



DAY TWO

RELATED TO THE SECOND EFFECT:
SHIFT OF PUBLIC OPINION
AWAY FROM ISOLATION

PEARL HARBOR & AMERICA'S ENTRY INTO WORLD WAR II: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

Mitch Yamasaki, Ph.D. Chaminade University of Honolulu, 2008

ISOLATIONIST SENTIMENT

Prior to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, many Americans did not want their nation to enter conflicts in Europe or Asia. Polls in 1940 showed that 80% of them opposed any involvement in military conflicts. This isolationist spirit was fueled by memories of the devastation caused by World War I. The vindictive and acquisitive attitude America's European allies displayed at the Versailles Peace Conference also contributed to this spirit. Prominent members of Congress were isolationists. Senator Gerald Nye's committee looked into the large profits arms manufacturers made during World War I. His committee concluded that the arms industry played a prominent role in convincing America to enter the war. As a result, Nye and likeminded senators got Congress to pass the Neutrality Act of 1935. This law prohibited the United States from selling arms to any nation at war.

In 1940, isolationists formed the America First Committee (AFC). AFC boasted a membership of 800,000, which included prominent politicians, such as Senator Nye and Congressman Hamilton Fish, as well as celebrities such as industrialist Henry Ford and aviator Charles Lindbergh. The famous aviator made an impassioned speech at an AFC rally in New York City on April 23, 1941:

Over a hundred million people in this nation are opposed to entering this war (the war in Europe which began in 1939) If we are forced into a war against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of our people, we will have proved democracy such a failure at home that there will be little use to fight for it abroad.

Lindbergh reiterated his views in a New York Times article the following day (4/24/41), p.12.

We are divided [as a nation] because we are asked to fight over issues that are Europe's and not our own - issues that Europe created

by her own short-sightedness. We are divided because many of us do not wish to fight again for England's balance of power or for her domination of India, Mesopotamia and Egypt ... or for another treaty like Versailles. We are divided because we do not want to cross an ocean to fight on a foreign continent for foreign causes against an entire world combined against us.

Most "America Firsters" were conservatives and businessmen who mistrusted President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" programs. Some liberals and socialists, however, were also isolationists. They opposed the fascist aggression of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. But their opposition to America's military involvement in the European conflict was stronger. One group of leftist isolationists, the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism, published a petition against America's military involvement:

We loathe and abominate fascism as the chief enemy of all culture, all real democracy, all social progress. But the last war showed only too clearly that we can have no faith in imperialist crusades to bring freedom to any people. Our entry into the war, under the slogan of "Stop Hitler!" would actually result in the immediate introduction of totalitarianism over here. Only the German people can free themselves of the fascist yoke. The American masses can best help them by fighting at home to keep their own liberties

The masses, who have nothing to gain and everything to lose from another war, are far from endorsing the President's foreign policy. But this sentiment can again be cheated, deceived, propagandized out of existence as it was in the last war, unless it is made conscious and given organized expression.

INTERVENTIONIST SENTIMENTS

Not all Americans favored isolationism. An editorial in the New York Times (4/30/41) expressed a fear in the spread of Nazism, perhaps into the western hemisphere:

Grant Hitler the gigantic prestige of a victory over Britain, and who can doubt that the first result on our side of the ocean would be the prompt appearance of imitation Nazi governments in a half-dozen Latin American nations, forced to be on the winning side, begging for favors, clamoring for the admission to the Axis [S]hall we sit tight while the area of Nazi influence draws ever closer to the Panama Canal and a spreading checkerboard of Nazi airfields provide ports of call for German planes that may choose to bomb our cities?

President Franklin D. Roosevelt saw the danger of a Nazi victory in Europe. He assisted the British in every way possible, short of entering the war. In a radio address, FDR told the American people they cannot detach themselves from the world:

It is easy for you and me to shrug our shoulders and say that conflicts taking place thousands of miles from the continental United States ... do not seriously affect the Americas – and that all the United States has to do is to ignore them and go about our own business. Passionately though we may desire detachment, we are forced to realize that every word that comes through the air, every ship that sails the sea, every battle that is fought does affect the American future Even a neutral cannot be asked to close his mind or his conscience.

On December 29, 1940, FDR said in his fireside chat that the United States could be an "arsenal of democracy":

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters, which will enable them to fight for their liberty and for our security. We must be the great arsenal of democracy.

AFTER PEARL HARBOR

The Pearl Harbor attack changed everything. Senator Nye, a prominent member of America First, reflected this change in the mood of the nation: It is not time to quibble over what might have been done or how we got where we are. We know only that the enemy chose to make war against us. To give our Commander in Chief unqualified and unprejudiced backing in his prosecution of the war is an obligation which I shall gladly fulfill. Differences over matters of foreign policy up to this hour are abandoned and unity shall be accorded in every particular.

Less than twenty-four hours after the attack, President Roosevelt went to Congress to ask for a declaration of war. Republican and Democratic congressmen walked into the chamber arm in arm as a show of unity. They were joined by members of the United States Supreme Court and the nation's military leaders. Here, FDR delivered his now famous "a date which will live in infamy" speech:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by the naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan. The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government and its emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.

Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing on the American Island of Oʻahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And, while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawai'i from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday, the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya. Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong. Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam. Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippines Islands. Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island. And this morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island. Japan has therefore undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves.

The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation. As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense. But always will our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us. No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people, in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory.

I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us. Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger. With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people we will gain the inevitable triumph. So help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

INTERNMENT ORDER

Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor caused widespread fear among residents in western states and triggered racist attitudes. Citing extraordinary security circumstances, governors and attorneys general from California, Oregon and Washington urged the federal government to remove persons of Japanese descent from the West Coast. Representatives from the U.S. Justice Department raised ethical and constitutional objections to the removal. The White House therefore assigned the task to the military. President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, authorizing the military to conduct the removal. Congress passed enabling legislation for the executive order on March 21, 1942.

Executive Order

Authorizing the Secretary of War to Prescribe Military Areas

Whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material... premises ... and ... utilities

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate ... to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War or the said Military Commander, and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order

Franklin D. Roosevelt The White House February 19, 1942

This lesson plan is produced through a partnership between Chaminade University of Honolulu and the Hawai'i Council for the Humanities with additional support from the National Endowment for the Humanities "We the People" Special Initiative.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSES

"PEARL HARBOR AND AMERICA'S ENTRY INTO WORLD WAR II"

Developed by Mitch Yamasaki, Ph.D. Chaminade University of Honolulu, 2008

- 1. What statistic shows that most Americans were opposed to the United States getting involved in the war in Europe or Asia?
- 2. In his speech at the "America First" rally on April 23, 1941, what does Charles Lindbergh say will be proved if Americans are "forced into a war against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of our people"?
- 3. In the New York Times article on April 24, 1941, why does Lindbergh say Americans are "divided" over the issue of going to war?
- 4. What, according to the New York Times editorial on April 30, 1941, would happen if Hitler is victorious over Great Britain?
- 5. In what ways did President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) try to prevent Germany's victory over England?
- 6. In his fireside chat on December 29, 1940, what does Roosevelt say is a vital role that the United States can play in the war in Europe?
- 7. What was Senator Gerald Nye's position towards war before the Pearl Harbor attack? How does his speech after the attack show a change of view?
- 8. President Roosevelt's request for a declaration of war on December 8, 1941:
 - a. In his speech, how does Roosevelt make the case for a sneak attack?
 - b. What does FDR see the will of Congress and the American people to be?
- 9. Describe the mood of the citizens on the West Coast after the Pearl Harbor attack.
- 10. What did governors and state attorney generals on the West Coast call for?

- 11. Executive Order 9066 issued on February 19, 1942:
 - a. What does Roosevelt say is required to successfully prosecute the war?
 - b. What does FDR authorize the military to
 - c. What is the Secretary of War authorized to provide?

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PRIMARY SOURCE COMPREHENSION ASSESSMENT: MULTIPLE CHOICE QUIZ

Developed by Mitch Yamasaki, Ph.D. Chaminade University of Honolulu, 2008

- 1. Which of the following primary sources shows that in 1940 many prominent Americans opposed entering the war in Europe or Asia?
 - a. New York Times editorial on April 30, 1941
 - b. Charles Lindbergh's speech at the "America First" rally on April 23, 1941
 - c. President Roosevelt's "fireside chat" on December 29, 1940
 - d. President Roosevelt's "a date that will live in infamy" speech on December 8, 1941
- 2. Shortly after the Pearl Harbor attack, Senator Gerald Nye stated, "To give our Commander in Chief unqualified and unprejudiced backing in his prosecution of the war is an obligation which I shall gladly fulfill." What is the significance of his statement?
 - a. it shows that Republicans, such as Senator Nye, fully supported President Roosevelt's war policy before and after the Japanese attack
 - it shows that Democrats, such as Senator Nye, fully supported President Roosevelt's war policy before and after the Japanese attack
 - c. it shows the significance of Pearl Harbor because the attack proved correct Senator Nye's insistence of military preparedness
 - d. it shows the significance of Pearl Harbor because before the attack Senator Nye was a member of "America First" and strongly opposed going to war
- 3. In his December 29, 1940 "fireside chat," what does President Roosevelt say America must become?
 - a. "the great arsenal of democracy"
 - b. "first in war ... to defend threats to democracy ... around the world"
 - c. "the beacon of freedom ... against the threat of international communism"
 - d. "sword that thwarts ... the evil. .. talons of totalitarianism"

- 4. What does President Roosevelt authorize in his Executive Order 9066 (issued on February 19, 1942)?
 - a. "Military Commanders ... to declare martial law for the West Coast ... and all other such areas ... in imminent danger of invasion by Japanese forces"
 - b. "CIA to monitor .. movements and communications of ... known spies and other suspicious persons of Japanese descent"
 - c. "Secretary of War and ... Military
 Commanders ... to prescribe military areas
 ... from which any or all persons may be
 excluded"
 - d. "Military Commanders ... to seize the passports of Japanese nationals living in ... militarily sensitive areas"
- 5. In his "a day that will live in infamy" speech on December 8, 1941, which of the following is not evidence that President Roosevelt provides to show that Pearl Harbor was a deliberate and surprise attack?
 - a. "[At the time of the attack] the United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government ... looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific"
 - b. "Yesterday, the Japanese Government launched an attack against Malaya ... Hong Kong ... Guam ... Philippines ... Wake Island Japan has therefore undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area"
 - c. "Military intelligence revealed that Japan plans to strike key American and British installations across the Pacific. I therefore ask the Congress on this solemn day to declare war on Japan so that we can launch a pre-emptive strike before American lives are lost"
 - d. "[T]he distance of Hawai'i from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States with false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace"

