

**A WIDER PERSPECTIVE:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONVENTIONAL AND REVISED VIEWS OF
JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERNMENT/RELOCATION**

by

Caitlin O'Toole

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelors of Arts in History with Distinction

Spring 2012

© 2012 Caitlin O'Toole
All Rights Reserved

A WIDER PERSPECTIVE:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONVENTIONAL AND REVISED VIEWS OF
JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERNMENT/RELOCATION

by

Caitlin O'Toole

Approved: _____
Raymond Wolters, Ph.D
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

Approved: _____
Edward Johanningsmeier, Ph.D
Committee member from the Department of History

Approved: _____
Heidi Kaufman, Ph.D
Committee member from the Board of Senior Thesis Readers

Approved: _____
Donald Sparks, Ph.D.
Chair of the University Committee on Student and Faculty Honors

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are several people who deserve thanks for aiding in my thesis process over the past year. I would not have been nearly as successful without the encouragement and editing from my thesis advisor, Dr. Raymond Wolters. I owe great thanks to Dr. Jonathan Russ for offering his advisement services in Dr. Wolters absence. I also want to thank Dr. Edward Johanningsmeier for his suggestions throughout this process and Professor Heidi Kaufman for her oral defense help. Finally, I want to thank my roommates and family members for supporting my work and helping me keep my cool.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| ABSTRACT | v |
| 1 INTRODUCTION..... | 1 |
| 2 DEFINING THE SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT | 4 |
| 3 A BRIEF HISTORY OF ASIANS IN AMERICA..... | 7 |
| 4 CONVENTIONAL OPINION..... | 12 |
| Reason for Removal..... | 12 |
| Conditions in Camps..... | 16 |
| 5 REVISIONIST OPINION..... | 22 |
| Reason for Removal..... | 23 |
| Loyalty Oath..... | 25 |
| Magic Cables..... | 28 |
| Ni'ihau Incident | 32 |
| Conditions in Camps..... | 37 |
| 6 The Aftermath..... | 43 |
| 7 Conclusion..... | 46 |
| REFERENCES..... | 51 |

ABSTRACT

In the aftermath of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his advisors created Executive Order 9066, which designated “military zones” around the United States, and forced “enemy aliens” to relocate outside of these zones. This included all Japanese people within five hundred miles of the Pacific coast. President Roosevelt set up the War Relocation Board to organize temporary assembly centers, to build more permanent Internment/Relocation Camps, and to help make arrangements for those people who wanted to work or go to school outside of the military zones. Since World War Two, the executive decision to relocate 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry has been criticized as racist and unnecessary. Recently, a revised school of thought, which defends the relocation as necessary for the protection of national security, has arisen to combat the conventional understanding of Internment/Relocation. This project explores both the conventional and revised schools of thought, based on research from prominent experts in both fields, including Roger Daniels, Jerome T. Hagen, Roger McGrath, and Otis L. Graham.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

I came into this project with an entirely different plan in mind. I knew I wanted to research the Japanese-American Internment; but, I also wanted to tie in the current internments at Guantanamo Bay. Even though the majority of the internees at Guantanamo Bay are not American citizens, the connection between the detainments seemed very similar to me in the planning stages. I wanted to prove that both groups were forcibly interned without trial. However, I quickly found out, the narrative of Japanese-American Internment I was taught all along was not a complete story. From an early age, my World War Two education focused on the Holocaust, different battles in Europe and in the Pacific theaters, and the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Not until I was in college did I learn that American citizens of Japanese descent were removed from their homes and placed in camps in the middle of the desert for the duration of the war. My first reaction was outrage at the racist tendencies of the American government; but I was also upset that, as an American History major, I did not know much about the internment at all. Naturally, I

believed what my professor and his assigned textbooks taught me and accepted that the American government got it all wrong.

However, when I started looking into the current situation at Guantanamo Bay, I found that there is a resurgence of interest in the World War Two Internments. Experts like Michelle Malkin and Roger McGrath have written extensively in support of a “revised” opinion of the Japanese-American “Relocation.” They, along with many others, criticize the “conventional” understanding that is taught in American schools today. While conventional thinkers say the “internment” was based solely in racism, the revised thinkers say the “relocation” was necessary to protect national security.

