

A 1500

CALIFORNIA'S JAPANESE IN THE CRISIS

Part I. Numbers, Geographical Distribution and occupations of California Japanese as of December 7.

Part II. Public Opinion in California.

Part III. Mass Internment, Protective Custody, and "Voluntary" Commitment of Nisei.

(39 pp)

by

Iura Wann Buwelda
2105 San Pasqual St.
Pasadena, California

(N.D.)

CALIFORNIA'S JAPANESE IN THE CRISIS

What of the Japanese in California? What problems do almost 100,00 California Japanese present to civil and Federal authorities, to the F.B.I., and the Army and Navy Intelligence, in the present crisis? What are the problems that face California citizens in their dealings with Japanese enemy aliens, and American citizens of Japanese parentage? Most important of all, how can possible Japanese fifth column activities be prevented, and national unity as well as the faith, loyalty and active co-operation of those affected be best preserved?

It is of vital concern to the whole country, not to California alone, that these problems be recognized, evaluated, and dealt with rationally, quickly, and effectively, in the interests of national safety, and a speedy victory. In the degree that rumor replaces fact, and hysteria reason, in dealing with any of these problems, national unity is impaired and the tremendous task ahead made the more difficult.

There is little likelihood that any appreciable number of American citizens will be influenced by the unthinking sloppy sentimentality to be found at one end of the emotional scale, in their dealings with members of enemy alien races living in America. At least there are few "Jap-lovers" in California! There is considerable danger however that some citizens may occasionally both feel and act upon the truly sadistic hatred that is to be found far at the other end of that emotional scale. Both are dangerous. For that reason anyone who sentimentalizes the situation on the one hand, or who deliberately fans the fires of unreasoning bloodthirsty hatred on the other, must be considered as truly subversive, no matter how passionately patriotic his motives.

Numbers, Geographical Distribution, and Occupations of California Japanese as of December 7

According to the 1940 United States census reports, there are 126,947 Japanese in the United States, and 95,717 of them live in the State of California. Most of the rest are scattered over the States of Oregon, Washington, Utah, Nevada and Arizona.

Of this number the Nisei (pronounced knee-say) or second generation American born citizens outnumber the Issei, first generation nationals between two and three to one in the total population, although there is some variation in certain localities.

In the Imperial Valley, for instance, where the 1,583 Japanese are engaged almost exclusively in gardening, there are 589 Issei, and 994 Nisei. And in San Diego, where the 2,076 Japanese are engaged almost exclusively in fishing, there are 793 Issei, and 1,283 Nisei.

A few other statistical facts may be of interest. Thirty-nine per cent of all California Japanese are in Los Angeles County, and "Lil' Tokio," the Japanese quarter of the City of Los Angeles, has 23,321 residents and is the largest Japanese community in North America.

The next largest aggregation in California is in San Francisco, where there are 5,300 resident Japanese. Smaller groups are to be found in most of the larger California communities, notably Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, San Jose, San Diego, and Brawley.

The major occupations of the Japanese in California are truck-farming (including flowers) and handling and selling the produce. The Department of Agriculture of the State of California estimated that (as of December 7) about 80 per cent of California's vegetables were grown and their marketing controlled by Japanese.

Second in importance is fishing, third is business - shops, hotels, etc., with personal service next, and the professions coming last.

It has been pointed out that the very nature of the two major occupations of the Japanese, truck-farming and fishing, has placed them geographically in positions peculiarly adapted to effective fifth column work. For they not only farm in the Sacramento, San Joaquin and Imperial Valleys, but they farm on the sea-cut terraces that have resulted from the repeated uplifts of the whole coastal land mass, and along the coastal plain. There is not ipso facto anything sinister in these facts, however, as the Japanese have always been fishermen from their crowded islands and farmed its terraces for generations before they came here. These were things they knew how to do supremely well.

These are the most pertinent facts regarding the numbers, geographical distribution, and occupations of California Japanese as of December 7.

Legal Status of Japanese in America

In order to make any rational evaluation of the various claims and counterclaims, that are confusing this most vital issue in the crisis, there must be a clear understanding of the legal status of both the Issei and the Nisei groups of resident Japanese, both prior to and since the emergence of a state of war. And who are the Kibei, and what is their legal status?

Issei

Prior to December 7, the 33,569 first generation Japanese in California, known popularly as the Issei, had the status of resident nationals. In the early years of this century there was considerable agitation for the suppression of Japanese immigration, as a result of which Theodore Roosevelt instituted a "gentleman's agreement" entrusting Japan with the enforcement

of exclusion of immigration into the United States.

It was charged that the Japanese government, in violation of their agreement, put an additional 100,000 of their nationals into this country between the years of 1908 and 1919. Following a series of hearings held on this charge on the Pacific Coast in 1920, a new immigration act transferring enforcement of Japanese exclusion back to the United States Government was passed by Congress in 1924. This was the "Exclusion Act" under which members of the yellow race were permitted no quota whatever. Many authorities and officials point out that this basis of total exclusion has been bitterly resented by the proud and sensitive Oriental races and that the same ends could have been served by setting a nominal or "token" number as the quota figure. As Rear Admiral Yarnell has recently pointed out, this matter must be straightened out before the basis of a lasting peace can be set up. According to the general popular view, however, the suggestion is premature, today at least, as we have a war to win and all other considerations including this might well be kept in abeyance until the job is done.

But how does it happen that practically none of the Issei, and they all arrived before 1924 remember, are naturalized citizens? Is it that all of them were merely tools of a Japanese governmental policy of economic infiltration and hence had no interest in taking on the obligations of American citizenship?

If that was the explanation for the failure to act of the great majority, why is it that the number who may, even then, have come as active spies or official agents of their country did not become naturalized citizens here in order to burrow from within - to establish a fifth column?

There is a rather amazing lack of understanding of their position in this respect, even on the part of leading California citizens who should know better.

"Why on earth shouldn't a Japanese have taken out papers if he had lived here forty years and really was loyal to America instead of to Japan?" the President of a Los Angeles service club asked the writer the other day.

The answer to these questions is to be found in the fact that unless they were here prior to July 14, 1870, and were then twenty-one (in which case they are ninety-two or three today!) they couldn't have become naturalized citizens whatever their motives or desires. Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes of the Basic Naturalization Law, adopted at that time, stipulates that only whites, or negroes born in Africa, are eligible to become naturalized citizens. It is true, however, that in some western states, California among them there were officials who apparently had never heard of this law and hence issued naturalization papers to a few Chinese or Japanese after this date, but the number is negligible.

In the opinion of many people, moreover, most of these early settlers were just pioneers, like the grandfathers and great, great grandfathers of all American citizens and that like all pioneers they were seeking a new world, better living conditions, the "more abundant life" for themselves and their children. Instead of which they were herded together in labor camps, under a standard of living so low that it, in itself, was held against them as proof of innate inferiority. It was low. But as it was all they could afford, they lived on it and didn't ask for charity. (Incidentally, on December 7 there were only three Japanese on relief in Los Angeles County!) For many years they seldom dared go anywhere except in

pairs for well justified fear of being beaten or stoned.

When in 1924 the Exclusion Act made it painfully clear that we didn't want them, many took the hint and left, often heart-breakingly leaving their American-born children behind. Others decided to stay. These are the Issei, and that was their status, and way, as of December 7. With the emergence of a state of war, the Issei, all of them became "enemy aliens" and thereby lost all civil rights.

