. The state, as you are aware, is wholly agricultural and the little industry that exists is finding a very hard time of it due to priorities and other difficulties.

John H. Tolan

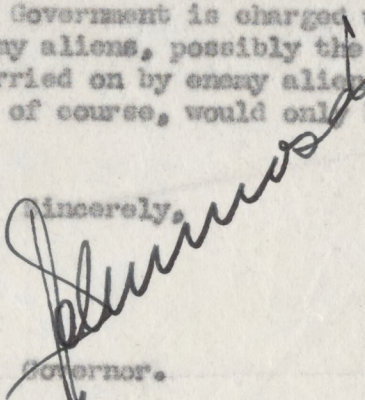
March 9, 1942

At the present time, there are 7200 on the WPA rolls with an additional 2000 assigned to WPA but not employed for want of funds. There is also a great deal of general unemployment partly due to the blows which the automotive and allied industries had to take. Some of this unemployment will be done away with during the seeding and planting season. During harvest and threshing, a period of about six to eight weeks, not any more than that, North Dakota will be able to give employment to every able-bodied man who is willing to work, provided that there is a fair crop. It is to be remembered, however, that this is temporary at the very best, and a condition which to my way of thinking will not justify any influx of large groups of enemy aliens into the state.

We have at Fort Lincoln a concentration of enemy aliens, I believe some 1700 in number. While these men are guarded, it is not too healthy a situation. I should regret to see any more concentration of aliens at Fort Lincoln than is necessary at this time. I am very much opposed to any plan by which these enemy aliens would become a competitive factor in North Dakota's present labor market. We must insist upon and we must be given the right to take care of our own people when it comes to employment, and we are not in a position to take care of others excepting possibly to a very limited extent during harvest and threshing.

I may say that there are some CCC camps in the state which are not occupied at the present time. Limited room could be made for enemy aliens in such camps, and if the Government is charged with the duty of maintaining and keeping such enemy aliens, possibly the work done by CCC boys in the past could be carried on by enemy aliens under proper guarding and supervision. This, of course, would only be in limited numbers.

Sincerely,



Governor.

JH:n

cc -- Ken Simons, Bismarck Tribune, Bismarck
Thomas Moodie, WPA Administrator, Bismarck
Associated Press

Encl

Copy of letter dictated over the telephone from
Senator O'Mahoney's Office - September 16, 1942

September 14, 1942

Dear Senator O'Mahoney:

As you are probably advised, there is an acute labor shortage in the State of Wyoming. More particularly, in the sugar beet, bean, and potato harvest.

Some time ago Messrs. John McElroy of Laramie, Executive Secretary of the National Beet Growers Association; Philip Smith, Lovell, Manager of the Great Western Sugar Factory at Lovell; R. E. McLeod, Torrington, Superintendent of the Holly Sugar Co., at Torrington; W. J. Gorst, Worland, Vice President of the National Beet Growers Association, President of the Montana-Wyoming Beet Growers; Lloyd Kelley, Torrington, Member of the Board of Directors of the National Beet Growers Association, Pres. of the Goshen County Affiliated Group, Earl Bower, Worland, beet grower and State Senator from Washakie County; Adrian Shumaker, Chairman of the Wyoming U.S.D.A. War Board; Bert Kelley, Laramie, Secretary of the Wyoming U.S.D.A. War Board, and other interested beet, bean and potato raisers, called on me to ascertain what arrangements could be made for taking the Japanese out of the relocation center at Heart Mountain and employing them in this harvest.

At that time these gentlemen presented me with a form for my signature, which I am enclosing. This form was agreed upon as the means of assurance by the Governors of the States at a conference in San Francisco of WRA officials and representatives of the beet growers and sugar processors. This conference was held the week of August 9.

