

THE WAR WITHIN



*Dissent
During
Crisis in America*



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An exhibit in
the UC Irvine Langson Library's
Muriel Ansley Reynolds Exhibit Gallery

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Curated by

Stephen MacLeod
Public Services Coordinator
Special Collections & Archives

Foreword

Welcome to the UCI Libraries' spring 2006 exhibit, *The War Within: Dissent during Crisis in America*. This exhibit examines complex issues that arise in our society from the tension between protecting freedom of speech and other civil liberties and the efforts to restrict these freedoms during times of national crisis. The examples offered from modern American history remind us of how contentious the dialogue of dissent can be, even as such issues are once again in the daily news.

We are honored to have Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Distinguished Professor of English and Comparative Literature and Director of UCI's International Center for Writing and Translation, as the featured speaker for our opening event on May 31st, 2006. He is an internationally acclaimed novelist and playwright who champions the survival and empowerment of indigenous languages. Due to his strongly outspoken stance against the inequalities and injustices of Kenyan society, he was imprisoned in and later exiled from his native Kenya. As a result of his experiences, and the internal renown he has earned as an advocate for human rights and freedoms, he speaks with authority on the critical roles that dissent and dialogue play in modern society.

I am pleased to have the UCI Difficult Dialogues Project as the co-sponsor of our opening event. This Office of Student Affairs project, funded by the Ford Foundation, promotes the principles of academic freedom and productive dialogue about controversial political, racial, cultural and religious issues.

I hope you find that *The War Within* provides historical perspective to these important campus conversations.

On behalf of both the Partners of the UCI Libraries and the entire library staff, we welcome you to this exhibit and invite you to return to view others in the future.

Gerald J. Munoff
University Librarian

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Freedom of speech, embodied in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, is a cornerstone of our existence as a free society, and to many Americans, it is the most valued of our freedoms. The right to express opinions publicly and openly on all sides of an issue is central to our way of life. Yet despite the continuing strength of our democratic government, the right to free speech and other civil liberties have repeatedly been put to the test in times of war and other crises.

During such times the line between dissent and disloyalty is not always clear, and those who raise their voices against the government or majority opinion can find themselves under serious threat. *The War Within: Dissent during Crisis in America* presents a sampling of such voices, focusing on four wartime contexts in the 20th century when dissenters were criticized or punished, or when free speech and the civil liberties of American citizens were significantly affected:

- McCarthyism during the Cold War
- Conscientious objectors during WWII
- Japanese-American internment during WWII
- Protests during the Vietnam War, including at UCI

In each of these circumstances, our government faced significant pressures to act forcefully in the belief that its actions were in the best interests of national security and public safety. In response, some Americans braved both the scorn of public opinion and potential curbs on their own freedom to speak in opposition.

The history of significant organized opposition to war in America dates from the early 19th century. Before then, pacifism and war protest were almost exclusively based in traditional religious groups such as the Mennonites, Brethren and the Quakers, but after 1814 various pacifist and internationalist

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movements expanded beyond this. Based on the beliefs of early pacifist organizations in England, new groups formed in Europe and the United States. During the two World Wars, peace movements formed in America, with varying degrees of success.

The Vietnam War divided public opinion in this country like no other conflict since the Civil War, and organized dissent played a central role in ending the war. This was the most effective war protest in U.S. history. Subsequent wars, including the current Iraq War, have also met with opposition and cries for peace.

The exhibit opens with works created by eight artists in response to war and its consequences. Often working outside the normal framework of society, their perspectives can inspire emotion, questioning, and reflection in a manner quite different from those who express political views in words alone.

The exhibit then presents the sometimes conflicting perspectives of writers, students, radical groups, political and labor leaders, clergy, and others in a variety of political pamphlets, books, flyers, handbills, and other materials. The items shown clearly demonstrate that opposing viewpoints on such issues are expressed with strong conviction and passion, sometimes with a clear intent to be inflammatory. The voices range from the extreme left to the extreme right: from the Students for a Democratic Society to the John Birch Society; from the Communist Party U.S.A to the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade; from the National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims to Joseph McCarthy and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Wars and other crises inherently threaten national security, which inherently leads the government to take a conservative stance. As a result, the story of dissent is often that of the left in opposition—and voices from the left are definitely in the majority in this exhibit. Opposing perspectives from the right

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are also represented, as they tell an equally important side of the story of political struggles to balance freedom and security.