As I dug deeper in my research, I realized this new “revised” view of the internments was much more controversial than I had originally understood. At one point, I was reprimanded by one of my local public librarians for questioning the conventional understanding. She went as far as to say there was no point to my research because the topic was dead. Unfortunately, she was not the last person to feel this way about my research. As I mentioned my work to different professors and peers, my revelations were subtly (and sometimes not so subtly) written off as falsehoods.

Once I discovered the “revised” view, I wanted to prove it was the more historically accurate understanding. I wanted to prove to everyone who wrote off my research that I was bringing the truth to the forefront. However, I realize now that if I were to frame the Internment/Relocation in a way that forced readers to choose between the belief systems, I would commit the same crime of which I accused my professors. In the end, I realize the point of my research is to provide a more complete story.

This thesis process taught me about the Japanese-American Internment/Relocation, but also about the problem with the way history is taught. If I did not decide to research deeper, I would have never known about the other side of the story. It makes me wonder how many times I have accepted what my professors say as absolute, unbiased truth. I have written this thesis as a presentation of the facts as I can understand them. Whether they support the “conventional” understanding or the “revised” understanding, these are the facts. It is now up to you, the reader, to draw your own conclusions concerning the Japanese-American Relocation/Internment.

Chapter 2

DEFINING THE SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

Conventional is defined as conforming to established practice or accepted standards. The conventional take on Japanese-American Internment/Relocation during World War Two has been taught in school, displayed in documentaries, and widely understood to be the truth. Some writers and scholars, however, have taken exception to the conventional understanding. The people that question the majority are known as revisionists. While conventional thinkers refer to the event as “internment,” revisionists call it “relocation.” While conventional thinkers say it was based in racism and misunderstanding, revisionists say it was out of necessity to protect US national security.

Japanese-American Internment/ Relocation was not highly contested during the war; but in the decades to follow, internees and their families began to demand reparations for their troubles. In the spirit of the American Civil Rights Movement, a demand for reparations began in the 1960s. Recently, however, revisionists are taking a stand to support the efforts of the American government to protect and defend its people after the attack on Pearl Harbor. The revisionists have developed arguments to

counter each individual critique of Internment/Relocation as it traditionally has been taught.

There are several conventional thinkers and writers whose research has been highlighted as the leading examination of this topic. One such scholar is, Roger Daniels, the Charles Phelps Taft Professor of History Emeritus at the University of Cincinnati. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1961 and is a past president of both the Immigration and Ethnic History Society and the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era. He has written widely about Asian Americans and immigration. Another conventional thinker, Greg Robinson, is a specialist in North American Ethnic Studies and U.S. Political History. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. in American History from New York University, and a B.A. in History and French Civilization from the University of Pennsylvania. He has written several books regarding Japanese-American Internment in the United States and recently debated the revisionist journalist, Michelle Malkin. Jerome T. Hagen is a retired US Marine Corps Brigadier General who has written a series of books on the War in the Pacific. Hagen graduated from Syracuse University and subsequently earned a master's degree from the University of Michigan.

Additionally, there are several revisionist thinkers and writers whose recent research has been the topic of great debate. Dwight D. Murphey is a retired lawyer

and professor of business law at Wichita State University. Murphey studied political science at the University of Colorado. He then did graduate studies in business at New York University and in law at the University of Denver. Admittedly new to the study of Japanese-American Internment/Relocation, Murphey wanted to take an honest look at a subject that seemed one-sided and misunderstood. Another revisionist, Roger McGrath, taught history at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) for 15 years, before teaching at Pepperdine, and ultimately California State University-Northridge. McGrath has written many books and articles on this topic. Also, he has been featured on radio and television as an expert on the American West and World War Two. Finally, Otis L. Graham Jr. is a Professor Emeritus of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), and Visiting Scholar at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (UNC). He is a graduate of Yale University and Columbia University, and served as an artillery officer in the U.S. Marine Corps. He is the author or editor of nineteen books and numerous articles on the history of the United States, especially on American reform movements, political economy, the environment and immigration.