By Federal statute adopted during the administration of John Adams in 1798, whenever a declared state of war exists between the United States and a foreign government, or an invasion has occurred or is threatened, and the President has made public proclamation of that event, all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of a hostile nation over the age of fourteen years, who shall be in the United States and are not naturalized, are liable to apprehension as enemy aliens. The President, in such event, is empowered by proclamation or other public act to regulate the conduct to be observed on the part of the United States toward such aliens, manner of restraint to which they may be subjected, conditions under which they may be allowed to reside in the United States, or provisions for their departure from the United States.

On Wednesday, December 10, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation governing the activities of alien enemies. The thirteen sections of that proclamation cover many diversified subjects, such as forbidden zones, restricted areas, lists of forbidden articles to have in possession, custody, or control, regulation of travel or change of residence, membership or activity in organizations, groups, or assemblies to be designated by the Attorney General.

Under Section 9 of that proclamation, the Attorney General and the Secretary of War may exclude alien enemies from a long list of specifically designated areas, and also (apparently just in case they had overlooked anything!) "from any locality in which residence by an alien enemy shall be found to constitute a danger to the public peace and safety of the United States."

So much for the legal status of the Issei. Today they are "enemy aliens."

Nisei

But what of the legal status of the 60,148 Nisei in California? By virtue of the Constitution they, having been born in this country, are American citizens with all the rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights to all other American citizens.

Congress has full power to define the conditions under which citizenship may be lost, however. Those who believe that the interests of national safety demand mass internment of all Japanese irrespective of citizenship, have raised the question of dual citizenship, as a possible means of legally attaining that end, as even the most extreme of those holding this view (the necessity of mass internment) can scarcely urge the complete abrogation of the Constitution. That is a bit too Hitlerish for Americans to stomach. Those who have argued that if England has done it then so can we, have apparently forgotten that Englishmen are not living under the Constitution of the United States of America.

Entirely apart from the question of the desirability of mass internment, (the arguments for which will be presented pro and con later in this article) does the dual citizenship status of the Nisei actually provide constitutional grounds for possible Congressional revocation of citizenship? The argument for this view is well presented by Mr. John B. Hughes, news

Howe
commentator on the Coast to Coast Mutual Network. In an open letter to Attorney General Francis Biddle, on January 19, 1942, Mr. Hughes says:

"As you undoubtedly know, the provisions of the Japanese law created a most peculiar situation in the case of American-born Japanese. The Japanese statute in substance provides that the first-born of all Japanese subjects abroad shall be subjects of the Empire of Japan, if and in the event the parents of such Japanese children born abroad shall register their birth with the nearest Japanese Consular office within a period of fourteen days after birth. It is known that most Japanese aliens in the United States have complied with this Japanese statute on behalf of their children, not only first-born, but all of the first generation American-born and in many cases second generation American-born. The record of such registration would have been in the files of the Consular's office in this country, but undoubtedly were destroyed with the outbreak of war.

"This presents an unfortunate situation legally, since it obviously will be difficult or impossible to prove whether the registration has been made. Certainly many American-born Japanese do not know whether such registration was made, but even if they do know, they would be most unlikely to admit it.

"True, it would be difficult to prove, in most cases, that American-born Japanese were Japanese citizens, but it would be equally difficult for them to prove that they had legally revoked such Japanese citizenship, which it can be assumed they acquired through the act of their parents. This is war. The burden of proof should be theirs."

Mr. Hughes says that Attorney General Biddle replied that Congressional action following the suggestions outlined would not, in his opinion, be constitutional. So that would seem to be that!

In the opinion of most of those officially concerned with this problem, the question of dual citizenship is not in the least relevant to the question

of a Nisei's personal loyalty. Mr. Chester Rowell sums up this viewpoint in an editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle of Tuesday, January 20, in which he says:

"This question of dual citizenship is not new, and it did not begin with the Japanese. Most of the countries of continental Europe have, or long had, such a law.

"The dilemma is this: There is no question of the competence of Japan, for instance, to enact a law that Japanese-born persons and even their descendants born abroad, shall be irrevocably Japanese citizens, and shall be liable, in Japan, to military service and the other obligations of citizenship.

"But there is also no question of the validity of the American Constitution, which provides that all persons born or naturalized in America are American citizens. Both laws are in effect, and each is valid, as the law of it's own country.

"The practical solution has been that each country shall enforce it's own law on such persons, while they are in that country, but shall not interfere with the other country doing the same thing, when they are in that country.

"This is the law of it.

"But in the case of these American-born Japanese there is also the practical situation that their own choice had nothing to do with whether they have, or have not, this dual citizenship. The earliest born of them were automatically American citizens under American law and Japanese citizens under Japanese law.

"Later the Japanese (not the American law) was changed, permitting the Japanese parents of an American-born child to (not the child himself) to register him, at a very early age, as giving up his Japanese citizenship.

"The child himself, being a young minor, had no voice in the matter.

"Either way, these 'Nisei' are American citizens, under American law, and, in America, are under no other law.

"Their loyalty to America is to be determined by their own conduct and attitude - not by the attitude of Japan, in Japan, toward them, nor by the act or failure to act of their parents in renouncing their Japanese allegiance for them while they were children."

The Nisei are American citizens. So much for dual citizenship.

Kibei

Kibei (meaning those who return to America) is the name applied by the Nisei to those members of their own group who were born in America and hence are citizens, but who have spent a considerable portion of their lives in Japan, in most cases getting their education there, and who have returned to this country, most of them recently. The Kibei are not important numerically as (according to the most reliable estimates available to an ordinary citizen) there are probably less than 5,000 of them in the whole country, of which it is believed ^{The Majority} ~~about 50%~~ are in Los Angeles County.

It is believed in many quarters, moreover, that because they have spent a large number of their most impressionable years in Japan, that even the ones whose return to America was not a part of a Japanese governmental policy might be expected to side with Japan rather than America in a crisis. It is thought, however, that many Kibei did actually return to America as fifth columnists, and that the F.B.I. could, if it chose, cite many interesting examples from its files to prove it. If Japan has a well organized plan for sabotage or assistance to an enemy attack on the Pacific Coast (and in view of what happened at Pearl Harbor and in the Philippines we would be crazy to think they have not) it is believed that Kibei Japanese have most important

roles in it.

At present they have all the freedom of movement possible, ownership of contraband articles, freedom to spend their money as they choose, of any American citizen. Although many of them have given evidence of indisputable loyalty to America in this crisis, it is the opinion of many that the burden of proof as to loyalty is definitely on the Kibei. If the time should come (and before this reaches print it may well have become history, so fast is the movement of events,) that "voluntary internment" of Nisei is asked as proof of loyalty, it might be well to ask it first of the Kibei.

Pages 12 & 13 missing
from document

A press clipping, dated January 30, may, or may not, be pertinent to the foregoing:

"Washington, Jan. 30. - Senator Johnson (R., Cal.) called today a meeting of Senators and Congressmen from the Pacific Coast states and Delegate Dimond of Alaska to survey steps taken by defense agencies for the protection of the Pacific Coast. He said he had invited Senators from Oregon, Washington and California to attend the conference on Monday."

Also pertinent is the following:

"In his column in the Sacramento Union, Charles J. Lilley of the publication outlined his views on the recent speech given by James R. Young, former Tokyo correspondent, at the California Newspaper Publishers convention.