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CHRONOLOGY OF WORLD WAR II HAWAI'I INTERNEES

	PRE-WAR CONTEXT	1942	
1885 1898 1908	Large scale migration to Hawai'i begins. The United States annexes Hawai'i. The Gentlemen's Agreement curtails the further migration of laborers from Japan to Hawai'i.	Feb. 19	President Franklin Roosevelt issues Executive Order 9066, laying the groundwork for the mass forced removal and detention of 110,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast. 199 prisoners at Sand Island are transported to mainland detention centers. Five more
1924 1935-37	The Immigration Act of 1924 effectively ends Japanese immigration to the U.S. Lt. Col. George S. Patton, Jr.'s plan "Initial		shipments take place in 1942 and three more in 1943. Meanwhile prisoners held in neighbor island detention centers are transported to Sand Island.
	Seizure of Orange Nationals" outlines a response for Hawai'i in the case of attack by Japan that includes "hostages" from among the local Japanese community. His plan	Mar. 30	Total number of detainees by this date: 733. Breakdown: 515 Issei, 93 Nisei, the remainder German or Italians.
	includes specific names of ethnic community leaders to be detained. It is one of several such lists of those to be detained in the event of war compiled by various intelligence agencies since 1933.	June 5	1,432 members of the all Japanese American Hawai'i Provisional Infantry Battalion leave Honolulu for San Francisco. These men would become the original members of the famed 100th Infantry Battalion.
1940	Persons of Japanese descent in Hawai'i numbered 157,905 making up 37.3% of the total population.	June 6	The Battle of Midway ends with a resounding Allied victory, permanently turning the tide of the war.
1941	WORLD WAR II	Nov.	The first group of immediate family members of men interned in mainland camps leave Hawaii to join their husbands/fathers. By March 14, 1943, 1,037 family members had "voluntarily" left for mainland internment camps to rejoin their husbands/fathers.
Dec. 7	7:57 am: Japan attacks Pearl Harbor.	1040	
	4:25 pm: Martial law declared by Gov. Joseph B. Poindexter. Detention of local Japanese begins.	1943 Feb. 1	The 442nd Regimental Combat Team is activated. Nearly 10,000 Nisei from Hawai'i
Dec. 8	Sand Island camp activated; it housed about 300 Issei and Nisei men and a handful of women. Camps are also activated on Hawai'i		volunteer and over 2,600 are accepted for induction. Over 100 of those accepted have fathers who are internees.
	(Kilauea Military Camp), Kauaʻi (Kalaheo Stockade), and Maui (Haiku Camp) over the next few days.	Mar. 1	Sand Island closes; remaining detainees are transferred to a new camp in Honouliuli gulch.
Dec. 9	Total arrested as of Dec. 9: 473. Breakdown:	1944	
	345 Issei, 22 Nisei, 74 German nationals, 19 citizens of German ancestry, 11 Italian nationals, 2 citizens of Italian ancestry.	Oct. 24	Martial law ends
Dec. 18	Lt. Gen. Delos Emmons appointed as head of	1945	
	the Hawaiʻi command.	Aug. 14	Japan surrenders
		Nov. 14	450 internees return to Hawaiʻi; 300 more return on Dec. 19 Total number of Hawaiʻi internees: approx. 2,400

	POST WAR	2006	President Bush signs Public Law 109-441, a measure allotting \$38 million towards the preservation and acquisition of historic
1952	Immigration Act of 1952 passes. Among other things, it allows for a token immigration quota for Japan and allows Issei to become naturalized citizens.	2007	confinement sites where Japanese Americans were detained during World War II. The Hawai'i State Legislature approves SB 1228, calling for a plan for how best to
1959	Hawai'i becomes the 50th state.		memorialize World War II confinement sites
1988	President Ronald Reagan signs the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 into law. Its provisions call for Japanese American survivors of the World War II internment to receive \$20,000 reparations payments and a letter of apology from the President. The first recipients of reparations receive their checks and letters on October 9, 1990.		in Hawaiʻi.

CONFINEMENT SITES IN HAWAI'I

MAP 6





Pacific Ocean

HAWAI'I

Waiakea Prison ★

Kilauea Military Camp ★

CONFINEMENT SITES IN THE CONTINENTAL U.S.



GLOSSARY

U.S. GOVERNMENT'S WARTIME POLICY TOWARD JAPANESE AMERICANS & LEGAL RESIDENT ALIENS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

From: Minidoka Internment National Monument Draft General Management Plan and Environmental I Impact Statement. Prepared By: U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service Pacific West Region Park Planning and Compliance Division-Seattle, Washington 98104. Pp 329-331.

ALIEN LAND LAW - laws enacted by various Western states that prevented Asian immigrants from purchasing, owning, and, in some cases, leasing land.

