

are interlocked with terror and the doing of much that we hate. The fine readiness of so many Japanese-Americans to help in the sad evacuation of themselves and their people is made possible only by the hard necessity of what seems injustice. A fine flower from foul earth! "Shall we do evil that good may come? God forbid," says St. Paul. And yet it is this tangled world of misery which reveals the underlying redeeming love of God. The Churches are stirred as never

before by the vision of a new social order. They know that God has laid upon them a duty, that insistent summons to create a new world—what is it but the call of God, the pleading of His redeeming love. We cannot escape Him. He lays His hand upon us in awful justice but through the thunder of His wrath sounds the voice of His love. He will be exalted among the nations; He will be exalted on the earth.

E. L. P.

The Evacuation of Japanese Citizens

WE have received a very considerable mail from our readers in comment upon our editorial of April 20th, "A Blot on Our Record," discussing the mass evacuation of Japanese citizens from the coastal regions of California. Many letters have naturally come from California and most, though not all, have been critical of our position. Limitations of space prevent the full publication of all the letters, but herewith we present significant excerpts from many of them.

"... If comment is considered appropriate I should like to say that Dr. Henry S. Leiper's description of 'A Blot on Our Record' can be commended for its candid statement of his opinion relative to internment of California Japanese and its fine expression of sympathy for them in their predicament. It is well also to remember there is a process of law indicated in the Constitutional rights of citizens whatever their ancestry.

"However, the present time is far from normal when millions turn from their occupations and homes to provide armed defense of our country and when similar action is taken by people of other lands. The tension is so great and feelings are so irritated that government is put on its metal to meet the expectations of the people. Some of those people who have a Japanese ancestry understand this and are convinced that strong measures should be taken to insure our safety. Internment is inconvenient and narrows their affairs, but also it shields them from exasperation. . . ."

Burdette B. Brown, Los Angeles, Calif.

"... Your article 'A Blot on Our Record' in your April 20th number seems hardly fair. I fear it may serve the Axis propaganda better than our cause. The April *Current History* page

7-8 does not corroborate some of your findings regarding the innocence of the Japanese on the western coast. It is true that the authority they give is doubtful. . . ."

Mary Lillian Dodd, Millbrook, N. Y.

"... It (the April 20th editorial) has all the gossamer grandeur of the era of utopian perfectionism. I do not think it squares with the experience of today when safety simply cannot be trifled with. We are now paying enough for the beautiful nonsense many 'idealists' and clergymen peddled in the last twenty years. I wonder how Dr. Leiper's interests of a decade ago jibe with his position on *Christianity and Crisis*? This article may, perhaps, be an 'after image' of older thoughts slipping back to an erstwhile accustomed place. But we cannot, in my opinion, afford to stab with such pieces those who plan seriously for safe defenses. Loyal Japanese should not—and will not—kick when Americans have been yanked away from business and home and are giving life and all! The whole thing is the beautiful nonsense of the utopian era we are now paying for. . . ."

Chaplain H. H. Lippincott USN Retired
Morristown, N. J.

"... I question the accuracy of Dr. Leiper's statement that the removing of the Japanese from the coast was based on political expediency. Our Constitution and Bill of Rights under war conditions cannot be held to apply in this emergency. Our national life is at stake. Measures which would be intolerable under peace conditions may now properly be enforced.

"As a friendly supporter of *Christianity and Crisis* I am disappointed that you should publish such an attack on our Administration at Wash-

ington, which, God knows, is doing a great job under difficult circumstances. It is such ill-advised articles as the one under discussion which bring on the Church the criticism of straight-thinking laymen. . . ."

Byron A. Barlow, Cedar Rapids, Iowa

" . . . I have no possible doubt that the very great majority of the American citizen Japanese are loyal to this country, but the fact remains that it was some of the same group in Honolulu who betrayed their adopted country, and there is no way that these can be sorted out effectively from the loyal ones. It is a very curious coincidence that so many of the small farms owned by Japanese-American farmers in California were placed near to, or actually adjoining, railway lines, power stations, aqueducts, harbors and other highly strategic points, even though the soil at these points was distinctly inferior. I agree that it is a sad and painful thing to have to do, but we are fighting for actual survival just now, not only for ourselves but for all the captive peoples of the world, including the decent Japanese themselves, who don't approve of the savagery of the militaristic leaders. I can see no parallel with the Jews under Hitler, as only the minimum has been done which was consistent with national safety and every consideration has been used to make it as easy as possible for them and to minimize the hardship.

"It is no small point that they are carefully protected now from any outburst of irresponsible popular rage which would be almost inevitable should there be a destructive air raid on this coast, in which case it would be impossible to protect them from attacks by the violent and uncontrolled elements which exist in every community. If they were widely scattered their protection would be impossible and many regrettable tragedies would be sure to occur.

"No internment is pleasant, but the main camp, Manzanar, is located in a part of the state famous for its scenic beauty and health-giving air. . . .

