

# Notes

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## NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

The Commission's report is based upon hearings, archival research and secondary sources. Some of the more than 750 witnesses composed written testimony to augment their oral statements; other persons submitted written statements but did not testify. Notes therefore cite personal statements and materials under three heads: "testimony" (for oral statements before the Commission), "written testimony" and "unsolicited testimony."

Abbreviations that designate material from major archives and research libraries appear below. The thousands of documents and secondary sources assembled by the Commission required an internal locator system indicated by "CWRIC" followed by a page number. In the Aleut chapter, some CWRIC citations refer to separate files on the war and evacuation in Alaska, cited as "CWRIC AL". At this writing, it is anticipated that, no matter which archive houses Commission files, the locator system will be useful, so it has been included. Other abbreviations include:

**Bancroft Library:** University of California, Berkeley; collection on Japanese American evacuation and resettlement. To locate individual documents see catalog of this material by Edward N. Barnhart (Berkeley: University of California General Library, 1958).

**DOJ:** Department of Justice records, Washington, DC; subsequent numbers indicate DOJ files.

**FBI:** Federal Bureau of Investigation records, Washington, DC.

**FDRL:** Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY.

**HR:** U.S. House of Representatives reports.

**LC:** Library of Congress, Washington, DC, all divisions.

**NARS. RG:** National Archives and Records Service, Washington, DC; Record Group.

**Sterling Library:** Yale University, New Haven, CT; Henry L. Stimson Papers, Manuscript Group No. 465.

## Before Pearl Harbor

1. For historical background on the pertinent application of the naturalization laws, see *Ozawa v. United States*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922); Stefan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 734–48.

2. *In re Ah Yup*, 1 Fed. Cases 223 (Cir. Ct., D. Calif. 1878) (decision of Circuit Judge Sawyer).

3. *Ozawa v. United States*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922).

4. At the time of the First World War, it appeared that citizenship was promised to aliens who volunteered to serve in the American military forces; although Japanese aliens volunteered, they were not given citizenship when the courts came to review the law. Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1969), p. 91; see *In re Charr*, 273 Fed. 207 (W.D. Mo. 1921).

5. Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 16–19.

6. In 1849, the Supreme Court decided in the *Passenger Cases* that regulation of immigration was the exclusive domain of the federal government. *Smith v. Turner and Norris v. The City of Boston*, 48 U.S. 282 (1849).

7. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 18.

8. 22 Stat. 58 (May 6, 1882); 27 Stat. 25 (May 5, 1892); 32 Stat. 176 (Apr. 29, 1902).

9. Act to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts, to establish quotas, and for other purposes, 57 Stat. 600 (Dec. 17, 1943).

10. William Langer, *An Encyclopedia of World History*, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 815, 919.

11. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 1–3.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 2–4.

13. Robert A. Wilson and Bill Hosokawa, *East to America* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1980), p. 141.

14. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 3–5.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

16. Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, p. 116.

17. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 1 and Appendix A.

18. Thomas Sowell, *Ethnic America* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1981), p. 157; Yasuo Wakatsuki, “Japanese Emigration to the United States, 1866–1924” in *Perspectives in American History*, vol. 12 (1979), p. 465.

19. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 13; see also Leonard Broom and Ruth

Riemer, *Removal and Return* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), p. 7.

20. Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945), pp. 77-80.

21. Sowell, *Ethnic America*, pp. 155-79.

22. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 1.

23. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population 1970*, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, part 6 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 86.

24. McWilliams, *Prejudice*, pp. 81-83; see also Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart and Floyd Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), p. 12.

25. McWilliams, *Prejudice*, pp. 77-80.

26. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 21-22.

27. Remarks quoted from the *San Francisco Examiner* and *San Francisco Chronicle*, both for May 8, 1900, set out in Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 21.

28. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 22-23. This was the beginning of significant labor activity against the Japanese in the United States.

29. Tamotsu Shibutani, *The Derelicts of Company K* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 22.

30. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 24-27. The resolution asked Congress to limit and diminish the further immigration of Japanese, and set forth ten points against the Japanese which were insulting and inaccurate.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

32. Shibutani, *Derelicts of Company K*, pp. 21-22.

33. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 27-28. The executive committee of the Socialist Party in California also resolved, in 1906, to oppose Asiatic immigration. Two small organizations, also of laborers, worked with the League: the Anti-Jap Laundry League, and the Anti-Japanese League of Alameda County (a largely fictitious organization). *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-40.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-43; Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 89.

36. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 33-34; Executive Order 589 (March 14, 1907), revoked by Executive Order 10009 (October 18, 1948).

37. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 65; see generally Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 50-64.

38. Shibutani, *Derelicts of Company K*, p. 23.

39. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 61-64, regarding the inefficacy of the Webb-Heney Act; see also tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 51; McWilliams, *Prejudice*, p. 49.

40. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 61-64, 79; tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, pp. 41-42.

41. The Native Sons of the Golden West was an exclusive organization of men born in California, dedicated to preserving the state "as it has always been and God himself intended it shall always be—the White Man's Paradise." Anti-Japanese activity was a focus of the Native Sons for years. The American Legion has a long history of anti-Japanese activity. At its first convention, in

November, 1919, it adopted an anti-Japanese policy. Labor continued to be anti-Japanese, although moving the Japanese from the land, which the policies of some labor groups supported, would most quickly cause cheap labor competition. The California State Grange and the California State Farm Bureau Federation initiated organized anti-Japanese activity in 1920. Their goals were ouster of the Japanese from the state's farmlands, and eventually, their total exclusion. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, pp. 32-57; Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 85-87.

42. Shibutani, *Derelicts of Company K*, p. 24.

43. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, pp. 59-62.

44. Audrie Girdner and Anne Loftis, *The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of the Japanese-Americans During World War II* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1969), pp. 92-93.

45. From the Exclusion League's letterhead, cited by Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 85.

46. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 88.

47. Girdner and Loftis, *Great Betrayal*, p. 61.

48. Initiative No. 1, Statutes and Amendments to the Codes of California, 1921, p. xxxvii.

49. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 88; see also McWilliams, *Prejudice*, p. 65.

50. Masakazu Iwata, "Summary of *Planted In Good Soil: Issei Agriculture in the Pacific Coast States*," testimony of Japanese American Citizens League National Committee for Redress, Dec. 23, 1981, p. 257. The statistics were:

<i>Acres held in California</i>	
<i>Year</i>	<i>by Ethnic Japanese</i>
1905	62,048
1908	134,057
1918	390,635
1929	328,350

51. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 1.

52. Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, p. 71.

53. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, p. 563.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 562.

55. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 44.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 91.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

58. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 45; Girdner and Loftis, *Great Betrayal*, p. 66.

59. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 25.

60. Frank F. Chuman, *The Bamboo People: The Law and Japanese Americans* (Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1976), p. 111.

61. Bill Hosokawa, *JACL In Quest of Justice* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1982), p. 105.

62. Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 11.

63. McWilliams, *Prejudice*, p. 40.

64. Sowell, *Ethnic America*, p. 65.

65. McWilliams, *Prejudice*, pp. 26–29.
66. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, pp. 69, 76–77; tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, pp. 27, 29–32.
67. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 108.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 108; Girdner and Loftis, *Great Betrayal*, p. 61.
69. See generally Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 89; Ruth E. McKee, *Wartime Exile: The Exclusion of the Japanese Americans from the West Coast* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1946), pp. 23–29; Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, p. 133.
70. Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, p. 133.
71. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 67; McWilliams, *Prejudice*, pp. 90–91.
72. Girdner and Loftis, *Great Betrayal*, pp. 72–73; Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, p. 67.
73. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, pp. 158–59.
74. Shibutani, *Derelicts of Company K*, p. 31; Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, p. 166; Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 159.
75. Shibutani, *Derelicts of Company K*, p. 25.
76. Daniel K. Inouye with Lawrence Elliott, *Journey to Washington* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 36–37.
77. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 178.
78. U.S. Department of the Interior, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 83–88.
79. Girdner and Loftis, *Great Betrayal*, pp. 45–46.
80. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, pp. 129–30.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 129; Girdner and Loftis, *Great Betrayal*, p. 46.
82. Sowell, *Ethnic America*, p. 170.
83. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 128.
84. Girdner and Loftis, *Great Betrayal*, p. 46.
85. Sowell, *Ethnic America*, p. 157.
86. Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, pp. 60, 111.
87. Girdner and Loftis, *Great Betrayal*, pp. 44–45.
88. Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, pp. 166–87.
89. Broom and Riemer, *Removal and Return*, p. 7.
90. *Idem.*
91. McKee, *Exclusion*, pp. 62–65; Iwata, “Planted in Good Soil,” pp. 246–47.
92. McKee, *Exclusion*, p. 8.
93. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 8.
94. McKee, *Exclusion*, p. 65; Iwata, “Planted in Good Soil,” p. 247; Sowell, *Ethnic America*, p. 161.
95. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 9.
96. Iwata, “Planted in Good Soil,” p. 258.
97. Lon Hatamiya, “Economic Effects of the Second World War Upon Japanese Americans in California,” testimony of the Japanese American Citizens League National Committee for Redress, Dec. 23, 1981, p. 161.
98. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 10. Cf. Iwata, “Planted in Good Soil,”

p. 254, which states that in 1917 Japanese Americans raised crops worth \$55 million, or about 10 percent of the California production.

99. See generally Iwata, "Planted in Good Soil," pp. 267-73.

100. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, pp. 68-69.

101. Iwata, "Planted in Good Soil," p. 258.

102. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 23, 74-75.

103. Iwata, "Planted in Good Soil," pp. 260-63.

104. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 12; Hatamiya, "Economic Effects," p. 152. Cf. McWilliams, *Prejudice*, p. 88, which notes that by 1941, many of these small retail businesses were going bankrupt because of their narrow economic base.

105. Broom and Riemer, *Removal and Return*, pp. 27-31.

106. Hatamiya, "Economic Effects," pp. 152-54; Broom and Riemer, *Removal and Return*, pp. 27-31.

107. Hatamiya, "Economic Effects," p. 162.

108. McKee, *Exclusion*, pp. 92-93.

109. Hatamiya, "Economic Effects," pp. 154-70.

110. Shibutani, *Derelicts of Company K*, p. 26.

111. Hatamiya, "Economic Effects," pp. 161-70.

112. Sowell, *Ethnic America*, pp. 162-70.

113. Sources for this section are Thomas Pettigrew, ed., *The Sociology of Race Relations and Reform* (New York: The Free Press, 1980), p. xvii; J. R. Pole, *The Pursuit of Equality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 221-92.

114. *Facts on File*, vol. 2, no. 70 (1942), p. 72.

115. *Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 337 (1938).

116. Stimson Diary, Jan. 24, 1942. Sterling Library, Yale University. (CWRIC 19609-10).

## Executive Order 9066

1. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 1001–03. Three other aircraft carriers were at sea, and therefore unaffected. These carriers and their airgroups constituted a striking force far more valuable than the lost battleships. The perception of the destruction, however, did not account for this fact.

2. See, e.g., Notes of Cabinet meetings, Francis Biddle, Attorney General, Dec. 7, 1941. FDRL. Biddle Papers (CWRIC 3790–91).

3. Jeannette Rankin, a pacifist Representative from Montana, voted against the declaration with tears streaming down her face. Francis Biddle, *In Brief Authority* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1962), pp. 206–07.

4. Morison, *Oxford History of the American People*, p. 1003.

5. James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), pp. 38–39.

6. J. L. DeWitt, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation From the West Coast, 1942* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 34. [hereafter *Final Report*].

7. Brief for the United States, *Korematsu v. United States*, No. 22, Oct. Term 1944, pp. 11–12.

8. House Report No. 732, 80th Cong., 1st Sess., reprinted in Hearings before Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 83rd Cong., 2d Sess., on HR 7435 (Serial No. 23), p. 60a.

9. Testimony, John J. McCloy, Washington, DC, Nov. 3, 1981, pp. 45–66; testimony, Karl Bendetsen, Washington, DC, Nov. 2, 1981, p. 32. Like McCloy, Bendetsen believes the evacuation decision was right in the context of the time:

*Senator Brooke:* One final question. Looking back in hindsight now, do you still think that the decision that was made in 1942 to place the Japanese Americans in camps was the right decision?

*Mr. Bendetsen:* Viewing it in the circumstances of the time and not from today's time, yes; I think it was. (Testimony, Bendetsen, Washington, DC, Nov. 2, 1981, p. 71).

10. Brief for the United States, *Hirabayashi v. United States*, No. 870, Oct. Term 1942, pp. 16–17.

11. Proposal for Coordination of FBI, ONI and MID, June 5, 1940, approved and signed by Louis Johnson, Acting Secretary of War on June 28, 1940. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 7362–63); memo, signed by G–2, ONI and FBI, Feb. 9, 1942, approved and signed by Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of

War. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 7366-73). This document indicates that ONI and FBI had joint coverage of "Japanese activities."

12. Kenneth Ringle, Jr., "What Did You Do Before The War, Dad?," *Washington Post Magazine*, Dec. 6, 1981; report by Curtis B. Munson, "Japanese on the West Coast," attached to Nov. 7, 1941 memo from John Franklin Carter to the President. FDRL. PSF 106 Stimson (CWRIC 3672-89).

13. Memo, Carter to Roosevelt *re* Munson report, "Japanese on the West Coast," Nov. 7, 1941. The five points certainly suggest that sabotage and espionage by Japanese Americans may occur but conveyed the opinion that there was not very much to fear from the Nisei. The one point that Roosevelt marked for Stimson's attention spoke generally of the fact that key points such as dams and bridges were unguarded and vulnerable. In the text of Munson's report, it was clear that he did not perceive danger from the ethnic Japanese in this situation as much as from the Communists and Nazis, but this may not have been clear if only Carter's brief cover note were read. Memo, FDR to the Secretary of War, Nov. 8, 1941. FDRL. PSF 106 Stimson (CWRIC 3672; 3671).

14. Letter, Stimson to Roosevelt, Feb. 5, 1942. FDRL. PSF 106 Stimson (CWRIC 3670).

15. Report by Curtis B. Munson, "Japanese on the West Coast," attached to memo from Carter to Roosevelt, Nov. 7, 1941. FDRL. PSF 106 Stimson (CWRIC 3673-89).

16. Cover note, Carter to Roosevelt, Dec. 22, 1941, enclosing Munson report of Dec. 20, 1941 (CWRIC 19480-90); cover note, Carter to Roosevelt, Dec. 13, 1941, enclosing Munson update of Jan. 12, 1942 (CWRIC 19495-97); cover note, Carter to Roosevelt, Jan. 28, 1942, enclosing letter with enclosures from Munson (CWRIC 19518-20); memo, Munson to Grace Tully, with enclosures, about Feb. 21, 1942 (CWRIC 19539-50); "Report on Hawaiian Islands," by Munson, attached to memo from Carter to Roosevelt, Dec. 8, 1941. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 19499-516).

17. Report by Munson, "Report and Suggestions regarding Handling Japanese Question on the Coast," Dec. 20, 1941. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 19483).

18. *E.g.*, Letter, Bob Alexander to Lloyd Wright, Feb. 18, 1942. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 19543-46). Nor was the threat limited to coastal areas. German saboteurs landing from submarines had instructions to destroy many inland installations. Letter, Hoover to McIntyre, Secy. to President, with attached memo, June 27, 1942. FDRL. PSF 77 (CWRIC 3691-93).

19. *E.g.*, Memo, Carter to Roosevelt, Jan. 28, 1942. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 19518).

20. Memo, Lieut. Cmdr. K. D. Ringle to Chief of Naval Operations, Jan. 26, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 275-84). Ringle had three years' study of the Japanese language and people during a tour at the embassy in Tokyo, a year as Assistant District Intelligence Officer in Hawaii; from June 1940 he had directed Naval Intelligence in Los Angeles. Ringle, Report on Japanese Question, Jan. 26, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 277).

21. Ringle, *Washington Post Magazine*, Dec. 6, 1981.

22. Letter, Ringle to Edward N. Barnhart, Mar. 23, 1951 (CWRIC 19567).

23. Ringle, Report on Japanese Question, Jan. 26, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 277).

24. Letter, Ringle to Barnhart, Mar. 23, 1951 (CWRIC 19566).

25. The Proclamation is reproduced at U.S. House of Representatives, Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration (Tolan Committee), 77th Cong. 2d Sess., 1942, HR Report 2124. Proclamation 2526 applied the promulgated rules and regulations to German aliens; Proclamation 2527 applied them to Italian aliens. Both Proclamation 2526 and 2527 were issued on Dec. 8, 1941.

26. Paul Clark, "Those Other Camps: Japanese Alien Internment during World War II," unpublished manuscript, no date, p. 7, and materials cited (CWRIC 4409).

27. Telegrams, J. Edgar Hoover to All Special Agents in Charge, Dec. 7, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 5826, 5827, 5828); Dec. 8, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 5784-85).

28. Press release, Department of Justice statement of policy, released by Attorney General Francis Biddle, Dec. 10, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 5814-15).

29. Memos, L. L. Laughlin to D. M. Ladd, Dec. 8, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 5781); Francis M. Shea to Hoover, Dec. 10, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 5780).

30. Memo, Lemuel B. Schofield to Edward J. Ennis, Director, Alien Enemy Control Unit, Dec. 10, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 10373).

31. Clark, "Those Other Camps," p. 9, refers to Department of Justice press release, Feb. 16, 1942. (CWRIC 4411).

32. Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), p. 101.

33. Memo, Hoover to Attorney General, Feb. 2, 1942. FBI (CWRIC 5794-803).

34. Ringle, *Washington Post Magazine*, Dec. 6, 1981.

35. Memo, Hoover to Attorney General, Feb. 2, 1942. FBI (CWRIC 5794-803).

36. Report by Munson, Dec. 20, 1941. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 19481).

37. Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1969), pp. 463-64.

38. Notes of Cabinet meetings, Biddle, Dec. 19, 1941. FDRL. Biddle Papers (CWRIC 3793-94); memo, Hoover to the Attorney General, Dec. 17, 1941:

With reference to the statement made by the Secretary of Navy to the effect that the Fifth Column activities in Hawaii were exceeded only by the Fifth Column activities in Norway, I wanted to make the suggestion that you might wish to keep in mind the desirability of asking the Secretary of Navy for any specific evidence which he has supporting this statement.

I have already addressed a memorandum to you outlining directly what the scope of the so-called Fifth Column activities in Hawaii has been, and while there no doubt have been agents of the Japanese government active, it is very definitely the opinion of the intelligence officers of the various services in Hawaii that there is no such widespread activity similar to that

- which occurred in Norway. In fact, it is believed a great majority of the population in Hawaii of foreign extraction is law-abiding and is not indulging in any such activities. If the Secretary of Navy has any specific information of the magnitude that he has indicated by his press statement, it might be desirable for you to make inquiry of him for it. FBI (CWRIC 5830).
39. Memo, Carter to Roosevelt. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 12006).
  40. Memo, Hoover to Tolson, Tamm and Ladd, Dec. 8, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 5786).
  41. *Honolulu Advertiser*, Dec. 22, 1941, pp. 1, 6 (CWRIC 29567-69).
  42. Report by Munson, Dec. 20, 1941. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 19481-82).
  43. Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 399.
  44. Cover note, Carter to Roosevelt, Dec. 22, 1941; report by Munson, Dec. 20, 1941. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 19481-90).
  45. Report of Roberts Commission, Jan. 23, 1942, contained in Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, 79th Cong., Part 39, 1946 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946) [hereafter "Pearl Harbor Investigation"].
  46. Pearl Harbor Investigation, Part 39, pp. 12-13.
  47. Elting E. Morison, *Turmoil and Tradition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), pp. 527-34.
  48. Pearl Harbor Investigation, Part 22, p. 86.
  49. Report by Munson, Dec. 20, 1941. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 19483).
  50. Pearl Harbor Investigation, Part 23, p. 867 and preceding pages.
  51. *Ibid.*, pp. 872-73.
  52. Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, HR Report No. 1911, 77th Cong., 2d Sess., March 19, 1942, p. 2.
  53. Diary, Stimson, Jan. 20, 1942, p. 3, Sterling Library, Yale University (CWRIC 19598).
  54. Pearl Harbor Investigation, Part 23, p. 874.
  55. *Ibid.*, pp. 879-80.
  56. *Ibid.*, p. 884.
  57. *Ibid.*, pp. 642-43, 651.
  58. Pearl Harbor Investigation, Part 35, p. 559.
  59. Gordon W. Prange, *At Dawn We Slept* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1981), pp. 310-12, 650.
  60. Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice: Japanese-Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945), pp. 110-11.
  61. Diary, Stimson, Jan. 20, 1942, p. 3. Sterling Library, Yale University (CWRIC 19598).
  62. Telephone conversation, DeWitt, Gullion and Bendetsen, Feb. 1, 1942. NARS. RG 389 (CWRIC 4316).
  63. Memo, Carter to Roosevelt, Dec. 19, 1941. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 12007).
  64. Memo, Hoover to Shea, Dec. 17, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 5777-79).