ASSEMBLY CENTER - a term used by the U.S. government to describe a temporary camp that incarcerated Japanese Americans and legal residents of Japanese ancestry during World War II. Assembly centers were generally situated on fairgrounds and race tracks, in cities along the West Coast and were surrounded by fences, watchtowers, and armed guards. In many of these assembly centers, internees were forced to live in cramped, unsanitary, and degrading conditions, where livestock stalls were hastily converted to house internees. These assembly centers were holding facilities until the more permanent War Relocation Centers were ready for the internees.

CAMP - a place where people are temporarily lodged or sheltered. Camp is the term many Japanese Americans and legal residents of Japanese ancestry use(d) to describe the War "assembly centers" and "relocation centers".

CIVIL RIGHTS - the freedoms and rights that a person has as a member of a given state or country.

CONCENTRATION CAMP - a place where prisoners of war, enemy aliens, and political prisoners are placed under armed guards. On occasion, officials of the U.S. government used the term "concentration camp" to describe the places where Nikkei were incarcerated during World War II.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS - the freedoms and rights guaranteed each American citizen by the Constitution of the United States.

COMMISSION ON WARTIME RELOCATION AND INTERNMENT OF CIVILIANS (CWRIC)-

a congressional commission charged with studying the facts and circumstances surrounding the exclusion, round-up, and detention of Japanese Americans and legal residents of Japanese ancestry during World War II. This commission made formal recommendations to the U.S. Congress for appropriate remedies.

DETAINEES - a word used to describe Japanese Americans and legal resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who were incarcerated during World War II.

DETENTION - the act or state of keeping in custody or confining, especially during a period of temporary custody while awaiting trial.

ENEMY ALIEN - a national living in a country at war with that person's country in the context of the internment and incarceration of Japanese Americans and legal residents of Japanese ancestry during World War II. All Issei were classified as enemy aliens, regardless of age, sex, or how long they lived in the United States. Issei were prevented from becoming naturalized U.S. citizens under the Naturalization Acts of 1790 and the "Ozawa Supreme Court decision" in 1922. In 1952, the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act, also called the McCarran-Walter Act, allowed Issei to become U.S. citizens.

EVACUEES - a word used by the War Relocation Authority (WRA) to describe Japanese Americans and legal resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who were incarcerated during World War II.

EVACUATION - the act or state of withdrawing, departing, or vacating any place or area, especially a threatened area. During World War II, the U.S government forcibly removed Japanese Americans and legal residents of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast and forbid their return until 1945; the government used the term "evacuation" for this process. In scholarly historical analyses, the term "evacuation" and its derivative "evacuee" are considered euphemisms for the government's treatment of Nikkei during World War II.

EXCLUSION - the act or state of preventing or keeping from entering a place; rejecting, barring, or putting out.

EXCLUSION ZONE - a zone established by the Western Defense Command from which Japanese Americans and legal residents of Japanese ancestry were excluded. This zone encompassed Military Areas #1 (western halves of Washington, Oregon, California and southern half of Arizona) and Military Area #2 (the remainder of California).

INCARCERATION - the act or state of being confined, shut in, or put in prison.

INCARCERATION CAMP - a term used to describe the WRA Centers, where Japanese Americans and legal residents of Japanese ancestry were forcibly confined during World War II.

INMATE - a person confined to an institution.

INTERNEES - a person who is interned, especially during wartime. This term has been used to define Japanese Americans and legal residents of Japanese ancestry who were interned and incarcerated during World War II. Legally, this term refers to the imprisonment of civilian enemy aliens during wartime.

INTERNMENT - the act or state of being detained or confined. A term referring to the imprisonment of civilian enemy aliens during wartime.

INTERNMENT CAMP - a camp where civilian enemy aliens are confined during wartime. Camps administered by the Justice Department.

ISSEI - direct translation is "first generation." The generation of people who were born in Japan and immigrated to the United States primarily between 1885–1924. During World War II, the majority of Issei were legal resident aliens.

JAPANESE - of pertaining to Japan, an inhabitant or citizen of Japan.

JAPANESE AMERICANS - American citizens of Japanese ancestry. Two thirds of those incarcerated during World War II were Japanese Americans. Sometimes Issei are referred to as Japanese Americans, since they were legally forbidden from becoming naturalized U.S. citizens but called the U.S. their home before, during, and after World War II.

KIBEI - a Nisei who spent a portion of his or her pre-World War II childhood in Japan.

NIKKEI - people of Japanese ancestry, including first generation immigrants (Issei), their immediate descendant (Nisei), and all later generations. In the context of World War II. Nikkei generally refers to Japanese American citizens and legal resident aliens of Japanese ancestry during that time.

NISEI - direct translation is "second generation." The first generation of people who were born in the United States.

NON-ALIEN - the U.S. government sometimes referred to the Nisei and Japanese Americans as non-aliens as a way of evading the fact that they were U.S. citizens.

PRISONER - a person held in custody, captivity, or a condition of forcible restraint, especially while on trial or serving a prison sentence. One deprived of freedom of action or expression.

PRISON - a place or condition of confinement or forcible restraint.

RELOCATION - the act or state of being established in a new place. This was the term preferred by the U.S. government referring to the act or state of forcibly removing Japanese Americans and legal residents of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast and incarcerating them in WRA Centers. In scholarly historical analysis, the term "relocation" and its derivative "relocation center" are considered euphemisms for the government's treatment of Nikkei during World War II.