I did not feel, as Governor of Wyoming, that I could be a party to the releasing of these Japanese in Wyoming without some restriction as to when they might be returned to the relocation center. I suggested that, in addition to this form, the following proviso be added, "Provided, however, that no working agreement entered into for the year of 1942 shall extend beyond December 1, 1942," to which they agreed after Mr. McElroy called the San Francisco office of the WRA and they agreed to the proviso above-mentioned.

Last Saturday I was again contacted by telegram from Joseph Smart, WRA Director, Denver, Colorado, advising that this proviso was unsatisfactory. I then proposed a proviso as follows: "The Governor reserves the right to terminate the working agreement when, in his judgment, the welfare of the community or of the State of Wyoming can be best served by return of the Japanese to their relocation center." I then called Mr. Smart and asked if

this proviso was satisfactory. He advised me that it was not satisfactory. He did state, however, that no Governor could dictate any of the policies carried on by the WRA and that while the Government was perfectly willing to return them to the relocation centers in the event it was found to be necessary, still they would not permit the inclusion of this in the contract or even in a supplemental letter to accompany the original agreement submitted to me.

Such arbitrary and capricious action on the part of departmental subordinates will hinder the harvesting of the above crops in Wyoming, the harvesting of which is starting now. In other words, there is no disagreement between Mr. Smart and me as to the terms of the contract except he says he will not agree to them in writing.

Wyoming is and has been fully cooperative with the Government in all of these matters and it seems only fair that this Governmental agency should exemplify at least a small degree of cooperation with the State of Wyoming in this important problem. I am dictating this letter in the presence of Mr. McElroy and Mr. Smith that there may be no misunderstanding as to the attitude of this administration concerning this vital problem.

Let me assure you, Senator, that the people of the State of Wyoming are vitally interested in obtaining this labor for the purpose of meeting the emergency which confronts the beet, bean, and potato raisers of our State, however, there is ample evidence that the people wholeheartedly and unanimously disapprove any program which would permit the eventual establishment of permanent residences of the Japanese people within our State and are, therefore, in accordance with my view that some restriction should be placed upon the release of these people from the relocation center for the purpose of doing this emergency work.

I say this in view of the fact that Mr. Smart made the statement to our Attorney General, Ewing T. Kerr over the telephone to the effect that "those Japanese who obtain permanent jobs should then become permanent residents of the State and the Governor of Wyoming has no authority to drive them out."

In view of the critical labor shortage in our harvest, I trust it will be possible for you to ascertain definitely at once whether the WRA officials in Washington will not change their view and accept one of the three signed statements of assurance enclosed herewith. I know you will appreciate the urgency of the problem.

Yours very truly,

Nels H. Smith
Governor

Under the Capitol Dome

By
ALVA A. SWAIN

THE SPEECH OF GOVERNOR CARR ON ALIENS—

No one speech delivered by a Colorado governor in years has caused the discussion that has arisen over the address of Governor Carr upon the question of admitting aliens to this state from the west coast. Because of the interest that has been created the column presents the address in full: The Governor said:

People of Colorado:

In answer to the call of our country, Colorado has done everything in her power to uphold the hands of our national leaders in carrying on the battle for humanity, for liberty and for civilization. Our people have sent their dearest possessions to the ten or a dozen battlefronts where the Stars and Stripes are leading in the fight on savagery, paganism and the world-wide imposition of servitude upon freemen.

Today, because of a lack of information and perhaps also because of an unhappy interpretation which has been placed on certain rumors, Colorado as a state is threatened with a charge of a disinclination to cooperate in essential war efforts. A suspicion of a lack of patriotism which is not deserved and which cannot be permitted to go unanswered has been raised.

A few weeks ago rumors came that alien residents of the Pacific coast states of Japanese origin were to be evacuated and perhaps thirty-five hundred would be sent to Colorado. From some unidentified source came another suggestion, probably born of the unfriendly propaganda parentage, that California was attempting to dump a bothersome problem into Colorado's lap. The first inclination of every Coloradoan was one of resentment.