History eventually judges these various perspectives and voices, and dissenters who were once considered dangerous radicals are sometimes—but not always—later exonerated as heroic protectors of our cherished liberties.

Once again, we live in difficult times in which fear is in the air and freedoms are threatened. What can these past events teach us about meaningful citizenship? For example, what does the McCarthy era teach us about our current post-9/11 environment and issues such as the Patriot Act? What does the internment of Japanese Americans during WWII suggest about how Arabs and Muslims are viewed in America today? Does the conviction of the students who protested against the Vietnam War at UCI influence how today's students express their opinions on world events? We hope those viewing this exhibit will consider such questions thoughtfully and discuss them with others.

Most items on exhibit are from the Department of Special Collections in the UCI Libraries. *The War Within* was curated by Stephen MacLeod, Public Services Coordinator in Special Collections & Archives, Langson Library. The exhibit is presented in collaboration with the Difficult Dialogues project sponsored by UCI's Office of Student Affairs, with support from the Ford Foundation.

Artists Speak Out About War

1. "Patriotism means no questions."

Poster published in: *You Back the Attack! We'll Bomb Who We Want!: Remixed War Propaganda*, by Micah Ian Wright. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003.

2. Child's drawing of the World Trade Center on 9/11.

Published in: *11*, by Marshall Weber. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Booklyn, 2002.

3. "Buenos Aires."

Published in: *2/15: The Day the World Said No to War*, by Connie Koch. New York: Hello and AK Press, 2003.

4. *Upside Downside War and Peace.*

By Sally Agee. Brooklyn, New York, 1991.

5. *War and Peace.*

By Miriam Schaer. Brooklyn, N.Y., 2000. The text is the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights.

6. *On War and Peace.*

By Bonnie Thompson Norman. Seattle, WA: Windowpane Press, 2002.

7. *Hiroshima.*

By John Hersey, with illustrations by Jacob Lawrence. New York: The Limited Editions Club, 1983 (c1946).

8. *Mutually Exclusive.*

By Emily Martin. New York, NY: Naughty Dog Press, 2002.

McCarthyism During the Cold War

The Cold War era in the 1940s and 1950s was perhaps the most repressive time in American history with regard to civil liberties. In an aggressive effort to uncover espionage and subversion and fight the perceived threat of global communism, the U.S. government initiated a variety of programs which led to a climate of fear.

At the heart of the repressive atmosphere was the anti-communist House Un-American Activities Committee (1945-1975) led by Senator Joseph McCarthy. An investigatory committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, HUAC was formed to investigate threats of subversion or propaganda that attacked "the form of government guaranteed by our constitution." It came into its own investigating suspicions that people with Communist ties or sympathies worked for the federal government. Loyalty oaths evolved as a key tool to test Communist affiliations. During both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, through a number of Presidential Executive Orders, the government conducted loyalty investigations of federal government employees. The loyalty program stifled meaningful debate and discouraged many Americans from thinking, reading, or acting in any way that was outside the norm.

The McCarran Act required registration by Communist Party members and prevented them from traveling abroad. HUAC aggressively investigated private individuals whom it felt "either openly associate and assist disloyal groups or covertly operate as members or fellow travelers of such organizations." For several years a wide variety of people were subjected to cruel public interrogations, including Hollywood celebrities and Army officials. As McCarthy became increasingly abusive in his threats and investigations, however, the tide of public opinion turned against him, and the hysteria of the era finally subsided in 1954 after broadcast journalist Edward R. Murrow aired a highly critical documentary questioning McCarthy's methods.

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The American voices in the items on exhibit represent a broad range of perspectives. Members of committees and organizations formed to fight both the HUAC investigations and various laws limiting political activities, including African Americans, represent dissent from the left. From the political right, we hear from those who saw a real threat to American values and traditions and expressed their concerns about Communist infiltration of our institutions.

9. *If We Remain Silent ...*

By Charley Ellis. Los Angeles: United Defense Committee Against "Loyalty" Checks, ca. 1950.

The Committee Against "Loyalty" Checks united the labor unions representing 20,000 city, county and federal workers in Los Angeles in opposition to mandated loyalty inquiries.