RELOCATION CENTER - the term used by the U.S. government to define the places where Japanese Americans and legal residents of Japanese ancestry were forcibly confined during World War II.

REDRESS - to remedy, rectify, or to amend for a wrong done. Redress was used to describe the process and remedy for the internment and incarceration of Nikkei during World War II.

REPARATIONS - the act or process of repairing, making amends, or compensation. Beginning in 1990, former internees received reparations as compensation for their incarceration during World War II.

RESETTLEMENT - a term used by the War Relocation Authority to refer to the migration of Japanese Americans and legal resident aliens of Japanese ancestry from the War Relocation Centers to areas outside the Exclusion Zone.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY (WRA) - the U.S. government agency charged with administering the War Relocation Centers and their internees.

ADDITIONAL GLOSSARY OF WORDS AND TERMS

CORAM NOBIS, WRIT OF ERROR - little known and seldom used legal procedure used by attorneys for Fred Korematsu, Min Yasui and Gordon Hirabayashi to re-open and revisit their wartime convictions in the 1980s. From the Latin words meaning "error before us," the writ of error coram nobis can be invoked only after a defendant has been convicted and released from custody and only to raise errors of fact that were knowingly withheld by the prosecution from the judge and the defense. The coram nobis cases were important precursors for the successful movement for redress and reparations.

EMMONS, DELOS CARLETON (1888-1965) - commanding general in Hawai'i during World War II and head of the western Defense Command. As head of the U.S. Army in Hawai'i, Delos C. Emmons is often credited with being the key individual in preventing a mass removal of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II. He later succeeded John L. Dewitt as the head of the Western Defense Command and took actions to end the detention of Japanese Americans in concentration camps.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066 - presidential order signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942 that authorized the eventual mass exclusion and incarceration of all Japanese Americans on the West Coast. President Gerald Ford rescinded EO 9066 in 1976. EO 9066 did not pertain to internment in Hawai'i.

HISTORIC CONFINEMENT SITES - (A) the term 'historic confinement sites' means the 10 internment camp sites referred to as Gila River, Granada, Heart Mountain, Jerome, Rowher, Manzanar, Minidoka, Poston, Topaz, and Tule Lake... and (B) other historically significant locations, as determined by the Secretary, where Japanese Americans were detained during World War II.

From: S 1719 Preservation of Historic Sites, Senate of the U.S., 109th Congress, 1st Session, September 19, 2005.

MARTIAL LAW - a state whereby civilian courts of law and law enforcement are suspended and all aspects of life come under the control of the military. In Hawai'i, martial law was declared on December 7, 1941 and remained in effect until October 24, 1944. The internment of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i took place during the period of martial law.



DAY TWO

OPTIONAL EXTENSION

THE DECISION



December 10, 1941. Department of Justice press release.

Attorney General Biddle

So long as the aliens in this country conduct themselves in accordance with law, they need fear no interference by the Department of Justice or by any other agency of the Federal government. They may be assured, indeed, that every effort will be made to protect them from any discrimination or abuse.... Inevitably, there are some among our alien population who are disloyal. The Federal government is fully aware of the dangers presented not only by such persons but also by disloyal citizens. The government has control of the activities of these elements. *At no time, however; will the government engage in wholesale condemnation of any alien group.* [Italics in original]

Quoted in Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation, by Morton Grodzins. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949, p. 233.

January 4, 1942. Spoken at a conference with representatives of the Justice Department, the War Department, and other federal departments.

General DeWitt

We are at war and this area—eight states—has been designated as a theater of operations. I have approximately 240,000 men at my disposal.... [There are] approximately 288,000 enemy aliens.... which we have to watch.... I have little confidence that the enemy aliens are law-abiding or loyal in any sense of the word. Some of them yes; many, no. Particularly the Japanese. I have no confidence in their loyalty whatsoever. I am speaking now of the native born Japanese—117,000 and 42,000 in California alone.

Quoted in Concentration Camps North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada During World War II, by Roger Daniels. Malabar, Florida: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, Inc., 1981, pp. 45–46.

January 25, 1942. Letter from Stimson to Biddle.

Secretary of War Stimson

In recent conferences with General DeWitt, he has expressed great apprehension because of the presence on the Pacific Coast of many thousand alien enemies. As late as yesterday, 24 January, he stated over the telephone that shore-to-ship and ship-to-shore radio communications, undoubtedly coordinated by intelligent enemy control, were continually operating. A few days ago it was reported by military observers on the Pacific coast that not a single ship had sailed from our Pacific ports without being subsequently attacked. General DeWitt's apprehensions have been confirmed by recent visits of military observers from the War Department to the Pacific coast. The alarming and dangerous situation just described, in my opinion, calls for immediate and stringent action.

Record Group 107, National Archives, Washington, D.C., "Documents." Quoted in The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, by Roger Daniels. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1975, pp. 23-24.

January 27, 1942. Letter from Biddle to Congressman Leland Ford.

Attorney General Biddle

Because of the legal difficulties involved in attempting to intern or evacuate the thousands of Americanborn persons of the Japanese race who are, of course, American citizens, this Department has not deemed it advisable at this time to attempt to remove all persons of the Japanese race into the interior of the country.