"Among the speakers at the Coronado convention of the California publishers was James R. Young, former Hearst wire service correspondent in Tokyo, who makes an inflammatory attack on the Japanese government and the Far Eastern division of the U. S. state department.

"The Japanese aliens in California are all potential fifth columnists who are only waiting the word to seize the state, according to Young.

"The underlings in the state department are just a coterie of bungling diplomats who can't read plain English when it is written on the wall, Young says 'on or off the record.'

"Young was jailed in Tokyo but managed to regain his freedom and return to America. Since arriving he has been throwing scares into women's organizations, and other audiences, by assuring them they are only an eyelash removed from getting their throats cut."

Whatever its sources, or inspirations, California citizens were worked up to a pitch rapidly approaching hysteria by January 29. Acting on requests from both the Army and the Navy on that day, Attorney-General Francis Biddle ordered all enemy aliens out of 29 designated war zones by February 24. He

said that in addition to the War and Navy Departments, he is cooperating with the Labor, Treasury, and Agricultural Departments, the Federal Security Agency, the Works Progress Administration and the Office of Facts and Figures in solving the problem of what to do with the evacuated enemy aliens.

Mr. Biddle also states that "These steps represent moves in steadily tightening control of enemy aliens. We have a large and carefully worked out program for internal security" and predicted that soon there will be no enemy aliens "in a very considerable part of California."

Because of its policy, the F.B.I. agents have not been able to reassure the public by telling them of what they have done, with the result that many local officials share the view that one of them expressed to the writer the other day when he said that giving information to the F.B.I. was like pouring it down a rat hole - you never knew what happened, if anything. Also the order that all cases of suspected espionage or enemy alien activity information was to be given to and handled only by the F.B.I. has been interpreted by some local law enforcement officials as meaning that they were not also to turn any information in their possession to representatives of the Army or Navy Intelligence even on their request, ~~for~~ neither was the fact that so many federal agencies seemed to be working on the problem, i.e., protection of California from possible fifth column activity, particularly reassuring. For not only the F.B.I. and the Army and ^{NAVY} many Intelligence services but the Dies Committee representatives all seemed to be involved. Up to January 29, at least, no definite plan of coordinated effort between all of them had been made public. On that date, and included in the announcement regarding removal of enemy aliens from proscribed areas was the announcement that Thomas C. Clark had been named "coordinator of alien enemy control for the western command."

News releases on the same day tell of conferences being held by Mr.

Clark with California officials. "In the interests of an efficient and speedy solution of the problem," Biddle stated, "local officials and the public at large should leave this complicated program in the hands of the Federal Government and should not take conflicting action which might impede the program."

As this article is written the week-end immediately following this order, it is impossible to estimate how far ^{these actions and statements} ~~it~~ will go in restoring public confidence and, it must be acknowledged, the confidence of some California officials in the ability of the "Federals" to handle the situation in a way to insure the maximum of security. After all, we are the ones who will be bombed, so it is not strange that we feel inclined to do something about it.

Only to the degree that confidence is restored will public hysteria be lessened, and the possible results of that hysteria be averted. In the opinion of many people, direct action - individually or by mobs - upon members of the Japanese race, continued demands for the extreme of total mass internment rather than the "protective custody" now ordered, and precipitate and perhaps conflicting action by California officials, are among these potential results.

There can be no question but that confidence in the "Federals" received a terrific blow in the official statements by Secretary Knox and in the Roberts' Report of fifth column activities in Pearl Harbor and in the Phillipines.

Because officials have not felt it to be in the best public interest, they have not told us many details. In the absence, however, of any official information, countless rumors are going the rounds as to "modus operandi"; ^C some of them may be true, others may have a basis in fact, others bear the marks of radio script horror stories.

The familiar stories regarding local Japanese are, of course, also going

the rounds. There is the one about a Japanese truck farmer with a powerful two-way radio, a three-inch telescope and motion picture camera, whose farm house was on a rise near one of our great airplane factories, from whence he could see every bolt on the new planes, as they left the assembly line.

According to the story, and it was believed by a large number of people in Los Angeles, every effort was made prior to December 7, to get someone in authority to do something about him, all without success. Of course, it was said, "they picked him up on Pearl Harbor Sunday, but think of all the information he had sent in the meantime!" The writer checked this particular story with Federal Prosecuting Attorney William Fleet Palmer, who stated bluntly that there simply wasn't any such case in his files.

There is the one, and this has many variations decorating the general theme, of the Japanese school child who got in a fight with another child (or who in another version was punished by the teacher) and who said that his father would get even, he would shoot them with his machine gun. Upon which, so the story goes, the white child's mother (or the school teacher) reported to the authorities, who, sure enough, found a machine gun hidden under sacks of manure at the nursery. There is, probably, some basis of fact for these ^{and} other stories. The point is that as of January 29, a large number of California citizens were in the mood to believe that every Japanese gardener had hidden machine guns.

In order to understand the very real force behind, and the potential dynamite involved in, the California citizens' reaction to the whole situation, it would be well to recall several factors that influence them; factors that existed long before any late campaign - so far as there is any - was begun. But they are there and create a highly combustible situation. A situation in which either the deliberate fanning of hate mongers (most of whom have the most patriotic motives in the world, incidentally) or the spark of

even one act of successful sabotage perpetrated by a Japanese might easily flare in a terrific conflagration.

For, and this must be considered as one of the factors, California has a not-too-distant vigilante past. When California citizens have mistrusted the effectiveness of the actions of their officials or have been angered at what they considered lack of action - they have not hesitated to act themselves, law or no law.

In the present crisis, moreover, they are under a much greater emotional strain than are the citizens of any other state. There are at least three good reasons to support this statement. The first has already been mentioned. Because of geographical position we will be the first to be bombed, shelled or invaded in the event of a continental attack, for not only are we the front door to the country as far as Japan is concerned, we have vital war industries, and supplies - shipping, airplanes, and oil among them.

In the second place it must be understood that whereas all Americans everywhere were stunned, outraged, and filled with grim fury at the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor, Californians had all those emotions raised to the nth degree. Not only are we on the very threshold of the war and may be in physically at any moment, but we have long had an infinitely greater emotional investment in the Islands than have the citizens of any other state.

To ordinary California citizens, Honolulu is no far-away paradise of Hula girls, leis, and haunting lovely music. It's the place next door where we run in to visit our neighbors, our friends, our relatives and our children. The man on the street, the housewife who shops for her own vegetables, the retired Iowa hardware merchant or farmer who lives in Los Angeles, the minister, and the school teacher, the Rotarian and the club woman know their Honolulu and felt personally attacked on Sunday morning.

It is not strange that this should be so. In pioneer years many Cali-

ifornia families sent their sons and daughters to Punahou School in Honolulu for their education. Through the years there has been an even increasing academic exchange, and flow of students to the mainland universities and back. Only a small percentage of these Islanders go on to Eastern universities. Most of them stay here in California at the University of California at Berkeley, Los Angeles or Davis, at Stanford, University of Southern California, Pomona, Occidental, Whittier, Redlands, or Mills College (for Women)

Business ties, too, are closer between California and the Islands than with most other states, as many California firms have branch offices in Honolulu and vice versa, with consequent shifting of personnel. So in a peculiarly real and personal sense, Californians were bombed on that Sunday.