10. *Crisis at the University of California.*

New York: American Civil Liberties Union, 1951.

The non-partisan ACLU explains why UC faculty fought the Regents' requirement that all faculty sign a loyalty oath. The courts ultimately ruled in favor of the faculty, and the loyalty oath was dropped.

11. *The Plot to Gag America.*

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. New York: New Century Publishers, 1950.

Flynn, a labor leader and Communist Party member, explains the anti-labor goals and uses of the Smith Act, which required that all Communists register with the U.S. government. The bill failed to pass but became the basis of the McCarran Act in 1950, a similar bill which passed over the veto of President Truman.

12. *Treason in Congress: the Record of the House Un-American Activities Committee.*

By Albert E. Kahn. New York: Progressive Citizens of America, 1948.

Kahn compares HUAC tactics to those of the Nazis in pre-war Germany and articulates the dangers of the government interference in political expression of its citizens. Includes information on the blacklisting of the Hollywood Ten.

13. *Can America Tolerate Prison for Ideas?*

By the National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims. New York, 1954.

Argues against the provisions of the Smith Act and articulates a strategy for freeing the eleven leaders of the Communist Party in New York who were sentenced to five years in prison and fined \$10,000 for being Party members. The Supreme Court upheld their conviction in 1951.

14. *Patriotism Against McCarthyism.*

By Robert Thompson. New York, NY: State Communist Party, 1953.

Speech of Robert Thompson, Chairman of the New York Communist Party, upon his sentencing to 4 years in prison under the Smith Act. The judge prevented him from reading this speech in court after Thompson labeled McCarthyism as a "clear and present danger to America."

15. *The McCarran Act and the Right to Travel.*

New York, NY: Gus Hall-Benjamin J. Davis Defense Committee, ca. 1960s.

The 1950 McCarran Act required members of the Communist Party and affiliated organizations to register with the Attorney General. This pamphlet specifically attacks the provision of the Act that members of the Communist Party U.S.A. could not apply for U.S. passports to leave the country.

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16. *The United States and the Soviet Union, Some Quaker Proposals for Peace; a Report Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee.*

New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949.

Commissioned by the American Friends Service Committee, the report articulates how the relationship between the Soviet Union and the U.S. could be improved and war could be avoided.

17. *21 Questions About War and Peace, Answered By Eugene Dennis.*

New York: New Century, 1950.

Dennis, the General Secretary of the Communist Party U.S.A., responds to a series of questions on war and peace put to him by the Labor Youth League just before he was to be sent to prison.

18. *The Negro People and the Soviet Union.*

By Paul Robeson. New York: New Century Publishers, 1950.

Robeson was a famous singer, civil rights advocate, and Communist, who was blacklisted. Here he states why the Soviet Union might be viewed by African Americans as a better place to live than the U.S.

19. *I Take My Stand for Peace.*

By W.E.B. Du Bois. New York: Masses & Mainstream, 1951.

Du Bois articulates his concern about freedom of expression and takes a stand for peace, education and freedom.

20. *Why Negroes Are Joining the Communist Party.*

By Doxey A. Wilkerson. New York: Communist Party, U.S.A., 1946.

Wilkerson, a black Communist activist in New York, argues that the Communist Party is hospitable to blacks in the face of the Jim Crow segregation and racism in the U.S.

21. *The Red Network: A "Who's Who" and Handbook of Radicalism for Patriots.*
By Elizabeth Kirkpatrick Dilling. Kenilworth, Illinois, c1934.

Dilling describes people and positions of 460 organizations and 1,300 persons who were among the "Red movement in America." She includes influential leaders such as Gandhi and Einstein as part of the "Red propaganda" movement.

22. *Red Fascism: Boring from Within ... by the Subversive Forces of Communism.*
By Jack B. Tenney. Los Angeles: Federal Printing Co., 1947.

Tenney presents evidence from State and Federal investigations of Communist and Marxist organizations in the U.S.

23. *McCarthyism, the Fight for America: Documented Answers to Questions Asked by Friend and Foe.* By Senator Joe McCarthy. New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1952.

McCarthy presents his evidence for many of the accusations he made against individuals and organizations during the HUAC trials.

24. *The Communist Mind: Testimony of Dr. Frederick C. Schwarz before the House Un-American Activities Committee.* Houston: Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, 1958.