Quoted in Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation, by Morton Grodzins. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949, p. 258.

January 31, 1942. Transcript of telephone conversation between DeWitt and Major Karl Bendetsen.

General DeWitt

As a matter of fact, the steps now being taken by the Attorney General through the Federal Bureau of Investigation will do nothing more than exercise a controlling influence and preventative action against sabotage. It will not, in my opinion, be able to stop it. The only positive answer to this question is evacuation of all enemy aliens from the West Coast, and their resettlement or internment under positive control, military or otherwise.

Record Group 389, National Archives, Washington, D.C., "Documents." Reprinted in The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, by Roger Daniels. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1975, p. 81.

February 3, 1942. Transcript of telephone conversation between McCloy and DeWitt.

Assistant Secretary of War McCloy

In spite of the constitution, you can eliminate from any military reservation, or any place that is declared to be in substance a military reservation, anyone—any American citizen—we could exclude everyone and then, by a system of permits and licenses, permit those to come back into that area who were necessary to enable that area to function as a living community. Everyone but the Japs.... In the meantime, the Japs would have to be out of there, or any other dangerous alien, and now we would eliminate in that way anybody that we wanted to. Now, you can do that on a military reservation without suspending writs of Habeas Corpus and without getting into very important legal complications, and that is a consideration that you might bear in mind.

Assistant Secretary of War, Record Group 107, National Archives, Washington, D.C., "Documents." Reprinted in The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, by Roger Daniels. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1975, p. 99.

February 5, 1942. Department of Justice press release.

Attorney General Biddle

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the other agencies of the Federal government are.... very much alive to the possibility of acts of sabotage particularly in case of a possible attack on our shores by the enemy.... The Government is fully aware of the problem presented by dual nationalities, particularly among the Japanese. The appropriate Governmental agencies are now dealing with the problem. The Attorney General and the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation believe that the steps taken to date for the control of alien enemies have been appropriate. [Italics in original].

Quoted in Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation, by Morton Grodzins. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949, p. 258.

February 7, 1942. Biddle's record of a conversation with the president.

Attorney General Biddle

I discussed at length with [the president].... that we believe mass evacuation at this time inadvisable, that the FBI was not staffed to perform it; that this was an Army job not, in our opinion, advisable; that there were

no reasons for mass evacuation and that I thought the Army should be directed to prepare a detailed plan of evacuation in case of an emergency caused by an air raid or attempted landing on the West Coast. I emphasized the danger of the hysteria, which we were beginning to control, moving east and affecting the Italian and German population in Boston and New York.

Memo, Biddle, "Luncheon Conference with the President," Feb. 7, 1942. Franklin Delano Roosevelt library. Biddle Papers (Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians CWRIC 5750). Quoted in Personal Justice Denied; Washington, D.C: GPO, 1982, p. 78.

February 7, 1942. Memorandum from Hoover to Biddle.

FBI Director Hoover

Certain statements were made in [DeWitt's] report indicating that immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor there was a possible connection between the sinking of United States ships by Japanese submarines and alleged Japanese espionage activity on the West Coast. It was also indicated that there had been shoreto-ship signaling, either by radio or lights, at this time. As indicated in the attached memorandum, there is no information in the possession of this Bureau as the result of investigations conducted relative to submarine attacks and espionage activity on the West Coast which would indicate that attacks made on ships or shores in the area immediately after Pearl Harbor have been associated with any espionage activity ashore or that there has been any illicit shore-to-ship signaling, either by radio or lights....

Every complaint in this regard has been investigated, but in no case has any information been obtained which would substantiate the allegations that there has been illicit signaling from shore-to-ship since the beginning of the war.

"Reported Bombing and Shelling of the West Coast" Reprinted in Military Secrets, A Case of Government Misconduct in the Wartime Internment of Japanese Americans, edited and abridged by Beverly Keever, Honolulu: Asian American Journalists Association, Hawai'i Chapter, 1992, n.p. and p. 3.

February 11, 1942. Telephone conversation between McCloy and Bendetsen.

Assistant Secretary of War McCloy

[Secretary Stimson and I] talked to the President and the President, in substance, says go ahead and

do anything you think necessary.... [I] f it involves citizens, we will take care of them too. He says there will probably be some repercussions, but it has to be dictated by military necessity, but as he puts it, "Be as reasonable as you can."

Quoted in Concentration Camps North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada During World War II, by Roger Daniels. Malabar, Florida: Robert Kneger Publishing Company, Inc., 1981, p. 65.

February 12, 1942. Excerpt from the Washington Post.

Columnist Lippmann

The Pacific Coast is in imminent danger of a combined attack from within and from without....The peculiar danger ... is in a Japanese raid accompanied by enemy action inside American territory.... I understand fully and appreciate thoroughly the unwillingness of Washington to adopt a policy of mass evacuation and mass internment.... There is the assumption that a citizen may not be interfered with unless he had committed an overt act, or at least unless there is strong evidence that he is about to commit an overt act.... \[But \] the Pacific Coast is officially a combat zone: Some part of it may at any moment be a battlefield. Nobody's constitutional rights include the right to reside and do business on a battlefield. And nobody ought to be on a battlefield who has no good reason for being there.

