

BLACK MOTHER PRAYING IN THE SUMMER 1948

OWEN DODSON

Dedicated to Negro mothers everywhere
and especially to Lillian C. Dodson

My great God, You been a tenderness ta me,
Through the thick and through the thin;
You been a pilla ta my soul;
You been like the shinin light a mornin in the black dark,
A elevator ta my spirit.

Now there's a fire in this land like a last judgment,
And I done sat down by the rivers a Babylon
And wept deep when I remembered Zion,
Secin the water that can't quench fire
And the fire that burn up rivers.
Lord, I'm gonna say my say real quick and simple:

You know bout this war that's bitin the skies and gougin out the earth.
Last month, Lord, I bid my last boy away ta fight.
I got all my boys fightin now for they country.
Didn't think bout it cept it were for freedom;
Didn't think cause they was black they wasn't American;
Didn't think a thing cept that they was my only sons.
And there was mothers all over the world
Sacrificin they sons like You let Yours be nailed
To the wood for men ta behold the right.

Now, I'm a black mother, Lord, I knows that now,
Black and burnin in these burnin times.
I can't hold my peace cause peace ain't fit ta mention
When they's fightin right here in our streets
Like dogs—mongrel dogs and hill cats.
White is fightin black right here where hate abides like a cancer wound
And Freedom is writ big and crossed out:
Where, bless God, they's draggin us outta cars
In Texas and California, in Newark, Detroit,

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Blood on the darkness, Lord, blood on the pavement,
Leavin us moanin and afraid.
What has we done?
Where and when has we done?
They's plantin the seeds a hate down in our bone marrow
When we don't want ta hate.

We don't speak much in the street where I live, my God,
Nobody speak much, but we thinkin deep
Of the black sons in lands far as the wind can go,
Black boys fightin this war with them.
We thinkin deep bout they sisters stitchin airplane canvas
And they old fathers plowin for wheat
And they mothers bendin in wash tubs,
They brothers at the factory wheels.
They all is bein body beat and spirit beat and heart sore and wonderin.

Listen, Lord, they ain't nowhere for black mothers ta turn.
Won't You plant Your Son's goodness in this land
Before it too late?
Set Your stars a sweetness twinklin over us like winda lamps
Before it too late?
Help these men ta see they losin while they winnin
Long as they allow theyselves ta lynch in the city streets and on
country roads?

When can I pray again,
View peace in my own parlor again?
When my sons come home,
How can I show em my broken hands?
How can I show em they sister's twisted back?
How can I present they land ta them?
How, when they been battlin in far places for freedom?
Better let em die in the desert drinkin sand
Or holdin onta water and shippin inta death
Than they come back an see they sufferin for vain.

I done seen a man runnin for his life,
Runnin like the wind, from a mob, ta no shelter.
Where were a hidin place for him?
Saw a dark girl nine years old
Cryin cause her father done had

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The light scratched from his eyes in the month of June.
Where the seein place for him?
A black boy lyin with his arms huggin the pavement in pain.
What he starin at?
Good people, hands up, searched for guns and razors and pipes.
When they gonna pray again?

How, precious God, can I watch my son's eyes
When they hear this terrible?
How can I pray again when my tongue
Is near cleavin to the roof of my mouth?
Tell me, Lord, how?

Every time they strike us they strikin Your Son;
Every time they shove us in, they cornerin they own children.
I'm gonna scream before I hope again.
I ain't never gonna hush my mouth or lay down this heavy, black, weary,
terrible load
Until I fights ta stamp my feet with my black sons
On a freedom solid rock and stand there peaceful
And look out into the star wilderness of the sky
And the land lyin about clean, and secure land,
And people not afraid again.

Lord, let us all see the golden wheat together,
Harvest the harvest together,
Touch the fullness and the hallelujah together.

AMEN

Poet and playwright, Owen Dodson is a graduate of Bates College and Yale University. He has been director of drama at Spelman College, Hampton Institute, and the Atlanta University Summer Theatre.

The scratch board drawing is by Oliver Harrington, who received his degree in fine arts and literature from Yale University in 1938. Nationally known as a painter, he has also drawn political cartoons for the New York People's Voice and has created a widely-syndicated cartoon character "Bootsie." He is now engaged in a series of graphic studies of Army camps for the Pittsburgh Courier.