65. Letter, Ringle to Barnhart, Mar. 23, 1951 (CWRIC 19566).
66. In June 1940, Congress passed the Alien Registration Act (Smith Act), 54 Stat. 670. Registration began under the supervision of the Department of Justice on Aug. 27, 1940. Aliens had to register, be fingerprinted, answer 42 questions and reregister annually. A total of 4,921,452 aliens registered. (Donald R. Perry, "Aliens in the United States," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 223 [September 1942], pp. 1-9).
67. WDC, *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by the Western Defense Command*, Jan. 1947, pp. 440-41. NARS. RG 338.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 441-42. In Los Angeles and San Francisco, over \$3 million of local commercial and savings accounts were immediately frozen. The amount frozen in Seattle is unknown; the President appointed an Alien Property Custodian in the Department of Justice on Dec. 12, 1941. See Notes on Cabinet Meetings, Biddle, Dec. 12, 1941. FDRL. Biddle Papers (CWRIC 3792).
69. WDC, *Supplemental Report*, pp. 442-43.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 443.
71. Biddle, Notes on Cabinet meetings, Dec. 12, 1941. FDRL. Biddle Papers (CWRIC 3792).
72. Telegram, Marshall to Commanding General, Western Defense Command, Jan. 2, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 3176).
73. Bill Hosokawa, *JACL In Quest of Justice* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1982), pp. 140-41.
74. *Congressional Record*, p. 9630, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., Dec. 10, 1941.
75. Telegram, Robinett, GHQ Army War College, to G-2 Western Defense Command, Dec. 19, 1941 (CWRIC 3146). See, e.g., memo, Lt. Col. L. R. Forney to Lt. Col. D. A. Stroh, Dec. 22, 1941 (CWRIC 3161); telegram, Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt to Commanding General of Field Forces, GHQ Army War College, Dec. 22, 1941 (CWRIC 3173); telegram, DeWitt to Adjutant General, Dec. 23, 1941 (CWRIC 3174); telegram, Marshall to DeWitt, Dec. 25, 1941 (CWRIC 3157); telegram, Maj. Gen. E. S. Adams, Adjutant General, to DeWitt, Dec. 25, 1941, suggesting the Secretary of War should consider asking the President to transfer to the War Department the responsibility and authority for control of enemy aliens (CWRIC 3158); telegram, DeWitt to Commanding General of Field Forces, GHQ Army War College, Dec. 26, 1941 (CWRIC 3156). All in NARS. RG 338.
- Instructions for arrests of alien enemies were also sought. Those instructions were issued after the first wave of arrests. Memo, Hoover to All Special Agents in Charge, Dec. 27, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 5808-10). Individual determinations about arrest were to be made, with review by the appropriate United States Attorney, then review and decision by the Department of Justice, except where activities of the alien enemies were imminently dangerous.
76. Memo by Forney on conversation with N. J. L. Pieper, FBI, SAC, Jan. 1, 1942 (CWRIC 3167); see also memo, Pieper to DeWitt, containing a telegram from Biddle, Jan. 1, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1331-32).
77. Memo, Pieper to DeWitt, Jan. 1, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1331).
78. Telegram, Hoover to James Rowe, Assistant Attorney General, Jan. 7, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1246-47).

79. Memo, Hoover to Attorney General, Feb. 2, 1942. FBI (CWRIC 5798).

80. Transcription of meeting in DeWitt's office, Jan. 4, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1250-57).

81. Summary, Rowe to DeWitt, Jan. 4, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1258-59). As a guideline, the pertinent parts of the memorandum are worth reviewing in their entirety:

This is the summary by Assistant Attorney General ROWE to General DE WITT of a conversation with the Attorney General of the United States, and Mr. ROWE's understanding of what the Department of Justice is prepared to do on questions of Alien Enemy Control referred to him by General DE WITT and his staff. . . .

## 2. RESTRICTED AREAS.

The Department of Justice tonight will by wire direct the United States Attorneys in the Western Theater of Operations, with particular emphasis on Washington, Oregon, and California, to telephone Major General BENEDICT for recommendations as to what areas should be regarded as restricted. The U.S. Attorney will automatically accept the General's recommendations, and these areas will immediately become restricted areas pending confirmation by the Attorney General. As soon as possible, a press release ordering all enemy aliens to evacuate restricted areas by a certain date and hour will be issued. Any release by the Department of Justice will specifically state that the Attorney General has designated these restricted areas at the specific and urgent request of General DE WITT. The Army will request the Navy to submit its recommendations through General DE WITT. It is believed several days will elapse before the Army will be ready to submit its recommendations.

## 3. SEARCH WARRANTS.

New forms for search and seizure of prohibited articles in homes controlled by, or inhabited by, alien enemies, are to be received tomorrow morning by FBI teletype. The question of probable cause will be met only by the statement that an alien enemy is resident in such premises. It is Mr. ROWE's understanding that the local United States Attorney's interpretation that more information is necessary to show probable cause is incorrect. The U.S. Attorney will issue a search warrant upon a statement by an FBI Agent that an alien enemy is resident at certain premises. It is not necessary that the Department in Washington be consulted.

## 4. ALIEN ENEMY REGISTRATION.

The Department feels it can conduct an alien enemy registration in the Western Theater of Operations within a week or ten days. Tomorrow morning by FBI teletype a statement will be sent from Washington outlining a procedure of what the Department is prepared to do. The Department feels it can conduct such a registration, through the local police authorities, much faster than the Army itself. . . .

5. The Department is willing to make spot-raids on alien enemies tomorrow or at any time after the registration, anywhere within the Western Theater of Operations. Mr. ROWE emphasized that such raids must be confined to premises controlled by enemy aliens, or where enemy aliens are resident. In other words, the Department cannot raid a specific locality, cov-

ering every house in that locality, irrespective of whether such houses are inhabited by enemy aliens or citizens. The Attorney General requested Mr. ROWE to make clear to General DE WITT that under no circumstances will the Department of Justice conduct mass raids on alien enemies. It is understood that the term "mass raids" means, eventually a raid on every alien enemy within the Western Theater of Operations. The Attorney General will oppose such raids and, if overruled by the President, will request the Army to supersede the Department of Justice in the Western Theater of Operations.

See also confirmation of "a more expeditious legal method . . . in connection with the search and seizure of enemy aliens and their property" in letter from Stimson to the President, Feb. 5, 1942. FDRL. PSF Stimson (CWRIC 3670).

82. See, *e.g.*, memo, Pieper to DeWitt, Jan. 1, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1331). That the Army favored mass raids is reported in a memo, Hoover to Tolson, Tamm and Ladd, Dec. 26, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 5834-37).

83. See, *e.g.*, memo, Pieper to DeWitt, Jan. 22, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 3120).

84. Memo by Forney, conversation with V. Ford Greaves, Federal Communications Commission, Dec. 31, 1941. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 3164).

85. Letter, Greaves to DeWitt, Jan. 1, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 8606-07b).

86. Report of conference with General DeWitt, by George Sterling, FCC, Jan. 9, 1942. NARS. RG 173 (CWRIC 8598-602).

87. Memo, Bendetsen to DeWitt, Jan. 3, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1248).

88. Summary, Rowe to DeWitt, Jan. 4, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1258-59).

89. Memo summarizing Attorney General's message, Jan. 5, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1595).

90. See, *e.g.*, memo, W. K. Kilpatrick, Chief of Staff, Pacific Southern Naval Coastal Frontier to DeWitt, Jan. 7, 1942, *re* "Exclusion of Enemy Aliens from Designated Areas." NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 3121).

91. Memo, Major C. O. Garver to DeWitt, Jan. 8, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 3122-25).

92. Joseph Stilwell, *The Stilwell Papers* (New York: W. Sloane Associates, 1948), pp. 5-8.

93. Memo, Hoover to Attorney General, Feb. 1, 1942. DOJ 146-42-012 (CWRIC 10447-56).

94. Memo, Hoover to Tolson, Tamm and Ladd, Dec. 17, 1941. FBI (CWRIC 5831-33).

95. Report by Sterling of conference with DeWitt, Jan. 9, 1942. NARS. RG 173 (CWRIC 8598-602).

96. Diary, Stimson, Feb. 3, 1942, Sterling Library, Yale University (CWRIC 19632).

97. Memo, Munson to Carter, Jan. 12, 1942. FDRL. PSF Carter (CWRIC 19496-97).

98. Ringle, *Washington Post Magazine*, Dec. 6, 1981.

99. Prange, *At Dawn We Slept*, p. 605; Short stopped at the Presidio in San Francisco on his way home from Hawaii.

100. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, p. 278. (Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles reported this remark.)

101. Transcript of meeting in DeWitt's office, Jan. 4, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1250-57).

102. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 34. The 112,000 included, of course, a very substantial number of women and children.

103. Testimony before House Naval Affairs Subcommittee, April 13, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1725-28).

104. Transcript of conference, DeWitt and newspapermen, April 14, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 26565).

105. Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, USA: Japanese-Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), p. 63; tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 86; Report No. 13, Grodzins in Washington, Oct. 12, 1942. Bancroft Library: A 12.04. (CWRIC 11326-27). The West Coast apparently sustained only two minor Japanese submarine attacks during the war; the first was directed by Kozo Nishino, a submarine commander who in the late 1930's had been taunted by oil rig workers while the tanker he commanded was loading at the Ellwood oilfield near Santa Barbara:

[O]n Feb. 23, 1942 . . . from 7:07 to 7:45 p.m., he directed the shelling of the Ellwood oil fields from his submarine, the *I-17*. Though about 25 shells were fired from a 5.5 inch deck gun, little damage was done. One rig needed a \$500 repair job after the shelling, and one man was wounded while trying to defuse an unexploded shell. U.S. planes gave chase . . . but Nishino got away . . . the mainland suffered only one more submarine attack by the Japanese during the war, at Fort Stevens in Oregon. (Irving Wallace *et al.*, "Delayed Revenge," *Parade*, Nov. 21, 1982, p. 18).

106. The atmosphere after Pearl Harbor and its relationship to security on the West Coast is particularly well conveyed by James Rowe, Assistant Attorney General, who opposed exclusion and evacuation and was later interviewed with Dillon Myer by the Earl Warren Oral History Project:

*Myer*: Everybody got scared.

*Rowe*: Everybody was. I mean we took an *awful* beating at Pearl Harbor and it caught everybody unawares and then all the news that followed was the Japanese moving, moving, moving. They just had one victory after another.

*Myer*: They sure did.

*Rowe*: And the British were not doing well. Hell, the whole world might have come crashing down. And the first requirement of the government was order. Law comes *after* order. (The Earl Warren Oral History Project, *Japanese-American Relocation Reviewed*, vol. 1, 1969, p. 38.)

107. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, pp. 78-79.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

109. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 44-47. In his memoirs at the end of his life, Warren rendered his personal verdict on this part of his history: I have since deeply regretted the removal order and my own testimony advocating it, because it was not in keeping with our American concept of freedom and the rights of citizens. Whenever I thought of the innocent

little children who were torn from home, school friends, and congenial surroundings, I was conscience-stricken. It was wrong to react so impulsively, without positive evidence of disloyalty, even though we felt we had a good motive in the security of our state. It demonstrates the cruelty of war when fear, get-tough military psychology, propaganda, and racial antagonism combine with one's responsibility for public security to produce such acts. I have always believed that I had no prejudice against the Japanese as such except that directly spawned by Pearl Harbor and its aftermath. As district attorney, I had great respect for people of Japanese ancestry, because during my years in that office they created no law enforcement problems. Although we had a sizable Japanese population, neither the young nor the old violated the law. (Earl Warren, *The Memoirs of Chief Justice Earl Warren* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1977], p. 149.)

110. *Grizzly Bear*, Jan. 1942, reprinted in Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, p. 48.

111. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 49–50.

112. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43.

113. Resolution of Federal Post No. 97, Dept. of Oregon, American Legion, Portland, OR., reprinted in Hearings before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, U.S. House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 11389.

114. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, p. 43.

115. Frank J. Taylor, "The People Nobody Wants," *The Saturday Evening Post*, May 9, 1942, p. 66.

116. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 22–23.

117. William Petersen, *Japanese Americans: Oppression and Success* (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 77–78. Petersen also points out that as late as September 1942, Carey McWilliams, who before the end of the war wrote a volume entitled *Prejudice* that opposed the exclusion and detention, published an article in *Harper's* suggesting that the exclusion and detention were perhaps all for the best. Norman Thomas was one of the few well-known figures who spoke out against exclusion and detention; he recognized that his position was a lonely one:

In an experience of nearly three decades I have never found it harder to arouse the American public on any important issue than on this. Men and women who know nothing of the facts . . . hotly deny that there are concentration camps. Apparently that is a term to be used only if the guards speak German and carry a whip as well as a rifle. (*Ibid.*, pp. 75–77.)

118. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 101–03. In 1954, testifying before a Congressional subcommittee considering the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act, Mayor Bowron summed up the atmosphere of the time and his later judgment on the actions that were taken:

I know of my own knowledge something of the circumstances surrounding the making of the order and the forceful evacuation of the Japanese population of this area, and I know of the hysteria, the wild rumors, the reports, that pervaded the atmosphere and worried a great many of us in

responsible positions. We were quite disorganized. Our civil defense organization was not in effect, and with all due respect, the means of making investigations from Federal sources was rather disorganized at times.

There were many rumors floating around, as a result of which, this order of evacuation was made.

I rather hold myself somewhat responsible, with others, for the condition or the representation that possibly brought about that order. I realize that great injustices were done. . . .

Well, personally, I thought it was the right thing to do at the time; in the light of after events, I think it was wrong, now. (Hearings Before Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 83rd Cong., 2d Sess., on HR 7435 to amend the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act of 1948 [1954], pp. 231-32).

119. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 111-14.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-100.

121. Letter, Leland M. Ford to Stimson, Jan. 16, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 4376); Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 64-65.

122. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, p. 67.

123. Recommendations by Pacific Coast Delegation (U.S. House of Representatives), "Suggested Program" to the President following delegation meeting, Jan. 30, 1942. Bancroft Library. A12.07 (CWRIC 11334).

124. "News and Views by John B. Hughes," radio transcripts, Jan. 5, 6, 7, 9, 15, 19, and 20, 1942 (CWRIC 8707-18).

125. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 384-86; Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), pp. 15-23.

126. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 75.

127. Memo by JLD (DeWitt), "Action of Congressional Committee on handling enemy aliens on the West Coast," Jan. 31, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1321-23). In this memo, DeWitt rejected the suggestion that enemy aliens be interned in Civilian Conservation Corps camps because, in his view, those camps would require troops for guards to the detriment of military functions.

128. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 241-42.

129. Memo, Hoover to Attorney General, Feb. 2, 1942. FBI (CWRIC 5794, 5796).

130. Testifying before the Commission in 1981, Rowe maintained his position opposing the exclusion, stating that he had never seen any military necessity for it. He also reviewed the performance of the Justice Department in making as strong a case as possible to the President in opposition to the evacuation:

I think we could have done it much better; we were always on the run, I would say; I don't know how you could be on the run and up against the wall at the same time, but that's where we felt we were. The press was after us, Congress was after us, the mail was after us, and we were sort of reacting to all of this.

Now I think in looking back, and we were tired too, we were up all

night, I think we could have done a hell of a lot better job, and we didn't do it. But we were all they had. (Testimony, James Rowe, Washington, DC, July 14, 1981, p. 72).

Ennis also reviewed his own role and the impact of the evacuation decision in testifying,

[N]ow when I look back on it I don't know why I didn't resign, I did represent as a member of the Department of Justice, I did represent the defendant government in evacuation actions and indeed wrote the briefs, argued the cases in the lower courts, and wrote the briefs for the Solicitor General for the Supreme Court of the United States. I think I should confess that.

But in sum, all I can say for that is that the Constitution not only gives great power to the military in time of war, but it appears that it gives them power to make very serious mistakes, and I think the only defense that can be made of the evacuation in legal terms is that the power to control includes the power to control mistakenly and make mistakes as great as was made here. (Testimony, Edward Ennis, Washington, DC, Nov. 2, 1981, pp. 140-41).

Tom Clark recalled his views and passed judgment on the evacuation decision in 1976, after he had left the Supreme Court:

I served during the hectic days during which the ultimate governmental policy was formulated . . . I found the final decision for removal of the Japanese to be based upon the physical dangers then facing 110,000 people of Japanese descent then living in California, Oregon, and Washington. I did not expect any sabotage from Japanese residents; there had been none in Hawaii where the opportunity was greater; the ONI and FBI had a tight oversight of all nationality groups, especially the Japanese. The Department of Justice was poised for individual action that would have controlled any recalcitrant Japanese, as it had those of German and Italian origin who had defied authority. There was little strategic justification for the evacuation; these people of Japanese descent, many of them American citizens, did not pose a substantial military threat.

As Civilian Coordinator, however, I received hundreds of threatening messages against the Japanese community every day. This led to the curfew orders promulgated by General DeWitt. . . . The Congress then authorized exclusion, and the agitation was such that the Western Defense Command decided upon a policy of evacuation. Looking back on it today, this was, of course, a mistake. Although the Supreme Court held the action constitutional, one must remember that even the Court's judgment can be no better than the information on which it is based. In my view, the military necessity for the action taken was lacking. (Frank F. Chuman, *The Bamboo People* [Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1976], preface by Tom C. Clark, p. vii).

131. Testimony, Edward Ennis, Washington, DC, Nov. 2, 1981, pp. 139-41.

132. Telephone conversation, DeWitt, Gullion and Bendetsen, Feb. 1, 1942. NARS. RG 389 (CWRIC 4314-18).

133. The memo presented a number of options including special defense

areas into which ethnic Japanese would be allowed only under special license, special reservations on the West Coast for the ethnic Japanese and curfews. These are close to the conceptual plans that the Justice and the War Departments developed. The memo also argued that the precautionary measures taken should be reasonably adapted to need and that every effort should be made to relieve unnecessary hardship. Memo, Cohen, Cox and Rauh, about Feb. 10, 1942. DOJ 146-13-7-2-0 (CWRIC 12682-89). In writing to the Commission, Rauh remembers the three attorneys pressing for a compromise between the War and Justice Departments which would have involved "curfew and other limited measures." Letter, Rauh to Bernstein, May 21, 1982 (CWRIC 14435-40). The memorandum can fairly be construed to support the legality and propriety of broader measures. Rauh also set out his later views on the evacuation and Cohen's reaction to these events:

I want to record how deeply Mr. Cohen felt against the evacuation. When I went into his office one night a couple of months later, he showed me a newspaper picture of a little Japanese American boy leaning out the evacuation train window and waving an American flag. Mr. Cohen had tears in his eyes.

I suppose it does not do much good to try and explain historical decisions many years after the event, but I did try this in an essay on civil liberties for the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council back in 1969:

[U]ndoubtedly the cruelest inroad on civil freedom during World War II was the exclusion of the entire population of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific Coast and the detention of most of them in relocation camps. This incredible tragedy resulted, I believe, more from the rigidity of honorable men within the Administration who failed to recognize the need for some post-Pearl-Harbor action to offset Pacific Coast fright of near hysterical proportions (as, for example, the temporary nighttime curfew suggested by some) than from the weakness or venality of the Administration in the face of tremendous military and political pressures.

That was the best I could do then to explain how this tragedy could happen and it is the best I can do now. (*Idem.*)

134. Telephone conversation, DeWitt, Gullion and Bendetsen, Feb. 1, 1942. NARS. RG 389 (CWRIC 4314-18).

135. Telephone conversation, Gullion and Gen. Mark Clark, Feb. 4, 1942. NARS. RG 389 (CWRIC 5936-40).

136. Telephone conversation, DeWitt, Gullion and Bendetsen, Feb. 1, 1942. NARS. RG 389 (CWRIC 4314-18).

137. Telephone conversation, DeWitt and McCloy, Feb. 3, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 135-37) (Gov. Olson); Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 277-78 (Mayor Bowron).

138. Telephone conversation, DeWitt, Gullion and Bendetsen, Feb. 1, 1942. NARS. RG 389 (CWRIC 4314-18).

139. Telephone conversation, Gullion to Clark, Feb. 4, 1942. NARS. RG 389 (CWRIC 5937) ("Yesterday Secretary Stimson, McCloy, Bendetsen and I talked for an hour and a half on the situation and I can tell you that the two

Secretaries are against any mass movement. They are pretty much against it.”); Undersecretary of War Patterson apparently supported mass evacuation. McCloy’s diary of February 16 records a meeting between McCloy and Patterson in which Patterson “strongly urged immediate and thorough action.” Interview of McCloy, Oct. 16, 1942. Bancroft Library. A 5.02 (CWRIC 4491).

140. Diary, Stimson, Feb. 3, 1942. Sterling Library, Yale University (CWRIC 19632). There were, of course, no naturalized Americans of Japanese ancestry; the Nisei were Americans by birth.

141. Telephone conversation, DeWitt and McCloy, Feb. 3, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 131–40).

142. *Ibid.* Given McCloy’s concern for the legality of the government’s conduct, one must also note the account of the meeting of February 4 between the War Department and the Justice Department which General Gullion gave to General Clark on February 4: “Well, I think McCloy did say this to Biddle—you are putting a Wall Street lawyer in a helluva box, but if it [is] a question of safety of the country, the Constitution of the United States, why the Constitution is just a scrap of paper to me. That is what McCloy said. But they are just a little afraid DeWitt hasn’t enough grounds to justify any movements.” Telephone conversation, Gullion and Clark, Feb. 4, 1942. NARS. RG 389 (CWRIC 5937). McCloy testified to the Commission that he had not made this statement. (Testimony, John J. McCloy, Washington, DC, Nov. 3, 1981, pp. 17–18, 33–34.)

143. Memo, Strickland to Ladd, Feb. 3, 1942. FBI (CWRIC 5807).

144. Memo, Bureau of Intelligence to Director, Office of Facts and Figures, Feb. 4, 1942; letter, MacLeish to McCloy, Feb. 9, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 124; 117–18).

145. Interview of McCloy, Oct. 16, 1942. Bancroft Library. A5.02 (CWRIC 4491).

146. Memo, Bendetsen to Provost Marshal General, Feb. 4, 1942. NARS. RG 389 (CWRIC 6622–26).

147. Interview of McCloy, Oct. 16, 1942. Bancroft Library. A5.02 (CWRIC 4491).

148. Office of Provost Marshal General proposal, Feb. 5, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 120).

149. Memo, Biddle, “Luncheon Conference with the President,” Feb. 7, 1942. FDRL. Biddle Papers (CWRIC 5750).

150. On Feb. 17, 1942, Biddle sent the President an analysis of why the evacuation should not be undertaken. FDRL. PSF Confidential File (CWRIC 5754–55). In fact, that memorandum arrived after the President had told Stimson to go ahead. FDRL. Biddle Papers (CWRIC 5756–58).

151. Diary, Stimson, Feb. 10, 1942. Sterling Library, Yale University. (CWRIC 19649).

152. Memo, Bendetsen to DeWitt, Feb. 10, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 12003–05).

153. Diary, Stimson, Feb. 11, 1942. Sterling Library. Yale University, (CWRIC 19651–52).

154. Walter Lippmann, “The Fifth Column on the Coast,” *Washington*

*Post*, Feb. 12, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 1401). Lippmann's biographer reports the columnist's view of this incident in later life:

In the early 1970s, when Earl Warren publicly recanted, a frail and failing Lippmann kept returning to the issue in conversation. "You know, I still think it was the right thing to do at the time," he told his friend Gilbert Harrison, editor of the *New Republic*. "Not for security reasons, mind you, but because it was necessary to protect the Japanese-Americans from the hysterical mobs on the West Coast." Although he would not admit he had been wrong, neither could he put the issue out of his mind. (Ronald Steel, *Walter Lippmann and The American Century* [Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1980]), p. 395.

155. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 92-100.

156. Westbrook Pegler, "Fifth Column problem on Pacific Coast very serious—Japs should be under guard," Feb. 16, 1942. DOJ 146-13-7-2-0 (CWRIC 13333).

157. Manchester E. Boddy, *Japanese in America* (Los Angeles: Manchester E. Boddy, 1921).

158. Telegram, Boddy to Biddle, Feb. 16, 1942; letter, Boddy to Biddle, Feb. 16, 1942. Boddy proposed a "secret defense project" of using the evacuated Japanese to erect a rehabilitation center in a place ten to twelve hours from Los Angeles. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 107; 105-06).

159. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, pp. 88-89.

160. Recommendations of the Pacific Coast Subcommittee on Alien Enemies and Sabotage (stamped received in the Assistant Secretary's Office, War Department, Feb. 15, 1942). NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 128); see also letter, Rufus B. Holman to Roosevelt, and attachment, Feb. 13, 1942. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC 1605-07).

161. Memo, Roosevelt to Secretary of War, Feb. 16, 1942. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC 1604).

162. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 73-75.

163. DeWitt, *Final Report*, pp. 33-34.

164. Letter, Biddle to Stimson, Feb. 12, 1942. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC 5752-53). The letter states in part: "I have no doubt that the Army can legally, at any time, evacuate all persons in a specified territory if such action is deemed essential from a military point of view for the protection and defense of the area."

165. Memo, Biddle to President, Feb. 17, 1942. FDRL. PSF Confidential File (CWRIC 5754-55).

166. Report No. 6, Grodzins in Washington, Sept. 26, 1942. Bancroft Library. A 12.04 (CWRIC 11313-14).

167. Diary, Stimson, Feb. 17, 1942. Sterling Library, Yale University (CWRIC 19684).

168. *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1942. (CWRIC 19686-87).

169. Biddle, *In Brief Authority*, p. 219; James Rowe recalls that the Justice Department reviewed the Executive Order and that he hand-carried it to Harold Smith, the Director of the Budget, who in turn presented it to Roosevelt. Interview, James Rowe, Washington, DC, Nov. 23, 1982.

170. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 187-88.

171. Executive Order No. 9066, Feb. 19, 1942. *Federal Register*, vol. 7 no. 38, Feb. 25, 1942 (CWRIC 4481).

172. Memo, Roosevelt to Stimson, May 5, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 196).

173. Letter, Biddle to Roosevelt, Feb. 20, 1942, and memorandum *re* Executive Order of Feb. 19, 1942. FDRL. OF 4805 (CWRIC 5756-58); compare language of final paragraph quoted with memo by Cohen, Cox and Rauh, "The Japanese Situation on the West Coast," no date. DOJ 146-13-7-2-0 (CWRIC 12682-89).

174. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 15.

175. Brief for the United States, *Korematsu v. United States*, No. 22, Oct. Term 1944, p. 11, n. 2 (CWRIC 15760):

The Final Report of General DeWitt (which is dated June 5, 1943, but which was not made public until January 1944), hereinafter cited as Final Report, is relied on in this brief for statistics and other details concerning the actual evacuation and the events that took place subsequent thereto. We have specifically recited in this brief the facts relating to the justification for the evacuation, of which we ask the Court to take judicial notice, and we rely upon the Final Report only to the extent that it relates to such facts.

The Justice Department's internal memoranda dealing with the *Final Report* in the process of preparing the *Korematsu* brief are scathing:

We are now therefore in possession of substantially incontrovertible evidence that most important statements of fact advanced by General DeWitt to justify the evacuation and detention were incorrect, and furthermore that General DeWitt had cause to know, and in all probability did know, that they were incorrect at the time he embodied them in his final report to General Marshall. (Memo, Burling to Solicitor General, April 13, 1944. DOJ 146-42-7 [CWRIC 5759-64]).

176. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 134-136; Biddle, *In Brief Authority*, 1962, p. 221.

177. Stetson Conn, Rose C. Engelman and Byron Fairchild, *The United States Army in World War II, The Western Hemisphere: Guarding the United States and Its Outposts* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1964), p. 147.

178. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 138-43.

179. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 91.

180. Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service In Peace and War* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), p. 406. Stimson's brief account of the exclusion and evacuation must be given in full so that his final reckoning of the events can be understood:

[M]indful of its duty to be prepared for any emergency, the War Department ordered the evacuation of more than a hundred thousand persons of Japanese origin from strategic areas on the west coast. This decision was widely criticized as an unconstitutional invasion of the rights of individuals many of whom were American citizens, but it was eventually approved by the Supreme Court as a legitimate exercise of the war powers of the President. What critics ignored was the situation that led to the

evacuation. Japanese raids on the west coast seemed not only possible but probable in the first months of the war, and it was quite impossible to be sure that the raiders would not receive important help from individuals of Japanese origin. More than that, anti-Japanese feeling on the west coast had reached a level which endangered the lives of all such individuals; incidents of extra-legal violence were increasingly frequent. So, with the President's approval, Stimson ordered and McCloy supervised a general evacuation of Japanese and Japanese Americans from strategic coastal areas, and they believed in 1947 that the eventual result of this evacuation, in the resettlement of a conspicuous minority in many dispersed communities throughout the country, was to produce a distinctly healthier atmosphere for both Japanese and Americans.

It remained a fact that to loyal citizens this forced evacuation was a personal injustice, and Stimson fully appreciated their feelings. He and McCloy were strong advocates of the later formation of combat units of Japanese-American troops; the magnificent record of the 442nd Combat Team justified their advocacy. By their superb courage and devotion to duty, the men of that force won for all Japanese-Americans a clear right to the gratitude and comradeship of their American countrymen. (*Idem.*)

181. Testimony, John J. McCloy, Washington, DC, Nov. 3, 1981, p. 8.

182. Letter, McCloy to Gen. H. A. Drum, Commanding General, Eastern Defense Command, Nov. 16, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 26742-43).

183. Chuman, *Bamboo People*, preface by Tom C. Clark, p. vii.

184. Letter, McCloy to DeWitt, April 8, 1943. NARS. RG 165 (CWRIC 26369-71).

185. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 152-53.

186. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73.

187. Brief for the United States, *Hirabayashi v. United States*, No. 870, Oct. Term 1942, pp. 10-11 (citations omitted) (CWRIC 14953-54).

188. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-31 (CWRIC 14967-74).

189. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 78.

190. Testimony, John J. McCloy, Washington, DC, Nov. 3, 1981, p. 49.

191. Letter, McCloy to Emmons, Nov. 5, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 26605-07). In reviewing the matter forty years later, McCloy told the Commission the wartime decisions should be defended:

My belief and hope is the Commission will conclude, after an objective investigation, that under the circumstances prevailing at the time and with the exigencies of wartime security, the action of the President of the United States and the United States Government in regard to our then Japanese population was reasonably undertaken and thoughtfully and humanely conducted. There has been, in my judgment, at times a spate of quite irresponsible comment to the effect that this wartime move was callous, shameful and induced by racial or punitive motives. It was nothing of the sort.

I know of the decisions that were made, and I think I know who made them, and I think I know generally what the motivation was of those individuals who made them. One fact I would urge the Commission to refer to if any report is made in connection with its examination of the

relocation program is the role which the 442nd Combat Team played in establishing once and for all the fundamental loyalty of our Japanese population. . . .

I therefore believe in the interests of all concerned, the Commission would be well advised to conclude that President Roosevelt's wartime action in connection with the relocation of our Japanese-descended population at the outbreak of our war with Japan, was taken and carried out in accordance with the best interests of the country, considering the conditions, exigencies and considerations which then faced the nation. (Testimony, John J. McCloy, Washington, DC, Nov. 3, 1981, pp. 13-14, 16).

## Exclusion and Evacuation

1. Letter, McCloy to Biddle, Feb. 22, 1942; memo, Bendetsen to McCloy, with attachment, Feb. 22, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 100; 97-99).
2. *Congressional Record*, March 9, 1942, p. 2071; March 10, 1942, p. 2230.
3. Hearings before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration [hereafter "Tolan Committee"], U.S. House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2d Sess. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 11010; Cong. Sparkman expressed the same view, p. 11018.
4. Tolan Committee, p. 11226.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 11181.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 11141 (Masaoka), 11153 (Tatsuno); but see Louis Goldblatt, Secretary, California State Industrial Union Council, p. 11181.
7. *E.g.*, Tolan Committee, p. 11012.
8. Tolan Committee, pp. 11137 (Masaoka), 11148 (Tani), 11153 (Tatsuno), 11220 (Iiyama and Kumitani), 11240 (Bellquist), 11203 (Chapman), 11207 (Smith), 11178 (Goldblatt).
9. *E.g.*, Tolan Committee, p. 11068.
10. Tolan Committee, pp. 11011-12.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 10974.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 11247.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 11636-37.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 10965-70.
15. Francis Biddle, *In Brief Authority* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964), p. 207.
16. Cable, Tolan to Biddle, Feb. 28, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 92). Fourth Interim Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, U.S. House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2d Sess., HR Report No. 2124.
17. *Congressional Record*, March 19, 1942, p. 2726.
18. *Idem.*
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 2729-30.
20. Morton Grodzins provides a comparatively thorough account of what Congressional discussion there was. *Americans Betrayed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 331-44.
21. *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214 (1944).
22. Executive Order 9066, Feb. 19, 1942. 3 CFR, 1938-1943 Comp., pp. 1092-3.

23. Letter and memorandum outline, Stimson to DeWitt, Feb. 20, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 4643-44); NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 298-304); Roger Daniels, *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1975), pp. 116-21.
24. Public Proclamation No. 1, and accompanying material, March 2, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 255-59). The accompanying press release emphasized the military necessity argument: "Military necessity is the sole yardstick by which the Army has selected the military areas announced. Public clamor for evacuation from non-strategic areas and the insistence of local organizations and officials that evacuees not be moved into their communities cannot and will not be considered."
25. J. L. DeWitt, *Final Report, Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 297-98.
26. Public Proclamation No. 1, and accompanying material, March 2, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 255-59).
27. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Gufler, Feb. 21, 1942, State Department Records (CWRIC 2806-07).
28. Memo, Hoover to Attorney General, Feb. 27, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 90).
29. Letter, Hosokawa to Secretary of State, Jan. 25, 1942, with attachment, statement by general chairman of JAACL Emergency Defense Council of Seattle. NARS. RG 59 (CWRIC 5386-87).
30. Tolan Committee, p. 11061.
31. Memo, Ringle to District Intelligence Officer, March 3, 1942 (CWRIC 19530-34).
32. Tolan Committee, pp. 11020, 11054.
33. Letter, Carville to DeWitt, Feb. 21, 1942; Compton White, a Representative from Idaho, forwarded similar views of the Idaho American Legion to Stimson by letter, March 16, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 767; 5241).
34. Frank J. Taylor, "The People Nobody Wants," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 9, 1942, p. 66; Tolan Committee, p. 11639 (Olson).
35. Tolan Committee, p. 11276.
36. Letter, Knox to Biddle, Feb. 22, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 93).
37. Letter, McCloy to Hopkins, Feb. 21, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 101).
38. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 105.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-09.
40. "Net total" is persons who migrated out of the area but did not return to be evacuated with their families, or did not otherwise join families in assembly centers or relocation centers prior to Oct. 31, 1942.
41. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 109.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 111. DeWitt estimated that the remaining ten percent probably left before change-of-residence requirements took effect, or simply did not report. An example of a successful voluntary migrant is Ken Matsumoto, National Vice President of the JAACL, about whom K. D. Ringle wrote to Milton Eisenhower on April 13, 1942: "He left here [California] ahead of the evacuation order to accept a very good job with the Mayor Jewelry Company, 5th and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio." NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 3591).

43. Telegram, McWilliams to Biddle, Feb. 20, 1942; letter, McCloy to Ennis, Feb. 25, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 103; 95).

44. Letter, Collier to Walker, copy to McCloy, March 6, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 79-80).

45. Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, U.S. House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2d Sess., HR Report No. 1911, pp. 15-19.

46. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 78.

47. Recognizing that, from the time the Executive Order was promulgated, some saw that voluntary evacuation could not work, it is not surprising to find that War Department planning for mandatory evacuation began early. On February 26, General Gullion, the Provost Marshal General, wrote to McCloy about the site selection for evacuation centers.<sup>a</sup> On March 5, an official in the Judge Advocate General's Office responded to a request from Gullion about legal authority to acquire land by condemnation for use in the resettlement of Japanese citizens and aliens.<sup>b</sup> In a memorandum of March 6, 1942, McCloy gave Stimson information for a Cabinet meeting, noting that the public proclamation designating a military area had been issued, and that places were being surveyed where Japanese Americans could be placed: "In the first instance, we will probably put them in tents though the shortage of canvas may affect this."<sup>c</sup> McCloy had also asked to have construction expedited so "the Japs" could be moved "as fast as possible."<sup>d</sup> Several other documents show early attention to a search for assembly and relocation centers. On March 2, 1942, Charles Burdell, Special Assistant to Attorney General Biddle, wrote Tom Clark that he planned to attend a meeting with county prosecutors in the State of Washington, and that he would ask them to make a survey of all fairgrounds, ballparks, and other camp facilities in each county, and a further survey of trucking facilities. He suggested using the survey results for evacuation of aliens.<sup>e</sup> Burdell also noted he was having a similar survey made for the State of Oregon.<sup>f</sup> On March 6, Burdell (under Tom Clark's name) forwarded the information about Oregon to Colonel Joseph Conmy of the Army, who seems to have been responsible for some site selection.<sup>g</sup> Then on March 7, Tom Clark wrote to Laurence Hewes of the Farm Security Administration in the Department of Agriculture, asking Hewes to develop a list of "all sites available within the limits of the Western Defense Command as resettlement areas where facilities may be established for the persons so evacuated."<sup>h</sup> Focus was on sites which could be developed within a year and which would support agriculture. Clark noted that two sites had already been selected: Owens River Valley, California, and the Northern Colorado Indian Reservation at Parker, Arizona.<sup>i</sup> In short, two weeks after Executive Order 9066 was issued, consideration and planning for a mandatory evacuation and resettlement program was well under way.

<sup>a</sup>Memo, Gullion to McCloy, Feb. 26, 1942, and attached draft of letter to Morgenthau from Stimson; <sup>b</sup>Memo, Rand to Provost Marshal General, March 5, 1942; <sup>c</sup>Memo, McCloy to Stimson, March 6, 1942; <sup>d</sup>Memo, McCloy to Somervell, March 4, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 390-91, 85-6, 77-78, 87); <sup>e</sup>Letter, Burdell to Clark, March 2, 1942; <sup>f</sup>*Ibid.*; <sup>g</sup>Letter, Clark (by Burdell)

to Conmy, March 6, 1942; <sup>b</sup>Letter, Clark to Hewes, March 7, 1942; <sup>i</sup>*Ibid.* DOJ 146-13-7-2-0 (CWRIC 12147-48, 12149, 12150-51).

48. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 151.

49. Memo, telephone conversation, DeWitt and Gullion, March 8, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 2345).

50. Letter, Ford to McCloy, March 12, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 76).

51. Letter, Stimson to Ickes, March 12, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 75).

52. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 151.

53. Memo, McCloy to Stimson, March 6, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 77-78).

54. Executive Order 9102. 3 CFR, 1938-1943 Comp., pp. 1123-25.

55. Letter, Roosevelt to Eisenhower, March 18, 1942. FDRL. OF 4849 (CWRIC 3708).

56. Memo to Secretary of the Treasury. FDRL. OF 4849 (CWRIC 3966-67).

57. Executive Order 9102. 3 CRR, 1938-1943 Comp., pp. 1123-25.

58. Ninety-nine Exclusion Orders, each directed to a particular exclusion area, were issued for Military Area No. 1. Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart and Floyd Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), pp. 124-25.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

60. Tolan Committee, p. 11663.

61. Report prepared by Counter Intelligence Section, ONI, "The Japanese Menace on Terminal Island, San Pedro, California," Jan. 18, 1942. NARS. RG 80 (CWRIC 11925-28).

62. Written testimony, Yoshihiko Fujikawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981.

63. Ruth E. McKee, *Wartime Exile: The Exclusion of the Japanese Americans from the West Coast* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1946), p. 124.

64. Ruth E. McKee, *History of WRA: Pearl Harbor to June 30, 1944*, unpublished manuscript, p. 11.

65. Alexander Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 38.

66. Written testimony, Yoshihiko Fujikawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981.

67. Tolan Committee, p. 11667.

68. Testimony, Henry Murakami, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 41.

69. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 49.

70. Memo, Bendetsen to Hewes, March 20, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 2087); documents in DeWitt, *Final Report*, Appendix One, pp. 519-21.

71. Report, Rathbone, U.S. Employment Service, June 19, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 2205-08).

72. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 91.

73. Telegram, Tolan to Biddle, Feb. 28, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 92).

74. Letter, McCloy to Hopkins, Feb. 21, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 101).

75. Memo, Hopkins to McCloy, Feb. 23, 1946. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 96).
76. Memo, Gullion to McCloy, Feb. 26, 1942, and attached draft letter, Stimson to Morgenthau. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 390-91).
77. Memo, McCloy to Secretary of War, March 6, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 77-78).
78. Memo, Marshall to DeWitt, May 28, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 2172).
79. Karl Bendetsen, "The Story of the Pacific Coast Japanese Evacuation," address before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, May 20, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1861-68).
80. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 126.
81. Public Proclamation No. 7, June 8, 1942, quoted in tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 125.
82. DeWitt, *Final Report*, pp. 15, 105.
83. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 304-05.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-13.
85. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 15.
86. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 303-22.
87. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 133.
88. Office of Facts and Figures, the Office for Emergency Management, April 21, 1942, and transmitting letter, Kane to Kimmel, May 13, 1942. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 4126-69).
89. Telegram, Federal Council of Churches and Home Missions Council to Biddle, March 3, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 389).
90. Letter, McCloy to Eleanor Roosevelt, March 26, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 70).
91. Tolan Committee, p. 11240.
92. Telegram, Deutsch to Frankfurter, March 28, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 3077).
93. Letter, Frankfurter to McCloy, April 2, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 1740).
94. Bulletin 142, JACL, April 7, 1942. Bancroft Library (CWRIC 11938a-40a).
95. *Ex parte Ventura*, 44 F. Supp. 520 (W.D. Wash., 1942). Ventura's husband had earlier written the Justice Department in the hope that some exception could be made for his wife, either by making him responsible for her acts or by his volunteering for military service. The request was forwarded to the War Department and must have been refused. Letter, M. S. Ventura to Charles [sic] Biddle, March 14, 1942; Letter, Edward J. Ennis to M. S. Ventura, March 24, 1942 (CWRIC 24540; 24539).
96. On April 20, 1942, Ernest Wakayama and his wife, Toki Wakayama, American citizens, brought habeas corpus cases challenging imprisonment in an assembly center. Before the cases were decided, however, they were dismissed because the Wakayamas decided to seek expatriation to Japan, and their attorney felt that decision would adversely affect their claims. "History of Litigation Involving Western Defense Command." NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1628).

97. *United States v. Yasui*, 48 F. Supp. 40 (D. Ore. 1942).

98. *United States v. Hirabayashi*, 46 F. Supp. 657 (W.D. Wash. 1942).

99. *Hirabayashi v. United States*, 320 U.S. 81 (1943); *Yasui v. United States*, 320 U.S. 115 (1943).

100. "The Legal Phases of the Exclusion Program and Other Controls Imposed Pursuant to Executive Order No. 9066," p. 13, in *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by the Western Defense Command*. NARS. RG 338. Richard Doi was convicted and sentenced to five months; he did not appeal. "History of Litigation Involving Western Defense Command." NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1628). The famous case of Fred Korematsu, an American citizen who attempted to have his facial features surgically changed so that he would not be recognized as an ethnic Japanese and thus be able to remain in California with his non-Japanese fiancée, does not properly fit the category of protest. The appeal of his conviction for violating the exclusion orders was the occasion for the Supreme Court's major review of the constitutionality of the exclusion program and is discussed later.

101. *Ex parte Kanai*, 46 F. Supp. 286 (E.D. Wisc. 1942); see also "History of Litigation Involving Western Defense Command," p. 1. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1627-53).

102. Memo to Watson and attached comments, April 17, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 2193).

103. *Ebel v. Drum*, 52 F. Supp. 189 (D. Mass. 1943); *Schueler v. Drum*, 51 F. Supp. 383 (E.D. Pa. 1943).

104. 52 F. Supp. 189 at 192 (D. Mass. 1943).

105. 52 F. Supp. 189 at 193 (D. Mass. 1943).

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## Economic Loss

1. 50 U.S.C. App. §1981 *et seq.*
2. 50 U.S.C. App. §1981(a).
3. 1948 U.S. Code Cong. Serv. 2297.
4. Testimony, William Lengacher, Washington, DC, July 14, 1981, pp. 153–54; Department of Justice, unpublished internal report of the Japanese Claims Section on the administration of the Japanese Evacuation Claims Act, undated (circa 1959) and unpaginated (the Commission has numbered the pages 27017–279) [hereafter “DOJ Report”] (CWRIC 27105).
5. DOJ Report (CWRIC 27098–100).
6. Hearings before Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, on HR 7435, (83rd Cong., 2d Sess. (1954), Serial No. 23 [hereafter “1954 Hearings”], p. 18a.
7. Leonard Broom and Ruth Riemer, *Removal and Return* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), pp. 202–04. Broom changed his name from “Bloom;” for the sake of consistency, he is referred to here solely by the name of his choice.
8. F. G. Mittelbach, “Concepts and Methods in a Potential Study of Losses Among Japanese American Evacuees in 1942 and Later,” paper prepared for the Commission, 1982 (CWRIC 26051–71).
9. 1954 Hearings, p. 42a.
10. Lon Hatamiya, “The Economic Effects of the Second World War Upon Japanese Americans in California,” testimony of the Japanese American Citizens League National Committee for Redress, Dec. 23, 1981, p. 168.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
12. *E.g.*, Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), p. 168.
13. HR Report No. 1809, 84th Cong., 2d Sess. (1956), p. 5.
14. DOJ Report (CWRIC 27144).
15. HR Report No. 1809, 84th Cong., 2d Sess. (1956).
16. DOJ Report (CWRIC 27278).
17. 50 U.S.C. App. §1984.
18. DOJ Report (CWRIC 27211).
19. *Ibid.* (CWRIC 27160).
20. *Ibid.* (CWRIC 27162).
21. *Claim of George Tsuda*, Adjudications of the Attorney General of the United States, Precedent Decisions Under the Japanese Evacuation Claims Act, 90 (1950).