Source: Walter Lippmann, "The Fifth Column on the Coast," Washington Post, February 12, 1942.

February 14, 1942. Final recommendation from DeWitt to Stimson.

General DeWitt

In the war in which we are now engaged racial affinities are not severed by migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become "Americanized," the racial strains are undiluted. To conclude otherwise is to expect that children born of white parents on Japanese soil sever all racial affinity and become loyal Japanese subjects, ready to fight and, if necessary, to die for Japan in a war against the nation of their parents.... It, therefore, follows that along the vital Pacific Coast over 112,000 potential enemies, of Japanese extraction, are at large today. There are indications that these are organized and ready for concerted action at a favorable opportunity. The very

fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken.

"Evacuation of Japanese and Other Subversive Persons from the Pacific Coast." February 14, 1942. Reprinted in Final Report, Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast 1942, United States Department of War, New York: Arno Press, 1978, p. 34.

February 17, 1942. Memorandum from Biddle to the President.

Attorney General Biddle

For several weeks there have been increasing demands for evacuation of all Japanese, aliens and citizens alike, from the West Coast states. A great many of the West Coast people distrust the Japanese, various special interests would welcome their removal from good farm land and the elimination of their competition, some of the local California radio and press have demanded evacuation, the West Coast Congressional Delegation are asking the same thing.... My last advice from the War Department is that there is no evidence of imminent attack and from the FBI that there is no evidence of planned sabotage.... Under the Constitution 60,000 of these Japanese are American citizens. If complete confusion and lowering of morale is to be avoided, so large a job must be done after careful planning.

It is extremely dangerous for the columnists, acting as "Armchair Strategists and Junior G-Men," to suggest that an attack on the West Coast and planned sabotage is imminent when the military authorities and the FBI have indicated that this is not the fact. It comes close to shouting FIRE! in the theater.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library (FDRL), PSF Confidential File (CWRIC 5754-55). Quoted in Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and internment of Civilians, Washington, D. C.: GPO 1982, pp. 83-84.

February 18, 1942. From the Congressional Record.

Congressman Rankin

I know the Hawaiian Islands. I know the Pacific Coast where these Japanese reside. Even though they may be the third or fourth generation of Japanese, we cannot trust them. I know that those areas are teeming with Japanese spies.... Once a Jap always a Jap. You cannot change him. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear....

This is a race war, as far as the Pacific side of this conflict is concerned, and we might as well understand it. The white man's civilization has come into conflict with Japanese barbarism. Christianity has come in conflict with Shintoism, atheism, and infidelity. One of them must be destroyed. You cannot regenerate a Jap, convert him, change him, and make him the same as a white man any more than you can reverse the laws of nature....

I am for catching every Japanese in America, Alaska, and Hawai'i now and putting him in concentration camps and shipping them back to Asia as soon as possible....

I say it is of vital importance that we get rid of every Japanese whether in Hawai'i or on the mainland. They violate every sacred promise, every canon of honor and decency.

Damn them! Let us get rid of them now!

Congressional Record, February 18, 1942, pp. 1419-1420.

February 19, 1942. The President's Executive Order 9066.

President Roosevelt

Whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national defense material, national defense premises, and national defense utilities as defined in Section 4, Act of April 20, 1918, 40 Stat. 533, as amended by the Act of November 30, 1940, 54 Stat. 1220, and the Act of August 21, 1941, 55 Stat. 655 (U.S.C., Title 50, Sec. 140):

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders who he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the

Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War or the said Military Commander, and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order. The designation of military areas in any region or locality shall supersede designations of prohibited and restricted areas by the Attorney General under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, and shall supersede the responsibility and authority of the Attorney General under the said proclamation in respect of such prohibited and restricted areas.

I hereby further authorize and direct the Secretary of War and the said Military Commanders to take such other steps as he or the appropriate Military Commander may deem advisable to enforce compliance with the restrictions applicable to each Military area hereinabove authorized to be designated, including the use of Federal troops and other Federal Agencies, with authority to accept assistance of state and local agencies.

I hereby further authorize and direct all Executive Departments, independent establishments and other Federal Agencies, to assist the Secretary of War or the said Military Commanders in carrying out this Executive Order, including the furnishing of medical aid, hospitalization, food, clothing, transportation, use of land, shelter, and other supplies, equipment, utilities, facilities, and services.

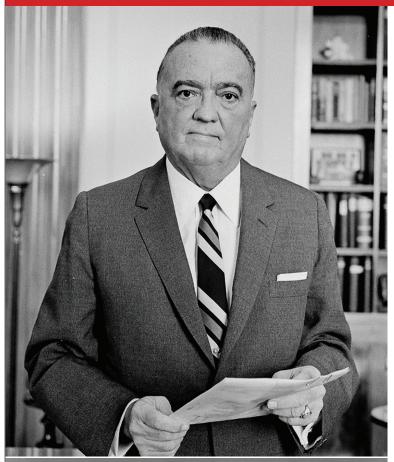
This order shall not be construed as modifying or limiting in any way the authority heretofore granted under Executive Order No. 8972, dated December 12, 1941, nor shall it be construed as limiting or modifying the duty and responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with respect to the investigation of alleged acts of sabotage or the duty and responsibility of the Attorney General and the Department of Justice under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, prescribing regulations for the conduct and control of alien enemies, except as such duty and

responsibility is superseded by the designation of military areas hereunder.