Chapter 3

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ASIANS IN AMERICA

There are two sets of basic historical facts upon which writers and scholars agree. One set pertains to the legal status of people of Japanese ancestry in the United States. Since 1790, legislation excluded Asian immigrants from the right to US citizenship. The Naturalization Act of 1790 was the first piece of legislation that laid out the rules for granting US citizenship. The law limited naturalization to “free white persons” of “good moral character.” At the time this law was meant to exclude indentured servants, slaves, and free blacks, but eventually, it also excluded Asians arriving in America in the 1800s.¹ In 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution. It granted automatic citizenship to all those born in the United States, even those born to immigrant parents. This addition would prove very important to Japanese-Americans in the 1940s.

Asian immigration to the United States began many years before the focus period of this examination; however, the original Chinese immigrants are connected to the status of the Japanese in America decades later. The Chinese were the first large group of immigrant Asians in the United States during the 1850s. The California Gold

Rush attracted many people from around the world hoping to get rich quick. Although the Gold Rush drew hundreds of thousands of people from all over, Asian and Latin American workers were targeted as outcasts by the poor white workers from the point of their arrival. By 1882, tensions between poor whites and Chinese workers had escalated to violence and forced Congress to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act in the spring of 1882.² This act sanctioned a ten-year suspension on Chinese labor immigration; however, merchants, students, teachers, and visitors were still allowed to enter the country.³ When the ten-year limitation expired, the act was extended for another ten years in the form of the Geary Act, and eventually made permanent in 1902.⁴ This 1882 act was the first federal law in US history to exclude any immigrant group.⁵

When Chinese immigration stopped, Japanese immigration picked up. Similar to the Chinese migrants, most of the Japanese moving to the United States were young males searching for work. Most planned on “sojourning” rather than making their home in this new country, but there was a minority who planned on staying in America to live and work without returning to Japan. Immediately, discrimination arose, and the Japanese were seen as a similar threat to American jobs and the standard of living as the Chinese had been years earlier. Some speculate a Japanese Exclusion Act was not passed because, unlike China at the time of the Chinese

Exclusion Act, Japan was a strong nation just coming off of a win in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.⁶ Eventually, in the early 1920s, a sense of intense nationalism blossomed and opposition to Japanese living in the United States increased. Although Japan was a US ally during World War One, their aggressiveness concerned many Americans. Despite serving as allies, tensions between the two countries increased as competition for influence in China and the Pacific also increased. These fears and concerns by the majority of Americans eventually aided in the success of the Immigration Act of 1924. This act, limited immigration from Europe and Asia to 150,000 people per year, and established quotas according to how many immigrants from each country were recorded in the 1890 US census. Japan got the minimum allowance of one hundred migrants per year; however, an additional note was added, stating the bill barred all “aliens ineligible to citizenship”.⁷ This meant Japanese could move to the United States, but could not gain American citizenship. These Issei, or Japanese born living in America, would never gain their US citizenship. The Immigration Act of 1924 was the last piece of legislation used to curb Japanese immigration; however, the legislation did not stop the growth of the Japanese community in America, as was its intention. The second-generation Japanese community, known as the Nisei generation, grew substantially in the years leading up to World War Two.

In addition to the legal history of the Japanese in America, the other set of facts, upon which writers and scholars can agree, pertains to the situation on the West Coast immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor. On February 19, 1942, ten weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066.⁸ EO 9066 authorized the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, to designate areas as “military zones” and led to the required removal of all Japanese nationals and Japanese-Americans living in those areas.⁹ The removal of Japanese-Americans from the American Pacific Coast was taken as a wartime-measure.¹⁰ All people of Japanese ancestry were ordered to leave the exclusion zones, and were compelled to resettle at least five hundred miles from the west coast.¹¹ If they did not, or rather could not, make arrangements to move out of the exclusion zones by their own means, they were taken to one of the eighteen assembly centers established in California, Oregon, Washington State, and Arizona.¹² About 120,000 people, two thirds of whom were American citizens, were removed from the coast and separated among those eighteen temporary assembly centers.¹³ Upon their departure from their homes on the west coast, these people were forced to sell their homes, businesses, and property at a financial loss.¹⁴ In many examples, the FBI searched houses for illegal contraband, including model airplanes, cameras, and flashlights, and hauled off men who exhibited suspicious behavior.¹⁵ Families were then told to prepare to leave their

homes in order to reunite with the man of the house, which gave the remaining family members little time to sell or store their belongings.¹⁶ From the assembly centers, internees could continue to make plans to leave on their own, but if they had no place to go, they were then processed and moved to more permanent internment/ relocation camps. Once processed, internees would make do with the resources provided to them, leave the camps to take up jobs elsewhere, or even enroll in college.¹⁷