Thirdly, Californians every day of their lives have to look at, and do business with, yellow-skinned, almond-eyed reminders of Pearl Harbor, because most of the Japanese residents in the United States are right here! The very appearance of even the most loyal American citizen of Japanese ancestry is an affront and a reminder. It is peculiarly unfortunate moreover that the small stature, the slant eyes, the yellow skin so lend themselves to caricature of the diabolic and satanic, while the second generation German or Italian citizen, particularly if he has no accent, is not to be differentiated from any of the rest of us. The racial mask of even the most loyal Nisei often ~~is~~ ^{is raised} a fog of emotional instinctive antipathy that ^{the sun of} ~~only~~ reason can dissipate.

So, unless renewed confidence that official organization and action is adequate to protect us, emotion instead of reason may rule, and we may well have more to regret than we now have. For we do have some incidents to regret, although it is conceded that while Californians have behaved to date with a truly remarkable degree of self-restraint, decency and fair play toward resident Japanese, as there have been neither riots, nor any sort of mob action. There have been some untoward and regrettable incidents, however, where mis-

guided "patriots" or hoodlums have insulted or attacked members of the Japanese race, and often the Chinese race, ^{as} a matter of fact, a number of young Chinese girls in San Francisco can testify: For they had their faces soundly slapped on a street in San Francisco Chinatown by a group of patriotic middle-aged ladies of Caucasian ancestry, who were thus doing their bit to win the war!

It has not been "hot-headed" youth that has thus jeopardized national unity through violence, insult, or injustice to local Japanese. This time it was their parents who have occasionally been guilty of thinking and acting emotionally rather than intelligently. It was not a boy, but a gray-haired man who leaned from his car and spat full in the face of a Japanese student the other day in Los Angeles. It's the middle-aged and elderly housewife who won't buy vegetables from a Japanese. It was an elderly lady who felt she couldn't bear to look into the face of her Japanese gardener again and so left his wages to date in a black-bordered envelope in the tool house. He felt badly because he had wanted to see her to say "goodbye" as he was enlisting.

It was not ^a young man but ^{an} elderly one who sold "Jap Hunting Licenses" - good for Duration of Hunting Season - Open Season - No Limit," in San Francisco until the matter was reported to the authorities, who stopped it at once. The reason for this ^{restraint on the part of youth} is plain, as a solid basis of mutual respect, understanding and actual liking has developed in the past decade or two, between American Japanese and other students. This liking has grown quite apart from the growing general dislike of the aggressive actions of the Japanese government.

There can be no doubt but that American sympathy was on the side of the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese war. Too, we were fighting on the same side, and presumably for the same high objectives, in World War No. 1. But action

in Manchukuo and in China as well as the pact with Germany and Italy, had completely changed the American public reaction long before the treacherous attack at Pearl Harbor.

In spite of this, no objective observer today can question the genuine popularity of students of Japanese ancestry in California schools, all the way from the kindergarten to college. And the great majority of the Nisei, American citizens of Japanese parentage, have gone through our public schools. Young men and women who have grown up with them, and have worked and played with them all their lives know - or believe they do - that the vast majority of the Nisei share their own feeling toward a military ruthlessly aggressive Japan, and their own horror at Pearl Harbor.

The fact that some Japanese pilots, shot down in that attack, were products of American schools hasn't affected the young Californians' viewpoint as to the loyalty of the group as a whole. (Incidentally, it would be of interest to know whether or not those particular boys were Kibei - ones who had had grammar school training in Japan and had come - or been sent - back for high school in Honolulu in the one case, and to Oregon State College in the other.) Because to the young man or woman who has participated on an equal footing with Japanese ^{students} in sports, extra-curricular activities in the grammar and high schools, and junior colleges of the State, and has lived under the same roofs with them and young people of other racial backgrounds at International House at Berkeley, in dormitories, in cooperatives and in clubs, and who are fellow members of both scholarship and activity honor societies, the treachery of some Japanese students has not changed their total viewpoint, as they know that there are traitors in every race. No, youths are not the offenders in the scattered cases of insult and attack. There is considerable evidence also that youth ^{is continuing to keep} ~~has kept~~ its head better than the "elders" (particularly, I am afraid, the mammas) in the rising tide of hysteria, ^{in the fact that} ~~For~~ Japanese

Superior Manifold

students are still receiving honors at the hands of fellow students. Press reports announce the election of two Japanese youths to the position of student body presidents in California high schools within the week, and numerous other examples could be cited.

But, as stated, there have been untoward events. However, to date, they have been rare and are still deplored by the great mass of the citizens. True, there have been some forty-one/^{attempted}assassinations of Japanese noted in the ^{would-be}press to date. But all but three of/the assassins were Filipinos.

It should be acknowledged before we become too self-congratulatory over this record of what we have not done, which after all is a matter for pride, that we probably have our local law enforcement officers to thank for at least some of it. For, while most of us were still sitting before our radios in stunned and incredulous horror, our officers were acting to protect the lives and property of local Japanese from us and to prevent rioting. To that end "Lil' Tokyo" in Los Angeles and the Japanese quarters of other cities were roped off, traffic diverted, no crowds permitted to form, or persons to loiter. And it was probably just as well!

Shortly, however, we settled down to the reality of defense preparations, as well as doing our best for the all-out victory effort. As far as Japanese were concerned, we followed the instructions of the Federal authorities, which can be summed up as follows.

It is our duty to be on the alert for any suspicious circumstance from any source; that any such circumstance observed is to be reported at once to the legally constituted authorities for investigation or action; that we are to continue normal relationships with resident Japanese on the presumption of their loyalty, and to abstain from any insult, or injury whatsoever. In short, that we should put into everyday working practice those democratic principles of freedom, fair play, and decent humanity which, after all, are what we are fighting for!

There can be no doubt whatever but that this was, and still is, the officially prescribed course of citizen behavior, as everyone in any sort of authority has stated it explicitly again and again. The President has done so, so has Attorney-General Francis Biddle, and high military and naval officers. Mayor La Guardia and Mrs. Roosevelt urged its absolute necessity. Here in California our own leaders were doing the same thing. On October 6, to give just one example, the "Northern California Committee on Fair Play for Citizens and Aliens of Japanese Ancestry," released an excellent two-page statement, which they followed up with one even stronger on December 29. Governor Olson is honorary chairman, General David P. Barrows is listed as chairman, and the list of twenty-four vice chairmen and over one hundred general committee members is a register of most of the "Big Names" of Northern California.

Californians, however, have made more than a negative contribution to national unity through abstaining from such actions. They have taken numerous positive steps to lessen the hardships and injustices inevitably incident to Federal action in the freezing orders and successive steps of control.

The State Department of Welfare has appointed Miss Anne Cloe Watson - executive of the San Francisco International Institute - as representative and coordinator on "Resources and Problems of Minority Groups."

The State Bar Association and Attorney-General Earl Warren have jointly appointed a statewide Committee on Civil Liberties which will act as part of the official State Defense organization.

Emergency Committees have been formed in communities where they are needed to help the Japanese Citizens League in caring for individual cases, although in many communities the job is still only partially done.

In the foregoing discussion, the writer has attempted to summarize the whys, the past and present, factors influencing public opinion, and how recent public events in California are related to them.

In daring to speak of probable future events, it is with the full consciousness that, even by the time this article can be made public, much of it will be history instead of forecast.

Today public opinion is poised in a state of arrested hysteria, a breathing space of watchful waiting on this most vital defense matter.

If the orders of January 29, the announcement that further orders will follow, as well as the publicity attending the new orders, of the appointment of a coordinator of enemy control agencies, and if in addition the F.B. I. and the Army and Navy Intelligence should publicize a little more as to actual accomplishments, the situation may be in hand.