22. *Claim of Shigemi Oritomo*, Adjudications of the Attorney General of the United States, Precedent Decisions Under the Japanese Evacuation Claims Act, 103 (1950).
23. DOJ Report (CWRIC 27144).
24. Testimony, Mitsuo Usui, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 26.
25. Testimony, Elsie Hashimoto, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 139.
26. Testimony, George Matsumoto, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 112.
27. Testimony, Tom Hayase, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 127.
28. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion: The Postwar Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese Americans* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, undated [circa 1947]), pp. 57-59.
29. *Ibid.*; Adon Poli, *Japanese Farm Holdings on the Pacific Coast* (Davis, CA: University of California at Davis, College of Agriculture, December 1944) (CWRIC 14405-34).
30. Laurence I. Hewes, Jr., *Final Report of the Participation of the Farm Security Administration in the Evacuation Program of the Wartime Civil Control Administration, Civil Affairs Division, Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, March 15, 1942 through May 31, 1942* [hereafter "Final Report of FSA"] (CWRIC 4540-74).
31. Laurence I. Hewes, Jr., *Supplemental Report of the Participation of the Farm Security Administration in the Evacuation Program of the Wartime Civil Control Administration, Civil Affairs Division, Western Defense Command and Fourth Army in Military Area Number 2, June 1, 1942 through August 8, 1942* [hereafter "Supplemental Report of FSA"] (CWRIC 11594-608).
32. Masakazu Iwata, "The Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture," *Agricultural History*, vol. 36, Jan. 1962, pp. 33-34.
33. Testimony, Mary Tsukamoto, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 79.
34. Testimony, Henry Sakai, Los Angeles, August 4, 1981, p. 234.
35. Written testimony, Clarence Nishizu, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981.
36. Unsolicited testimony, Fred Manaka, Long Beach, CA.
37. Testimony, Jack Fujimoto, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 60.
38. Testimony, Hiroshi Kamei, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 243.
39. Testimony, Mike Umeda, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 124.
40. Report of managing secretary of the Western Growers Protective Association, Dec. 1942, reprinted in Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 59.
41. Testimony, Vernon Yoshioka, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 111.
42. Testimony, Heizo Oshima, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 122.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.
44. Testimony and written testimony, Mary Ishizuka, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 231.
45. Testimony and written testimony, Jack Fujimoto, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 59.
46. Final Report of FSA, pp. 5-6.
47. Memo, James F. van Loben Sels to Tom C. Clark, Coordinator, Enemy Alien Control, WDC, Feb. 23, 1942; letter, Clark to T. M. Bunn, Salinas Valley Exchange, March 12, 1942; letter, Clark to Harold J. Ryan, Agricultural

Resources and Production Committee, Los Angeles County Defense Council, March 10, 1942, DOJ 146-13-7-2-0 (CWRIC 12067; 12078; 12075).

48. Letter, Clark to Ryan, March 10, 1942, DOJ (CWRIC 12075).
49. Letter, Clark to C. D. Nickelsen, County Judge, Hood River, Oregon, March 13, 1942, DOJ (CWRIC 12086).
50. Testimony, Dick Nishi, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 121.
51. Testimony, Ben Yoshioka, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 128.
52. Testimony, Shigeo Wakamatsu, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, p. 68.
53. Hearings before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, statement by Emergency Defense Council, Seattle chapter, Japanese American Citizens League; U.S. House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2d Sess. 1942, p. 11454.
54. Testimony, Shokichi Tokita, Seattle, Sept. 10, 1981, p. 185.
55. Testimony, Shuzo Kato, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 199.
56. Testimony, Ben Yoshioka, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, pp. 127-28.
57. Testimony, Hosen Oshita, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 355.
58. Testimony, Elaine Hayes, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 224.
59. Testimony, Kinnosuke Hashimoto, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 123.
60. Unsolicited testimony, George Yoshida, Los Angeles.
61. Testimony, Henry Tanaka, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 155.
62. Testimony, Lillian Hayano, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 325; Teru Watanabe, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 246.
63. Unsolicited testimony, George J. Kasai, San Antonio, TX.
64. Testimony, Mutsu Homma, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 171.
65. Testimony, William Kika, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 139.
66. Unsolicited testimony, Susumu Myose, Northridge, CA.
67. Unsolicited testimony, Shizuka LaGrange, Seattle, WA.
68. Testimony, Hiroshi Kamei, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 241.
69. J. L. DeWitt, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast*, 1942 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 135.
70. *Evacuation Operations, Pacific Coast Military Areas*, The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, Dec. 31, 1942, pp. 17-18.
71. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 135.
72. Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migrations, HR Report No. 1911, 77th Cong., 2d. Sess. (March 19, 1942), pp. 19-20; Cable, Tolan to Biddle, Feb. 28, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 92).
73. DeWitt, *Final Report*, pp. 127-29, 136-38.
74. Report of Select Committee (March 19, 1942), p. 19.
75. Dillon S. Myer, *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority During World War II* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1971), p. 253.
76. Dillon S. Myer testimony on Evacuation Claims bill, reprinted in Broom and Riemer, *Removal and Return*, p. 129.
77. Poli, *Japanese Farm Holdings*, p. 17.
78. Testimony, Hiroshi Kamei, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 241.
79. Unsolicited testimony, Henry Yoshitake, Montebello, CA.
80. Testimony, Yasuko Ito, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 52.
81. Unsolicited testimony, Roy Abbey, San Francisco, CA.

82. Testimony, Joe Yamamoto, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 239.
83. Testimony, John Kimoto, Chicago, Sept, 23, 1981, p. 85.
84. Testimony, Kimiyo Okamoto, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 220.
85. Testimony, Murako Kato, Seattle, Sept. 10, 1981, p. 40.
86. Testimony, Esther Takei Nishio, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 115.
87. Unsolicited testimony, Henry Hayashino, French Camp, CA.

## Assembly Centers

1. Testimony, Teru Watanabe, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 246.
2. Raymond Okamura and Isami Arifuku Waugh, "The Temporary Detention Camps in California," written for the Ethnic Minority Cultural Resources Survey, State of California, manuscript, p. 7. The earlier evacuation of Terminal Island was conducted under separate authority. (CWRIC 26778-800).
3. War Relocation Authority, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 8. In addition, the WCCA had control of 1,022 persons remaining in institutions in the evacuated area.
4. Okamura and Waugh, "Temporary Detention Camps," p. 10.
5. Dillon S. Myer, *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority during World War II* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1971), p. 30.
6. J. L. DeWitt, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 89-93. Some evacuees recall that they learned where and when to evacuate and what baggage could be carried from posters in the neighborhood rather than from the control station.
7. Testimony, Betty Matsuo, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 273.
8. Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1953), p. 166.
9. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 100.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-26.
11. Testimony, Grace Nakamura, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 252.
12. Testimony, Ben Kasubachi, Seattle, Sept. 11, 1981, p. 163.
13. Written testimony, Shigeo Nishimura, Los Angeles, July 23, 1981.
14. Testimony, Grace Nakamura, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 252.
15. Unsolicited testimony, Leonard Abrams, Philadelphia.
16. Testimony, William Kochiyama, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 97.
17. Okamura and Waugh, "Temporary Detention Camps," p. 8.
18. American National Red Cross, "Report of the American Red Cross Survey of Assembly Centers in California, Oregon, and Washington," August 1942, unpublished manuscript, pp. 18-19. NARS. RG 200 [hereafter "Red Cross Survey of Assembly Centers"].
19. DeWitt, *Final Report*, pp. 152, 158-59.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-59.

21. Testimony, Sally Kazama, Seattle, Sept. 11, 1981, p. 39; DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 152.
22. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 183.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 186.
25. Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1976), p. 79.
26. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660* (New York: Arno Press, 1978 [1946]), p. 63.
27. Testimony, Ken Hayashi, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 222.
28. Testimony, James M. Goto, M.D., Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 212.
29. Testimony, Toshiko Toku, Seattle, Sept. 10, 1981, p. 39.
30. Testimony, James T. Fujii, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 80.
31. Testimony, Thomas M. Tajiri, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 293.
32. Testimony, Marshall M. Sumida, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 102.
33. Red Cross Survey of Assembly Centers, p. 37.
34. Testimony, Grace Nakamura, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 253.
35. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 50.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 99.
37. Testimony, Peggy Nishimoto Mitchell, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 220.
38. Testimony, Kazuko Ige, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 313.
39. Testimony, Kinya Noguchi, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 107.
40. Testimony, James M. Goto, M.D., Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 213.
41. Written testimony, Bill Nakagawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981.
42. Testimony, Elaine Yoneda, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 46.
43. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 106.
44. Testimony, George Kawachi, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 236.
45. Written testimony, Bill Nakagawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981.
46. Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, p. 180.
47. Testimony, Patsy Saiki, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 36.
48. Testimony, Peter Ota, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 98. See testimony, Suzu Kunitani, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 62, for another description of a tuberculosis case. Those whom the WCCA considered too sick to move, who resided in institutions, or who were in prison, received exemptions or deferments until they were able to travel. (DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 145.)
49. Testimony, Mary Tsukamoto, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 81.
50. Testimony, Mitzi Shio Schectman, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 186. Their father eventually joined them at Puyallup and died at Minidoka.
51. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 145.
52. Testimony, Sumiko Seo Seki, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 79.
53. Testimony, Misao Sakamoto, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 177.
54. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 186. There were apparently some exceptions to the rule. Rachel Kawasaki recalls that her baby's 2:00 a.m. feeding was delivered to her door by jeep. Unsolicited testimony, Rachel Kawasaki, Los Angeles.
55. Unsolicited testimony, Hideo Furukawa, Palo Alto.

56. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 82.
57. Testimony, Haru Isaki, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 266.
58. Testimony, Sally Kazama, Seattle, Sept. 11, 1981, p. 39.
59. Testimony, Yasuko Ito, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 52.
60. Testimony, Tsuyako Kitashima, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 167.
61. Testimony, Shizuko Tokushige, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 227.
62. Testimony, James M. Goto, M.D., Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 213.
63. Testimony, Masaaki Hironaka, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 129.
64. Red Cross Survey of Assembly Centers, p. 4.
65. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 193.
66. Santa Anita Assembly Center, Arcadia, CA, *Administrative Notice No. 4*, May 12, 1942.
67. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 186.
68. Testimony, Tetsu Saito, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 18.
69. Testimony, Hiroshi Kadokura, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, p. 177.
70. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 86.
71. Letter, Bill Hosokawa to Angus Macbeth, Commission staff, Sept. 14, 1982 (CWRIC 8800-16).
72. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 78.
73. Testimony, Kinya Noguchi, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 107.
74. Testimony, Misao Sakamoto, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 177.
75. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 186.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
77. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 84.
78. Testimony, Masaaki Hironaka, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 129.
79. "No sharp increase in the number of deaths occurred as a result of the evacuation program." (DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 190.)
80. *Idem.*
81. Red Cross Survey of Assembly Centers, p. 28.
82. Testimony, Yoshiye Togasaki, M.D., San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 227.
83. Unsolicited testimony, George M. Suda, D.D.S., Fresno.
84. Testimony, Kikuo H. Taira, M.D., San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 223.
85. Written testimony, Yoshiye Togasaki, M.D., San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981.
86. Unsolicited testimony, George M. Suda, D.D.S., Fresno.
87. Testimony, Yoshiye Togasaki, M.D., San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 227.
88. Testimony, Kikuo H. Taira, M.D., San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 223.
89. Testimony, Tom Watanabe, M.D., Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 231.
90. Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, p. 178.
91. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 81.
92. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 192; testimony, Susumu Sato, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 115.
93. Red Cross Survey of Assembly Centers, p. 52.
94. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 207.

95. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 92.
96. Testimony, Frances C. Kitagawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 122.
97. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 92.
98. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 209.
99. Unsolicited testimony, Hiroko Azuma Miyakawa, Matawan, NJ.
100. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 208.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 209–10.
102. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 88.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
104. Unsolicited testimony, Sachi Kajiwara, Dayton, OH.
105. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 103.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
108. DeWitt, *Final Report*, pp. 211–12.
109. *Idem.*
110. Unsolicited testimony, A. Arthur Takemoto, Encinitas, CA.
111. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 213.
112. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 91.
113. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 205.
114. Testimony, Masaaki Hironaka, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 129.
115. Testimony, Yayoi Ono, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 257.
116. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 205.
117. Memo, DeWitt to McCloy, May 2, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 215–17).
118. DeWitt, *Final Report*, pp. 205–06.
119. Testimony, Masaaki Hironaka, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 130; Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 81.
120. Testimony, Wilson H. Makabe, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 78.
121. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 60.
122. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 218.
123. Testimony, Lillian Kiyota, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 271.
124. Red Cross Survey of Assembly Centers, p. 22.
125. Minoru Masuda, "Injury and Redress," *Rikka*, vol. 6, no. 3 (Autumn 1979), p. 20; Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, p. 176.
126. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 59.
127. Testimony, Ruby Okubo, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 288.
128. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 218.
129. Santa Anita Assembly Center, *Regulations*, April 12, 1942.
130. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 108; Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, p. 187.
131. Testimony, Yoshio Nakamura, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 249.
132. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 108.
133. Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, p. 187.
134. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 218.
135. Testimony, Sumiko Seo Seki, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 79.
136. Testimony, Kay Yamashita, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 213.
137. Testimony, Thomas M. Tajiri, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 294; testimony, Louise Crowley, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 69 (Puyallup).

138. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 79.
139. Unsolicited testimony, Jack Oda, Chicago.
140. Santa Anita Assembly Center, *Administrative Notice No. 5*, May 14, 1942.

## The Relocation Centers

1. The Manzanar evacuees did not move; Manzanar was transferred by the WCCA to the WRA to become a relocation center on June 1, 1942.
2. Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1976), p. 89.
3. Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, p. 8. NARS. RG 210. The War Relocation Authority, first under the Office for Emergency Management and later under the U.S. Department of the Interior, issued quarterly reports covering 1942, and thereafter semiannual reports until the agency disbanded in 1946.
4. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 1.
5. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 2.
6. J. L. DeWitt, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 282–84, 288.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
8. Unsolicited testimony, Chebo Toshitaka Sakaguchi.
9. Testimony, Shizuko S. Tokushige, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 227.
10. Testimony, Henry Sugimoto, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 208; testimony, Hideko Sasaki, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 134; testimony, Mark Murakami, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 38.
11. Testimony, Henry Sugimoto, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 208.
12. Testimony, Dick Nishi, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 121.
13. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 289.
14. Unsolicited testimony, George J. Kasai; testimony, Elsie Hashimoto, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 140; testimony, Shizuko S. Tokushige, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 227; testimony, Kikuo H. Taira, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 225; but see Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1953), p. 190; Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660* (New York: Arno Press, 1978 [1946]), p. 118.
15. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 289.
16. Testimony, Kiyoshi Sonoda, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 222; testimony, Shizuko S. Tokushige, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 228.
17. Testimony, Dick Nishi, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 121.
18. Unsolicited testimony, George J. Kasai.
19. Testimony, Shizuko S. Tokushige, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 228.

20. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 6.
21. Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), pp. 64-66.
22. Executive Order 9102, March 18, 1942. FDRL (CWRIC 6197-99). The WRA, which was established as an agency under the Office for Emergency Management in the Executive Office of the President, was transferred to the Department of the Interior in February 1944.
23. Milton S. Eisenhower, *The President Is Calling* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1974), p. 96.  
Eisenhower, analyzing the evacuation and detention, concluded that no one was solely responsible because no one could see the "over-all pattern that was emerging." He also concluded:  
The evacuation of Japanese Americans from their homes on the coast to hastily constructed assembly centers and then to inland relocation centers was an inhuman mistake. Thousands of American citizens of Japanese ancestry were stripped of their rights and freedoms and treated almost like enemy prisoners of war. Many lost their homes, their businesses, their savings. For 120,000 Japanese the evacuation was a bad dream come to pass. (Eisenhower, *The President Is Calling*, p. 125).
24. Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), p. 91, quoting letter from Eisenhower to Wickard, April 1, 1942.
25. Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, "Preliminary Report and Recommendations of Evacuation of Citizens and Aliens from Military Areas," March 19, 1942, U.S. House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2d Sess., HR Report No. 1911, p. 17.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
28. Eisenhower, *The President Is Calling*, p. 117.
29. WDC summary and WRA report of meeting with governors and other officials regarding relocation of Japanese, Salt Lake City, Utah, April 7, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 4188-216).
30. Letter, Mike Masaoka to Eisenhower, April 6, 1942. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 3734-51).
31. Eisenhower, *The President Is Calling*, pp. 116-17.
32. The account of the meeting is taken from the WDC summary, above; Eisenhower, *The President Is Calling*, pp. 117-19; and testimony, Karl Bendetsen, Washington, DC, Nov. 2, 1981, p. 40.
33. WDC summary of April 7, 1942 meeting.
34. Eisenhower, *The President Is Calling*, p. 119.
35. Telephone conversation between Bendetsen and Alfred Jaretzki, April 27, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 5226-32).
36. Statement of Philip M. Glick (formerly Solicitor for the War Relocation Authority), Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security, U.S. House of Representatives, 91st Cong., 2d Sess., March 19, 1970, pp. 3045-47. Two exceptions to the decision for confinement were already in progress, student leave and agricultural leave. A later section describes these programs.
37. Eisenhower, *The President Is Calling*, p. 95.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
39. Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, p. 6.
40. *Idem.* The War Department had retained an approval right to ensure that “large numbers of evacuees might not be located immediately adjacent to present or proposed military installations or strategically important areas.” DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 248.
41. U. S. Department of the Interior, *WRA: A Story of Human Conservation* (Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 20 [hereafter “WRA Story”].
42. Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, p. 7.
43. *WRA Story*, p. 20.
44. Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA*, p. 96.
45. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 263; *WRA Story*, p. 20.
46. Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, p. 10.
47. Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, *The Spoilage: Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement During World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 28.
48. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 264; Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, p. 9.
49. DeWitt, *Final Report*, pp. 249–50.
50. *Idem.*
51. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 263; Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 28.
52. *WRA Story*, p. 22.
53. Letter, Masaoka to Eisenhower, April 6, 1942. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 3734–51).
54. *WRA Story*, p. 75.
55. DeWitt, *Final Report*, pp. 248, 264.
56. Unsolicited testimony, George G. Muramoto.
57. Gladys Bell, “Memories of Topaz,” unpublished manuscript.
58. Testimony, Elizabeth Nishikawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 210; interview, Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, Washington, DC, July 20, 1982.
59. Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, p. 12; Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 29.
60. Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, p. 12; Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 124.
61. Testimony, Elizabeth Nishikawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 209; Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 7.
62. Dillon S. Myer, *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority During World War II* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1971), p. 31; Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, p. 12.
63. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 264.
64. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 29; letter, Bill Hosokawa to Angus Macbeth, Commission staff, Sept. 14, 1982 (CWRIC 8800–16).
65. Unsolicited testimony, Susumu Togasaki.
66. “Report on Visit to Japanese Evacuation Camps,” undated, cited in Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 39.

67. Unsolicited testimony, Dean Meeker, Dane, WI.
68. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 29.
69. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26, 1943, quoted in Lillian Baker, *The Concentration Camp Conspiracy* (Glendale, CA: AFHA Publications, 1981), p. 258.
70. Minoru Masuda, "Japanese Americans: Injury and Redress," *Rikka*, vol. 6, no. 3 (Autumn 1979), p. 20.
71. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, pp. 129-31, 146.
72. Bell, "Memories of Topaz;" testimony, Haru Isaki, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 346.
73. Interview, Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, Washington, DC, July 20, 1982.
74. Testimony, Ken Hayashi, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 222.
75. Written testimony, Kikuo H. Taira, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 9.
76. Testimony, Frank M. Kajikawa, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 339.
77. Edward H. Spicer, Asael I. Hansen, Katherine Luomala and Marvin K. Opler, *Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1969), p. 66.
78. Report of the WRA, July 1—Sept. 30, 1942, pp. 4-5; unsolicited testimony, Dean Meeker, Dane, WI.
79. Testimony, Shuzo C. Kato, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 201.
80. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 4.
81. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 39.
82. *Idem*.
83. Spicer, *Impounded People*, p. 99.
84. Bell, "Memories of Topaz."
85. Testimony, Tom Misawa, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 182.
86. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 137; *Rikka*, vol. 6, no. 3 (Autumn 1979), p. 20.
87. Written testimony, Noriko S. Bridges, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981.
88. Testimony, Henry Sugimoto, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 209; Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 138; Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, pp. 195-96.
89. Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, p. 196; *Rikka*, vol. 6, no. 3 (Autumn 1979), p. 20.
90. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 83.
91. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, pp. 149, 192.
92. Testimony, Tsuyako Shimizu, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 129.
93. Unsolicited testimony, Mary Tonai (Heart Mountain); unsolicited testimony, Olive Ogawa Hall (Poston); testimony, Lillian K. Hayano, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 327 (Poston); Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 184 (Topaz).
94. Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, p. 192.
95. Testimony, Eiichi E. Sakauye, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 226.
96. Testimony, George Matsumoto, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 113.
97. Testimony, Kiyo Sato-Viacrucis, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 73.
98. Unsolicited testimony, Ben T. Kawashima.
99. Unsolicited testimony, Sueko Yamasaki Kawamoto; testimony, Tom

Shimasaki, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 117; testimony, Mary F. Odagiri, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 130.

100. Testimony, Betty Matsuo, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 275.

101. *WRA Story*, pp. 100-02.

102. Interview, Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, Washington, DC, July 20, 1982.

103. Unsolicited testimony, Nobu Kajiwara.

104. Testimony, Yasuko Ito, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 54.

105. *WRA Story*, p. 102.