Transcript of the testimony of Dr. Frederick C. Schwartz before HUAC on May 29, 1957. He described how Communism had spread throughout the world and the core values of its proponents.

25. *100 Things You Should Know About Communism in the U.S.A.*
By the U.S. House Committee on Un-American Activities. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948.

An "FAQ" prepared by HUAC and distributed broadly in the U.S. by the federal government. An appendix lists the names of principle national, district and local officials of the Communist Party.

Protest during the Vietnam War

The most active and effective war protest movement in American history took place during the Vietnam War. In the mid-1960s, many began to doubt the “domino theory” articulated by the Johnson administration which declared the spread of global communism a threat to the United States. Emergence of the anti-war movement alarmed many in both the government and the general public. In 1966, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigated citizens whom it felt were aiding the enemy.

The Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968 was disrupted by protests in the streets, resulting in massive arrests and brutal attacks on the protestors by the Chicago police. The subsequent trial of the infamous Chicago Seven made a public spectacle of efforts to blame and discredit those arrested; ultimately, none were convicted. Attempts were made to intimidate major newspapers and broadcast news networks from publishing or broadcasting material critical of the government, such as the Pentagon Papers (publication of which by *The New York Times* was upheld by the Supreme Court).

The FBI, CIA, U.S. Army, and National Security Agency established domestic intelligence programs to spy on, intimidate, and discredit leaders of the anti-war movement. The constitutionality of some programs was questioned; for example, several programs violated the Fourth Amendment, which forbids “unreasonable search and seizures.”

The voices we hear in this section include student organizations left of center, such as the Students for a Democratic Society, who focused on ending the war and defending academic freedom. As the war progressed with no end in site, some anti-war organizations splintered to form more radical factions with revolutionary aims; these are represented by the Weather Underground, the Mayday Collective, and the Youth International Party. We also hear from intensely passionate voices on the right in the publications of American Opinion, the Conservative Society of America, and ultra-conservative Orange County Representative John Schmitz.

26. *Vietnam: the Struggle for Peace 1972-1973.*

By Tom Hayden. Santa Monica, Calif.: Indochina Peace Campaign, 1973.

Hayden was a Chicago Seven defendant and later a member of the California legislature. Here he offers his perspectives from the left on the past and future of Vietnam as the Peace Agreement of January 1973 was being signed, formally bringing an end to the war.

27. *Chicago Trial Testimony.*

By Allen Ginsberg. San Francisco: City Lights, 1975.

Transcripts of the testimony of Ginsberg in support of the defendants in the Chicago Seven trial, concentrating on his attempts to describe the values of the counterculture to the court. The trial played a central role in derailing other trials in which the government sought to prosecute anti-war activist groups during this period.

28. *May Day Tactical Manual.*

By the Mayday Collective's Tactics and Logistic Section. Washington D.C.: The Collective, 1971.

The Mayday Collective was a loose-knit anti-war movement that purposely attempted not to have a centralized leadership, but rather promoted local organizing. This manual was written in anticipation of massive protests that took place in Washington D.C. in early May 1971.

29. *The Fort Hood Three: the Case of the Three G.I.s Who Said "No" to the War in Vietnam.*

By the Ford Hood Three Defense Committee. New York, NY: The Committee, 1966.

The story of three soldiers in the 142nd Signal Battalion, Second Armed Forces Division, who refused to be shipped to Vietnam from Fort Hood, Texas in 1966.

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30. "4 G.I.s Fight Vietnam Duty as 'Illegal'"

Flyer, ca. 1960s.

Statements made to the press by four U.S. soldiers who refused to be sent to fight in Vietnam, feeling that the war was "illegal, immoral and unjust."

31. *It's Treason! Aid and Comfort to the Vietcong.*

By Wallis W. Wood. Belmont, Mass.: American Opinion, 1968.

Wood argued from the far-right perspective of American Opinion that President Johnson was limiting the war effort, and that escalation was necessary.

32. *The Viet Cong Front in the United States.*

By John G. Schmitz. Belmont, Mass.: Western Islands, 1971.

Schmitz, an ultraconservative U.S. Congressman from Orange County, wrote this assessment of the anti-war movement in the United States and had it read into the Congressional Record.