Much, also, in the opinion of the writer, will depend upon what Senator Hiram Johnson may have to say following his conferences and investigations. If he should be convinced that the Federal program, and the way it is being carried out, is adequate to protect California from fifth column activities of resident Japanese, he will say so. If he does not feel that the present program is adequate, being a man of action, he can be counted upon to do something about it. In either case we will find it easier to relax and play the game according to the rules laid down by Washington. Which will mean that California officials will not feel it incumbent upon them to make and carry out their own programs for self-protection against Japanese enemies and traitors, and that California citizens will continue to treat resident Japanese with fair-minded decency and humanity, leaving all direct action to the authorities.

On the other hand, if the "hate mongers" still feel it their patriotic duty to continue to fan the now smouldering fires of public opinion, and to

In the foregoing discussion, the writer has attempted to summarize the why's, and the past and present factors influencing public opinion, and how recent public events in California are related to them.

In daring to speak of probable future events, it is with the full consciousness that, even by the time this article can be made public, much of it will be history instead of forecast.

Today public opinion is poised in a state of arrested hysteria, a breathing space of watchful waiting, on this most vital defense matter.

If the orders of January 29, the announcement that further orders will follow, as well as the publicity attending the new orders, of the appointment of a coordinator of enemy control agencies, and if in addition the F.B.I. and the Army and Navy Intelligence should publicize a little more as to actual accomplishments, the situation may be in hand.

Which will mean that California officials will not feel it incumbent upon them to make and carry out their own programs for self-protection against Japanese enemies and traitors, and that California citizens will continue to treat resident Japanese with fair-minded decency and humanity, leaving all direct action to the authorities.

If, on the other hand, the "hate mongers" still feel it their patriotic duty to continue to fan the now smouldering fires of public opinion, and to pour over it the inflammable gas of hysterical fear; or if as much as one flagrant case of Japanese sabotage furnishes the spark, there may still be serious results along the paths mentioned, for the ingredients are all there.

pour over it the inflammable gas of hysterical fear; or if as much as one
flagrant case of Japanese sabotage furnishes the spark, there may still be
serious results along the paths mentioned, for the ingredients are all
there.

CALIFORNIA'S JAPANESE IN THE CRISIS

Part III

Mass Interⁿment, Protective Custody and "Voluntary" Commitment of Nisei

As was previously stated, mass interⁿment of California's 93,717 Japanese is being vigorously urged in a powerful press, radio, lecture and chain letter campaign. Under this plan all Japanese would be removed to a "safe" place in the interior of the continent to be held for the duration - presumably at the taxpayers' expense. For only so, so the proponents of this plan sincerely believe, can California be made safe from enemy alien sabotage or fifth column aid to the enemy. This view is based on the belief - equally sincere - (at least on the part of most of those advocating it) that no Japanese, citizen or enemy alien, can possibly be loyal to America as against Japan due mainly to innate racial loyalties, the psychological pull, of not the legal status, of dual citizenship, and to religious conditioning. For as it is pointed out, although there are Japanese Catholics, Protestants, Christian Scientists and Mormons, about 80 per cent of them would class themselves as Buddhists. That, moreover, many of these Buddhists go to the numerous Shinto Temples of California where they are imbued with the doctrines of emperor worship and fanatical religious devotion to him. Also many Japanese Language schools have been maintained, and it is claimed that Japanese children have been taught loyalty to Japan in them.

In further support of their contention that all Japanese must be interned, they point to the fact that due to the youth of the Nisei, financial control of the group of Nisei as a whole is still in the hands of the Issei. The Japanese, then, who are American citizens, are subject to such economic

pressure from the enemy alien one-third of the group as to make it impossible for any of the Nisei to be really loyal, even in case they might want to be.

Another factor must be taken into consideration in understanding why Japanese cannot be loyal Americans, they tell us. For, even before December 7, we, the Caucasian Americans, haven't treated them, either the Issai or the Nisei, in a way to deserve very much loyalty from them. And it is not only the first generation who have been subject to injustice, insult and considerable denial of civil rights during pioneer days. To some degree we are doing the same things today to the Nisei. Among other things, real estate restrictions have kept young Japanese business and professional men from settling in the more pleasant districts of the community where they would like to live and raise their families. They have been forced to live in slum areas, as one result of which there is a new, but a growing, juvenile delinquency problem among their children. Discriminatory restrictions on business properties have also worked great hardships, having the effect of limiting the sale of merchandise to Japanese racials instead of to the community at large. So why should they like us - wouldn't they be better off if Japan should win?

So, in view of all these factors, we can't afford to trust a single one of them, they say. But, to go on with their argument, suppose some of them are loyal. Suppose even that a fair percentage of them are. Just for the sake of carrying the argument to the extreme, suppose that ninety-nine out of one hundred are loyal. What of it, if one in a hundred is a traitor?

For under the circumstances, Blackstone's ancient dictum that "It were better that ninety-nine guilty men go free than that one innocent man should suffer unjustly" is all "Hooey," they say. Suppose that that one, the one we let go free, sets a fire in the ship yards, or the oil fields, or radios vital information to the enemy! A lot better, in their opinion, that

ninety-nine innocent ones should have to suffer some inconvenience (hell - we wouldn't mistreat the guys!) if by so doing the one mean guy, the one taking orders from Tokyo, could be safely shut up before the fire! "And don't fool yourself that all the guys running radios have run down to the police and turned them in because the Government said they were supposed to! There are probably still plenty of them broadcasting if the truth were known. The only way to get those birds is to ship off all the Japs, lock, stock and barrel. This is War!" Which, so far as the writer is able to do it, fairly summarizes the argument in favor of mass internment.

But the "authorities," in this case, the President, the Attorney General and the Secretary of War and of the Navy, knowing all these things (and we have certainly seen to it that they do know them) have not ordered a program of total mass internment for all Japanese. The orders - and so far they can be judged from orders already given the ones to come - not only fall far short of it, but ignore the racial angle of the menace altogether, as they apply to all enemy aliens impartially. Hence they do not apply to the Nisei, even those living in proscribed areas. Why? Does it mean that they are willing to abandon California to the Japanese traitors in our midst in order to uphold the sacred civil rights of the Nisei?, demand the California proponents of the mass internment program. Surely total internment is possible if they want to do it. Isn't it?

The answer is yes, practically speaking, it is possible. A plan has been suggested that could insure the internment of practically the whole resident Japanese population, a description of which follows.

The Issei: Being enemy aliens they can be moved in toto anywhere the Government desires, and kept for the duration.

The Nisei: "Voluntary" commitments.

The proponents of mass internment believe that the Nisei, practically all of them, not only could be induced to undergo "voluntary" internment if the authorities requested it of them, but that for reasons to ^{be} indicated, the great majority of them would do so gladly. Of course in any case a large number of young children (remember that the average age of a Nisei is only 20) would go with their parents to whatever locality the authorities might designate. Most of the rest, it is claimed, could be shown that it actually would be greatly to their advantage, as they would be very much better off both economically and from the standpoint of personal safety than they are in California communities.

Economic argument

In support of this view, proponents point to the ever increasing difficulty that the Nisei are having in holding jobs or keeping their businesses solvent. Fellow workers have had sit-down strikes and thereby forced employers to discharge Japanese. Private industry, either through demonstrated boycott, the fear of it, or as an expression of the personal bias of the responsible heads, have discharged great numbers of them. In addition to which 56 county and 30 city Japanese civil service employees in Los Angeles have been persuaded to take "voluntary" leaves of absence for the duration, and the State is said to be contemplating similar action. They have been told, however, that after the war they will be reinstated with no loss of seniority or tenure.