106. Testimony, Mamoru Ogata, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 31; unsolicited testimony, Susumu Togasaki and George J. Kasai.

107. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26, 1943, quoted in Baker, *Concentration Camp Conspiracy*, p. 259.

108. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 35.

109. Unsolicited testimony, George G. Muramoto.

110. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 186.

111. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 35.

112. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 143.

113. *WRA Story*, p. 102.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

115. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 24.

116. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 151; Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, p. 197.

117. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 8.

118. *Idem*; Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 32; testimony, Tamotsu Tsuchida, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 203; testimony, Harold Ouye, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 85; written testimony, Kiyoshi Sonoda, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 223.

119. Testimony, Emi Somekawa, Seattle, Sept. 10, 1981, p. 93; Report of the WRA, March 18 - June 30, 1942, p. 29; testimony, Kiyoshi Sonoda, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 223; Ruth E. McKee, *History of WRA: Pearl Harbor to June 30, 1944*, unpublished manuscript, 1944, p. 119.

120. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 52-53; McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 120.

121. Testimony, Miyo Senzaki, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 154.

122. Testimony, Yoshihiko F. Fujikawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 67.

123. Testimony, Kiyoshi Sonoda, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 223.

124. Report of the WRA, July 1—Dec. 31, 1943, p. 70.

125. Testimony, Tom Watanabe, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 231.

126. Testimony, Suzu Kunitani, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 63.

127. Unsolicited testimony, Sachi Kajiwara.

128. Testimony, Tsuye Nozawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 39.

129. Testimony, Yoshiye Togasaki, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 228.

130. Testimony, Elaine Ishikawa Hayes, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 223; testimony, Richard Aoki, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 85.

131. Testimony, Samuel T. Shoji, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 212.

132. Unsolicited testimony, Rae Ota Yasumura.

133. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 19.

134. Interview, Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, Washington, DC, July 20, 1982.

135. Report of the WRA, January 1—June 30, 1943, p. 32.
136. Report of the WRA, October 1—Dec. 31, 1942, p. 7.
137. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 122.
138. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-07.
139. U.S. Department of the Interior, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 150.
140. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 142.
141. Testimony, Peggy Nishimoto Mitchell, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 221.
142. Unsolicited testimony, Carolyn Abe Kanaya; Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 19.
143. Written testimony, Peggy Nishimoto Mitchell.
144. Testimony, Y. Shiimoto, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 70 (polio); testimony, Alice Okazaki, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 32 (tuberculosis).
145. Report of the WRA, July 1—December 31, 1943, p. 87.
146. Letter, John Rademaker to Frank L. Sweetser, WRA, Sept. 24, 1943. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 3211-21).
147. Rita Takahashi Cates, *Comparative Administration and Management of Five War Relocation Authority Camps*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, September 1980, p. 134.
148. Testimony, Noboru Morimoto, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 144; testimony, Richard Yoshikawa, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 166.
149. Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, p. 15.
150. *WRA Story*, p. 76.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
152. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.
154. *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 79-80.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
156. Testimony, Ruth Colburn, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 277.
157. *WRA Story*, pp. 81-82.
158. Testimony, Nellie Sakakihara, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 127; testimony, Soto Yoshida, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 212; testimony, Katsuyo Oekawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 113.
159. Testimony, Tom Hoshiyama, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 49.
160. Testimony, Bert Arata, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, p. 174.
161. Testimony, Akira Arai, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 428.
162. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 9.
163. Report of the WRA, January 1—June 30, 1943, p. 25; Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, pp. 16-17.
164. Report of the WRA, July 1—Dec. 31, 1943, p. 62.
165. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
166. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 196.
167. Report of the WRA, July 1—December 31, 1943, p. 63.
168. McKee, *History of WRA*, pp. 101-02.
169. Report of the WRA, January 1—June 30, 1943, p. 27.
170. Report of the WRA, July 1—December 31, 1943, p. 67.
171. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 18.

172. Report of the WRA, January 1—June 30, 1943, p. 27.
173. Unsolicited testimony, Susumu Togasaki.
174. Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, pp. 24–25.
175. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 20.
176. Report of the WRA, January 1—June 30, 1943, p. 29.
177. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 21.
178. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26, 1943, quoted in Baker, *Concentration Camp Conspiracy*, p. 258.
179. Testimony, Kinya Noguchi, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 108.
180. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 111.
181. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 49.
182. Report of the WRA, October 1 - December 31, 1942, pp. 14–15.
183. Testimony, Shuzo C. Kato, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 201.
184. Testimony, James Hirabayashi, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 261.
185. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 30.
186. Written testimony, Grace Nakamura, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981.
187. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 112.
188. Report of the WRA, July 1—December 31, 1943, p. 74.
189. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 51; Unsolicited testimony, Rae Ota Yasumura; testimony, Allan Hida, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 124.
190. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 113; testimony, Hiroshi Kamei, Los Angeles, Sept. 6, 1981, p. 244.
191. Testimony, Bruce Kaji, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 272.
192. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 15.
193. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 51.
194. Reports of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 15.
195. Report of the WRA, March 18—June 30, 1942, p. 27; Report of the WRA, July 1—December 31, 1943, p. 75.
196. Testimony, Mary Sugitachi, San Francisco, August 12, 1981, p. 219; Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 30.
197. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 48.
198. Unsolicited testimony, Carolyn Abe Kanaya; written testimony, Mary Sugitachi, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981.
199. Unsolicited testimony, Hiroko Azuma Miyakawa; unsolicited testimony, Roy Mike Hamachi.
200. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 92.
201. John Tateishi, "Remembrances of Manzanar," *Rikka*, vol. 6, no. 3 (Autumn 1979), p. 61.
202. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 133.
203. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 48.
204. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 56; *WRA Story*, p. 108.
205. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 48.
206. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 170.
207. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
208. Written testimony, Mitsuru Sasahara, Los Angeles, July 20, 1981.
209. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 49.
210. Report of the WRA, January 1—June 30, 1943, p. 27.
211. Unsolicited testimony, Kin Ikeda.

212. Written testimony, Mitsuru Sasahara, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981.
213. *Idem*.
214. Bell, "Memories of Topaz," p. 8.
215. Testimony, Ruth Colburn, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 276 ff.
216. Report of the WRA, July 1—December 31, 1943, p. 87.
217. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, pp. 150, 156.
218. *Ibid.*, p. 157; testimony, Tsuyako Shimizu, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 129.
219. *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 187.
220. Report of the WRA, January 1—June 30, 1943, p. 36.
221. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 49.
222. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 174.
223. Report of the WRA, January 1—June 30, 1943, p. 36.
224. Testimony, Sam Shoji, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 277.
225. *WRA Story*, p. 107.
226. Bell, "Memories of Topaz;" Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 38.
227. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 27.
228. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 38.
229. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 135.
230. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, pp. 38-39.
231. Report of the WRA, January 1—June 30, 1943, p. 38.
232. Testimony, Elizabeth Nishikawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 213.
233. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26, 1943, quoted in Baker, *Concentration Camp Conspiracy*, p. 258.
234. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 136.
235. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 57.
236. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 138.
237. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 38-40.
238. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 23 ff.
239. *WRA Story*, pp. 86-87.
240. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 39-40.
241. *WRA Story*, p. 90.
242. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 40.
243. Letter, Hosokawa to Macbeth, Commission staff, Sept. 14, 1982 (CWRIC 8800-16).
244. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 104; unsolicited testimony, Y. Florence Kubota.
245. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 155.
246. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 104.
247. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 27; *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26, 1943, quoted in Baker, *Concentration Camp Conspiracy*, p. 258.
248. Unsolicited testimony, Suenari Koyasako.
249. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 27.
250. Report by Philip Webster, WRA, August 31—September 2, 1942, quoted in Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 91; see also testimony, Teru Watanabe, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 246, shooting at Manzanar.

251. Bell, "Memories of Topaz," testimony, Vernon Yoshioka, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 110.
252. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, p. 180.
253. Testimony, Linda Morimoto, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 104.
254. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 105.
255. Testimony, George Takei, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 201.
256. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 36.
257. *WRA Story*, p. 93.
258. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 25, 1943, quoted in Baker, *Concentration Camp Conspiracy*, p. 256.
259. Unsolicited testimony, Harry Y. Ueno, "I was a captive of the U.S. Government."
260. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 40.
261. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, p. 53.
262. *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 60.
263. Cates, *Management of Five Camps*, p. 576.
264. Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, pp. 59–60.
265. Letter, Hosokawa to Macbeth, Commission staff, Sept. 14, 1982 (CWRIC 8800–16).
266. Spicer, *Impounded People*, p. 84.
267. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 60.
268. Cates, *Management of Five Camps*, p. 579.
269. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 45; Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 40; Cates, *Management of Five Camps*, p. 589.
270. Spicer, *Impounded People*, p. 82.
271. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
272. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 119; Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 73.
273. *WRA Story*, pp. 46–47.
274. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, pp. 119–20.
275. Masaoka to Myer, January 14, 1943. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 3758).
276. Cates, *Management of Five Camps*, p. 572, quoting Myron E. Gurnea, FBI Report—Survey—Part I, Confidential Report, p. 7. NARS. RG 210.
277. Cates, *Management of Five Camps*, p. 570.
278. Testimony, Elaine Yoneda, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 47.
279. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 61.
280. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, pp. 43–44; Report of the WRA, July 1—September 30, 1942, pp. 51–54.
281. Testimony, Karl Yoneda, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, pp. 91–92.
282. Unsolicited testimony, Susumu Togasaki, reporting a beating in one section of Poston.
283. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, pp. 31–33.
284. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 46.
285. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 33.
286. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
287. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
288. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 50.
289. Report of the WRA, October 1—December 31, 1942, p. 37.

290. Testimony, Grace Nakamura, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 253.
291. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 52.
292. McKee, *History of WRA*, pp. 154-55.
293. Unsolicited testimony, Edward Spicer, Chicago, Sept. 1981.
294. Testimony, Peter Suzuki, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, pp. 142-44.
295. Unsolicited testimony, Edward Spicer, Chicago, Sept. 1981.
296. Written testimony, Walter Funabiki, San Francisco, Sept. 29, 1981.
297. Eisenhower, *The President Is Calling*, p. 120.
298. McKee, *WRA Story*, p. 30.
299. Eisenhower, *The President Is Calling*, p. 120.
300. Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA*, p. 99.
301. Testimony, Dick Nishi, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, pp. 121-22.
302. Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA*, p. 100.
303. Testimony, Sally Kazama, Seattle, Sept. 11, 1981, p. 52.
304. Testimony, Mary Sakaguchi Oda, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 97.
305. Report of the WRA, July 1-September 30, 1942, p. 18.
306. Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA*, p. 100.
307. Telephone conversation, DeWitt and Bendtsen, April 4, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13046).
- 308 *WRA Story*, p. 31.
309. Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA*, p. 101.
310. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 129-30.
311. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 98.
312. Report of the WRA, July 1-September 30, 1942, pp. 11-12.
313. Testimony, George Taketa, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 269.
314. Testimony, John Takashi Omori, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, p. 62.
315. Unsolicited testimony, George Ikeda.
316. Testimony, George Taketa, Chicago, September 22, 1981, p. 270.
317. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 100.
318. Written testimony, James Hirabayashi, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 3.
319. Letter, Eisenhower to the President, June 17, 1942. FDRL. OF 4849 (CWRIC 3972).
320. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 67-68.
321. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 147. WRA Administration Instruction No. 22, July 20, 1942. "Temporary Procedure for Issuance of Permits to Individuals or Single Families to Leave Relocation Centers for Employment Outside Such Centers and the WDC."
322. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 132-33.
323. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 147. WRA, "Issuance of Leave for Departure from a Relocation Area." 7 Fed. Reg., 7656 (September 26, 1942). These appeared in greater detail in WRA Administrative Instruction No. 22 (Revised), November 6, 1942.
324. Memo, Bendtsen to Commanding General of Western Defense Command, Oct. 3, 1942, NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 5081).
325. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 134.

326. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

327. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-38.

328. *WRA Story*, p. 42.

329. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 138.

## Loyalty: Leave and Segregation

1. *E.g.*, Eugene Rostow, "The Japanese American Cases—A Disaster," 54 *Yale Law Journal* 489 (1945).
2. Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1969), p. 397.
3. For instance, McCloy visited the West Coast in March 1942, and met with Ringle, later writing Biddle that he was "greatly impressed" with Ringle's knowledge. Letter, McCloy to Biddle, March 21, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 12862). He met with the JACL leaders at an emergency National Council meeting called in early March and took the trouble to meet with them socially as well as discussing the Army's program. Bill Hosokawa, *JACL in Quest of Justice* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1982), pp. 166–67.
4. Ruth E. McKee, *History of WRA: Pearl Harbor to June 30, 1944*, unpublished manuscript, 1949, p. 164.
5. Tamotsu Shibutani, *The Derelicts of Company K* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 49.
6. Memo, DeWitt to Chief of Staff (Marshall), Nov. 20, 1942; memo, DeWitt to McCloy, Nov. 21, 1942; memo, Dedrick to WDC Assistant Chief of Staff, Civil Affairs Division (Bendetsen), Nov. 20, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 5686, 5687, 5680–85).
7. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 165.
8. *Idem*.
9. Memo, Brigadier General M. G. White, G-1, to McCloy, April 19, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 5665–66).
10. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 397.
11. Memo, McCloy to Eisenhower, May 20, 1943, RG 107, quoted in Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), p. 145.
12. Memo, Colonel M. W. Pettigrew to McCloy, Nov. 7, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 13780); memo, Pettigrew to McCloy, Nov. 17, 1942. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC 13765–70); telephone conversation, DeWitt and McCloy, Jan. 18, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13210–14).
13. Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1976), footnote 4, p. 305.
14. Edward H. Spicer, Asael T. Hansen, Katherine Luomala and Marvin Opler, *Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1969), p. 142.

15. Dillon S. Myer, *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority During World War II* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1971), p. 144.

16. Letter, Mike Masaoka to Stimson, Jan. 15, 1943. NARS. RG 147 (CWRIC 11920).

17. Telephone conversation, McCloy and DeWitt, Jan. 18, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13210-14).

18. Telephone conversation, DeWitt and McCloy, Jan. 18, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13210-14); memo, Colonel John J. Bissell to General Strong, Jan. 8, 1943. NARS. RG 319 (CWRIC 14102-03); telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Colonel William P. Scobey, Jan. 18, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13194-208).

19. Telephone conversation, DeWitt and McCloy, Jan. 18, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13210-14).

20. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Scobey, Jan. 18, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13194-208).

21. Draft memo to Stimson, Oct. 28, 1942. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC 13756-60).

22. Memo, Elmer Davis, Director of Office of War Information, to the President, Oct. 2, 1942. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC 13755).

23. Memo, McCloy to Stimson, Oct. 15, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 13779); draft memo to Stimson, Oct. 28, 1942. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC 13756-60).

24. Memo, Stimson to Chief of Staff (Marshall), no date. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC 13753).

25. Thomas D. Murphy, *Ambassadors in Arms: The Story of Hawaii's 100th Battalion* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1954), pp. 109-10.

26. *Idem.*

27. Testimony, John J. McCloy, Washington, DC, Nov. 3, 1981, p. 25. The War Department position stands in sharp contrast to that of the Navy. Responding to Davis's memo, Navy Secretary Knox not only did not agree with Davis's suggestion but also suggested that everyone's time could be better spent handling the "problem" of Japanese sympathizers in Hawaii; letter, Knox to the President, Oct. 17, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 565).

28. Memo for the record, Office of Provost Marshal General, Jan. 9, 1943. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 12795-97).

29. *Idem.*

30. *Idem.*

31. Memo, DeWitt to Marshall, Jan. 27, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 5114-23).

32. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Captain John M. Hall, Jan. 19, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13183).

33. Report of the War Relocation Authority, Jan. 1-June 30, 1943, p. 9 [hereafter "Report of the WRA"]. The War Relocation Authority, first under the Office for Emergency Management and later under the U.S. Department of the Interior, issued quarterly reports covering 1942, and thereafter semi-annual reports until the agency disbanded in 1946.

34. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 72.

35. Memo, DeWitt to Marshall, Jan. 27, 1943, NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 5114-23).
36. Press release, War Department, Jan. 28, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 8339-40).
37. Letter, the President to Stimson, Feb. 1, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 8338).
38. Report of the WRA, January 1-June 30, 1943, p. 9.
39. Question No. 28, DSS Form 304A (1-23-43), "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry," in *History of the Japanese Program*, prepared by the Japanese American Branch, Office of the Provost Marshal General. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 2959-62).
40. Report of the WRA, Jan. 1-June 30, 1943, p. 14.
41. Testimony, Grace Nakamura, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 254.
42. U.S. Department of the Interior, *WRA: A Story of Human Conservation* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 56 [hereafter "WRA Story"].
43. Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, *The Spoilage: Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement During World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 60-61.
44. Testimony, Carnegie Ouye, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 68.
45. Memo, Hartwell C. Davis, 13th Naval District, to Director of Naval Intelligence, March 30, 1943. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 1785-87).
46. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 73.
47. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 138.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
49. Testimony, Minoru Mochizuki, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, pp. 87-88.
50. Robert A. Wilson and Bill Hosokawa, *East to America: A History of the Japanese in the United States* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1980), p. 228.
51. Testimony, Ben Takeshita, San Francisco, Aug 11, 1981, pp. 219-20.
52. Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 138.
53. Testimony, Mary S. Oda, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 98.
54. Testimony, Harold Ouye, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 85.
55. Spicer, *Impounded People*, p. 146.
56. See Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, pp. 72-82, for a full discussion of registration at Tule Lake.
57. Testimony, Frank Kageta, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 15.
58. Spicer, *Impounded People*, p. 148.
59. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 73.
60. Report of the WRA, Jan. 1-June 30, 1943, p. 10.
61. Memo, Dedrick to McCloy and Bendetsen, Nov. 20, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 5680-85).
62. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 167.
63. Report of the WRA, January 1-June 30, 1943, p. 10.
64. U. S. Department of the Interior, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description*, (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 165.

65. WDC, *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by Western Defense Command*, Jan. 1947, p. 32. NARS. RG 338.
66. Spicer, *Impounded People*, p. 152.
67. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 73; Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 365.
68. Testimony, Chiyoji Iwao, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, pp. 111-12.
69. Testimony, Albert Nakai, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, pp. 140-41.
70. Testimony, Arthur T. Morimitsu, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, p. 50.
71. Testimony, Ben Takeshita, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 219.
72. Testimony, Harry Taketa, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 272.
73. Murphy, *Ambassadors in Arms*, p. 111.
74. All of the material on the research project is taken from WDC, *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by Western Defense Command*, Jan. 1947, pp. 188-417 and recommendations (last) page, which is unnumbered. NARS. RG 338.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
77. *Ibid.*, recommendations (last) page.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 682-84.
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80. *Idem.*
81. *Idem.*
82. Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War, and the Constitution: Causes and Consequences of the Evacuation of the Japanese Americans in World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), pp. 153-57.
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84. WDC, *Supplemental Report*, p. 152.
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86. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
87. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 138-39.
88. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, pp. 151-52.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
90. Memo, John P. Frank, Office of the Under Secretary of the Interior, to Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, no date. NARS. (CWRIC 8776-78).
91. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 153.
92. *Idem.*
93. Telegram, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia to Abe Fortas, Under Secretary of the Interior, April 11, 1944. NARS. RG 48 (CWRIC 6371).
94. Letter, LaGuardia to Ickes, April 21, 1944. NARS. RG 48 (CWRIC 6372).
95. Letter, Dillon S. Myer to the Attorney General, Feb. 1, 1944. DOJ 146-42-26 (CWRIC 9524-26).
96. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 140.
97. Dorothy S. Thomas, *The Salvage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), p. 111.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.
99. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion: The Postwar*

*Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese Americans* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 7.

100. Testimony, Kinnosuke Hashimoto, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 124; testimony, Chiyo K. Sasaki, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 91.

101. Testimony, Hideko Sasaki, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 136.

102. Testimony, Shizu Sue Lofton, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 316.

103. Testimony, Kinnosuke Hashimoto, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, pp. 123-24; testimony, Miyo Senzaki, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 156; testimony, Mary Fumiko Kurihara, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 104; testimony, Tatsu Hori, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, pp. 136-38; testimony, Fuki Abe, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 133; testimony, Tom Nakao, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 249.

104. Testimony, William Kika, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 139.

105. Testimony, Minoru Tamaki, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 186.

106. Testimony, Mitzi Shio Schectman, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, pp. 188-89.

107. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 197.

108. Testimony, May Ichida, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 281.

109. Testimony, Kiyoshi Sonoda, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 225; testimony, Marian Kadamatsu, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 283; unsolicited testimony, Mary Smeltzer, LaVerne, CA.

110. Thomas, *Salvage*, p. 109.

111. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 140.

112. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion*, p. 48.

113. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

115. Testimony, Kazutoshi Mayeda, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, pp. 299-300.

116. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion*, p. 81.

117. Testimony, Mamoru Ogata, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 32; testimony, Charles Nagao, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, pp. 38-39; testimony, Ginzo Muro, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, pp. 31-32.

118. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion*, p. 147.

119. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

120. Memo, DeWitt to Chief of Staff (Marshall), Aug. 23, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 930-31).

121. Memo, DeWitt to Chief of Staff, Sept. 8, 1942; memo, Bendetsen to DeWitt, Oct. 9, 1942; memo, DeWitt to Chief of Staff, Nov. 23, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 12932; 12929; 5070-72).

122. Letter, McCloy to Myer, Oct. 30, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 904-05).

123. Letter, McCloy to DeWitt, Nov. 24, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 12934); letter, McCloy to E. M. Rowalt, Acting Director, WRA, Nov. 25, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 4492).

124. Letter, DeWitt to McCloy, with attachment, Dec. 15, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 12942-82).

125. Letter, Myer to Stimson, June 8, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1286-92).

126. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 71.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
128. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.
129. *WRA Story*, p. 63.
130. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 76; tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 161.
131. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 161.
132. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, pp. 157-58.
133. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, pp. 104-06.
134. Spicer, *Impounded People*, pp. 178-79.
135. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Evacuated People*, p. 169.
136. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, pp. 109-10.
137. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-30.
138. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 79.
139. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, pp. 142-46.
140. Unsolicited testimony, deposition of Tokio Yamane.
141. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 150.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
143. Testimony, Bebe Reschke, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, pp. 61-62.