33. *The Black Panthers: Are These Cats Red? An Expose of a Communist Front which is Engaging in Guerrilla Warfare Against High Schools and Universities.*

By Kent Courtney. Pineville, Louisiana: Conservative Society of America, 1969.

Courtney outlines his view that the Black Panthers are a Marxist-Leninist group, in contact with Communist groups internationally, and bent on overthrowing the government with violent methods.

34. *Critical Focus: the Black and White Photographs of Harvey Wilson Richards.*

Oakland, Calif.: Estuary Press, 1986.

Shown are three photographs taken in Oakland and San Francisco in 1967 and 1968. The October 12, 1968 march in San Francisco included a large contingent of G.I.s marching for peace.

35. *Steal this Book.*

By Abbie Hoffman. New York, N.Y.: Pirate Editions, 1971.

Hoffman was another Chicago Seven defendant and one of the founders of the radical political party, the YIPPIES (Youth International Party). A best seller, this book outlined how to survive as a member of the counterculture in the 1960s.

36. *Prairie Fire: the Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism: The Political Statement of the Weather Underground.*

San Francisco: Communications Company, 1974.

The Weather Underground was on the radical fringe of the anti-war movement. This book outlines their thinking and strategies.

37. *Day of Protest, Night of Violence: the Century City Peace March; a Report.*

By the American Civil Liberties Union. Los Angeles: Sawyer Press, 1967.

This ACLU report on the demonstrations that took place outside of the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, where President Johnson was speaking on June 23, 1967, concludes that the police used excessive brutality in dispersing the demonstrators.

38. *Vietnam: No Mistake!*

By the Students for a Democratic Society. Boston: SDS, 1970.

The SDS outlines how the U.S. got involved in the Vietnam War and what should be done to end it.

Vietnam War Protests at UCI

Anti-Vietnam War protests, and student activism in general, were somewhat slow to arrive at UCI, perhaps because the campus was so new. One early protest centered around the firing of three faculty, including Steve Shapiro, a popular faculty member in the English Department. A controversy relating to academic freedom occurred in fall 1968 in connection with African American activist Eldridge Cleaver's appearance on campus.

Protests against the war escalated on college campuses nationwide in the late 1960s, and even more so in the 1970s. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), formed at the University of Michigan in the early 1960s, grew to have chapters on campuses all over the country, including a small chapter formed at UCI in 1966. On October 15, 1969, hundreds of thousands of people participated in anti-war demonstrations throughout the nation, including major demonstrations and teach-ins at UCI. Strikes were proposed at institutions and colleges through the country. A second moratorium followed on November 15th.

Demonstrations on college campuses continued to expand as the number of U.S. citizens who questioned the war on moral grounds increased, but it was the secret invasion of Cambodia in April 1970 that brought the largest turnouts of war protestors nationwide. This was also the case at UCI, at other UC campuses, and at campuses across the country, such as Kent State. Increasingly, organizations representing veterans who had fought in Vietnam were now also actively engaged in efforts to end the war.

Voices at UCI from the left are represented by the local chapter of SDS, the New University Conference, Vietnam Veterans against the War, and the UCI Moratorium Committee.

UCI Chancellor Daniel Aldrich speaks as a moderating influence. He responded to many organizations and individuals in Orange County who wrote to him to express strong concern about campus protests. He also

attended numerous public forums in the community to address these concerns and to defend the importance of free inquiry on a university campus and public debate about the issues of the day.

39. *Winter Soldier*. Chicago, Illinois: Vietnam Veterans Against the War / Winter Soldier Organization, vol. 4 no. 4 (April, 1974). Distributed on the UCI campus.

40. Vietnam War moratorium, October 15, 1969. Mimeographed flyer issued by the UCI Moratorium Committee.

On October 15, 1969 a major national anti-war protest was organized in which UCI students participated. In this Bulletin #1, the students call for cancellation of classes and other demands.

41. Alternative education and activities, October, 15, 1969.

By the UCI Moratorium Committee. Flyer.

The Moratorium Committee organized a “teach-in” in lieu of classes, featuring remarks by numerous UCI faculty, some of whom are still on campus as of 2006.

42. Photograph of Steve Shapiro speaking at UCI on May 4, 1970.

Steve Shapiro was a UCI English professor whose failure to receive tenure was controversial and met with protest. Here he speaks at a student rally calling for a campus strike shortly after the secret U.S. invasion of Cambodia and Laos.