A JEW TO HIS FELLOW-AMERICANS

MARIE SYRKIN

THERE is something I should like to ask my fellow-Americans. I should like to ask it frankly despite the painfulness of the subject. I ask it as a Jew, as an American, above all as a human being sharing with my fellows the traditions and faiths of civilized mankind. The question which torments me is in the hearts of a great many American Jews. It is no individual outcry, no personal complaint. Let me put it bluntly. Many of us cannot understand the comparative apathy of the Christian world before the most enormous crime of which history holds record. I refer to the mass murder of the Jews of Europe by the Nazis.

Only a little over a year ago the news first broke that a government in the heart of Europe had established "extermination centers" where specially trained "extermination squads" were methodically murdering so many thousands per day—children, women, and men—whose sole guilt was that they belonged to the people which had given the Ten Commandments to the world. Even after a decade of Nazi bestiality, the establishment of human slaughterhouses for the express purpose of killing six million people within a given span of time had the quality of a lunatic nightmare. I remember the sense of the monstrous and unbelievable experienced by every Jew to whom I spoke during those days. We whispered to each other as one whispers of something unspeakable and obscene. I remember my sure expectation that Christians would be shaken even as Jews were shaken. This was each man's

business, for not only the Jews were being assailed; every moral value of the Christian world was being defied and trampled on, on a scale previously unimagined and unknown. The expectation proved naive. My America, which in 1905 had so furiously protested against the Kishineff pogrom, which had been so outraged by the Turkish massacres of the Armenians after the last war, which, more recently, showed how quick were its nerves with compassion in the response to the destruction of Lidice—my America remained shockingly indifferent to the thousandfold Lidice of the Jews of Europe.

I should like to believe this lethargic reaction to evil so vast was due to incredulity, a still lingering skepticism in regard to "atrocities stories," but the history of the last twelve months must have made even the most skeptical realize that the avowed and much publicized Nazi determination to "rid the world of Jews" is no rhetorical flourish. The process which began in persecution and spoliation in 1933 has, in the course of ten years, reached the ultimate stage of systematic massacre. When Goebbels shrieked over the radio: "It is our aim to extirpate the Jews. Win or lose, we must, we shall, attain this goal," he was, for once, describing his purposes truthfully.

Nazi savagery has followed a well-defined pattern: first, Jews were deprived of civil rights; then they were deprived of every opportunity to sustain themselves economically; next, they were segregated in ghettos where they perished of famine,

disease, sporadic killings, and mass murder. Finally came the systematic extermination of all Jews not destroyed before.

Each step in the Nazi master plan appeared incredible when first taken. The introduction of the Nuremberg Laws was assailed as medieval and "unbelievable" in a supposedly civilized country. When ghettos were established through Poland, the world was shocked again. Once more something "unbelievable" had happened to mar the 20th-century landscape. Yet hardly had the heart-rending accounts of the misery in the Warsaw ghetto filtered through, than we began to hear the still more terrible report that the ghettos were being liquidated. There were no more ghettos. To quote a statement issued by the United Nations' Information Office: "The means employed in deporting from the ghetto all those who survive murder and shooting in the street exceed all imagination. In particular, children, old people, and those too weak for work are murdered. Actual data concerning the fate of the deportees are not at hand, but the news is available—irrefutable news—that places of execution have been organized at Chelm and Belzec, where those who survive shootings are murdered *en masse* by means of electrocution and lethal gas. The Germans, have, in fact, transformed Poland into one vast center for murdering Jews, not only those of Polish nationality, but those of other European nationalities also."

While the martyred peoples of Europe—the Greeks, the Poles, the Czechs—have experienced to the full the sadistic "total war" of the Nazi conqueror, "total murder" has been reserved for the Jews. They are not to be enslaved or decimated like the Poles, nor to be destroyed by famine like the Greeks. Wherever they are to be found in the power of the Germans, they are to be totally exterminated. The annals of mankind hold no similar

record of organized murder as a calculated policy of state.

Over three million of the approximately seven million Jews of Europe have already been murdered. I do not refer to those who had the good fortune to die as soldiers fighting the common enemy. I include only the helpless civilian victims. I know how hard it is to visualize agony on so monumental a scale. People who will be stirred by the fate of a kitten on a telegraph pole, or a puppy in a ditch, will glance casually at a headline reporting a million murdered. The very vastness of the calamity paralyzes the imagination. Yet, if one dares to dwell on the meaning of the figures, if one ventures to separate a few of the individual human beings from the gross, anonymous sum, some comprehension comes.