THE WHITE HOUSE February 19, 1942

U.S. Congress, House, Tolan Committee. 77th Congress, 2d. sess, 1942, H. Rept. 2124. "Documents." Reprinted in The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, by Roger Daniels, Philadelphia. J.B. Lippincott Co., 1975, pp. 113-114.

THE DECISION MEN



MY NAME IS J. EDGAR HOOVER

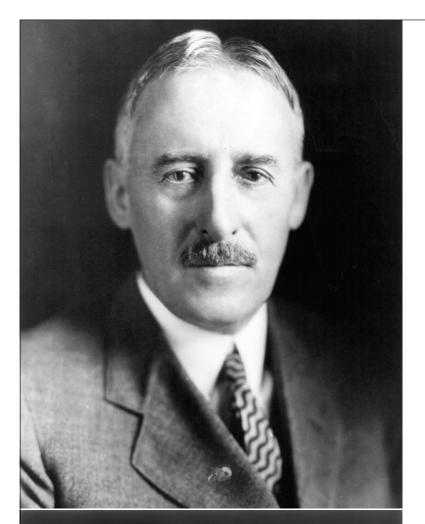
I am the chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which is part of the Justice Department. In 1940 President Roosevelt put the bureau in charge of internal security and anti-subversion matters. During this time the FBI collected intelligence on the activities of Japanese on the West Coast and in Hawai'i. It developed a master list of potential subversives in the event of a war with Japan. Immediately after Pearl Harbor the list was used to round up enemy aliens among the Japanese, Germans, and Italians. There were about 2,000 Japanese on this list out of a total of over 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry living on the mainland United States and over 150,000 people of Japanese ancestry living in the Hawaiian Islands.

"Justice is incidental - law and order is the whole picture." - J. Edgar Hoover



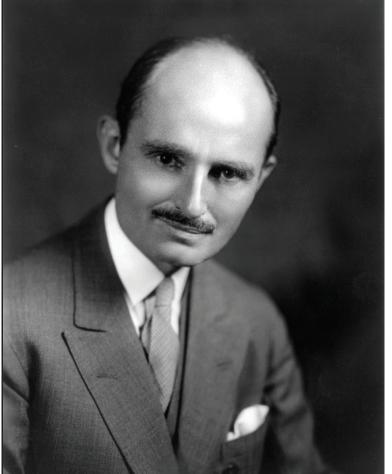
MY NAME IS JOHN E. RANKIN

I am a congressman from Mississippi. In 1937, I was a member of a congressional committee that studied the question of statehood for Hawai'i. At that time I was disturbed by the domination of the islands by the Japanese. My comments before Congress on the issue of interning Japanese aliens and citizens on the West Coast were praised and approved by other members of Congress.



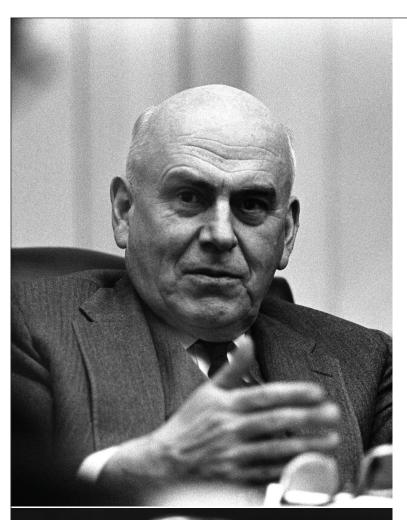
MY NAME IS HENRY L. STIMSON

I am secretary of war. I was also secretary of war under President Taft (1909-1913) and secretary of state under President Hoover (1929-1933). As the most experienced member of the cabinet, I advise the president. I depend on reports from the field to do this. As we debate whether we should evacuate and intern people of Japanese ancestry, my department and the Justice Department come into conflict.



MY NAME IS FRANCIS BIDDLE

As attorney general for the nation, I am a part of the president's cabinet and in charge of the Department of Justice. I provide legal advice concerning the powers and limits of the federal government. My department conducts investigations into violations of federal law. The Justice Department and the War Department are in conflict over whether people of Japanese ancestry should be forced from their homes and relocated. I remind my colleagues in the cabinet that many of the Japanese in this country are American citizens.



MY NAME IS JOHN J. MCCLOY

I am assistant secretary of war under Stimson. My knowledge of German subversive methods helped place me in counterintelligence work in the War Department. I am responsible for political affairs, handling everything no one else happens to be handling.



MY NAME IS FRANKLIN DELANO **ROOSEVELT**

I am the president of the United States of America, the nation's chief executive, empowered to see that the laws passed by Congress are carried out. I am also commander in chief of our armed forces. My decision to issue Executive Order 9066 will result in the internment of people of Japanese ancestry during World War II.



MY NAME IS JOHN L. DEWITT

I am a lieutenant general and commander of the Western Defense Command, which is made up of eight West Coast states: California, Oregon, Washington, Montana, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona. My role in the evacuation and internment of people of Japanese ancestry is central. My final report on the West Coast situation tips the balance in favor of removal.