43. *People's Peace Treaty: A Strategy for Ending the War*.

Irvine: New University Conference, Irvine Chapter, 1970.

The New University Conference, a national organization of faculty members, developed a draft peace treaty which was distributed and discussed by local chapters.

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44. V.V.A.W. News. Issued by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Inc., Orange County Chapter. Vol. 2, No. 2. (Feb. 1973).

Distributed on campus shortly after the Paris peace treaty ending the Vietnam War was signed, this issue rejoices in the victory won by "our Vietnamese brothers and sisters."

45. Photograph of Eldridge Cleaver Speaking at UCI, 1968.

Cleaver, Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party and 1968 Presidential Candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party, spoke at UCI on September 26, 1968. In a much publicized battle with Governor Ronald Reagan and the UC Regents, he was limited to only one speech on campus.

46. "Aldrich cites policy on 'Chicago 7' visit."

Published in: *Orange County Register*, April 16, 1970.

Aldrich is quoted as defending the right of faculty and student organizations to engage in free inquiry on issues of the day. Community opposition mounted, and ultimately the five members of the Chicago Seven who had been invited to speak decided not to come to UCI.

47. "Addressing the Problem: On Uniting Thought and Action."

By the UCI Chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. Flyer, 1968.

Issued by the UCI chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society, this flyer raises issues of academic freedom related to the UC Regents' efforts to limit the campus speeches of Eldridge Cleaver.

48. Strike Poster, ca. May 1970.

This symbol of the fist, used at UCI in support of strikes against the war, appeared on numerous posters and flyers for student, anti-war, women's, and

other political activities on the left in the 1960s and 1970s. Students for a Democratic Society used it in a flyer for the 1968 Chicago National Democratic Convention protest.

49. Daniel Aldrich memo announcing UCI shutdown, May 6, 1970.

Chancellor Aldrich issued this memo announcing that the campus would be closed for four days as a result of massive protests on UC campuses against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in late April 1970.

50. Resolution on the war. Issued by the Irvine Division of the Academic Senate, 1970.

On May 6, 1970, UCI's Academic Senate voted to endorse a statement of concern regarding the invasion of Cambodia, as well as a statement supporting the students' strike and their proposed alternative education efforts.

51. "On Strike." By Richard Sharp. Published in: *The New University*, vol. 2 no. 45 (May 6, 1970), page 1.

The article describes the student strike at UCI and nationwide.

Conscientious Objectors in World War II

War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige that the warrior does today.

-- John F. Kennedy

A very strong pacifist movement existed in the United States between World Wars I and II. The horror and devastation resulting from World War I was strongly felt in both Europe and the United States. In 1936, an estimated 12 million Americans considered themselves pacifists, and Congress passed the 1940 draft only after an intense and lengthy public debate.

The Selective Service Act of 1940 also established an alternative noncombatant service for those who, "by reason of religious training and belief, [are] conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." It also provided for the man who, "if he is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service in lieu of such induction, be assigned to work of national importance under civilian direction." Of the estimated 43,000 World War II objectors, 25,000 served in the military as non-combatants, 6,000 went to prison, and 12,000 were inducted into Civilian Public Service camps. The three historic peace churches--the Quakers, the Brethren, and the Mennonites--concerned because of the abysmal treatment of conscientious objectors during World War I, worked with the government to ensure humane treatment of internees.

Opponents to World War II grew beyond members of the peace churches to include men who opposed war for ethical, philosophical and political reasons. Those who were sent to CPS camps were not always passive to the treatment they received, but many resisted in various ways the system that they viewed as punishing them for their beliefs and severely limiting their civil liberties. The influence of the World War II objectors on those who resisted the draft during the Vietnam War was significant.

The voices of dissent in this section of the exhibit are those of the internees who were sent to camps, as well as the organizations that supported them. In particular, we hear from conscientious objectors housed at the Waldport camp in Oregon who created a fine arts and publishing program with a lasting legacy.

52. *Pacifist Handbook: Questions and Answers Concerning the Pacifist in Wartime.* American Friends Service Committee et al. Philadelphia: The Committee, 1939.