I wish that every Christian could read some copies of the *Gazeta Zydowska*, the newspaper of the Warsaw ghetto before its destruction. In addition to official Nazi ordinances which provided the best evidence as to the kind of existence led by those immured within the ghetto walls, the paper bore tragic witness not only to the desperate struggle of the inhabitants against the physical conditions of their lives, but also to their heroic battle to maintain some semblance of human dignity in that environment. Occasionally some poems by children of the ghetto would appear. I quote two, not for their literary merit, but because in them one sees the extraordinary hope, the breath-taking faith in the goodness of man, which animated those who perished:

MOTELE

From tomorrow on, I shall be sad,

From tomorrow on!

Today I shall be gay.

What is the use of sadness—tell me that?

Because these evil winds begin to blow?

Why should I grieve for tomorrow today?

A JEW TO HIS FELLOW-AMERICANS

Tomorrow may be so good, so sunny,
Tomorrow the sun may shine for us again,
We will no longer need to be sad.
From tomorrow on, I shall be sad,
From tomorrow on!
Not today; no! today I will be glad.
And every day, no matter how bitter it be,
I shall say:
From tomorrow on I shall be sad.
Not today!

MARTHA

I must be saving these days
(I have no money to save).
I must save health and strength,
Enough to last me for a long while.
I must save my nerves,
And my thoughts, and my mind,
And the fire of my spirit;
I must be saving of tears that flow—
I shall need them for a long, long while.
I must save endurance these stormy days.
There is so much I need in my life:
Warmth of feeling and a kind heart—
These things I lack; of these I must be
saving!
All these, the gifts of God,
I wish to keep.
How sad I should be,
If I lost them quickly.

The boy's poignant optimism, the girl's determination to keep her soul uncontaminated despite the external degradation of her life, show how valiantly the belief in the essential virtue of man must have been nurtured in the ghetto. Some forces there were maintaining morale in the highest sense. Someone was saying to the children: "This bestial world of Nazi creation is not the real world. There is a world outside these bitter walls where human instead of animal values prevail. Even in this unheated hovel, at this foodless table, preserve your spirit intact. The hour of salvation will come."

The hope and the teaching were vain. Nothing remains of the Warsaw ghetto.

If Motele and Martha were not choked in a Nazi lethal chamber, they perished in the somber, foredoomed battle waged by the last 30,000 Jews of the ghetto. But there are other children like these who could still be saved.

I return to my question. What meaning has Christian charity, the ethical structure of our civilization, if the attempt to save those seeking escape from certain murder is not made?

Our modern world, whose political and economic fibers have become so inextricably intertwined, has also spiritual bonds as close as those of radio, telegraph, or aeroplane. A moral upheaval, an assault on the fundamental ethical concepts of our civilization, will finally make its impact felt in our midst. The Nazis are seeking to create a world of accomplices. They have deliberately and diabolically sought to involve as many Germans as possible in their crimes against the occupied countries so that Germany would feel its fate bound up with that of the Nazi regime. They have openly rejoiced in the failure of the United Nations to take action to save the Jews of Europe because they choose to interpret this failure as spiritual complicity. They were inordinately disturbed by little Denmark's resistance to the deportations of Jews and by Sweden's offer of asylum, because for the first time they were receiving a moral challenge they could not brush aside contemptuously.

Though the governments of the great democracies have contented themselves with protests and denunciations, one should bear in mind that powerful individual voices have repeatedly urged that concrete steps of rescue be taken. The Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Wales, speaking in behalf of the whole Anglican Episcopate, called on the British government to co-operate with the United Nations and with neutrals "in finding im-

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mediate refuge territories within the British Empire and elsewhere for all persons threatened with massacre." Similar pleas have been voiced by various members of Parliament, by the heads of the CIO and the AF of L in the United States, and countless religious and political bodies of various faiths. However, up to date there has been little practical response to the impressive appeals of individuals and organizations.