Chapter 4

CONVENTIONAL OPINION

Reason for Removal

Conventional thinkers cite racist motives for the roundup of Japanese-Americans following the attack on Pearl Harbor. According to Roger Daniels, all Asian immigrants seemed the same to white Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁸ Most people felt threatened by the Chinese and their successes during the California gold rush in the 1840s and 1850s, which turned into blaming all Asians for changing the white standard of living and the racial integrity of the nation.¹⁹ Sensationalist journalists on the west coast spread rumors that led to a very strong anti-Japanese movement in America. Because the majority of those who emigrated were young men who came for work and did not intend on staying in America permanently, the journalists made claims that the Japanese men were a menace to white women and many Japanese immigrants were spies.²⁰ In response to all of the hate and discrimination, the government did not grant any Asian immigrants US citizenship, and thus they were categorized as “aliens ineligible for citizenship”.²¹

Additionally, conventional thinkers hold that American society made every effort to keep the Japanese segregated from mainstream society and did not give them the opportunity to assimilate. Throughout the years prior to World War Two, the San Francisco school board forced Japanese kids to go to segregated schools. The Japanese government found out and the problem turned into an international incident. Theodore Roosevelt had to publicly attack discrimination to keep the US from war and a Gentleman's Agreement between governments reduced the tensions.²² The Issei, or first generation Japanese, were barred from union membership by the individual leaders of each union, and as noncitizens had no rights in America, including the right to vote.²³ Instead, they kept to themselves and created ethnic enclaves to feel some sense of security. Even the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), an organization of second generation Nissei, sought to separate themselves from their "alien" parents by limiting their membership to US citizens only. The official creed of the JACL was intended to demonstrate loyalty to the United States, rather than Japan.²⁴

By the same vein, conventional thinkers connect the strain from the 1850s to the increased tensions between the United States and Japan during the weeks and months prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. The potential war with Japan was forefront in everyone's minds. In the weeks and months prior to the official declaration of war,

the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt had compiled a list of about 3,000 suspected spies or dangerous people. It must be remembered that immigrants from Japan were denied US citizenship, which meant they remained aliens. In the week after Pearl Harbor, 1,500 Japanese aliens were interned, many of the internees were community leaders, and some had been in contact with the Japanese embassy.²⁵

Even though the war was not a surprise, it stunned American officials that the Japanese had the nerve to attack when and where they did.²⁶ In reaction to the attack, the Department of Immigration and Naturalization was transferred from the protective Department of Labor to the prosecutorial Department of Justice.²⁷ This sent a message that all immigrants were going to be interrogated more intensely.

Interestingly, President Roosevelt had undercover intelligence units spread throughout the US telling him that the majority of the Japanese living in the United States was loyal, and it was only the minority that was acting subversively.²⁸ It has been speculated that left to their own judgment, the internal security forces would have probably left the Japanese alone. The Japanese would have been tormented and harassed, but they would not have been forced by law to leave their homes. However, internal security was highly influenced by the press, the public, and angry California politicians, saying something had to be done about “the Japs running around loose.”²⁹ An important thing to remember when dissecting the government’s motivation for

control over the Japanese-Americans was the embarrassment felt following the humiliating string of Allied military defeats in Hong Kong, Wake Island, and the Philippines.³⁰

Conventional thinkers also note the army and selective service violated laws in their treatment of the Japanese-American servicemen. Many Japanese-American soldiers were discharged following the attack on Pearl Harbor and the selective service stopped drafting able bodied Japanese-American men, citing the reason for their denial as 4-F, or physically/mentally unfit for service. Eventually the selective service sent out a notice to all branches to classify all men of Japanese ancestry, regardless of their citizenship, as 4-C, which was previously reserved for enemy aliens only.³¹ Lt. General John L. DeWitt was appointed the military commander in charge of carrying out Executive Order 9066. Often times he spoke of his anxiety of sabotage as a catch twenty-two. If there were incidents of sabotage, DeWitt would have a justified reason for the removal of all Japanese-Americans on the west coast. But since there were no instances of sabotage, it must have been because there was a Japanese conspiracy to hold off the sabotage missions until the American people dropped their guard.³²