53. *Pacifist Program in Time of War, Threatened War, or Fascism.* Gregg, Richard Bartlett. Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill, 1939.

54. *Pacifists over the World: A Record of the Growth of a World Pacifist Fellowship.* Bing, Harold. London: Peace News, Ltd., 1943.

Items 52-54 were published by faith-based peace organizations—including the Quakers, Brethren, Mennonites, and the War Resisters' League—in support of conscientious objectors. The international pacifist movement began as a reaction to World War I. The War Resisters' League was formed in 1923 with a mission not only to oppose all war but to strive to eradicate its causes. This ambitious program introduced a new political dimension to the existing moral and religious basis of pacifism.

55. "Poems from Prison." By Earl Kepler. Published in: *The Compass*. Waldport, Oregon: Civilian Public Service Camp. Vol. 1, no. 6. (Spring 1944), p. 8-9.

Earl Kepler registered as a conscientious objector in 1940, but his local draft board denied his application. He was drafted, but refused to be inducted. Kepler was imprisoned for a year, then paroled to a CPS camp in Glendora, California. One month later he and his cabinmate were killed by an explosion in his CPS cabin. This is one of a number of poems Kepler wrote while in prison.

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56. *Against the Tide: Pacifist Resistance in the Second World War: An Oral History.* William Everson et al., eds. New York: War Resisters' League, 1983.

Shown is a map of the locations of the 150 camps where conscientious objectors were interned during the war.

57. *The Conscientious Objector.*

New York, N.Y. Vol. 2, No 4 (August-September 1940).

Started in summer 1939 by a group from the War Resisters' League, 68 issues of this newspaper were published from 1939-1946 to support conscientious objectors in America and educate others on issues of war and peace.

58. *The Illiterati.* Waldport, Oregon: Illiterati. Issues No. 3 (Summer 1944) and No. 4 (Summer 1945). Published from 1943 to 1955.

At CPS Camp No. 56 at Waldport, Oregon, the men proposed to establish a school in the fine arts. The poet William Everson was the director of the program. *The Illiterati* was one of several important pacifist and literary journals issued from Waldport.

59. *Two Against the Tide: A Conscientious Objector in World War II: Selected Letters, 1941-1948.* By Adrian Wilson, edited and with commentary by Joyce Lancaster Wilson. Austin: W. Thomas Taylor, 1990.

Adrian Wilson transferred from a CPS camp in Minnesota where he had been a "human guinea pig" in experiments done by the University of Minnesota. He learned how to print at Waldport. After the war he went on to establish theater groups of significance and became a notable fine printer, book designer and printing historian, as well as being named a MacArthur Fellow in 1983.

60. Photograph of internees at CPS Camp #56, Waldport, Oregon, July 25, 1943.

Includes poet William Everson, his wife Edwa Everson, and poet Glen Coffield (right to left, top row).

61. *War Elegies*. By William Everson, designed by Kemper Nomland. Waldport, Oregon: Untide Press, 1944.

This book of Everson's poems against the war influenced many men throughout the CPS camps as well as those outside who were in opposition to the war effort. The Untide Press also published other literary books and pamphlets in support of the peace movement.

62. *The Compass*. Waldport, Oregon: Civilian Public Service Camp, 1944. Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2 (Summer and Fall 1944).

The Compass was the national magazine of the CPS camps. This article speculates on the role and responsibilities of the internees after the war, an issue of great importance to the men.

The Internment of Japanese Americans during World War II

Two months after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, on February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order no. 9066, allowing the U.S. Army to designate military areas where any person whom a military commander might specify, American citizen or non-citizen, could be "excluded" from society for reasons of national security. On March 2, General DeWitt issued Public Proclamation No. 1, informing everyone of Japanese descent that they were subject to exclusion orders from "Military Area No. 1," essentially the entire Pacific coast. Over the next 8 months, 120,000 Japanese (two-thirds were American citizens) were ordered to leave their homes in Arizona, California, Oregon and Washington. About 90 percent of all Japanese Americans were moved to ten "detention camps" in remote locations in the nation's interior. In contrast, and primarily for political reasons, American citizens of German and Italian ancestry were not excluded and were not classified as an "enemy race."

