

not only in Area Number I but now also in Area Number II, is scarcely consistent with Secretary Stimson's argument concerning the proximity of the Japanese to fortifications and manufacturing plants.

What About Mob Violence?

The further argument suggested in Secretary Stimson's letter, and openly stated by many others, that evacuation was an alternative preferable to mob violence, can be dismissed by saying that if so, or in so far as it is so, it is a disgrace to our democracy. It is a confession of failure of the American way of life which gives no cause for any optimism about its future. Here again one must go for parallel to the practice of protective custody in totalitarian states. As a matter of fact some of the testimony before various investigating bodies minimized the danger of mob action if the Government should take a firm stand.

No democracy even in war time can completely surrender its own principles to war and look for a victory of anything but dictatorship. In this case, even in terms of winning the war, such dubious advantage as may have been gained by the evacuation of thousands of American citizens has been more than offset by the ammunition it has doubtless given to Japanese propagandists throughout Asia. We need desperately the support and friendship of Asiatic peoples in this struggle. Our record of unilateral exclusion laws, of special privileges extorted from China, and of military help to China which has been both little and late, does not give us an invulnerable place in Asiatic affections. Now we have added wholesale evacuation which will be explained in terms of racial prejudice all over Asia, greatly to our hurt.

Evacuation Sabotages Liberal Asiatic Policy

It is folly to believe that the hatred of the Chinese for the Japanese is so complete that nothing we can do will

make any difference. A Chinese American college graduate reported that in San Francisco's Chinatown the people aren't saying anything publicly, but among themselves they are opposed to evacuation and feel that it's only luck that the Chinese are not evacuees instead of the Japanese.

In Hawaii it is alleged that Chinese and Japanese workers are making common cause against the discrimination in wages of which they were made the victims when the military authorities imported large numbers of Caucasian workers. It would take a great amount of sabotage by Japanese-Americans on the west coast to equal in damage the sabotage of our supposedly liberal Asiatic policy by this wholesale evacuation.

III

WHAT TO DO

This pamphlet is written, published and circulated not only to disseminate information but to arouse action. We hope that its readers will support our whole program which we shall set down in one, two, three order. However, those who feel that they cannot support every proposal because of the desperate emergency of war, have the greater obligation to support plans which will tend to ameliorate the plight of our fellow citizens and assert in the eyes of the whole world the essential humanity of the American people. A well rounded program of action should include all of the following elements:

End Mass Evacuation

1. Insistence that there be no further mass evacuation of any aliens or American citizens by the military on the strength of the Presidential order of February 19th in any district anywhere in the country. Insistence also that there be no further use of this order against individuals by the military. There are drastic enough laws, enough police, and enough courts, to deal in legitimate fashion with of-

fenses which individuals may commit. If a genuine military emergency should be created by imminent invasion, martial law, applied to a whole area without discrimination, is a legitimate remedy.

Civilian Board Hearings

2. The same sort of intelligent and discriminate treatment which, on the whole, the government is trying to extend to enemy aliens of German and Italian nationality, should be granted to enemy aliens of Japanese nationality. In many cases that will require hearings before civilian boards, such as have done good work in handling German and Italian cases. This provision will take care of Japanese who are outside of the zones of evacuation. It could also be applied in principle to relocation of alien evacuees who otherwise will be kept in camps at least for the duration of the war.

Citizenship Rights for Japanese Americans

3. Every practicable means should be taken to re-establish the principle that Japanese Americans are citizens entitled to all the rights of citizens. They should not be brought before courts, civil or military, or even hearing boards, to establish their loyalty unless that is attacked by specific charges against them. To reestablish the full rights of citizens will require either a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States against the constitutionality of their evacuation, or a rescinding of the military order, and probably of the basic Presidential order, under which they were evacuated. As we have said neither of these is likely during the duration of the war. The most famous of the Civil War tests of civil liberty was not decided until after the war was over, but that decision, *ex parte Milligan*, has been a buttress to American rights. Those of us who believe that the Presidential order, the law declaring disobedience to military orders a crime, and the military orders

themselves are unconstitutional, as well as wholly adverse to civil liberty, have no choice but to support as best as we can the pending cases which seek establishment of the rights of citizens.

More Power to War Relocation Authority

4. All authority over the evacuees everywhere, in assembly camps and the more permanent camps, should be centered in the War Relocation Authority rather than the army.

Abandon Temporary Shelters

5. Every effort must be made to see that temporary shelters in which life can scarcely be maintained at a human level shall not through any cause be permitted to become even semi permanent. These camps with their crowding, imperfect housing, lack of privacy, and meagerness of equipment or facilities for normal living must not be tolerated a day longer than is absolutely necessary.

Not Barracks But Villages of Homes

6. Permanent camps should not be built on the model of barracks for soldiers or unmarried workers, but as villages or communities with housing fit for families. Japanese especially would appreciate the opportunity to have their own homes and gardens.