Even though it sounds bizarre in modern times, the American people were easily convinced by this logic during the World War Two era.³³ However, the American people cannot be blamed for their naiveté, as the “fifth column” metaphor

was beaten into their heads by high authority. The “fifth column” is a term that refers to a minority group of people who undermine a larger group, like a nation, from within the country. The term was used all across Europe to justify the mass internment of Germans in foreign countries. Similarly, the United States government, and especially Lt. General DeWitt, drilled the idea of Japanese subversion tactics and the “fifth column” into the psyche of the American public.³⁴

Upon the institution of Executive Order 9066, people of Japanese ancestry were expected to leave the west coast and make arrangements to live elsewhere for the duration of the war. The US government believed ethnic Japanese were a danger to national security and needed to evacuate the “military zones.” This angers conventional thinkers because the Japanese were stereotyped and treated as a unit, rather than interviewed and questioned as individual people. As a country, the United States did not hate all Germans, only the Nazis. But in dealing with the Japanese, Americans were taught to hate the country as a whole, and to discriminate against all Japanese living in America.

Conditions in Camps

Once the order for evacuation reached a neighborhood, often times a notice was posted on telephone poles throughout the area, packing for the camps began.

Under army orders, internees were only allowed to bring what they could carry. Once they were transported to the assembly centers, they had to make their new homes in glorified army barracks. At Tanforan, an assembly center at a racetrack in San Bruno, CA, some people had to live in converted horse stalls because there were not enough barracks.³⁵ When recalling the assembly center experience, Japanese-American people most often complain about the inability to maintain their tradition and culture. Japanese tradition holds the family unit in very high regard, but the chaotic atmosphere in the assembly centers broke down the familial structure. Kids ran around alone and did not feel obliged to listen to their parents, privacy was impossible in such close quarters, and eating in a dining hall ruined the tradition of family meals.³⁶

The purpose of the assembly center was to house the Japanese until they could relocate on their own, enlist in the military, attend college, or leave for work purposes. If none of these options worked out, the people were then placed in internment/relocation camps. There were ten camps spread throughout Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. Some camps were better than others, but all provided schooling, health care, dining halls, and community centers. On paper, these camps sound tolerable, but in actuality the internees had many problems. The internees were not prepared for the extreme heat and dry climate in the areas in which the camps were located.³⁷

For larger families, the small space the barracks provided did not allow for privacy or personal space. There were public washrooms and bathrooms available, but many personal accounts report there were no doors on the bathroom stalls and there were always long lines to use the washroom. In *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, Mrs. Egami reports on the laundry situation in the camps. She remembers having to clean her and her family's clothing in the middle of the night because there was always a line in the daytime. Because the men were out of work and had much idle time in the camp, they often helped their wives with the chores. This did not follow Japanese tradition, and therefore, became another point of grievance in the camps.³⁸

While most internees spent the duration of their internment in these camps, some of the detained had to go to maximum-security "segregation camps." Tule Lake in Northern California was one of these camps. It housed those who did not sign a government issued loyalty oath, those on the government's enemy alien list, and those who wanted to be repatriated to Japan.³⁹ Tule Lake was located near the border between California and Oregon and it was surrounded by barbed wire, watchtowers with armed guards, and patrol tanks.⁴⁰ This was the most dangerous camp because it housed militant groups, like the Black Dragon Society.⁴¹ The Black Dragon Society was a militaristic, pro-Japanese group that advocated the sabotage of the American

war effort. They often intimidated other internees and looked to build a second generation network of spies. While these men were serious threats to American national security and deserved to be interned, what angers the conventional thinkers is the fact that half of the “dangerous” population at Tule Lake was children.⁴²

As mentioned earlier, the Japanese-American people were expected to take a loyalty oath to the United States following the attack at Pearl Harbor. This loyalty oath is a point of resentment for conventional thinkers. When Executive Order 9066 was signed in February 1942, for one month the only right Japanese-Americans lost was the right to leave the country.⁴³ But, in early 1943, the United States government demanded each internee sign a loyalty oath to the United States. Unfortunately for the Issei, first generation immigrant Japanese living in the United States, signing the oath meant their Japanese citizenship was revoked. However, the signing of the loyalty oath did not grant them US citizenship. If they chose to sign the loyalty oath in order to remain in the United States, they would be a people without a country.