The pressure brought by economic boycott, by the buying public, or the fear of such boycott, on the part of managers of markets who have had Japanese tenants has had the effect of almost completely wrecking the businesses of a large majority of Japanese, enemy aliens and citizens alike. Many such businesses - most of which prior to December 7 were under the financial control of the Issei, the fathers of the family - were not able to weather the financial

storms raised by the Government "freezing" orders immediately following the attack. Following the first treasury orders and the period of total abeyance of any business transactions whatsoever on the part of the Issei, a succeeding series of orders gradually unfroze their assets and permitted those considered safe to resume business, but only upon permit in each individual case.

In the meantime, however, many of their creditors have "cracked down" on them with the result that many who were financially over-extended went out of business. In some instances insurance companies cancelled policies on their trucks, and as the State requires them to carry insurance in order to do business, they also had to quit. Many licenses have been revoked or renewals refused. It is claimed, moreover, that Americans of other racial background have not, unfortunately, been above taking advantage of the situation by giving false evidence to the authorities about Japanese whose business they coveted. By the time the necessary investigations could be made and the Japanese released by the authorities, the business was gone. It is also said, in support of the view that the Nisei would be glad to join the Issei for the duration in a "safe" place, that Japanese fishermen are now, or soon will be on charity, as not a single Japanese fisherman, either citizen or enemy alien, has been permitted to go out in a boat since December 7.

It is estimated that there are several hundred cases of desperate needy in "Li'l Tokyo." Social workers are helping the Japanese American Citizens League in meeting these problems, but the situation is bad. And it is very likely to grow worse instead of better as the long and desperately serious struggle goes on.

Safer

It is said also that all Japanese would be physically safer if removed from daily contact with citizens of different racial background, and hence should be glad to voluntarily commit themselves for the duration. It is

conceded that Californians have behaved, to date, with a truly remarkable degree of self-restraint toward resident Japanese, but, so it is said, this cannot be expected to continue over a long period of time.

They would be safe, too, from the depredations of criminals, not all of which can be prevented by the law enforcement agencies.

It was to be expected of course that the criminal element would try to take advantage of this situation, just as they will of blackouts or any other opening. Japanese generally were too shamed and terrified to question any order from what seemed to be "authority" and hence were often easy prey.

It was reported, to mention just once case as typical of many, that one enterprising crook walked into a store, said he was a "G" man, demanded the cash in both the safe and register, over a thousand dollars, and walked away with it without leaving even a fake receipt. Many more have been made the victims of blackmail, and many types of "racket."

Finally, it is said, any remaining Nisei might be induced to "voluntarily" commit themselves to internment as a matter of patriotic self-sacrifice.

On January 21 Representative Leland M. Ford of California made a suggestion to this effect on the grounds that no Nisei, if he were loyal, could refuse such a request on the part of the Government. It was conceded that it would work great hardship in individual cases, but we are reminded that all of us of every racial background are undergoing some hardship and must expect much more. The young men drafted into the armed forces are undergoing hardship, too. Incidentally, the writer has heard no suggestion to date as what the total internment advocates propose to do with the 5,000 Nisei who also are serving in our armed forces. Presumably, on the basis of the theory of total racial disloyalty, they should be removed from wherever they are, and from whatever they are doing, and herded into the concentration camp with the rest.

In spite of the foregoing arguments, the declared policy of the Government to date differs not only in degree but in kind from the mass internment demanded by many Californians.

Before discussing briefly the what and the probable why of these differences it should be recognized that the same broad policy of prevention underlies both. For neither the Government nor California is willing to wait passively until an act of sabotage occurs and then to punish the offender - providing, of course, that we can discover who did it, and can catch him!

Prevention in medicine and public health, and in Public Works, flood and erosion control, buildings to withstand earthquakes, and the like, are accepted commonplaces of procedure. More recently, and more germane to the subject is the adoption of a program of prevention in the field of criminal administration. Laws defining defective delinquents, constitutional psychopaths, and other special groups, and providing for their "protective custody" in order to protect others from their probable future acts, have been adopted by some states, California among them. The whole philosophy of the Youth Correction Authority Act, sponsored by the American Law Institute, is the same; preventive treatment of the offender rather than punishment for offense already committed. It may have some bearing on the issue that California should have been the first, and is today the only, state to have set up such a Youth Correction Authority, which is proof enough that our citizens are completely "sold" on the idea of prevention of anti-social behavior.

But that Act set up a board of experts, "the Authority," to diagnose the problem, to decide on what course of treatment would best attain the desired ends, and to carry out the program agreed upon.

There can be no doubt that the problem of preventing sabotage and fifth column activity in California is a deadly serious one. Everyone is agreed on that. But there is disagreement (and unhappily it has already reached the name-calling stage in California) as to the best method that

will actually prevent it.

It should be remembered that in this case, also, there is an "Authority." It consists of the President, the Attorney General, the Secretaries of War and the Navy. Theirs is the legally constituted obligation. They weigh all the factors, decide upon a policy, a course of action that, in their considered opinion, will best prevent sabotage, and through their agents, the F.B.I. and the Army and Navy Intelligence, they put it into effect.

For reasons already discussed, some California officials and citizens disagree with the diagnosis and hence have both demanded a new policy, and in some cases have taken independent action based on their own diagnosis. The orders of January 29 make this fundamental difference in diagnosis very plain, for they apply alike to all enemy aliens, and they do not apply to the Wisei. Hence, by official action the Government has confirmed its own policy, as stated on many previous occasions, that all American citizens shall be treated on the presumption of loyalty, instead of disloyalty. Hence the "Authority" apparently believes that Japanese racial parentage is not, in and of itself, proof of potential disloyalty.

A citizen cannot know what considerations, in view of the arguments to the contrary already presented, may have influenced them. But the arguments used by those Californians who share the conclusion, as a matter of personal conviction, might be briefly stated at this point.

According to this view it is abhorrent to make "race" a basis of any discriminatory action. One of the things we dislike most about Hitler is that he has done just that. Also, so the proponents of this view tell us, we should be a bit careful about making any assumptions of honest, straight-dealing white men versus deceitful, treacherous yellow men. For actually there are about five times as many yellow men fighting on our side in this War, as there are on the side we are fighting against. Then too, it is pointed out, it is

treading on very thin ice indeed to raise any racial issues in America-- the melting pot of all the races of the world. For by so doing we threaten to impair that unity that must be maintained in the interests of a speedy victory. Already other racial minorities in California are worried and uncertain (and hence certainly less effective in whatever they may be doing) at the popular demand for total mass interment of all Japanese on the basis of innate racial disloyalty. For once it starts there is no telling where it will strike next! There can be no surer way to disrupt our people.

Those who hold the general views expressed above may, or may not, believe in the loyalty of a large percentage of the Japanese but there are many Caucasian Americans who do believe in it. They believe that religious "conditioning" in Shinto Temples, the loyalty to Japan because Japan, under her own laws, still considers them as Japanese subjects, their "training" in Japanese language schools, or even the fact that they haven't always been treated very well have been greatly over-valued as against the factors that have tended to make them Americans.