"One of the worst features of war is that the bitter experiences of others under treachery and violence forces those whose only desire has been to 'live in love and charity with their neighbors' to adopt measures which are repugnant and alien to their way of doing things. It then only remains to do these things with as much consideration and kindness as the very difficult circumstances permit. . . ."

Mrs. W. M. Mayes, Ojai, California

" . . . You can see the wrong of Fascism and

of Isolationism, but the impossibility of all of us having our 'constitutional rights' in an emergency doesn't seem to be clear to you. 'Race hatred'—'no single case of disloyalty'—'mob violence'—it is too bad some sane-minded member of your staff couldn't have seen the necessity of verifying a few of these charges before broadcasting them. . . ."

Sidney L. Lasell, Pasadena, California

" . . . I do not always agree with the editorial policy of *Christianity and Crisis*, but this is the finest thing I have read on the situation of the evacuation of the Japanese-Americans. You said something that needed to be said and said it well.

"Here on the Coast we catch the pathos of the situation as well as its injustice, unconstitutionality, and un-Americanism. Not only do those of us who try to be Christian and just and American in this situation suffer in spirit with and for our friends and neighbors of Japanese ancestry, but we are fearful for the future of our country when it adopts such Hitlerian methods. . . ."

Polley Dougherty, Santa Ana, California

We should like to register several points in comment upon these communications:

(1) We do not believe it dangerous or disloyal to criticize the government in wartime. On the contrary we believe that it is dangerous to the spirit of democracy to regard all actions of government in wartime as sacrosanct and as immune to criticism. We do not think it difficult to distinguish between responsible and irresponsible criticism. Our own criticism is based upon very strong convictions, as our readers know, that this war against totalitarianism is a "just" war, in so far as any human cause may be "just." We also believe that it must be waged resolutely and that it will require many sacrifices which are not ordinarily required of our people.

It is always possible for even honest criticism to be erroneous. But we are not convinced of the error of the criticisms we have made. We are certainly not deterred from criticism by the warning that Hitler might make use of our criticism. We know that he can make better use of the fact that our actual practices do not square with our theories and ideals. One of our democratic ideals is that of equal rights without regard to race.

(2) We have always maintained that there is no evil which Hitler represents in an extravagant form which is not present in democratic society in some potential or inchoate form. We have rigorously refuted both the absolutists who thought that we had no right because of these imperfections of our own life to wage a war against totalitarianism and those

who believed that once we were embarked upon such a conflict we should not admit these imperfections either to ourselves or to others.

The predisposition to believe that American-born Japanese are not loyal to our democratic ideals is quite obviously a manifestation of the racial theory. The assumption that American citizens of Japanese birth are more inclined to disloyalty than those of German or Italian descent compounds "color" prejudice with general racial prejudice and adds a dash of "occidental" bias against the "oriental." In a war for democracy which transcends the color line at every point, it is dangerous to regard color as a test of loyalty or disloyalty within our own household.

We might well learn a lesson from Britain on this point. When the war began the British made the most careful investigation of their "enemy aliens," weeded out the disloyal and went upon the assumption that most of their refugees were loyal to the democratic cause, as indeed they were, since many of them had braved Nazi wrath long before the democratic world awoke to its peril. During the hysteria which followed the invasion of the Lowlands, much of this good work was temporarily undone. Stories of treason and sabotage by refugees in Holland and France (most of which were subsequently refuted), prompted the British to place thousands of loyal refugees in camps. Many months were required to correct what was done in a few months of hysteria.

We believe that the stories about the refugee traitors during that period of hysteria were exactly analogous to the stories of treason in Honolulu by Japanese. The latter stories are already fairly well refuted. There was certainly no wholesale sabotage in Hawaii. For that there is official testimony.

In a war fought for political principles transcending the boundaries of race, color and nation, it is important to resist the natural but dangerous tendency to reduce the struggle to national or racial proportions.

(3) We do not deny that there are undoubtedly disloyal elements even among the Nisei, that is, the American born citizens of Japanese parentage. We believe, however, that the Department of Justice felt itself perfectly capable of singling them out and rendering them innocuous. Had the wave of hysteria on the west coast not forced the government's hand, more humane and less drastic methods would have been found to deal with the peril of this treason.

(4) We do not think that the constitutional rights of citizens ought to be lightly abrogated even under the pressure of an emergency. To our correspondents who accuse us of going over to the camp of the utopians we reply that we shall be as rigorous in the future as in the past in criticizing and exposing the essentially anarchistic illusions which underlie many of the criticisms of government in wartime. They are

anarchistic because they regard any coercive act of government as "Fascist," which can only mean that these critics do not understand that government is by its very nature coercive.

We believe that governments must coerce; and that in wartime many liberties must be circumscribed. For that reason it is the more important to make the most careful distinction between the essential liberties, upon which democratic government rests, and the more peripheral liberties, which must be restricted in an emergency.

The mass evacuation of American citizens without due process of law must certainly be regarded as the abrogation of an essential right. It must be emphasized, moreover, that in many cases the sale of the property of these citizens, under pressure, has meant sacrificing it at a fraction of its real value. The whole procedure therefore involved economic expropriation as well as political disinheritance.