## Ending the Exclusion

1. The early University of California study of the wartime experience of the Nikkei produced four volumes which follow this pattern. *Americans Betrayed* by Morton Grodzins and *Prejudice, War, and the Constitution* by tenBroek, Barnhart and Matson emphasize the history which produced the Executive Order, while *The Salvage* by Dorothy S. Thomas and *The Spoilage by Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto deal with the camp experience and its impact on evacuees*. Roger Daniels, a major historian of the Japanese Americans in the Second World War, uses these two themes as the major division in his bibliography to *Concentration Camps USA*, the most comprehensive of his books on the period.

2. DeWitt, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 34.

3. WDC, *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by Western Defense Command*, January 1947. NARS. RG 338. The opening sentence of the first chapter of the *Supplemental Report* sets out the thesis and philosophical foundation of the work: "The acts reported in this chapter are presented as evidence in support of the main thesis that it was impossible, as well as impracticable, to separate the dangerous from the non-dangerous members of the Japanese population."

The volume was designed to answer those who were critical of the measures taken in the "dark days" of 1942, to provide the War Department with a complete defense for the exclusion, evacuation and detention if there were further litigation or Congress attempted to place limitations on the wartime power of the military. (*Ibid.*, pp. 1-2).

4. *E.g.*, Letter, McCloy to DeWitt, April 8, 1943. NARS. RG 165 (CWRIC 26369-71). McCloy has informed the Commission that this letter accurately reflected his views during the war. Letter, McCloy to Macbeth, Commission staff, Oct. 18, 1982. (CWRIC 29637-38).

5. Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, U.S. House of Representatives 77th Cong., 2d Sess. HR Report No. 1911, p. 17:

To date the committee has been unable to secure from anyone charged with responsibility a clear-cut statement of the status of the Japanese evacuees, alien or citizens, after they pass through the reception center.

To date the committee has encountered a general disposition to treat the Japanese, whether citizen or alien, as a group, and to subject even the citizens to a scrutiny not applied to the alien German and Italian. The

evacuation order of General DeWitt, for example, places greater restrictions upon the residence of Japanese citizens than upon German and Italian aliens. It is not clear whether this means that plans exist, either in the Army or in the civilian agencies now assisting the Army, for the segregation of all Japanese for the duration of the war.

6. Telephone conversation, McCloy and Bendetsen, April 19, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24067).

7. Telephone conversation, DeWitt and Gullion, Jan. 14, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 8218).

8. Cable, DeWitt to Marshall, Jan. 18, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13209).

9. Telephone conversation, McCloy and DeWitt, Jan. 18, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13210).

10. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Hall, Jan. 19, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13189).

11. *Ibid.* (CWRIC 13183, 13189).

12. Memorandum, DeWitt to Marshall, Jan. 27, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 5114-23).

13. Telephone conversation, McCloy and DeWitt, Jan. 18, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13210-14).

14. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Braun, Jan. 22, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13163-64).

15. Memorandum, Stimson to Marshall, undated. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC 13753).

16. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Hall, Jan. 19, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13186, 13190).

17. *Ibid.* (CWRIC 13185-86).

18. Telephone conversation, McCloy and DeWitt, Jan. 18, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13210-14).

19. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Hall, Jan. 19, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 13187-88).

20. Letter, Myer to McCloy, Jan. 15, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 531-32).

21. Letter, McCloy to DeWitt, Feb. 11, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 527-28). DeWitt responded, "I have a feeling that [the letter] was not prepared or signed by you. Its style and signature tends [sic] to confirm this feeling." Letter, DeWitt to McCloy, Feb. 15, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 526).

22. "Return of United States Soldiers of Japanese Ancestry to the Evacuated Areas." NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 14663-14701); WDC, *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by Western Defense Command*, January 1947, NARS. RG 338, pp. 454-62.

23. Letter, McCloy to DeWitt, April 8, 1943. NARS. RG 165 (CWRIC 26369-71).

24. DeWitt, testimony before House Naval Affairs Committee, April 13, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 14698-99).

25. Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 62; DeWitt, testimony before House Naval Affairs Committee, April 13, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 14699-700).

26. Transcript of conference, DeWitt and newspapermen, April 14, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 26565).
27. Telephone conversation, McCloy and Bendetsen, April 19, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24066).
28. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Barnett, April 29, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24075).
29. Telephone conversation, McCloy and Bendetsen, April 19, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24066-71).
30. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Barnett, April 29, 1943, NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24075-79).
31. Telegram, DeWitt to Barnett, April 27, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24074).
32. Telephone conversation, DeWitt and Bendetsen, June 17, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24134); Theodore E. Smith, statement, June 29, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24141); Smith's statement reads in its entirety: "I certify that this date I witnessed the destruction by burning of the galley proofs, galley papers, drafts and memorandums [sic] of the original report of the Japanese Evacuation." DeWitt was not entirely successful; the Commission located a copy of the original April report in the National Archives, RG 338.
33. Memo, Bendetsen to DeWitt, May 3, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24080).
34. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Barnett, April 29, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24076-78).
35. Letter, Ickes to McCloy, July 5, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 14011b); letter, McCloy to Ickes, July 14, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 14011a).
36. Memorandum, McCloy to McNarney, May 28, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 19386-87).
37. Radiogram, Emmons to McCloy, Sept. 14, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 26541); paraphrase of confidential radiogram, McCloy to Emmons, Sept. 15, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 5058).
38. Letter, Myer to Stimson, March 11, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 1272-82).
39. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Barnett, April 29, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 24076a).
40. Letter, Stimson to Myer, May 10, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 14075-77).
41. Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945), p. 243.
42. McWilliams, *Prejudice*, pp. 231-73.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49.
45. Dillon S. Myer, *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority during World War II* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1971), pp. 93-94; letter with attachment, Chandler to Hoover, April 8, 1943. FBI (CWRIC 17195-98).
46. For a more complete list of restrictive measures, see McWilliams, *Prejudice*, pp. 250-51.

47. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 17, 1943; *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 1943.
48. McWilliams, *Prejudice*, pp. 251–52.
49. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 96.
50. Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, statement, June 15, 1943. (CWRIC 5858–59).
51. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 96–97.
52. McWilliams, *Prejudice*, p. 254.
53. Statement of Dillon S. Myer before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 6, 1943, quoted in Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 99.
54. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 100.
55. McWilliams, *Prejudice*, p. 256.
56. *Washington Post*, April 15, 1943.
57. Press release, July 17, 1943. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 26040–42). The release stated that it had been prepared at the President's request by the War Department and the WRA; it masked the division within the Department: "[T]he War Department and the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command have been in close and continuing consultation and agreement on all matters relating to evacuation and security of the West Coast areas." In preparing the statement, McCloy told Bendetsen that Roosevelt had directed that no statement should be made suggesting that the ethnic Japanese would not go back to the coast before the end of the war. The President's direction was not for attribution. Telephone conversation, McCloy and Bendetsen, July 10, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 19417–22). The Commission has not been able to determine whether Roosevelt also knew that the top civilian officials of the War Department no longer believed there was military justification for excluding loyal Japanese Americans from the West Coast.
58. Letter, Warren to DeWitt, with enclosures, July 7, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 26087–89); letter, DeWitt to Warren, July 10, 1943. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 26090).
59. Letter, McCloy to Emmons, Nov. 5, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 808–10).
60. Letter, Emmons to McCloy, Nov. 10, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 806–07).
61. Memorandum, Biddle to FDR, Dec. 30, 1943. FDRL. OF 4849 (CWRIC 3721–24).
62. Memorandum, FDR to Rosenman, Jan. 5, 1944. FDRL. OF 4849 (CWRIC 3978).
63. E.O. 9423, 3 C.F.R., pp. 302–03, Feb. 16, 1944. (CWRIC 6200–01).
64. Francis Biddle Papers: Cabinet Meetings, January 1944—May 1945, Summary of Cabinet Meeting of May 26, 1944. FDRL (CWRIC 3794).
65. Letter, Ickes to Roosevelt, June 2, 1944. FDRL. OF 4849 (CWRIC 3719–20).

After the Interior Department became responsible for the WRA program, Secretary Ickes issued a statement on April 13, 1944, making plain his view that the major task of WRA was relocation, and that hate and prejudice on the part of the American public was an unacceptable way to greet relocation. Press

release, Secretary of the Interior, April 13, 1944, DOJ 146-13-7-2-0. (CWRIC 12719-22). Ickes specifically did not discuss relocation to the West Coast, but his description of the problem as largely a local one for the people in California, Washington and Oregon, strongly suggests his view that evacuees should be returned to those states. He was firm in his stand against prejudice.

66. Memorandum, Stettinius to FDR, June 9, 1944. FDRL. OF 4849 (CWRIC 3716).

67. Memorandum, FDR to the Acting Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Interior, June 12, 1944. FDRL. OF 4849 (CWRIC 3717-18).

68. Letter, Bonesteel to McCloy, July 3, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 780).

69. Letter, Bonesteel to McCloy, July 31, 1944. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 437-38).

70. Memorandum, Burling to Ennis, July 18, 1944. DOJ 146-42-107 (CWRIC 10389).

71. Memorandum, King to Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, Sept. 28, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 614).

72. *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by Western Defense Command*, Jan. 1947. NARS. RG 338, pp. 511-20; Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War and The Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), pp. 171-72.

73. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, pp. 157-59. In addition, members of the soldier's immediate family could travel in his company, and cleared evacuees could pass through an exclusion zone en route to Hawaii. Travel limited to seven travel corridors between relocation centers in the exclusion zone and outside cities could be without escort. Other travel had to be escorted, with the cost borne by the evacuee. (*Idem.*)

74. *Idem.*

75. *Shiramizu v. Bonesteel*, No. 494474 (Sup. Ct. L.A. County, CA); letter, Bonesteel to McCloy, July 31, 1944. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 437-38).

76. *Ochikubo v. Bonesteel*, No. 3834-PH (S.D. Cal.).

77. *Ex parte Endo*, 323 U.S. 283 (1944).

78. Memo, Greer to Commanding General, SCS, WDC, July 19, 1944. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 2355-58).

79. See, e.g., memo, Ennis to Carr, July 14, 1944, DOJ 146-42-107. (CWRIC 9802); memo, Fahy to McCloy, Aug. 4, 1944. DOJ 146-42-107. (CWRIC 9804-09).

80. Letter, Bonesteel to McCloy, July 31, 1944. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 437-38).

81. Memo, Fahy to McCloy, Aug. 4, 1944. DOJ 146-42-107 (CWRIC 9807-08).

82. *Ibid.*, (CWRIC 9804-09).

83. Transcript of judge's remarks at hearing on Oct. 2, 1944 in *Ochikubo v. Bonesteel*, sent by Carr to Wechsler by letter, Oct. 18, 1944. DOJ 146-42-107. (CWRIC 9849-54). The United States had also filed a detailed affidavit setting forth what effect sabotage and espionage could have on the defensive and offensive military efforts of the United States. The affidavit does not make an argument that exclusion is impelled by military necessity.

84. Memo, Bonesteel to Chief of Staff, Aug. 8, 1944. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 768-75).
85. Memo, Bonesteel to Chief of Staff, Sept. 19, 1944. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 2676-78).
86. Memo, Bonesteel to Chief of Staff, Sept. 21, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 671-74).
87. Letter, McCloy to Bonesteel, Oct. 31, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 668).
88. Letter, McCloy to Forrestal, Dec. 19, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 612-13).
89. Letter, Biddle to McCloy, Nov. 20, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 661).
90. Roosevelt Presidential Press and Radio Conferences, No. 982 (Nov. 21, 1944), FDR Complete Press Conferences, vol. 24, pp. 246-47. FDRL (CWRIC 3597-98).
91. Memo, Myer to Fortas, Dec. 9, 1944. NARS. RG 48 (CWRIC 6409-12).
92. Letter, Wechsler to McCloy, Nov. 28, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 653).
93. Letter, Gerhardt to Myer, Dec. 11, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 634-35).
94. Memo, Wilbur to the Chief of Staff, Dec. 9, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 641-42).
95. Letter, Gerhardt to Myer, Dec. 11, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 634-35).
96. Memo, Wilbur to Chief of Staff, Dec. 9, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 641-42).
97. Memo, Stimson to FDR, Dec. 13, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 9622-28).
98. Note, Stimson to Tully, Dec. 13, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 620).
99. Memo, Bogue to Gerhardt, Dec. 14, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 621).
100. Letter, Ryan to Myer, Dec. 15, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 619).
101. Letter, Solicitor General to Chief Justice, Dec. 16, 1944. DOJ 146-42-26 (CWRIC 9630-31).
102. Public Proclamation No. 21, Dec. 17, 1944. DOJ 146-42-26 (CWRIC 9611-14).
103. "For Release 1700 EWT," Dec. 17, 1944. DOJ 146-42-26 (CWRIC 9613-16).
104. "For Release 1400 PWT," Dec. 17, 1944. DOJ 146-42-26 (CWRIC 9619-21).
105. Memorandum, Ickes to the Staff of the WRA, Dec. 19, 1944. NARS. RG 48 (CWRIC 6406).
106. *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214 (1944); *Ex parte Endo*, 323 U.S. 283 (1944).
107. Eugene Rostow, "The Japanese American Cases—A Disaster," 54 *Yale Law Journal* 489, 520 (1945) (footnotes omitted).

108. *Duncan v. Kahanamoku*, 327 U.S. 304 (1946); see analysis in Chapter 11, *Hawaii*, pp. 280-82.

109. *Fullilove v. Klutznick*, 448 U.S. 448, 507 (1980) (Justice Powell concurring).

110. *Bolling v. Sharp*, 347 U.S. 497 (1954).

111. *Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579 (1952).

112. In his autobiography, Justice Douglas commented on the decisions and his own later view of the cases:

Was it constitutional to evacuate only citizens of Japanese ancestry? That was an issue hotly contested both in the curfew case (*Hirabayashi v. United States*, 320 U.S. 81) and in the evacuation case (*Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214).

The Pentagon's argument was that if the Japanese army landed in areas thickly populated by Americans of Japanese ancestry, the opportunity for sabotage and confusion would be great. By doffing their uniforms they would be indistinguishable from the other thousands of people of like color and stature. It was not much of an argument, but it swayed a majority of the Court, including myself. The severe bite of the military evacuation order was not in a requirement to move out but in the requirement to move out of the West Coast and move into concentration camps in the interior. Locking up the evacuees after they had been removed had no military justification. I wrote a concurring opinion, which I never published, agreeing to the evacuation but not to evacuation *via* the concentration camps. My Brethren, especially Black and Frankfurter, urged me strongly not to publish. "The issue of detention is not here," they said. "And the Court never decides a constitutional question not present." The latter was of course not true, as John Marshall's famous *Marbury v. Madison* (5 U.S. 137) shows. Technically, however, the question of detention was not presented to us. Yet evacuation via detention camps was before us, and I have always regretted that I bowed to my elders and withdrew my opinion.

On the same day that we decided the evacuation case we held that there was no authority to detain a citizen, absent evidence of a crime (*Ex parte Endo*, 323 U.S. 283). Meanwhile, however, grave injustices had been committed. Fine American citizens had been robbed of their properties by racists—crimes that might not have happened if the Court had not followed the Pentagon so literally. The evacuation case, like the flag-salute case, was ever on my conscience. Murphy and Rutledge, dissenting, had been right. (William O. Douglas, *The Court Years: 1939-1975* [New York: Random House, 1980], pp. 279-80.)

113. Memo, Myer to Secretary of the Interior, March 31, 1945. NARS. RG 48 (CWRIC 6264-67).

114. Letter, Grunert to McCloy, Jan. 29, 1945. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 312-13).

115. Letter, Pratt to McCloy, Feb. 3, 1945. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 593-96).

116. Letter, Pratt to Lewis, Dec. 18, 1944. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC

12995-96). McCloy shared this view. Minutes, Committee of Three (State/War/Navy), Jan. 8, 1945. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 14156-58).

117. See, e.g., Letter, Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union, to Ickes, April 19, 1945. NARS. RG 48 (CWRIC 6385); letter, Fortas to Besig, ACLU, Sept. 10, 1945. NARS. RG 48 (CWRIC 6379); memo, Fortas to Secretary of the Interior, July 18, 1945, and attached memo, Myer to the Secretary, July 7, 1945. NARS. RG 48 (CWRIC 6380-83); see also letter, Wechsler to Fortas, May 16, 1945, and reply, Fortas to Wechsler, May 17, 1945. NARS. RG 48 (CWRIC 6259-61).

118. Letter, Ickes to May, April 2, 1945. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 19452-54).

119. Letter, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Chapman to Attorney General Clark, March 1, 1946. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 1971-72).

120. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 198.

121. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 194-95.

122. Testimony, Yasuko A. Ito, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 54.

123. Unsolicited testimony, Harue Ozaki; unsolicited testimony, Sumie Koide.

124. Testimony, Paul Nagano, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 120.

125. Testimony, Toaru Ishiyama, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 202.

126. Testimony, Mitzi Shio Schectman, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 188; testimony, Toshimi William Kumagai, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 215; testimony, James Shizuru, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, pp. 83-84; testimony, Kimiyo Okamoto, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 223.

127. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion*, p. 10.

128. *Idem.*

129. Testimony, Dick Nishi, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 122; unsolicited testimony, Dave Tatsuno.

130. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion*, p. 47.

131. Testimony, Kinnosuke Hashimoto, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 124; testimony, Ayako Uyeda, Seattle, Sept. 10, 1981, p. 34.

132. Testimony, Frances C. Kitagawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 124; testimony, Murako Kato, Seattle, Sept. 10, 1981, p. 40.

133. Testimony, Kiku Funabiki, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 63; testimony, Heizo Oshima, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 122; testimony, Alice Okazaki, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 33; testimony, Nellie Sakakihara, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 128; testimony, Matsui Mori, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 279.

134. Testimony, George Matsuoka, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 120; testimony, Emiko Shinagawa, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 107.

135. Unsolicited testimony, Kin Ikeda.

136. Testimony, Toshimi William Kumagai, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 215; testimony, George Hagiwara, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 115; written testimony, Noriko Sawada Bridges, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981; testimony, Mary Fusako Odagiri, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 131; testimony, Mitsuru Sasahara, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 89; testimony, Peggy Nishimoto Mitchell, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 222.

137. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion*, p. 166.
138. Testimony, Sam Shoji, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 208; testimony, Mitsuye Tono Kamada, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 53.
139. Unsolicited testimony, Y. Florence Kubota; unsolicited testimony, A. Arthur Takemoto.
140. Testimony, Marian Matsuko Kadomatsu, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 286.
141. Testimony, John J. Saito, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 102.
142. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 198; testimony, Lawrence Shikuma, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 124.
143. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion*, p. 62.
144. Testimony, Yoshiaki Sako, Seattle, Sept. 10, 1981, p. 30; testimony, Yoshihiko Tanabe, Seattle, Sept. 11, 1981, p. 74; testimony, Robert T. Mizukami, Seattle, Sept. 10, 1981, p. 13; testimony, Arthur G. Barnett, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 67; testimony, Lawrence Shikuma, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 124.
145. Testimony, Betty Matsuo, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 275; unsolicited testimony, Shizuka Taniguchi LaGrange; testimony, Thomas Takemura, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 97; testimony, Louise Crowley, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, pp. 70-72; testimony, Fuki O. Abe, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 133.
146. Testimony, Kiyoo Yamashita, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 24; testimony, Chiyo Tomihiro, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 132; testimony, Kimiyo Okamoto, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 221; testimony, Fred Ross, Seattle, Sept. 11, 1981, p. 71; unsolicited testimony, Nobu Kajiwara; testimony, Dan Ono, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, pp. 237-38; testimony, Sumie Itami Bartz, Seattle, Sept. 11, 1981, pp. 11-12.
147. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion*, p. 63.
148. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
149. Testimony, Henry Sakai, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 234; testimony, H. Roy Setsuda, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 363.
150. Testimony, Ikuo Komatsu, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 208; testimony, Kiyo Sato-Viacrucis, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, pp. 71-76.
151. Testimony, Soto Yoshida, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 212; unsolicited testimony, Susumu Togasaki.
152. Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), pp. 162-63.

## Protest and Disaffection

1. Elmer Davis to FDR, Oct. 2, 1942. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC 13755).
2. Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), p. 123.
3. *Idem.*
4. *Idem.*
5. Selective Service System, Local Board Memorandum No. 179 (Amended Jan. 14, 1944). NARS. RG 147 (CWRIC 11788).
6. U.S. Department of the Interior, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 128.
7. *Idem.*
8. Tamotsu Shibutani, *The Derelicts of Company K* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 61.
9. *Idem.*
10. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Evacuated People*, p. 128.
11. Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1976), p. 303.
12. Testimony, Edward Ennis, Washington, DC, Nov. 2, 1981, p. 139.
13. Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, *The Spoilage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement During World War II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), pp. 286–88.
14. Unsolicited testimony, Tokio Yamane.
15. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, pp. 203–04.
16. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, pp. 291–302.
17. Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), p. 175.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
19. Frank Chuman, *The Bamboo People: The Law and Japanese Americans* (Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1976), p. 268; testimony, Edward Ennis, Washington, DC, Nov. 2, 1981, p. 136.
20. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 176.
21. *Idem.*
22. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, pp. 303–06.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 261–74.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 312.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
28. Written testimony, Taeko Sakai Okamura, San Francisco, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 4.
29. Testimony, Kinya Noguchi, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 111.
30. Written testimony, Albert Yoshitaka Nakai, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 4.
31. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, pp. 325-26.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 324.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 347.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 338.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 340.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 350.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
40. Chuman, *Bamboo People*, p. 268.
41. Testimony, Edward Ennis, Washington, DC, Nov. 2, 1981, p. 162.
42. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, pp. 347-48.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 357.
44. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 244; Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 357.
45. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 246.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 260; *Abo v. Clark*, 77 F. Supp. 806 (1948).
50. *Ibid.*, p. 262; *Abo v. Clark*, 186 F. 2d 766 (9th Cir. 1950), *cert. denied*, 342 U.S. 832 (1951).
51. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
52. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Evacuated People*, p. 157.
53. DeWitt, *Final Report*, p. 324.
54. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Evacuated People*, p. 157.
55. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, p. 154.
56. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Evacuated People*, p. 157.
57. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, pp. 136-47.
58. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Evacuated People*, p. 157.
59. Thomas and Nishimoto, *Spoilage*, p. 232.
60. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Evacuated People*, p. 196.
61. tenBroek, *Prejudice, War*, p. 181.