They say that the majority of young Nisei (like the majority of young Americans!) claim only a nominal alliance with the church. That though they may say they are Budhists that it is to be taken in the same category as the Methodists or Congregational "religious preference" registration of American college students. That while it is true that a certain, perhaps a large, percentage of the Nisei have attended Japanese language schools that they are also the products (all of them except the few thousand ~~or so~~ Kibei noted) of the California school system. And it should be said that California schools have long taken all this new educational philosophy--training for citizenship and well adjusted social living--with deadly seriousness. In this connection

(in the opinion of the proponents of this view) there is at least some evidence that Japanese students have actually become good citizens, to be found in their almost universal popularity with fellow students, and the high regard in which they are held by them. Those who believe that a large percentage of the Japanese are loyal, acknowledge the charge that we have not always treated them in a way to deserve loyalty, but point out that our way of life has given them opportunities for a higher standard of living and for self-fulfillment that would have been impossible to them in Japan. The fact that they remained here even under the legal (in the case of the Issei) and social restrictions which we imposed upon them is offered as proof that our way of life had become their way.

As a matter of fact, all of this argument both pro and con might well be ruled out, for who can look into a man's heart and read there his intentions? Neither can you know those intentions by what he says. Which is why the writer is not including in this article any of the very beautifully expressed creeds, pledges of loyalty, or statements issued by Nisei and their organization, the Japanese American Citizens League. Neither should the fact that, to date, there has been no serious act of Japanese sabotage, be taken as evidence that none is intended. It may only mean that "The Day" has not arrived.

But there is evidence of loyalty on the part of local Japanese that no account of this subject could fail to mention and remain impartial. The number of suicides among the Issei must be considered indication of the way in which at least some of them feel. To date the writer has noted press accounts of eight, of which the following may be typical.

An elderly "enemy alien" heard the news of the Pearl Harbor attack on the street, went back to his shabby room and killed himself. He left a note in which he said that he had lost face with all his American friends because of the terrible action of his countrymen and so could live no longer!

Another bit of evidence may be contained in the fact, as stated in the press, that the ratio of enlistments to draftees in the armed forces of the United States is higher with the Japanese than with any other racial group.

It is evidence that, again according to press stories, disloyal members of the group, Issai, Nisei or Kibei, are being turned over to the Authorities by members of their own race, sometimes even by members of their own families. It should be borne in mind, in this connection, that all Japanese so cooperating with the "Authority" have thereby placed themselves at the head of the list of those to be shot if the Japanese should win.

The "all out" actions (leaving the protestations out of it) of the Japanese American Citizens League might also be considered as evidence of loyalty. For they have acted as the official and the unofficial "go-between" of the Authority, as well as the local law enforcement officials in many of their dealings with the Japanese residents. They have aided civilian defense in countless ways and have given much evidence that they are trying in every way in which they possibly can to demonstrate their loyalty.

There are some sixty chapters of the League, and although most of them are in California, they are in nearly every community in the country where there is any more than a negligible number of Japanese.

The officers are outstanding young American citizens of Japanese parentage. The Executive Secretary of the organization, Mike Masaoka, was a professor of Journalism at the University of Utah, where, it is said, he was chosen the outstanding citizen of that state only last year. Saburo Kido, the National President, is a Brilliant and notably outstanding attorney.

For all of these reasons then, many Californians are in accord with the Federal Government's rejection of the theory that innate racial disloyalty of the Japanese, necessitates different treatment than that accorded other enemy alien racials.

From the hue and cry against Japanese it might seem that we in California have forgotten that there are any other enemies than Japan. There are even those who say that we never have known it ! Whereas, as far as the danger of espionage or sabotage is concerned, spies or traitors of the other enemy racial groups might well be infinitely more dangerous, especially now after Pearl Harbor has put us on the alert for Japanese fifth columnists. It is obvious that a Japanese, either Issei or Nisei, would stand very little chance these days to snoop around where he shouldn't be, either before or after the evacuation order. But Caucasians can snoop, and doubtless many of them are doing it. And Japanese money can still pay the bills whether all Japanese are in internment camps or in "protective custody". There is also the fact that the Issei (since 1870) couldn't have become citizens while either of the others could.

Besides these fundamental differences in kind between the Federal action and the proposed mass internment of all Japanese, there are also differences of degree. The Federal plan, to date at least, proscribes only certain areas - not the State as a whole. Unless hysteria has been averted, however, there may be wholesale petitioning of the Attorney General to be included in the proscribed areas on the part of local chambers of commerce, civic leaders or officials. This may not mean any real distrust of Japanese already in the community who have demonstrated their loyalty and become a part of

the group. For no California community feels anything but horror at the possibility of having large numbers of unknown Japanese moved in on them from the proscribed areas. This feeling it must be confessed, is very largely shared by the local Japanese living in the communities concerned. But the announcement has been made that additional areas will be added so that, eventually, most of the State will be included.

The Federal plan is one of "protective custody" rather than of internment, which constitutes a second difference in degree. It is proposed that enemy aliens be taken to some "safe" place and put on productive work with the dual objective of earning their own living, and of aiding the national effort.

From both the speed and direction of events in California, it may shortly be impossible for any Japanese to earn a living except in the protective custody of the Government. By the time this is printed it may well be that the Nisei will not only be "volunteering" but will actually be petitioning to be permitted to live and earn a living in those "safe" places with their parents, the Issei. Or, it may be, that the President will declare the whole Pacific Coast a "combat zone". Under the wide powers which such a Proclamation would vest in the Army, the actions of any resident or citizen could be controlled, including his internment. The writer has the utmost confidence that if this should be done those charged with the exercise of those tremendous powers will have the long time as well as the immediate good in mind, and hence will order the control or custody solely on the basis of potential danger rather than on the basis of economic, political, or racial background. It is not the way the Government planned or wanted it. Neither, remembering all the factors that went into the California citizens' rebellion against that plan, can it be said to be their fault. Least of all can it be said to be the fault of those

of the Japanese, both Issei and Nisei, who are loyal. California Japanese are on "a spot" as one of them expressed it to the writer.

There is no doubt but that theirs is a tragic situation, but so are we all - to a greater or lesser degree - so is everyone in the whole wide world, in a tragic situation. And until the ruthless aggressors are definitely and finally defeated so shall we all be. But it will be well for Californians to remember that - once the great job is done - that we might well concern ourselves in seeing that some of those principles of justice, freedom and fair play, which we will have helped to re-establish in the far-flung parts of the globe, are also re-established in California.

REPORT OF CONFERENCE AT
UNIVERSITY METHODIST CHURCH ON
DECEMBER 11, 1941.

This was a conference between representatives of various organizations concerned with the plight of members of the Japanese race in Los Angeles and vicinity, as a result of the outbreak of hostilities between United States and Japan. The meeting was presided over by Fred Fertig, Pastor of one of the churches in the Japanese section of town. Among those present were Reverend Wendell Miller, Reverend E. P. Ryland, Reverend Baxter (Negro Pastor), Representatives of the International Institute and of various Japanese labor organizations and Gale Seeman of the University of Religious Conference.

The representative of the Retail Clerks' Union, Bob Sauto, reported that there were 150 permanently unemployed, as a result of the closing of markets run by citizens of Japan. Thrifty Marts were purchased by Fitzsimmons immediately, and as a consequence, the employees of Thrifty Marts were retained. In many places, the owners of the master lease in large markets insisted on the dismissal of the Japanese-Americans who worked in the vegetable department, for fear that the public would boycott any stores employing such persons. In many places where this was done, the public protested and business actually fell off, so that the owners of the master lease found it necessary, for the protection of the trade of a particular market to relieve vegetable departments of the restriction against the employment of members of the Japanese race. In one of the McDaniels Markets, a Mr. Al Woling (?), claiming that pressure had been brought by the American Legion, required the manager to dismiss Japanese-American employees. Because of the shortage of union labor, it has not been possible to replace these dismissed Japanese with Caucasian substitutes.