There was a feeling that we did not want enemy aliens within our borders who might acquire property rights, who might compete with Colorado labor, and whose presence would be a constant menace and threat to our peaceful conditions of life.

Acting on this impulse, many persons voiced a protest by mail, by telegraph and, in some instances, through statements in the daily press. Colorado has been placed in a peculiar and an embarrassing light. An official request has been made for a survey of our facilities for harboring aliens of all classes—Italians, Germans and Japanese. Last week a Presidential order was issued directing the establishment of military zones in the United States, from which any person can be excluded. Clearly, this refers specifically to the west coast.

In the hope that I may assist in clarifying the situation by establishing our position toward this and other national problems and our patriotism and sincerity of purpose, this announcement is made. Colorado must never be charged with a failure to cooperate in the gravest moment of our nation's history.

Three months ago no American dreamed that the Japanese or any other people could dominate the Pacific by force of arms. Today many

strongholds, including the Gibraltar of the East of Singapore, have fallen. Our own ships, our own air forces, our own army have suffered severe losses. The blood of American soldiers stains the soil of nearly every island in the far east.

Tonight, as General Douglas MacArthur and his glorious band of Americans and Filipinos set new records for bravery and resourcefulness in the Bataan Peninsula in the face of terrific odds, we have finally come to guess the seriousness of the situation. The enemy controls the very conduct of life in every corner of the world since it has seized the countries where essential raw materials are produced.

There can be no question that the attacks on Pearl Harbor and the Philippines were aided by fifth columnists. The potency of that evil organization has been proved in every European country which has fallen, exemplified by the desertion of France, as Winston Churchill described it, and the rape of Norway and the rest. The overthrow of any nation is assured when the approach of an attacking force is made smooth and paved by subversive activities within.

Along the Pacific coast there are thousands of persons who are not friendly to those things which we call American. The wire for the survey suggests that they are Germans, Italians and Japanese. Only Monday night of this week the beautiful country surrounding Santa Barbara in southern California was attacked by an enemy submarine which came to the surface and hurled shells at a great supply of gasoline. The enemy has become so confident that he knocks at the very front door of one of the greatest cities of the world and attacks the mainland of the United States.

Military strategists say that if Java falls, then Australia will constitute the only barrier between California and the enemy. Fifth columnists—our enemies—are within signaling distance of any plane, any battleship, any submarine which approaches our coast. Attacks similar to that one of Monday night, fraught with infinitely more serious consequences, are to be expected any minute.

And if Australia, New Zealand, Java and Sumatra fall, we know what the next move will be. We will be put to it to protect our shore line from Canada to Mexico against the most aggressive, the most effective, the most dangerous war machine that has ever been assembled. The defense of California is the defense of Colorado, of the United States of America, of the cause of the United Allies. It is the defense of the very future of that civilization which we value above everything else.

If those who command the armed forces of our nation say that it is necessary to remove any persons from the Pacific coast and call upon Colorado to do her part in this war by furnishing temporary quarters for those individuals, we stand ready to carry out that order. If any aliens must be transferred as a war measure, then we of Colorado are big enough and patriotic enough to do our duty. We announce to the world that a million, one hundred and eighteen thousand red-blooded citizens of this state are able to take care of thirty-five hundred or any

number of enemies, if that be the task which is allotted to us.

When our boys are facing thousands of them along the battlefronts of the Pacific; when Americans are being cut down by the withering fire of machine guns; when our ships are sunk by treacherous planes while their diplomats sue for peace, when our very shores are shelled by submarines—Colorado will not complain because she is asked to take care of a handful of undesirables whose presence on the coast might prove the difference between successful invasion and the saving of our country.