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2. Selective Service System, Special Groups, Special Monograph no. 10, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Army), p. 142 (CWRIC 29640).
3. Joseph D. Harrington, *Yankee Samurai: The Secret Role of Nisei in America's Pacific Victory* (Detroit: Pettigrew Enterprises Inc., 1979), p. 19; Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei, The Quiet Americans* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1969), pp. 394–95.
4. Military Intelligence Service Language School, *The MISLS Album* (San Francisco: MISLS, 1946), p. 9; Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 397.
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6. *Ibid.*, p. 397.
7. Harrington, *Yankee Samurai*, p. 93.
8. MISLS, *Album*, p. 11.
9. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, pp. 397–98.
10. Testimony, Mark Murakami, Seattle, Sept. 9, 1981, p. 39.
11. Harrington, *Yankee Samurai*, p. 108.
12. MISLS, *Album*, pp. 104–05.
13. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 398.
14. Harrington, *Yankee Samurai*, p. 112.
15. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 398.
16. Harrington, *Yankee Samurai*, p. 66.
17. MISLS, *Album*, pp. 104–05.
18. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 398.
19. MISLS, *Album*, pp. 104–05; Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 398.
20. Testimony, Arthur T. Morimitsu, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, p. 51.
21. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 399; Harrington, *Yankee Samurai*, p. 355.
22. Testimony, Arthur T. Morimitsu, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, p. 51.
23. See Chapter 11, *Hawaii*.
24. Thomas D. Murphy, *Ambassadors in Arms: The Story of Hawaii's 100th Battalion* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1954), pp. 58, 69.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 81–96, 119.
26. Letter, Hosokawa to Macbeth, Commission staff, Sept. 14, 1982 (CWRIC 8800–16).
27. Chester Tanaka, *Go For Broke: A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and 442d Regimental Combat Team* (Richmond, CA: Go For Broke, Inc., 1982), p. 37.

28. Murphy, *Ambassadors In Arms*, p. 175.
29. Ruth E. McKee, *History of WRA: Pearl Harbor to June 30, 1944*, unpublished manuscript, 1944, p. 168; Tanaka, *Go For Broke*, p. 49; see generally Murphy, *Ambassadors in Arms*, pp. 123-76, for a full account of the campaign.
30. Testimony, Warren Fencil, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, p. 36.
31. Tanaka, *Go For Broke*, pp. 47-51.
32. Tanaka, *Go For Broke*, p. 65.
33. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People in Motion: The Postwar Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese Americans* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 18.
34. Tanaka, *Go For Broke*, p. 73.
35. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 405.
36. Report of the Seventh Army, quoted in Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 405.
37. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 405.
38. Tanaka, *Go For Broke*, pp. 90-101.
39. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 405.
40. Tanaka, *Go For Broke*, p. 103.
41. See Murphy, *Ambassadors In Arms*, pp. 225-44, for a full account of the Vosges Mountains campaign.
42. Testimony, Sam Ozaki, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, pp. 342-43.
43. Murphy, *Ambassadors In Arms*, p. 257.
44. Tanaka, *Go For Broke*, pp. 119-27.
45. Tamotsu Shibutani, *The Derelicts of Company K* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 84.
46. Tanaka, *Go For Broke*, pp. 136, 140.
47. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, pp. 409-10.
48. Testimony, Masato Nakagawa, Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981, p. 48.
49. Selective Service System, Special Groups, Special Monograph no. 10, vol. 1, pp. 141-42.
50. Hosokawa, *Nisei*, pp. 418-20.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 420-21.
52. Letter, Hosokawa to Macbeth, Commission staff, Sept. 14, 1982 (CWRIC 8800-16).
53. Tanaka, *Go For Broke*, pp. 162-64.
54. Testimony, Mitsuo Usui, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 28.
55. Tanaka, *Go For Broke*, p. 168.
56. Murphy, *Ambassadors in Arms*, pp. 274-76.
57. U.S. Department of the Interior, *People In Motion*, p. 19.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

## Hawaii

1. William Petersen, *Japanese Americans* (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 59.

2. Tamotsu Shibutani, *The Derelicts of Company K* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 21.

3. The G-2 staff in Hawaii "stated repeatedly to the [Western Defense Command] staff members that there was no problem in judging whether or not a person of Japanese ancestry was dangerous or non-dangerous; for all one had to do was sit and talk to the man for fifteen minutes and the [sic] would be no question in one's mind." WDC, *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by Western Defense Command*, Jan. 1947, pp. 174-75. NARS. RG 338.

4. Robert Wilson and Bill Hosokawa, *East to America* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1980), p. 27.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-52.

6. Report, C. H. Coggins, "The Japanese in Hawaii," undated. NARS. RG 80 (CWRIC 6964-84); Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population 1940*, vol. 3, Characteristics of the Population, part 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 585-601.

7. Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, p. 153.

8. Brief for United States, *Duncan v. Kahanamoku*, No. 14, Oct. Term 1945 (CWRIC 12166-75).

9. Stetson Conn, Rose C. Engelman and Byron Fairchild, *The United States Army in World War II, The Western Hemisphere: Guarding the United States and its Outposts* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1964), p. 199. [hereafter "Guarding"].

10. Memo, District Intelligence Officer, Fourteenth Naval District to District Intelligence Officer, Third Naval District, Feb. 9, 1942, reprinted in Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, 79th Cong. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), Part 35, pp. 337-38 [hereafter "Pearl Harbor Investigation"].

11. See Chapter 2, *Executive Order 9066*.

12. Pearl Harbor Investigation, Part 39, p. 120.

13. Diary, Stimson, Jan. 20, 1942. Sterling Library, Yale University (CWRIC 19596-98).

14. On the tiny isolated Hawaiian Island of Niihau where news of the Pearl Harbor bombing had not yet arrived, a crippled Japanese plane crashed on its return from the successful attack. A Hawaiian discovered the pilot and

confiscated his weapons and papers. Ishimatsu Shintani, an Issei, and Yoshio Harada, a Nisei, acted as interpreters; the latter spent a short time privately with the pilot. After the meeting, Harada freed the pilot, helped him set up two machine guns in the village, and threatened to kill everyone unless the military papers were produced. In an unguarded moment six days later, two Hawaiians taken hostage jumped the pair. The pilot was killed and Harada fatally shot himself. Gwenfreed Allen, *Hawaii's War Years* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1971 [1950]), pp. 44-46.

15. Notes of Cabinet meeting, Biddle, Dec. 19, 1941. FDRL. Biddle Papers (CWRIC 3793).

16. *Honolulu Advertiser*, Dec. 22, 1941, pp. 1 and 6 (CWRIC 29567-69).

17. Ruth E. McKee, *History of WRA—Pearl Harbor to June 30, 1944*, unpublished manuscript, 1944, p. 165; Shibutani, *Derelicts of Company K*, p. 38.

18. Shibutani, *Derelicts of Company K*, p. 38.

19. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 165.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

21. Shibutani, *Derelicts of Company K*, p. 35.

22. McKee, *History of WRA*, p. 165.

23. Allen, *War Years*, p. 167.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 396.

26. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 200.

27. Allen, *War Years*, pp. 141, 146-48, 402.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 120. The ID registration project was suggested in June 1941 by the Office of Civilian Defense to enable identification of persons killed in an attack. Plans had progressed so far that by 1:30 p.m. on December 7, the first ID cards were printed. By the end of the war, registration records and cards had been consulted 300,000 times by police and security agencies.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73.

The commission tried only eight cases during its four years of existence. Among them were three cases of murder, one of which resulted in the death sentence, later commuted to imprisonment. In that case, the defendant was represented by an officer who had no legal training, although the prosecution was in the hands of a trained attorney. The five commissioners were not lawyers, and in its study of the trial, the Department of Interior noted that the commissioners had not been told the distinction between first and second degree murder, even though the evidence strongly suggested the lesser charge.

The three Honolulu provost courts tried nearly 19,000 cases by the end of the first half of 1942. Trials were generally held on the same day as the arrest. Typically, "After the defendant had made his plea, all witnesses stood in a semicircle before the judge and were each peremptorily questioned by him. When the judge felt that he had sufficient evidence, he rendered an immediate decision, imposed sentence, and proceeded to the next case. The defendant could make a statement on his own behalf, but his allotment of time was frequently limited. He had little opportunity to cross-examine witnesses.

He could obtain a lawyer, although some judges indicated in open court that they did not desire attorneys to participate in the trials.”

31. Brief for the United States, *Duncan v. Kahanamoku*, No. 14, Oct. Term 1945 (CWRIC 12166-75).

32. Allen, *War Years*, p. 174; Diary, Harold I. Ickes, Feb. 1, 1942. Ickes Collection, LC, Microfilm reel 5/12, p. 6303 (CWRIC 6583).

33. Brief for the United States, *Duncan v. Kahanamoku*, No. 14, Oct. Term 1945 (CWRIC 12166-75).

34. Diary, Ickes, Oct. 25, 1942. LC, Microfilm reel 2/12, p. 7561 (CWRIC 6584).

35. Brief for the United States, *Duncan v. Kahanamoku*, No. 14, Oct. Term 1945 (CWRIC 12166-75).

36. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 208.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-09.

Immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Army had requested the authority to evacuate the families of servicemen to the mainland at government expense. It later expanded the request to include other civilian women and children who wanted to evacuate as well as tourists stranded on Oahu when the war broke out. Beyond removing civilians from a vulnerable Oahu, evacuation eased the housing shortage and left fewer mouths to feed. (Conn, *Guarding*, p. 202).

38. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

39. *Idem.*

40. Memo, Chief of Staff to U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Feb. 12, 1942. FDRL. PSF Confidential File (CWRIC 3664-65).

41. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 210.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

43. Memo, Dwight D. Eisenhower to McCloy, April 3, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 586-87).

44. Memo, McCloy to Eisenhower, March 28, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 588-89).

45. *Idem.*

46. Diary, Stimson, April 7, 1942. Sterling Library, Yale University (CWRIC 19763).

47. Diary, Stimson, April 15 and 24, 1942. Sterling Library, Yale University (CWRIC 19764-66).

48. Memo, Knox to FDR, April 20, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 582).

49. Cabinet meeting notes, Stimson, April 24, 1942. Sterling Library, Yale University (CWRIC 19731).

50. Diary, Stimson, April 28, 1942. Sterling Library, Yale University (CWRIC 19767).

51. Memo, King and Marshall to FDR, July 15, 1942. FDRL. PSF Safe File (CWRIC 3815-16).

52. Letter, Emmons to McCloy, April 29, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 579-80).

53. Conn, *Guarding*, pp. 211-12.

54. Memo, J. R. Deane to McCloy, July 17, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 572).

55. Letter, Knox to FDR, Oct. 17, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 565).
56. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 212.
57. Telephone conversation, Bendetsen and Hall, Oct. 5, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 8202-06).
58. Letter, Knox to FDR, Oct. 17, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 565).
59. Letter, Stimson to FDR, Oct. 29, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 566).
60. Letter, Emmons to Stimson, Nov. 2, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 562).
61. Memo, FDR to Stimson and Marshall, Nov. 2, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 563).
62. Memo, McFadden to Bendetsen, Nov. 19, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 8200-01).
63. Memo, Blake to Officer in Charge, Dec. 1, 1942. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 29548-53).
64. Hawaiian Report, Edwin G. Arnold to Myer, Dec. 16, 1943. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 29554-60).
65. Allen, *War Years*, p. 397.
66. Memo, Hall to McCloy, Dec. 30, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 554-56).
67. Letter, Stimson to Hull, March 30, 1943. NARS. RG 59 (CWRIC 12792).
68. Letter, Myer to McCloy, Feb. 27, 1943. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 551-52). Some typical responses to loyalty question no. 28 were:
  - "I cannot answer until I find out why I was evacuated to the mainland."
  - "I was interned for 14 months, and if they can give me the reason for interning me, then I can decide."
  - "Previous to my detention my sincere frame of mind was loyalty to serve the USA in all emergency, namely armed forces, in active combat duty or to protect the country in which I inherited the constitutional rights, to defend USA from any or all attacks by foreign or domestic enemy activities. However, I was greatly angered because of detaining me as an enemy alien, in spite of the fact my status of orderly and law abiding citizen had been established without cause, reason or any other charge, as yet unknown to me, I greatly regret, however, wish to refrain from answering the above questions."
  - "It is difficult for me to answer questions 27 and 28 because I was interned at Sand Island, I swore allegiance to the USA but the FBI said that I was not a true American citizen and was forced to say no."
  - "During my period of 10 months in the concentration camp, I swore many times to the allegiance of these United States, but was not recognized by the government. When I was up before a Hearing Board, I was denied the privileges of a citizen, and at the present time, it is very difficult for me to answer these questions. This all happened before I was concentrated in the camp during an investigation held by the government." NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 29561-62).
69. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 214.

70. WDC, *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by Western Defense Command*, Jan. 1947, p. 172. NARS. RG 338.

71. Keiho (Yasutaro) Soga, *Tessaku Seikatsu* (Honolulu: Hawaii Times Ltd., 1948). Selected excerpts transl. by Library of Congress (CWRIC 14865-82).

72. WDC, *Supplemental Report on Civilian Controls Exercised by Western Defense Command*, Jan. 1947, p. 173. NARS. RG 338.

73. Allen, *War Years*, p. 141.

74. Letter, Ickes to Stimson, Feb. 14, 1945. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 29563-64).

75. Letter, Stimson to Ickes, May 2, 1945. NARS. RG 210 (CWRIC 29565-66).

76. Allen, *War Years*, pp. 140-41.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

78. *Idem.*

79. *Ibid.*, p. 135. The boards were allowed considerable latitude, and the hearings were informal and similar to those conducted on the West Coast. Accounts vary, however, with regard to the composition of the boards. Although Allen describes them as civilian, a number of internees indicate that they were composed of military officers.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

81. Unsolicited testimony, Mitsunobu Miyahira.

82. Unsolicited testimony, Kwantoku Goya.

83. Soga, *Tessaku Seikatsu*.

84. Radio, Richardson to McCloy, Feb. 11, 1944. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 542).

85. Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 74, 104.

86. Allen, *War Years*, p. 399.

87. Shibutani, *Derelicts of Company K*, pp. 82-83.

88. Thomas D. Murphy, *Ambassadors in Arms* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1954), pp. 114-15.

89. *Duncan v. Kahanamoku*, 327 U.S. 304 (1946).

90. Letter, Black to Stone, Jan. 18, 1946. LC, Hugo Black Papers (CWRIC 12597-99).

91. *Ex parte Milligan*, 71 U.S. 2,124 (1866).

92. For an analysis which reconciles *Duncan* and *Korematsu*, see Charles Fairman, "The Supreme Court on Military Jurisdiction: Martial Rule in Hawaii and the Yamashita Case," 59 Harv. L. Rev. 833 (1946). Fairman sees the distinction between the cases in the fact that in Hawaii the military government "did not recognize adequately that the civil government should rightly have continued to preside over all matters which the public defense did not require to be placed under direct military control, nor did it take into proper account the basic principle that the commander's authority over civil affairs is limited to measures of demonstrable necessity." (p. 858) Fairman extensively analyzes

the facts and record in *Duncan* but makes no close examination of the facts in *Korematsu*. It is, of course, the Commission's conclusion after studying the factual record that no showing of "demonstrable necessity" could have been made.

## Germans and German Americans

1. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Battle of the Atlantic* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1961), pp. 131–45.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
3. *Training Manual* prepared by Airasdevlant Naval Air Station, Quonset Point, Rhode Island, quoted in Morison, *Battle*, pp. 127–28.
4. Morison, *Battle*, p. 128.
5. Peter B. Sheridan, "The Internment of German and Italian Aliens Compared with the Internment of Japanese Aliens in the United States during World War II: A Brief History and Analysis," staff paper, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Nov. 24, 1980, pp. 1–2 (CWRIC 25886–904).
6. U.S. Department of Justice news release, Feb. 16, 1942, quoted in Paul Clark, "Those Other Camps: Japanese Alien Internment During World War II," unpublished manuscript, no date, p. 9 (CWRIC 4403–55).
7. Clark, "Those Other Camps," p. 13 (CWRIC 4415).
8. The exclusion of lawyers was designed to save time and to put the procedure on a common-sense basis. Francis Biddle, *In Brief Authority* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1962), p. 208.
9. Testimony, Edward J. Ennis, Washington, DC, Nov. 2, 1981, p. 181.
10. Clark, "Those Other Camps," pp. 14–18 (CWRIC 4416–20).
11. Letter and memorandum outline, Stimson to DeWitt, Feb. 20, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 4643–44); NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 298–304).
12. Stetson Conn, Rose C. Engelman and Byron Fairchild, *The United States Army in World War II, The Western Hemisphere: Guarding the United States and Its Outposts* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1964), p. 144 [hereafter *Guarding*].
13. Memo, Bendetsen to McCloy, May 10, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 290–94).
14. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 145; Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), pp. 103–05.
15. Memo, Alfred Jaretzki to Colonel Ralph Tate, June 4, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 6697–99).
16. Telephone conversation, Jaretzki to Bendetsen, April 27, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 5226–32).
17. Memo, Jaretzki to McCloy, May 21, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 171–74).

18. Western Defense Command, *Supplemental Report on Civil Controls Exercised by the Western Defense Command*, Jan. 1947, p. 859. NARS. RG 338.
19. Memo, Stimson to DeWitt, Feb. 20, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 4643-44).
20. Memo, Jaretzki to McCloy, May 21, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 171-74).
21. Biddle, *In Brief Authority*, p. 207.
22. Title 28—Judicial Administration, Chapter I, Part 30, Travel and Other Conduct of Aliens of Enemy Nationalities, amendment effective date Oct. 19, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC 851-52).
23. Telegram, Tolan to Biddle, Feb. 28, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 92).
24. Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, U.S. House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2d Sess., HR Report No. 1911, p. 24 [hereafter "Tolan Committee, Report No. 1911"].
25. Memo, Biddle to Roosevelt, April 9, 1942, cited in Conn, *Guarding*, p. 145.
26. Memo, Roosevelt to Stimson, May 5, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 196).
27. *Idem*. Roosevelt had instructed Stimson that no action under Executive Order 9066 was to be taken on the East Coast without prior discussion with the President.
28. Memo, Stimson to Roosevelt, May 14, 1942. NARS. RG 107 (CWRIC 197); notes of Cabinet meetings, May 15, 1942. FDRL. Biddle Papers (CWRIC 3796).
29. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 146.
30. *Idem*; testimony, Angelo deGuttadauro, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 106.
31. Tolan Committee, Report No. 1911, pp. 35-36.
32. Edward M. Barnhart, "The Individual Exclusion of Japanese Americans in World War II," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 29 (May 1960), p. 113.
33. Richard O'Connor, *The German-Americans, An Informal History* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1968), p. 449.
34. LaVern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), p. 204.
35. O'Connor, *The German-Americans*, pp. 445-52; Rippley, *The German-Americans*, pp. 205-06.
36. Rippley, *The German-Americans*, p. 207.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 211; see Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 810: "Much of the vaunted midwestern isolationism of the 1930s and 1940s can be explained by German American votes against involvement in a war against Germany."
38. *E.g.*, O'Connor, *The German-Americans*, pp. 376-77.
39. Rippley, *The German-Americans*, p. 209.
40. O'Connor, *The German-Americans*, p. 377.
41. Rippley, *The German-Americans*, p. 185; Frederick C. Leubke, *Bonds*

of *Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), pp. 208–10; O'Connor, *The German-Americans*, pp. 408–11.

42. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, pp. 740–41.

43. Rippley, *The German-Americans*, pp. 180–83; O'Connor, *The German-Americans*, pp. 388–91; Leubke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, p. 122.

44. Rippley, *The German-Americans*, p. 184; O'Connor, *The German-Americans*, pp. 402–04.

45. Leubke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, p. 210; Rippley, *The German-Americans*, pp. 185–86.

46. Leubke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, pp. 255–56.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 241–42.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 273–81; Rippley, *The German-Americans*, p. 186.

52. Rippley, *The German-Americans*, p. 186.

53. Leubke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, p. 216.

54. O'Connor, *The German-Americans*, p. 392; Rippley, *The German-Americans*, pp. 186–87.

55. Leubke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, p. 252.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 285–86.

57. Rippley, *The German-Americans*, p. 186.

58. Leubke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, p. 270.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 289–90.

60. O'Connor, *The German-Americans*, pp. 416, 421–28.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 427.

62. In a government inquiry after the war, the intelligence services acknowledged how myopic this view had been:

In connection with subversive welfare [sic], during the last war, I would like to make this observation. In the fall of 1941 and the winter of 1942, we expected that subversive elements would be found mainly in the alien population. To our amazement by 1943 we discovered such was not the case at all. Most aliens were scared to death. So most of our disloyal individuals were old-line families in this country. That was amazing to us, and we had to face the facts and recognize it.

Hearings before War Department Civilian Defense Board, Dec. 5, 1946, Report of War Department Civil Defense Board, an. I, p. 81, quoted in Conn, *Guarding*, p. 145.

63. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, pp. 685–86.

64. Fourth Interim Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, U.S. House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2d Sess., HR Report No. 2124, p. 25.

65. *Ex parte Milligan*, 71 U.S. 2, 123–24 (1866).