On the morning of December 11, the Federal Reserve Bank issued a ruling requiring all transactions with nationals of Japan to be on a strictly cash basis, and permitting the continued operation of food stores owned by nationals where ten or less persons were employed to remain open. All other businesses owned by nationals, where two or less were employed were not required to cease operations.

On Sunday, at one of the Roberts Markets, a number of hoodlums gathered outside and delivered this ultimatum to the manager: "Are you going to throw out these Japs, or will we have to do it for you?" After consulting with the boys, they were sent home for a week on full pay and told to return to be re-employed. The total unemployed in Santa Monica, as a result of this crisis, is about 70, and in San Pedro, about 250.

A report from a representative of the Wholesale Market Workers (Horticultural Society) indicated that unemployment was the only problem, that 700 were out of work, and that they were expected to be rehired on Sunday.

Mr. Fertig reported that only aliens are being locked up and only when some particular fact in their past puts them in a suspicious position. Three quarters of those arrested are war veterans of the Sino-Japanese War or the Russo-Japanese War, and these men are between 60 and 80 years of age. One parishioner is 84 years of age. Togo Tanaka, Editor of one of the local Japanese papers, is being held. Some of those arrested were members of a War Society of Japan and were required to be members from the circumstance that they were in partnership with

businessmen in Japan, who are forced to join. Other leaders in the Japanese colony were arrested for the reasons that they had entertained Japanese Army and Navy officers when the latter visited Los Angeles in past years. ^{1/}

The Japanese citizens in "Little Tokyo" do not seem to feel much resentment, their reaction being that had they been in Japan in similar circumstances they would have been dealt with much less decently. One of the ministers present reported that he got in touch with the Chaplain at the Federal Prison on Terminal Island, who reported that the arrested men sent word that they have been better treated in the hands of the authorities than they have been treated at home.

A representative of the Japanese Institute could not report definitely at this early date on the effect of the crisis on house-workers and office-workers. It was reported that Robinson's Department Store released all members of the Japanese race employed there. The first report made indicated that they were to continue at full pay, pending the establishment of a policy by the company and that their right to Christmas bonus would not be lost. However, later reports received outside the conference seemed to indicate that all were fired and no provision is being made for their financial welfare by the company.

Lieutenant Commander Kenneth Ringle, head of the 11th District Naval Intelligence, has a Nisei girl working in his home and he announced on Monday night to a meeting of Japanese-Americans that he will keep her as a symbol of his faith in the loyalty of Nisei Japanese.

The Pastor of the Japanese Christian Church reported on the effect on workers who are citizens of Japan. There are about 150 to 160 unemployed, as a consequence of the emergency. Apparently, the gardeners are perfectly safe. Only one has reported any discrimination. He was told, on Monday morning, by the owner of an estate who pays him \$100.00 a month, that he was discharged. That night he received a phone call from his former employer rehiring him. One Nisei gardener has lost two or three places.

Finance.

The manager of the Security First National Bank, at 12th and Maple, reported that on Monday next, money will be released under restrictions and on a license system to Esei Japanese whose funds have been frozen. He also stated that the giving of actual cash to Japanese citizens is contrary to the letter of the law. If aid is to be given, it is safest to give actual food, housing, etc. A Nisei is not being permitted to run the business owned by his parents, who are Esei.

Housing.

Miss Sukao reports that there have been some evictions, but in most cases, after an interview, it was found that the families evicted were not entirely without resources. Some landlords have evicted their tenants, fearing perhaps that the frozen fund situation will cause them to lose rent. Several hotels have been closed and their closure is being determined in a peculiar manner, which indicates that the F. B. I. may be working on a particular case. The circumstance is that those hotels, the owners of which returned from Japan since June 16, 1940, are being

^{1/}Some were arrested for having made contributions to Japanese causes; for the purchase of airplanes, etc.

are being closed. The Pacific Hotel, New Palace Hotel and Eagle Hotel have already been shut up.

Gale Seeman reported on conditions in the schools, stating that on Monday morning, the President of U. S. C., Dr. von Kleinschmidt, called an assembly during which he pointed out that the position of the Esei and Nisei Japanese on the campus was a very tragic one, and that the student body should show the utmost courtesy and sympathy for them. One of those present had attended a conference with Vierling Kersey, Superintendent of Schools. A special Principals' Meeting has been called, and in all the schools, assemblies have been called at which exhortations to the tolerance of students have been made. The teachers are asked to exercise special vigilance to preserve normal relations between the students. Mr. Kersey has a day to day attendance check on all students of the Japanese race in Los Angeles. He reported that there have been two absences and in the case of an absence, the principal of the school is sent to the home of the absent student to confer with the parents and urge them to send their children to school as usual. Most of the rumors of violence against Japanese students by non-Japanese students are unfounded, according to Kersey. However, Fred Fertig reported that a Japanese girl, a member of his church, was stoned and the school bus was attacked with stones and apples. It was reported that the reaction in most of the schools has been sympathetic. The non-Japanese students expressed considerable interest in the reaction of the Japanese students to recent events. There are rumors that Negro students have been particularly vicious toward the Japanese. Reverend Baxter could not confirm any of these rumors, but declared he would check on them. The twelve Esei exchange students at U. S. C. are in a desperate condition. If they work, they violate the terms of their student residence here, their funds have been frozen and they may soon be without food, clothing, or housing (subsequent reports indicate that their needs have been attended to).

The papers have been very fair.^{1/} Mayor Bowron and District Attorney Dockweiler have gone out of their way to cooperate. The church federation has formed a "Church Emergency Defense Committee" and various activities already in progress were reported by which needy families are being provided for and preparations are being made for possible more serious developments.

A subsequent conference in the office of John L. Mixon, Director of the Church Emergency Defense Committee, was held on December 12. Mr. Mixon suggested that the Civilian Defense Council will eventually be the superintending coordinating group. It was recommended that all funds be given directly to the Church Emergency Defense Committee, which will turn them over to the International Institute. Each church, or other organization, should do as much as it possibly can and then refer all needs to the International Institute. F. D. R. Moote has been consulted on the legal aspects of the situation and he told Mr. Mixon that no law restricts the employment of Japanese for personal services and that they may continue to act as house-keepers and gardeners, etc. Church services and church bulletins may continue in the Japanese language, but to preserve comfortable relations with the F. B. I. it is considered advisable to have English translations available on request. The sheriff, the Chief of Police and the F. B. I.^{2/} have also indicated to George Gleason that meetings may be continued in Japanese.^{2/} There has been recommended that a

^{1/}One exception was a careless statement by Armsworth of the Times on Thursday.

^{2/}The authority on this from the F. B. I. asks that it remain strictly confidential.

police pass be issued to all Japanese Pastors who are engaged in visiting their parishioners.

All job placement will be handled temporarily through the Church Emergency Defense Committee office until such time as machinery has been set up elsewhere.

On behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, I offered such legal assistance as we are able to provide in all cases where civil rights are involved.

(Signed) Frank J. Barry, Jr.
American Civil Liberties Union