The failure of the governments of the United Nations to adopt concrete measures of rescue is not due to the fact that nothing can be done. Various detailed rescue programs have been worked out by responsible bodies who have studied the actual possibilities. These programs differ in minor details, or in the emphasis they lay on some particular plan, but they agree on essentials. The rescue program adopted by the recent American Jewish Conference, which included every important Jewish organization in the United States, contains the chief recommendations made by specialists in this field and is representative of all similar proposals. Since it is typical, it may be advisable to analyze it point by point:

The first step advocated is that the United Nations warn the Axis governments and their satellites that those participating in the massacres will be brought to justice. The statement of the Moscow Declaration in regard to atrocities makes no mention of Jews though it specifically enumerates the French, the Dutch, the Poles, the Norwegians, and Cretan peasants. Since in all the occupied countries Jews are separated by the Nazis from the rest of the population and marked for particular slaughter, it is essential that the United Nations make unmistakably clear to the perpetrators that crimes against the Jews will be punished with equal severity.

Though it may be conceded that the

announcement of retribution will have no influence on Hitler and his immediate associates, it may have a deterrent effect on the satellite countries and on Nazi agents in the occupied countries. As the victory of the democracies approaches, Hitler will be impelled by his sadistic mania and pathological hatred of the Jews to expedite the rate of murder so as to kill as many as possible before his defeat; but his henchmen in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Poland may seek to escape punishment if they know that accomplices in civilian murder will be visited with appropriate penalties. The Allied Commission on War Crimes would be in a position to publicize all known transgressions against the civilian populations and to hold the perpetrators to account in the future. Not only Jewish lives, but countless Polish, Yugoslav, Greek, and Russian lives might be saved if the certainty of retribution could be brought home to Hitler's agents by a Commission which announced names, dates, and places.

However, it is obviously not enough to threaten retribution. The crucial problem is to provide asylum for those who can escape. The proposals in regard to asylum include Palestine, the neutral countries, and the great democracies.

The right of every Jewish refugee to enter the Jewish homeland should be publicly acknowledged. Even non-Zionist groups like the American Jewish Committee are agreed that Palestine is the logical refuge for every Jew fleeing from massacre. Palestine has a Jewish population eager to welcome every one who can escape. Anyone who has read of the national jubilee which greeted the arrival of several hundred children who had escaped from Poland, and finally reached Palestine, via Teheran, knows with what joy and thanksgiving the Jewish settlement of Palestine receives each new arrival. The present restrictions imposed by

the British government, because of which ships filled with Jewish refugees have been turned back from the shores of Palestine finally to founder in the sea, are contrary not merely to the pledge of the Balfour Declaration but to the dictates of reason and humanity. Furthermore, Palestine possesses the advantage of being within reach by a short overland route from the Balkan countries. There is no problem of shipping. In regard to Palestine, special emphasis is laid on the rescue of children. Youth Aliyah has saved thousands of children since the rise of Hitler. Thousands more could be rescued if transit facilities to Palestine were expedited.

As far as the neutral nations are concerned, it is urged that countries bordering on Axis-occupied lands should be encouraged to receive all refugees able to escape. These countries would be more likely to facilitate the admission of those seeking to cross their borders if they received assurances that their small territories would not be permanently glutted with refugees, but that eventual asylums would be provided by the great powers. If the neutral countries were to receive assurances of financial help and food supplies for this mission of mercy, they would be encouraged to relax their border regulations and give transit visas.

However, all suggestions to neutral countries are idle unless the great democracies point the way by offering asylum within their own vast territories. The world was heartened and stirred by the recent act of Sweden when its government announced formally that it had asked Germany to permit Danish Jews to come to Sweden. There was naturally no affirmative reply from the Nazis, but every Danish Jew who could escape to Sweden knew that no border guards would thrust him back into the hands of the murderers. Sweden had offered sanctuary. All honor to the little "Nordic" lands of Denmark,

Norway, and Sweden, so close to the Nazi hordes, which have shown more courage and compassion than stronger and richer states!

Sweden's bold demand has put Germany psychologically on the spot. The Axis press has made much of the failure of the United Nations to do anything beside protest. The jibe of the *Völkischer Beobachter* of June 20 is typical: "All the talk about the disappearance of Jewry from Europe is striking proof of the insincerity of enemy propaganda. For years the democratic world has had time to demonstrate in action its alleged love for Jewry by opening its doors to them."

Suggestions have been made that temporary camps for refugees be established in North Africa, Cyprus, Kenya, etc., and that colonization possibilities in the South American countries be explored to the utmost. All possibilities must, of course, be taken into account, but it would be merely begging the question not to discuss the role of our own great country, the United States, in any salvation scheme.