Abolish Serf Wage Scales

7. Wages of the work projects which the War Relocation Authority has instituted should equal similar pay for similar work done by free labor. To do less is to create a class of serfs. A comparison sometimes is made between these camps and work projects or CCC camps for the unemployed which is misleading. Not only did CCC and WPA pay a much better scale, but work in them was voluntary, a welcome alternative to unemployment. Japanese American citizens were evacuated from

their jobs in which they were self supporting, and while they have not as yet been officially compelled to take the work that has been offered them, as time goes on, more and more they will be under the compulsion of extreme poverty to accept it no matter on what terms.

The government brings psychological pressure moreover, by saying that "Enlistment in the war relocation work corps is accepted as a clear indication of the enlistee's patriotism and loyalty to the United States." Still further pressure is indicated by reports of the policy (already said to be in effect in one or two centers) under which men who refuse to work will be charged with board.

Somewhat ironically, the government states that its guiding principle is that "the relocation projects will be partnership enterprises between the relocated communities and the federal government." So far as the present work projects are concerned, there is no partnership at all and the conditions of enlistment in these projects give to the authorities the absolute power they would have over a work army.

The American standard of life is not maintained on board and bed plus a cash payment of from \$8 to \$19 a month — which is the present scale. This is a condition which should be remedied at once.

Government Should Compensate

8. The sound American principle that compensation should be paid to an individual when for a public purpose his rights are impaired or his property is taken, ought to be applied retroactively to the Japanese. Unquestionably the losses of the evacuees are hard to measure individually in terms of dollars and cents, but when that can be done the government should make individual compensation. But Carey McWilliams is on solid ground in suggesting that governmental compensation should take the form primarily of providing "group opportunities which are essentially the

same as those destroyed." Mr. McWilliams doubts that this can be done during the war. But relocation authorities should be imaginative in the matter of housing at the permanent camps and in the type of work offered even in these difficult days.

Relocate in American Communities

9. Every practicable effort should be made by the Federal Government through the War Relocation Authority or otherwise, as soon as possible, to reestablish Japanese and Japanese Americans within American communities. As we have seen, a simple return to their own old homes will be impossible. Carey McWilliams writing in *Common Ground*, quotes his friend, S. J. Oki as saying: "As far as the Japanese are concerned the evacuation program could become a blessing. Their sweat shops are no more, and slave camps in the field are about to be disbanded." They should not be restored. Ideally Japanese families should be relocated in American communities in relatively small groups, not in such colonies as existed in some west coast cities and agricultural areas. The principle of compensation to which I have referred would make this problem easier.

The all important thing to develop as soon as possible is the attitude and the practical plans which will permit the permanent resettlement of Japanese in families as normal citizens of American communities. Advanced students should be encouraged, not discouraged, in continuing their education in American colleges.

What Is Being Done

Just what each of us can do to help carry out such a program as we have outlined obviously will depend upon many circumstances including our proximity to the affected areas.

Churches and civic groups have a peculiar responsibility for friendly contacts with Japanese in the camps and in the

communities to which they may go for temporary or permanent work. The churches, both locally and nationally, have, as we have said, shown an encouraging appreciation of this problem. There is much to be done.

Labor unions and farmers organizations have a less satisfactory record. Mr. Louis Goldblatt, the Secretary of the California State Congress of Industrial Organizations, appeared before the Tolan Committee to make a vigorous attack upon local authorities and agitators — he mentioned particularly the Hearst newspapers — for “whipping up” attacks against the native born Japanese. But he believed that public hysteria and threats of vigilante action prevented individual selective treatment of the Japanese.

The Red Caps Union, United Transport Service Employees of America, which numbered Japanese among the predominantly Negro membership, significantly adopted sympathetic resolutions. But, as one might expect, the principal concern of most unions which interested themselves at all in the situation was to protect their jobs, actual and potential, against evacuee competition. Members of unions and of various farmers organizations ought to get the bodies to which they belong to exert their power in behalf of the establishment of the prevailing rate of wages in town and country work. Any other principle jeopardizes labor’s hard won standards. Japanese workers should be welcomed into labor unions and farm organizations.

While public opinion on the west coast has been all too easily mobilized against not only the Japanese American people but American freedom, some individuals and organizations have gone all the way in protesting the whole evacuation process. The Socialist Party, the west coast Civil Liberties committees, the California Race Relations Commission, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and doubtless other organizations have taken this stand. Their supporters on the west coast should grow in numbers and zeal for

justice and liberty. But Japanese evacuation is not by any means merely a regional problem. It concerns the whole nation.

For all of us there is the task of educating American public opinion and the American government on the significance of the issues raised by the evacuation of citizens into concentration camps. The greatest victim of our procedure against the Japanese is not the Japanese themselves; it is our whole concept of liberty, our standard of justice, and the appeal which American democracy ought to be making to the oppressed peoples of the world.

I want to join the Post War World Council and help win the peace. I believe there must be world organization to achieve economic justice, to assure equality for all races and peoples and to end imperialism and all dictatorships. I will work with the Council for the earliest possible attainment of a just, lasting and democratic peace.

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