## After Camp

1. William Petersen, "Success Story, Japanese-American Style," *New York Times Magazine*, Jan. 9, 1966, pp. 20–21ff.; "Success Story: Outwhiting the Whites," *Newsweek*, June 21, 1971, p. 24.
2. Testimony, Senator S. I. Hayakawa, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1981, p. 15.
3. Written testimony, Lon Hatamiya, "Economic Effects of the Second World War upon Japanese Americans in California," prepared for the Japanese American Citizens League National Committee on Redress, Dec. 22, 1981, pp. 215–17.
4. Testimony, Warren Tadashi Furutani, Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 167.
5. Testimony, Michael Yoshii, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 246.
6. Testimony, Tetsuden Kashima, Seattle, Sept. 11, 1981, p. 102.
7. Testimony, Philip Zimbardo, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 147.
8. *Idem*.
9. Christie W. Kiefer, *Changing Cultures, Changing Lives* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974), p. 65.
10. *Idem*.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
12. See, e.g., testimony, Toaru Ishiyama, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 200; testimony, Edward Himeno, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981, p. 69; testimony, Tetsuden Kashima, Seattle, Sept. 11, 1981, p. 103.
13. See, e.g., testimony, James Okutsu, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 243.
14. See, e.g., Kiefer, *Changing Cultures*, p. 65; testimony, Philip Zimbardo, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 147; testimony, James Okutsu, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 242; testimony, Toaru Ishiyama, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 202.
15. Testimony, Kiyo Sato-Viacrucis, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 75.
16. See, e.g., testimony, James Okutsu, San Francisco, Aug. 11, 1981, p. 243.
17. Edward H. Spicer, Asael T. Hansen, Katherine Luomala and Marvin K. Opler, *Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1969), p. 282; testimony, Henry Tanaka, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 156.
18. Testimony, Henry Tanaka, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981, p. 156.
19. Testimony, Karen Umemoto, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p. 149.
20. Cheryl L. Cole, *A History of the Japanese Community in Sacramento*,

1883-1972: *Organizations, Businesses, and Generational Response to Majority Domination and Stereotypes* (San Francisco: R & E Associates, 1974), p. 72.

21. Testimony, Ben Takeshita, San Francisco, Aug 11, 1981, p. 219.

22. Testimony, David T. Nakagawa, San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1981, p.

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# Appendix

## Latin Americans

1. Edward N. Barnhart, "Japanese Internees from Peru," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 31, no. 2 (May 1962), pp. 169–78.
2. U.S. Department of Justice, *Annual Reports for Fiscal Years 1943–46* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 1944–47), (CWRIC 14641).
3. C. Harvey Gardiner, *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate: The Peruvian Japanese and the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), p. 4.
4. Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 563.
5. Gardiner, *Pawns*, p. 6.
6. U.S. Department of State, *The Japanese in Peru*, report attributed to John K. Emmerson, 1943. NARS. RG 59 (CWRIC 29645–99), p. 45.
7. John K. Emmerson, *The Japanese Thread* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1978), p. 131.
8. Barnhart, "Japanese Internees," p. 172.
9. Emmerson, *Japanese Thread*, p. 126.
10. Barnhart, "Japanese Internees," p. 172.
11. *Idem*.
12. Telegram, U.S. Department of State to U.S. Ambassador to Panama, Dec. 12, 1941. NARS. RG 59 (CWRIC 6944).
13. Gardiner *Pawns*, p. 14; telegram, U.S. Embassy in Panama to Secretary of State, May 18, 1942. NARS. RG 59 (CWRIC 6944).
14. Gardiner, *Pawns*, pp. 20–21.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 22; Emmerson, *Japanese Thread*, p. 140.
17. Attorney General Francis Biddle and Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles had previously agreed that interning citizens of Latin American states among the internees brought from Panama and Costa Rica posed no legal problem. (Gardiner, *Pawns*, pp. 21–24.)
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 25–46.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
21. Barnhart, "Japanese Internees," p. 173.
22. Emmerson, *Japanese Thread*, p. 143.
23. Gardiner, *Pawns*, pp. 31, 48.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

26. A September 8, 1942, State Department memorandum shows that State was concerned "whether any effort should be made to influence Peru to breach the international law provisions," and that after a decision was made on this issue, "then a decision can be reached as to whether the United States will undertake the wholesale removal of all Japanese from Peru over a period of time." Memorandum, Hanley, September 8, 1942. NARS. RG 59 (CWRIC 6943).

27. Letter, Emmerson to U.S. Ambassador to Peru, April 18, 1942. NARS. RG 59 (CWRIC 5648-49).

28. Testimony, Arthur Shinei Yakabi, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 33.

29. Emmerson, *Japanese Thread*, p. 147.

30. Gardiner, *Pawns*, p. 17.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-107.

33. 3 CFR, 1943-1948 Comp., p. 57.

34. Emmerson, *Japanese Thread*, p. 149.

35. Gardiner, *Pawns*, p. 114.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

37. Barnhart, "Japanese Internees," p. 174.

38. Gardiner, *Pawns*, p. 133; one German internee, von Heymann, won a reversal in the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, *United States v. Watkins*, 159 F.2d 650 (2d Cir. 1947).

39. Gardiner, *Pawns*, p. 134.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

41. Barnhart, "Japanese Internees," pp. 174-75.

42. Gardiner, *Pawns*, pp. 142-43.

43. Written testimony, Eigo and Elsa Kudo, Chicago, Sept. 22, 1981.

44. Barnhart, "Japanese Internees," p. 174.

45. Gardiner, *Pawns*, pp. 153-57.

46. Barnhart, "Japanese Internees," p. 174.

47. Gardiner, *Pawns*, p. 168.

48. Testimony, Ginzo Muroto, New York, Nov. 23, 1981, p. 32.

49. Emmerson, *Japanese Thread*, p. 148.

# Part II

## The Aleuts: War and Evacuation in Alaska

1. Stetson Conn, Rose C. Engelman and Byron Fairchild, *The United States Army in World War II, The Western Hemisphere: Guarding the United States and Its Outposts* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1964), p. 230. [hereafter *Guarding*].
2. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
4. Memo, Ernest Gruening to Harold L. Ickes, Feb. 14, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6160-64).
5. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 259.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
7. Brian Wynne Garfield. *The Thousand Mile War* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1969), p. 7.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
11. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 260.
12. Western Defense Command, *Final Report of Reduction and Occupation of Attu from the Combat Intelligence Point of View*, Foreword, August 9, 1943 [hereafter WDC, *Final Report Attu*], in John C. Kirtland and David F. Coffin, Jr., *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts During World War II*, vol. 1: *The Military Situation* (Anchorage, AK: Aleutian-Pribilof Islands Association, Inc., 1981), p. 172 [hereafter *Military*].
13. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 274.
14. Garfield, *Thousand Mile War*, p. 150.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
19. The Western Defense Command reported on Aug. 9, 1943, that Japan "never exhibited any particular determination to improve the Attu and Kiska bases and was dilatory in the construction of proper facilities for the basing of land-based aircraft; coupled with the lack of enemy naval strength in the Aleutians area, [this] leads to the assumption that the enemy has not given the Aleutians theatre a very high priority. The conclusion can also be drawn that he lacked the necessary equipment, material, planes and naval forces required to adequately exploit his holdings in the Aleutians." (Typographical errors in the passage have been corrected.) (WDC, *Final Report Attu*, p. 172).

A Naval Intelligence report, dated Dec. 15, 1944, concludes that the Japanese threat to the entire western United States was removed by late Fall 1944, and that the end of the defensive position of the U.S. in the Aleutians coincided with the end of the Aleutian Campaign in August 1943. Advanced Intelligence Center of the North Pacific Area, *Aleutian Campaign: A Brief Historical Outline to and Including the Occupation of Kiska, August 1943*, Dec. 15, 1944, p. 111. NARS. RG 313 (CWRIC AL101).

20. Memo, Scheurmann of Navy Department to Paul W. Gordon, Jan. 16, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6168).

21. Memo, Gordon to Ernest Gruening, Jan. 23, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6170).

22. Minutes, Acting Governor of Alaska E. L. Bartlett's Evacuation Planning Meeting, March 13, 1942. Evidence submitted by John C. Kirtland for the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association at public hearing of the Commission in Anchorage, Alaska, Sept. 15, 1981; John C. Kirtland and David F. Coffin, Jr., *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts during World War II*, vol. 2: *The Evacuation* (Anchorage, AK: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, Inc., 1981), pp. 1-3 [hereafter *Evacuation*].

23. *Idem.*

24. *Idem.*

25. *Idem.*

26. Memo, John Collier to Harold L. Ickes, April 10, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, p. 4.

27. *Idem.*

28. *Idem.*

29. *Idem.*

30. *Idem.* Secretary Ickes' response is recorded on this memorandum and dated April 15, 1942: "I concur unless they want to move."

31. Letter, James C. Rettie to Harold D. Smith, May 7, 1942. NARS. RG 407 (CWRIC AL102).

32. Executive Order 9181, "Administration of the Federal Government Services in Alaska," June 11, 1942. 3 CFR 1167-69, 1938-1943 Comp.

33. Letter, Gruening to Ickes, June 4, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6149-50).

34. *Idem.*

35. *Idem.*

36. *Idem.*

37. Letter, Ickes to Gruening, June 17, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6153).

38. Conn, *Guarding*, pp. 266-67.

39. War Diary, *USS Gillis*, May 23 to June 30, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, p. 33.

40. *Idem.*

41. C. Ralph and Ruby J. Magee, "Our Atka Experience 1940-1942," in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 13-17.

42. War Diary, *USS Hulbert*, June 1 to 30, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 30-32.

43. War Diary, Navy Patrol Wing Four, May 27 to June 30, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 27-29.

44. Magee, "Atka Experience," in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 13-17.

45. Letter, Edward C. Johnston to Ward T. Bower, May 28, 1942, in Kirtland, *Military*, p. 90.

46. Carl M. Hoverson, "Public Notice: St. Paul Village," June 5, 1942, in Kirtland, *Military*, p. 87.

47. Passenger List, *USAT Delarof*, June 16, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 43-57.

48. Letter, Hoverson to Johnston, June 27, 1942. Indian Claims Commission Dockets No. 352 and 369 (CWRIC AL203) [hereafter ICC Exhibit].

49. Letter, Daniel C. R. Benson to Johnston, July 8, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 9-11.

50. Passenger List, *USAT Delarof*, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 43-57.

51. Conn, *Guarding*, p. 272.

52. Letter, Bower to F. G. Morton, Dec. 30, 1943, in John C. Kirtland and David F. Coffin, Jr., *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts during World War II*, vol. 4: *Repatriation and Resettlement*, pp. 130-32 [hereafter *Resettlement*].

53. Telegram, Margaret Quinn to Claude M. Hirst, June 16, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, p. 73.

54. Letter, Fredrika Martin, March 1965, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 25-26.

55. Telegram, Donald T. Hagerty to William Zimmerman, June 15, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6159).

56. *Idem*.

57. Telegram, Johnston to Bower, June 15, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, p. 72.

58. *Idem*.

59. Telegram, Zimmerman to Hirst, June 16, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6157-58).

60. *Idem*.

61. Telegram, Hagerty to Zimmerman, June 16, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6156).

62. *Idem*; Telegram, Bower to Johnston, June 17, 1942; letter, Hirst to Gruening, June 29, 1942, both in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 83-84, 162-67.

63. Radio message, Hagerty to Commissioner of OIA, June 17, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6154); lease between P. E. Harris and Company and the United States Government, June 16, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 130-33.

64. Telegram, Johnston to Hirst, July 16, 1942; letter, Hirst to Gruening, June 29, 1942, both in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 134, 162-67.

65. Telegram, Gruening to Ickes, June 20, 1942, in Kirtland, *Military*, p. 85.

66. Message, Hirst to Hagerty, June 24, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6146).

67. Admiral Freeman and General DeWitt had agreed earlier, on June 18, 1942, that: "In order to prevent their capture by the Japanese, the natives

of the Pribiloff [sic] Islands, Atka and a few other Aleutian Islands were evacuated to places of comparative safety." Western Defense Command, *History of the Western Defense Command: March 17, 1941 to September 30, 1945* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, Historical Manuscript File, Reel no. 192), p. 15 (CWRIC AL6582).

68. Letter, Captain Hobart W. Copeland to Commanding General, APO, Seattle, Washington, Jan. 17, 1944. NARS. RG 75 (CWRIC AL6305-06).

69. Letter, Carlyle C. Eubank to Colonel B. I. Reed, Adjutant General, Western Defense Command, Aug. 5, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC AL6552-54).

70. *Idem.*

71. *Idem.*

72. *Idem.*

73. Memo, Zimmerman to Oscar Chapman, Assistant Secretary of Interior, Aug. 31, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 40-41.

74. Telegram, John W. Fletcher to Ickes, July 7, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6145).

75. *Idem.*

76. Testimony, Philemon Tutiakoff, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, p. 8.

77. Letter, James V. Forrestal to Ickes, July 12, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, p. 67.

78. Letter, Copeland to Commanding General, APO, Seattle, Washington, Jan. 17, 1944. NARS. RG 75 (CWRIC AL6305-06).

79. Testimony, John C. Kirtland, Anchorage, Sept. 15, 1981, p. 27.

80. Letter, Ickes to Forrestal, July 9, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, p. 65.

81. Telephone conversation, Commission staff and Fred Geeslin, May 25, 1982 (CWRIC AL104).

82. Letter, James I. Parsons to Office of the Governor of Alaska, no date. NARS. M.939 Papers of Alaska Territorial Governor Ernest Gruening, Reel 291 (CWRIC AL105).

83. Memo, Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen to Captain Young, July 1, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC AL6562); memo, Colonel Irwin Clawson to Colonel William A. Boekel, July 5, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC AL6563-65).

84. Testimony, Verne Robinson, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, p. 61.

85. Memo, Freeman to DeWitt, Aug. 29, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC AL6559-60).

86. Memo, Clawson to Boekel, July 5, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC AL6563-65).

By late 1942, however, the Navy was removing its contract workers and the Army had concluded that: "There is nothing requiring work of more civilians than there is now [sic] at Dutch Harbor. . . . More civilians coming in would only make the problem more complicated even if they do not actually cause trouble. . . . Civilians are almost entirely dependent on Army for medical treatment and supply but seldom are controlled by Army." Radio incoming (paraphrase) from Alaska Defense Command Fort Richardson to Commanding General, Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, Dec. 6, 1942. NARS. RG 338 (CWRIC AL151).

87. Letter, Copeland to Commanding General, APO, Seattle, Washington, Jan. 17, 1944. NARS. RG 75 (CWRIC AL6305-06).
88. Memo, Zimmerman to Chapman, Aug. 31, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 40-41.
89. *Idem.*
90. *Idem.*
91. *Idem.*
92. *Alaska Geographic*, ed. Lael Morgan, "The Aleutians," vol. 7, no. 3 (Anchorage, 1980), p. 139; interview, Commissioner Hugh G. Mitchell and Admiral James S. Russell (Ret.), Sept., 1981 (CWRIC AL107); telephone conversations, Commission staff and Lael Morgan, Jan. 8, 1982; James S. Russell, Jan. 8, 1982; Boyd A. Omang, Jan. 12, 1982 (CWRIC AL108).
93. Letter, Gruening to Ickes, June 4, 1942. NARS. RG 126 (CWRIC AL6149).
94. WDC, *Final Report Attu.*
95. "Preliminary Report Concerning the 1942 Japanese Invasion and Occupation of Attu and the Subsequent Removal of Attuans to Japan 1942-1945," Dec. 19, 1978, in Kirtland, *Military*, pp. 109, 125.
96. Letter, William C. House to Commission staff, Jan. 21, 1982, "Reunion between William C. House, Steve Hodikoff, Innokenty and Willie Golodoff," May 20, 1979 (CWRIC AL106).
97. Kirtland, *Military*, p. 125.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
99. Letter, Seattle National Records Center to Commission staff, Jan. 1982.
100. Testimony, Parascovia Wright and Innokenty Golodoff, Anchorage, Sept. 15, 1981, pp. 137-38.
101. Letter, Lee C. McMillin to Johnston, July 11, 1942, in John C. Kirtland and David F. Coffin, Jr., *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts during World War II*, vol. 3: *Conditions at the Camp* (Anchorage, AK: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, Inc., 1981), pp. 8-9 [hereafter *Conditions*].
102. Letter, McMillin to Johnston, Aug. 5, 1942. Indian Claims Commission Dockets No. 352 and 369.
103. Letter, McMillin to Johnston, July 11, 1942, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, pp. 8-9.
104. Letter, Benson to Johnston, July 6, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 174-76.
105. Telegram, Logan to Johnston, July 2, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, p. 180.
106. Letter, Frank W. Hynes to Ward T. Bower, July 2, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, p. 182.
107. Letter, McMillin to Everett Smith, Sept. 11, 1942, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, p. 126.
108. Letter, Johnston to Bower, Oct. 10, 1942, with petition by Aleut women. ICC Exhibit 529.
109. *Idem.*
110. Report by N. Berneta Block, Oct. 2-6, 1943, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, pp. 34-37.

111. Letter, Hynes to Bower, Oct. 28, 1943, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, pp. 40–42.

112. Letter, Kirtland to Senator Ted Stevens, May 6, 1980; N. Berneta Block, "Report of Trip to Funter Bay," Oct. 2–6, 1943, both in Hearings before the Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, 96th Cong. 2d Sess., on S. 1647, March 18, 1980, pp. 233–34, 238–41.

113. Letter, Hynes to Bower, Oct. 28, 1943, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, pp. 40–42.

114. Harold L. Ickes, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1946* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 303.

115. Ernest H. Gruening, *Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska to the Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1942* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 15.

116. Letter, R. E. Barnes to Johnston, June 29, 1942, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, pp. 115–17.

117. Letter, Johnston to Barnes, July 7, 1942, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, pp. 122–23.

118. Letter, McMillin to Johnston, July 1, 1942, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, pp. 120–21.

119. Letter, Johnston to Bower, July 15, 1942. ICC Exhibit 526.

120. Letter, Bower to Johnston, July 31, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 110–12.

121. Letter, Johnston to G. Donald Gibbons, Nov. 2, 1942, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, pp. 127–29.

122. Letter, McMillin to Johnston, July 11, 1942, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, pp. 8–9.

123. Memo, Bess E. O'Neill to Captain Collins, Sept. 25, 1942, in Kirtland, *Conditions*, p. 135.

124. Letter, Ickes to Stimson, Nov. 23, 1942, in John C. Kirtland and David F. Coffin, Jr., *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts during World War II*, vol. 4: *Repatriation and Resettlement* (Anchorage, AK: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, Inc., 1981), p. 2 [hereafter *Resettlement*].

125. Letter, Stimson to Ickes, Dec. 4, 1942, in Kirtland, *Resettlement*, p. 8.

126. Letter, Stimson to Ickes, Jan. 2, 1943, in Kirtland, *Resettlement*, p. 12.

127. Letter, McMillin to Johnston, Mar. 6, 1943, in John C. Kirtland and David F. Coffin, Jr., *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts during World War II*, vol. 5: *Sealing Operations* (Anchorage, AK: Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, Inc., 1981), p. 30 [hereafter *Sealing*].

128. Letter, Johnston to McMillin, Mar. 17, 1943. ICC Exhibit.

129. Letter, Johnston to Bower, Mar. 19, 1943, in Kirtland, *Resettlement*, pp. 169–70.

130. Letter, Bower to Johnston, Mar. 30, 1943, in Kirtland, *Resettlement*, pp. 171–72.

131. Letter, Johnston to Bower, April 27, 1943. ICC Exhibit 545.

132. Telegram, Bower to Morton, April 29, 1943, in Kirtland, *Sealing*, p. 44.
133. Letter, Johnston to Bower, May 5, 1943. ICC Exhibit.
134. Letter, Bower to Johnston, March 30, 1943, in Kirtland, *Resettlement*, pp. 171-72.
135. See testimony, Stefan A. Lekanof, St. Paul, AK, Sept. 19, 1981, p. 36. In 1945, Johnston repeated his adherence to Bower's official policy, but the views he expressed to McMillin and Bower make it altogether likely that the official position was not consistently presented to the Pribilovians.
136. Ernest H. Gruening, *Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1944* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944), p. 13.
137. Telegram, Geeslin to George T. Barrett, April 25, 1943, in Kirtland, *Sealing*, p. 43.
138. Letter, Bower to Morton, July 17, 1943, in Kirtland, *Resettlement*, pp. 173-74.
139. Magee, "Atka Experience," in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 13-17.
140. Letter, Sally Swetstof for Atka Village Council to Donna Fujioka, Commission staff, Feb. 23, 1982 (CWRIC 29700-03).
141. Letter, Hirst to Gruening, June 29, 1942, in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 162-67.
142. Letter, Swetstof to Fujioka, Feb. 23, 1982. (CWRIC 29700-03).
143. Magee, "Atka Experience," in Kirtland, *Evacuation*, pp. 13-17.
144. Testimony, Lavera Dushkin and Leonty Savaroff, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, pp. 29, 14.
145. Testimony, Lavera Dushkin, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, p. 29.
146. Testimony, Gertrude Svarny, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, p. 80.
147. Testimony, Dorofey Chercasen, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, p. 21.
148. Gerald D. Berreman, *A Contemporary Study of Nikolski: An Aleutian Village*, unpublished master's thesis in anthropology, University of Oregon, Eugene, June 1953, p. 255.
149. Testimony, Lavera Dushkin, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, p. 30; testimony, William Ermeloff, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, p. 34.
150. Testimony, Lavera Dushkin, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, pp. 29-30.
151. Berreman, *Nikolski*, p. 255.
152. Testimony, Dorofey Chercasen, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, p. 22.
153. *Idem*.
154. *Idem*.
155. Dorofey Chercasen and Paul Merculief, "Military Evacuation of Nikolski Village during the Second World War, 1941-1945" (Prepared for the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association), in Kirtland, *Conditions*, pp. 67-72.
156. Berreman, *Nikolski*, p. 265.
157. Testimony, Father Paul Merculief for the Nikolski Corporation, Unalaska, AK, Sept. 17, 1981, p. 46.

158. Letter, Harry G. McCain to Gruening, May 19, 1943. NARS. RG 75/33 (CWRIC AL6324-25).
159. *Idem.*
160. Mark Petikoff, letter to the editor, *Alaska Fishing News*, May 21, 1943, p. 5. NARS. RG 75/33 (CWRIC AL6329).
161. Letter, Hirst to J. A. Talbot, June 5, 1943. NARS. RG 75/33 (CWRIC AL6321-22).
162. Berreman, *Nikolski*, pp. 256-57.
163. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-58.
164. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
165. Letter, Geeslin to Anthony J. Dimond, April 24, 1943. NARS. RG 75/33 (CWRIC AL6351-52).
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