We do not welcome any enemy aliens from any country into this state. But by the same token, we do not rejoice that our boys are conscripted. We find no happiness in the daily casualty lists which we scan for familiar names with fear and trepidation. We do not glory in the fact that he have been drawn into the most terrible warfare that mankind has ever invented. There is no pleasure in the sacrifice of great industries and the surrender of private rights for the good of the nation. In fact, there is nothing connected with this war which renders it desirable. But as patriots, as Americans, as Coloradoans, we say to the world—we say to our leaders—Colorado will do her part and more.

The people of Colorado are giving their sons, are offering their possessions, are surrendering their rights and privileges to the end that this war may be fought to victory and permanent peace. If it is our duty to receive disloyal persons, we shall welcome the performance of that task.

This statement must not be construed as an invitation, however. Only because the needs of our nation dictate it, do we even consider such an arrangement. In making the transfers, we can feel assured that governmental agencies will take every precaution to protect our people, our defense projects and our property from the same menace which demands their removal from those sections. And in this connection, I think it is only fair for us to ask in the placement of evacuees that local conditions and the needs of our communities be consulted. Sources of water supply, timber growth and essential industrial activities should be considered. The protection of wild life is a major concern in Colorado.

For an understanding of the reasons for the possible evacuation of such enemy aliens, let us hear a story told by an American, a Colorado girl now living in Hawaii. She witnessed the attack on Pearl Harbor. She saw the awful results of those unbelievable assassinations. Many planes, manned by Japanese pilots, were shot down by the American anti-aircraft guns. And the bodies of those pilots shout a warning which we cannot ignore. And when the break came, when Japan loosed its attack on Pearl Harbor, the rings and insignia of the graduating classes of high schools and colleges of the islands and the Pacific coast of the United States were found on the fingers of many of the Japanese pilots who fell under American gunfire. All of these educated Japanese are not pilots however. All of them are not confined to the city of Tokyo. Nor do they constitute all

of the people who dislike Americans and America. They are to be found wherever there are Japanese, Italians and Germans—and particularly in California.

In justice and fairness, let us pause here to speak a word in behalf of loyal German, Italian and Japanese citizens who must not suffer for the activities and animosities of others. In Colorado there are thousands of men and women and children—in the nation there are millions of them—who, by reason of blood only, are regarded by some people as unfriendly. They are as loyal to American institutions as you or I. Many of them have been born here—are American citizens, with no connection or feeling of loyalty toward the customs and philosophies of Italy, Japan, or Germany.

The world's great melting pot is people by the descendants of every nation in the globe. It is not fair for the rest of us to segregate the people from one or two or three nations and to brand them as unpatriotic or disloyal regardless.

The coming of these evacuees will, of necessity, give rise to social problems, to business and labor questions and similar vexing issues. But surely we possess the brains, the resources, the solid American character which will enable us to solve those problems properly and intelligently.

People of Colorado, let us remember that we have a job to do. Answers which would be correct under ordinary circumstances do not apply when all conditions are changed. We are at war. We must realize that.

Let us approach these social and economic problems with a new attitude of mind. Let us get that job done as quickly as possible so that our boys may come home and we may return to our American way of life.

Men of Colorado, if MacArthur and a handful of men can hold off hundreds of thousands of Japanese under the conditions which they face, we can control the conduct of any little group which may be sent to Colorado.

And finally, I urge upon our people the danger of inflammatory statements and threats against these unwelcome guests. The newspapers report that some aroused citizens have threatened force against the approach of undesirables. In my presence, the other morning a young man in uniform quoted a superior as favoring the firing squad as the solution of this problem.

Such reckless statements may bring reactions which we shall always regret. Let it be understood that such conduct is not approved by the code of humanity. Americans have too great a sense of fair play. Let it also be known that we do not hold all the cards and that reprisals would be visited upon our own soldiers, officers and citizens who will be taken prisoners before this is over.

Let us consider ourselves as part of a great army, engaged in the most righteous war in history. No good soldier interferes with the activities of his superiors.

People of Colorado, let us all be good soldiers. Let us accept the fortunes of war with heads up. This is a solemn affair. We must approach it in that attitude of mind.