The Kibei, or Japanese-Americans born in the United States but educated in Japan, saw the problem with this oath immediately. Often times they would refuse to sign the document as a protest on behalf of their Issei family members. In the Japanese community, signing the loyalty oath was frowned upon and the people who did sign were ostracized. As a result of the protests, innocent people were taken to

Tule Lake, where they were questioned alongside people who were actual threats to US national security.

Since the Issei were not citizens, they were deemed “enemy aliens” and their bank accounts were frozen. So even if they could make arrangements to leave the camps and move somewhere east, they could not access their money. People that did leave the camps or their Japanese neighborhoods to start a new life further east were often chased back by angry mobs, jailed, and threatened.⁴⁴ In addition to freezing the bank accounts of all Japanese born, all Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA) and Japanese nationals were required to carry special identification and obey curfew laws.⁴⁵

Another issue conventional thinkers have with the internment camp is the idea that they were surrounded by barbed wire and watched over by armed guards. The idea that presumably innocent people need to be guarded by guns seems criminal. The idea that the internees were expected to make other plans to relocate on their own does not seem to correspond with the armed security in the camps.

According to conventional history, the American government committed a crime when it interned Japanese-American citizens and their families without questioning them first. The removal of 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry from the west coast led to financial loss, humiliation, and grief for all those affected.

Conditions in the camps did not lend themselves to Japanese traditions, and family order was greatly affected. Japanese parents were not in control of their fate, so Japanese children took the opportunity to disobey orders and take advantage of their “freedom” in the camps. Overall, the fact that two thirds of those people interned were American citizens stands above all else as the greatest conventional grievance.

Chapter 5

REVISIONIST OPINION

In the wake of September 11, 2001, politicians and historians have compared any tactic the US uses in the interrogation of potential terrorists to the “racist” and “unjustified” internment policies during World War Two.⁴⁶ Revisionists disagree with the activists who argue against any and all uses of race, ethnicity, nationality, and religion in shaping homeland security policies.⁴⁷ They argue that misguided guilt about the past hampers the ability to prevent future terrorist attacks. On the topic of Japanese-American Internment/ Relocation during World War Two, revisionists believe the passage of Executive Order 9066 and the relocation of 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry was necessary in the protection of US national security. Although, the political tactics used may have been at odds with the traditional concept of “due process under the law,” the government officials in charge of making the call felt it was the safest decision to protect the majority. If Lincoln had not suspended habeas corpus during the Civil War, would there be a Confederate States of America today? American Presidents sometimes act illegally in times of war, but they do so with the best intentions possible in the defense of national security. As mentioned earlier, it is

in the reasoning for removal, the conditions in the centers and camps, and the aftermath of the whole ordeal where disagreements between the revisionists and conventional thinkers arise.

Revisionist thinkers teach that 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry were removed from the west coast and important military bases in order to protect US national security. Upon the Japanese-American departure from their homes, the War Relocation Authority indexed all additional belongings that could not be brought to the assembly centers and leased all farmland so that they would continue to be worked, and profits would be wired to the landowners' bank accounts. In cases of land loss, conventional thinkers fail to mention that this was due to tax evasion on the part of the landowner. Revisionists understand the unfortunate situation forced upon Japanese-American families, but they think the wartime necessity justified the government's actions.