We are not certain that anything can be done to stop the mass evacuations; but we are certain that much more than has been done must be done to prevent the injustices which have been done to these citizens from mounting.

As an indication of how this whole matter appears in the eyes of an American citizen of Japanese parentage, we shall present some words from a Japanese pastor for whose complete loyalty to our cause we can vouch. He writes:

"To the people whom I serve these months have been a time of uncertainty, fear, and heartbreaking disappointment. Not that we expected to lead normal lives, but it was a blow to America-loving, peaceful, permanent residents who have lived in America 30 to 50 years, to be suddenly classified as 'enemy aliens' and receive treatment as such. The impact has been an especially hard one for the Nisei, the American citizens of Japanese parentage. They were born in this country, were educated as Americans in public schools, colleges, universities and seminaries, and were thoroughly indoctrinated with the ideals of democracy and fair play. They have no home but this—no allegiance but the United States. Already over 5000 are in the U. S. Army. They have prized and have been proud of their citizenship, not unlike the Roman citizens of the days of St. Paul, especially because their parents were denied the privileges of naturalization and were discriminated against greatly on that account. Suddenly they awoke on the morning of March 3rd, and discovered to their utter bewilderment, that their own government had classified them as Class 3 'enemy aliens' ahead of German and Italian *aliens*. Restrictions swiftly followed. Proclamation of prohibited and restricted areas and other military areas; the restriction on travel to five miles; curfew between 8:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M.; prohibition against crossing the boundary between Area 1 and

Area 2; freezing of voluntary evacuation and forced evacuation orders. Unless one is actually subject to the evacuation order, it is extremely difficult to imagine what it means to families to be evacuated en masse—to families, the average age of whose heads are about 61, who have lived in the locality for 25 to 50 years. This is not entirely unlike the evacuation of Polish Jews by the Nazi regime, only ours is tinged with palliative—some humanitarianism—and thank God for that!

“What the future holds for us is very uncertain, except for the definite knowledge that there will be untold suffering. But it is not the physical suffering that is the most difficult for us. We are willing to go

a second mile in serving and suffering for our nation and for the principles of democracy and freedom for which she stands. But it is the feeling that we are men without country—not by our own choice—but against our will by the decree of the Fourth Army. It is true that there may be some subversive elements in our racial minority—but there are certainly those in other groups and the FBI is surely capable of coping with them.

“. . . ‘However it is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness.’ Let us all endeavor, in the name of our Master, to do our bit for His Kingdom in these days of darkness.”

R. N.

Problems of European Reorganization

EDUARD HEIMANN

IN ANY discussion of European reorganization the chief point at issue is which power is to be called upon to furnish the authority of government.

Two opposite solutions of this problem present themselves. Either the victorious democracies must take the lead, assume the responsibility, and supply the tangible power necessary to establish and secure the new order, or they will withdraw from the scene (both Britain and Russia being empires which reach into Europe but are largely extra-European) and leave it to the continent to work out its own internal problem.

It should not be assumed that the second alternative would abandon the continent to another Hitler. The crushing defeat of Hitler and everything for which he stands is the precondition of the entire arrangement. Without his defeat there is no hope for the world. The shock of that defeat, on the other hand, after the intolerable strain and exuberant promises of the Nazi years, will leave deep marks on the political character of the German people.

Unless we adhere to a racial theory of German wickedness, we must recognize that national as well as individual characters are formed and reformed by the interplay of inner forces and outer experiences. The main character-forming event in Germany was probably the Reformation, which taught Germany the ethic of an unconditional surrender of the individual to the state, whose power, however selfish, was meant to check the disruptive egoisms of individuals and groups. This doctrine made even the bourgeoisie in Germany immune to liberalism and democracy. The Germans may dislike the Nazis, but they obey them by virtue of their innate reverence for the power of the state. If the most concentrated

form of that power is decisively beaten and its ruinous character revealed, as did not happen at the end of the First World War, then at last there is a reasonable hope that Germany may revert to more liberal ideals of government.

However, this change in Germany would not suffice to make the continental solution possible. The organization of Europe must be acceptable to Germany's neighbors. They are the victims of Nazi frightfulness; their endurance and their final uprising to help the invasion armies of the United Nations must be decisive factors in the victory; the solution depends on them.

There may be a chance for their reconciliation with Germany. Many envisage something similar to the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War. Religious fanaticism and aggression reached their climax in that war and were spectacularly demonstrated to be suicidal. Two-thirds of the population of the continent perished in the war and its accompaniment of epidemic and famine. There has been religious peace ever since. So it is hoped now that the continent, emerging from the ocean of horror, would have only one longing: to get rid of nationalism and militarism once and for all. A wave of international tolerance would sweep national boundaries and armies away.

But this would be possible only after the exhaustion of a thirty years' stalemate. In case of a real victory no prospect of a German conversion will prevent an unparalleled outburst of hate and revenge. No differentiation will be made between Germans and Nazis; for while the Nazis gave the orders and took the lead in frightfulness, it was German soldiers who perpetrated it, loyal to their orders as always. The seed of hatred is beyond any imagina-

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