The internment order was given even though there was not one documented case of espionage or treasonable activity committed by a Japanese American. Bias against those of Japanese decent had been allowed to exist long before Pearl Harbor, but their relocation to the camps strengthened such sentiments. The internees lived in temporary facilities, usually tar paper-covered barracks of simple frame construction, many without plumbing or cooking facilities. Showers and bathroom facilities were shared. The camps were often enclosed in barbed wire and surrounded by military police. Most internees stayed in the camps for the next three years. Many lost everything they owned other than what they took to the camps.

In the early 1980s, momentum grew for the idea of reparation for those who had been interned or their surviving relatives. President Bush sent a letter of apology to each former internee, followed by a redress check in 1990.

Dissenting voices in this section include white Americans Ansel Adams and Carey McWilliams, who spoke up early to question and criticize the internment even though they faced negative public reactions. We also hear internees themselves describing the situation in the camps—but in most cases, not until many years later. From the right, an early opponent of Japanese immigration and a supporter of the internment present their views.

63. *Keep America White: Re-Elect James D. Phelan, United States Senator.*
Campaign brochure, 1920.

Anti-Japanese bias in California did not begin with the attack on Pearl Harbor. This campaign flyer by a prominent state legislator and former mayor of San Francisco is an example of the racism against Japanese Americans that was prevalent well before World War II.

64. *The Inside Story of our Domestic Japanese Problem.*
By John R. Lechner. Los Angeles: Americanism Educational League, 1944.

In this report prepared for the American Legion, Lechner argues in favor of internment of Japanese-Americans based on their fervent nationalism and the history of Japanese “subversive” organizations in the U.S.

65. *Photograph of the Yasutake family and neighbors at the Puyallup Assembly Center boarding the bus for transfer to Minidoka, Idaho, 1942.*

A photograph of a Japanese American family as they leave the Puyallup Assembly Center for the internment camp in Minidoka, Idaho.

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66. *Reflections in Three Self-Guided Tours of Manzanar.*

Los Angeles, CA: Manzanar Committee, 1998.

A map of the assembly centers, relocation centers, and camps in 1942.

67. *Birthright of Barbed Wire: the Santa Anita Assembly Center for the Japanese.* By Anthony L. Lehman. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1970.

Shown is a photograph of the military police on constant lookout at the Santa Anita Assembly Center. The "assembly" centers were built quickly in large public areas such as fairgrounds and racetracks as temporary camps until the more permanent internment camps could be constructed.

68. *Camp Days: 1942-1945.*

By Chizuko Judy Sugita de Queiroz. Irvine, 2004.

Paintings by the artist of her memories as a young nine-year-old girl interned with her large family in the Poston Camp in the Arizona desert. They were in the camp for three years.

69. *Born Free and Equal: the Story of Loyal Japanese Americans, Manzanar Relocation Center, Inyo County, California.*

By Ansel Adams. New York: U.S. Camera, 1944.

Renowned photographer Adams opposed the internment and hoped to show through his photographs the personal impact on those in the camps. The public reaction to his book and to an exhibit of his photographs at the Museum of Modern Art in New York was very negative.

70. *Concentration Camps U.S.A.: It Has Happened Here, It Could Happen Again — To You!* By Mary Kochiyama. New York, N.Y.: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 1969.

A former relocation camp internee argues for the repeal of the concentration camp provisions of the U.S. Internal Security Act.

71. ... *What About Our Japanese-Americans?*

By Carey McWilliams. New York, NY: Public Affairs Committee, 1944.

McWilliams was among the first to publicly oppose the internment. Given his prominence as a Los Angeles historian and social critic, his voice was important. He noted that the very act of removing the Japanese Americans to camps increased the negative bias against them.

72. *So I Went to Manzanar: An "Inside" View of Life at the Japanese Relocation Center, Manzanar, California.* By Kenneth A. Carlson, Minister of the Central Methodist Church in Glendale, California, 1944.

Carlson delivered this sermon after a visit to the Manzanar camp. He was sympathetic to the plight of the internees, shared his thoughts on their character, and openly questioned the government's bias toward and mistreatment of Japanese Americans.

73. Redress letter from President George Bush.

Photocopy of original, undated.

The movement to gain monetary reparations for interned Japanese Americans gained momentum in the early 1980s. Progress was slow until this impersonal "apology" letter was sent from President Bush to all former internees. It was followed by payment of redress checks in 1990.

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