Reason for Removal

In order to understand the driving force for Japanese relocation during World War Two, one must look at the events preceding Executive Order 9066. On December 7, 1941, 353 Japanese torpedo and bomber planes staged a surprise attack on the naval yard at Pearl Harbor. Four U.S. Navy battleships, three cruisers, three

destroyers, one anti-aircraft training ship, and one minelayer were sunk and four more battleships were damaged in the attack. In addition to the attack on the naval fleet, 188 U.S. aircraft were destroyed. The loss of life for America was high, with 2,402 men killed and 1,282 wounded. On December 8, 1941 the United States declared war on Japan, on December 11, 1941 Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, and on that same day the United States declared war on Italy and Germany. The US then rounded up every person on a previously compiled list of possible enemy combatants, including people of Japanese, German, and Italian descent. Roosevelt and his advisors felt quick action was necessary, as the destruction of the American fleet at Pearl Harbor left the West Coast of the United States open to another attack.⁴⁸ On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed United States Executive Order 9066, which authorized the Secretary of War to prescribe certain areas as military zones.

Revisionist thinkers cite national security as the main reason for the relocation of people of Japanese ancestry during World War Two. There was a serious concern for the protection of California's water supply and large-scale irrigation systems, as they were impossible to guard and vital to the prevention of brush fires during the dry season.⁴⁹ Interestingly, the ethnically Japanese population was mainly concentrated

near shipyards and other important mechanisms.⁵⁰ So, to say there was no military justification for the relocation of the Japanese would be dismissive of the facts.

Additionally, because Pearl Harbor was left so decimated, the American government needed to take action fast before another devastating attack. The speed at which decisions had to be made on behalf of national security led to the roundup of people of Japanese, Italian, and German ancestry. Conventional thinkers complain about the lack of interrogation or interviewing prior to moving, but revisionists think the war effort would have been damaged had Roosevelt delayed the relocation of Japanese away from military zones. There was not enough time to distinguish combatants from loyal people prior to moving, so the interviews had to be done in the assembly centers.

Loyalty Oath

In order to combat the conventional claim that no measure was taken to differentiate between the loyal and disloyal Japanese-Americans and Japanese living in the United States, revisionist thinkers cite the government issued, individualized loyalty oaths. Used many times throughout US history, including during the Civil War and during the Truman Era, the loyalty oath served as a written affirmation of loyalty to an organization, institution, or state, of which an individual claimed to be a

member. In the relocation camp context, it was a legally binding document that determined whether or not an individual could be trusted to work or go to school outside of the camps.

Beginning in 1943, all people of Japanese ancestry over the age of seventeen were required to take a loyalty oath. Officially presented as an “application for leave clearance” from the relocation camps, the four-page document boiled down to two important questions for most people.⁵¹ The questionnaire came about as a method in the WRAs “all out” plan, which aimed to move as many people as possible out of the camps and into the country’s interior.⁵² The questions were mostly biographical: whether or not they had relatives in Japan, if they were educated in Japan at any point, if and when they had taken trips to Japan, what extracurricular activities (Japanese and non-Japanese) they were involved with, and whether they held dual citizenship.⁵³

Additionally, two questions asked draft-age male Nisei whether they would be “willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered”, and also whether all Issei and Nisei would “swear to abide by the laws of the United States and to take no action which would in any way interfere with the war effort of the United States.”⁵⁴ These two questions became a point of contention between the WRA and the people of Japanese descent who felt they were being tricked into signing up for the military draft. In reality, Nisei service was limited by

the U.S. Army on a strictly volunteer basis, which meant any ‘yes’ answers on the questionnaire did not automatically lead to enlistment.

The results of the loyalty oath were less than encouraging for the WRAs “all out” plan. Ideally 3,500 men would have volunteered for the army, however out of ten camps, only 805 men signed up.⁵⁵ Beyond the low enlistment numbers, the repatriation and expatriation requests increased by thirty times the amount prior to the loyalty oath.⁵⁶ The most deflating aspect of the loyalty oath results were the thousands of denials of loyalty to the United States. Beyond the blatant ‘no’, many other people chose to qualify their ‘yes’, rather than just simply swear allegiance to the United States. Rather than provide for outlets from the camps, the loyalty oath highlighted “the high mortality of loyalty.”⁵⁷

While conventional writers are correct to criticize the lack of individualized treatment of people of Japanese descent in 1942, they seem to leave out mention of the implementation of the loyalty oath in 1943 and 1944. Unfortunately for the trustworthy Japanese-Americans, negative conclusions were drawn from the loyalty oath results.