In the first place, it should be pointed out that despite all clamor about letting down immigration bars, immigration during the war years has been far less than that permitted by the quotas. A few figures will be instructive. In 1942, only 28,781 immigrants entered the country. This included about 15,000 from Canada and Latin America. Of the 28,000, less than 12,000 came from Europe. When one considers that an annual immigration of 153,774 is allowed by our laws, one realizes what a small proportion of the legally permitted immigration is actually entering the country. Between the years 1939-42, about a half million more immigrants than actually entered the United States could have been admitted, not by increasing but by re-allocating the quotas. In other words, many now slaughtered in the Nazi extermination centers could have been saved

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if the red tape and numerous difficulties attending the granting of visas had been lightened by the dictates of mercy. Obviously a rule such as the one formerly laid down by the State Department, that a visa could not be granted to anyone with a close relative in Axis-occupied countries, was, in effect if not in purpose, directed precisely at those who most required the means of escape. Similarly, the months which elapse in lengthy investigations before a visa is granted have barred the gates of escape to others. The fate of thousands in Vichy France who could have been saved before the Nazi troops marched in, if their months-old applications for visas had been expedited, is a case in point.

Many thousands could be rescued within the framework of the present quota laws, if the State Department were to be more speedy in the application of its regulations. If further investigation is indicated, this need could be met by detention in work camps in the United States till all checks are completed. In any case, doubtful individuals are few. The obviously innocent, particularly children, are numerous. Neutral shipping is available for transportation. Quotas are available. What apparently is not available in sufficient measure is charity and a sense of moral responsibility.

It is further asked that the democracies proclaim the right of temporary asylum for every refugee who can escape into the territories of the United Nations. This is in line with the resolution introduced by Congressman Dickstein, which urges the temporary admission into the United States of political or religious refugees from the Axis nations. Despite the emphasis on "temporary," such a resolution is not likely to find smooth sailing in our Congress, but it is well to remember that such diverse groups as the National Democratic and Republican Clubs and the

American Federation of Labor have recently declared themselves in favor of temporary asylum outside the quota. The resolution to this effect adopted by the AF of L at its recent convention is particularly significant because the Federation speaks for a large body of workers who ordinarily might fear an over-glutting of the labor market in the postwar world. Though they were reassured by the stress on the word "temporary," nevertheless the unanimous passage of the resolution indicates a heartening breadth of spirit. Organized labor in general resents the libel that it is the workers who bar the lifting of restrictions. The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, the AF of L, and the heads of the CIO have emphatically declared themselves for temporary asylum in words which leave no doubt as to their sympathies or their willingness to help. However, it should be pointed out again that even within the quotas far more could be done than is being done at present, and that the passage of the Dickstein resolution would probably represent a moral gesture important for its effect on the Nazis, rather than in the admission of appreciably more than the 150,000 now permitted by law.

Finally, it is urged that a special inter-governmental agency be created which would be provided with the resources and authority to utilize all means of facilitating the work of rescue. Such an agency would work together with Jewish organizations and would co-ordinate all activities in this field. In line with this idea, Senator Gillette and Representative Rogers have recently, with the backing of ten colleagues, introduced identical resolutions in Congress calling for "the creation by the President of a Commission of diplomatic, economic, and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of immediate action" to save the surviving Jews of Europe. Such a commission would be in a position to

take whatever steps of rescue were immediately feasible.

The proposals outlined here have been reiterated again and again through the past catastrophic months, and have been urged in one form or another by various groups. So far nothing has been done toward implementing them. The Anglo-American Conference on Refugees recently held in Bermuda has produced nothing tangible up to date. The spokesmen of the Conference contented themselves with the sentiment that salvation would come with victory, and that in the meantime there would be "preliminary consultations." No report on the work of the Conference has as yet been made public, and it is no secret that no rescue plans of any consequence have been undertaken. A British view of the Conference has been summarized by "Sagittarius," writing sardonically in *The Statesman and Nation*:

*"The Conference records its grief,
That it can offer no relief."*

The governments of the United Nations seem to be more timid and apathetic than their constituents. There is enough simple humanitarian sentiment among religious, liberal, and labor circles in the democracies to warrant a bolder awareness of the vast moral issues involved. It is obvious that the Jews of Europe cannot be rescued unless they are provided with places where they can seek sanctuary. The places exist; but the governments involved must rise to the immense human need. This is not the time for Great Britain to close the doors of Palestine. This is not the time for the American State Department to place red-tape obstacles in the way of legitimate applicants for visas.

It is the time to understand the terrible lesson of our era: that we are all involved in each other's fate; that the knife sharpened for another will stab our own throats unless we have the courage and the com-

mon sense to answer the cry for succor. The world which played the part of the innocent passer-by when the first brutal Nazi attack on a helpless minority began is now itself feeling the full impact of the savagery which it considered none of its affair. Who can foretell what brutalization and degradation may take place in our own midst if we continue passively to watch the systematic murder of a whole people? And who can foretell the incalculable consequences of such a brutalization to every civilized community of mankind? Moral isolationism, as well as political, may prove a boomerang.

I have heard it said: "There must be something wrong with the persecuted." Those speaking in ignorance and not in malice should remember that America drew much of her strength, her particular genius, from the persecuted who sought her shores—the Puritans, the French Huguenots, the Calvinist Dutch, the Quakers, the Swedish Lutherans, the English Catholics who founded Maryland. America continued to grow great in that tradition; some of her best sons sprang from those who fled oppression be it of king, kaiser, church, czar, or dictator.

America grew lusty in a generous and ample air. We Americans of today are the inheritors of a tradition which is wise as well as magnanimous. I grew up in it; my fellow-Americans grew up in it. It moves in my blood; it must move in theirs. Why does it not cry out? I cannot understand that my fellows are not shaken as I am shaken by this monstrous crime against men and, being shaken, do not make the voice of America ring strong and true and clear in protest and in action.

Marie Syrkin's is a familiar voice in these pages. She is a New York City school teacher, a free-lance writer, and an associate editor of The Jewish Frontier.

FAREWELL TO LITTLE TOKYO

LARRY TAJIRI

THE FIRST question asked of Japanese American evacuees returning to relocation camps from trips to the "outside" is invariably: "How were you treated?" or "What is the public sentiment?" No group in America at the moment is more deeply conscious of public attitudes.

Two full years have now passed since the attack on Pearl Harbor. During this period Japanese Americans have completed a cycle of military-enforced evacuation and detention behind the barbed wire of relocation camps which no other American group has been forced to undergo. Stigmatized by ancestral identification with the enemy in the Pacific, they have suffered since that December Sunday an experience which has had a telling effect on their thinking as a group and as individuals.

The mass indignity of racial evacuation has sharpened a race consciousness born earlier of social discriminations and legal and extra-legal restrictions, and kept alive by the segregated nature of life in the Little Tokyos of the Pacific coast. Now this awareness of ethnic differences has been whetted by the indiscriminate nature of hate engendered by the conditions of war, by the brutalities of the Japanese enemy, and by the incessant dinning of racist propaganda on the West Coast. The passage of angry resolutions against Japanese Americans, and of race legislation such as that aimed at preventing evacuee resettlement in Arkansas and Arizona has also been a contributing factor.

But more than anything else, detention

in the mono-racial world of the relocation camps has intensified the racial hypersensitivity of Japanese Americans. Race was the only yardstick used by military authorities in determining candidates for wholesale evacuation. Except for the few non-Japanese wives and husbands who chose to accept the ignominy of life behind the barbed wire with their exiled mates, all evacuees residing in the camps are of Japanese ancestry. The conditions of detention make them subservient to those in administrative and supervisory capacities, who are Caucasians, and to the military police—also Caucasians—at each camp. While the WRA has made a commendable effort to soften racial stratification between the evacuees and their supervisors with such euphemisms as "residents" and "appointive personnel," words alone cannot cauterize the mental sores left by this segregation. Among the evacuees are those who cannot rationalize their position with their belief in America and in the ideals of democracy. Some have lost faith. Grinding into the race consciousness of others is the fact that while Japanese American citizens were evacuated, white "enemy aliens" were not.

The indiscriminate nature of the evacuation program resulted also in pro-Americans and pro-Japanese being given identical treatment. WRA administrators, in the early stages of the relocation program, wanted to avoid friction and feared that trouble might arise out of any stimulation of existing tensions. Therefore little effort was made in many of the centers to en-