Magic Cables

Another argument for national security lies in the decoding of the MAGIC decrypts. In defense of Executive Order 9066 and the subsequent relocation of West Coast Japanese-Americans, the U.S. government cites fifth column activity on the West Coast, in Hawaii, and near many of the important Air and Army bases across the United States. While most conventional thinkers discount this idea, Michelle Malkin brings the MAGIC intercepts to the forefront in her book entitled, *In Defense of Internment*. According to Malkin, "The single most deeply entrenched myth about WW2 evacuation and relocation- repeated endlessly in the popular press and in the classroom- is that ethnic Japanese residing in the U.S. posed no threat whatsoever to U.S. security." ⁵⁸

During World War One, the United States Department of Defense set up a cryptology unit to keep an eye on the growing Japanese military. The MAGIC intercepts, as the messages came to be known as, consistently revealed the existence of an espionage network in the United States. In order to keep the code-breaking technology a secret, the information was limited to about twelve people outside of the actual code-breakers. Some of the more notable people include, the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, the Assistant Secretary of War, John McCloy, and President

Roosevelt himself.⁵⁹ These men are important to note, as they were later attacked for their racist motives in their decision to evacuate Japanese-Americans living on the West Coast. Conversely, those government officials who publicly opposed the evacuation, most notably J. Edgar Hoover, who was director of the FBI at the time, and the Office of Naval Intelligence officer, Kenneth Ringle, were not aware of the MAGIC program. They did receive some of the information second hand, but without the proof of actual interception of secret materials, it is assumed they could not understand the importance and urgency of the messages.

Beginning in December 1940, the intercepts started to trouble the code-breakers. Repeatedly, they deciphered messages concerning the creation of a second generation spy network in the United States. On January 30, 1941 two intercepts demanded the Japanese consulates in North America set up a spy ring for the purpose of wartime intelligence.⁶⁰ These intercepts read, "We have decided to de-emphasize our propaganda work and strengthen our intelligence work in the United States."⁶¹ Additionally, the intercept directed agents to recruit help from "our Second Generations' and our resident nationals", as well as "U.S. citizens of foreign extraction (other than Japanese), aliens (other than Japanese), communists, Negroes, labor union members, and anti-Semites with access to governmental establishments and organizations, factories, and transportation facilities."⁶² Overall, the intercepts most

frequently travelled back and forth between Tokyo and Washington, DC, New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, Chicago, New Orleans, Vancouver, Ottawa, Honolulu, and Mexico City.⁶³

Throughout the months leading up to the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, the code-breakers passed along numerous intercepts proving there were Japanese surveillance groups reporting on the movement of American cargo ships, battleships, and Russian freighters.⁶⁴ Although the U.S. had the MAGIC program in place, not every Japanese secret was transmitted across this medium. Unfortunately for the code-breakers, the attack on Pearl Harbor could not have been prevented. Because of backlogs, delays, and internal problems, intercepts with any valuable information concerning the attack on Pearl Harbor were not received in time for decoding.

Overall, MAGIC was just as important in figuring out German war strategy as it was in keeping an eye on Japanese military strategy. Intercepted messages from the Japanese ambassador to Germany provided German wartime secrets, often in Adolf Hitler's own words.⁶⁵ By ignoring the existence of the Japanese-American spy network and the MAGIC intercepts, conventional thinkers discount the hard work and dedication of the American code-breakers. The existence of MAGIC program also provides evidence in support of the evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West

Coast and other important military zones. By denying, and many times completely ignoring, the importance of the MAGIC program, conventional thinkers only provide one side of the story.

The MAGIC intercepts could not be talked about during the war or else the operation would be destroyed, so those officials privy to the MAGIC intercepts had to deal with criticism from those who did not believe there was a threat of spy activity. Although Malkin does not provide evidence of an actual spy ring coming to fruition, she believes that the possibility of a spy ring during time of war is enough probable cause to justify Executive Order 9066. An intercept from Los Angeles to Tokyo on May 9, 1941 supported the belief that espionage was a real threat. The intercept read,

With regard to airplane manufacturing plants and other military establishments in other parts, we plan to establish very close relations with various organizations and in strict secrecy have them keep these military establishments under close surveillance... We have already established contacts with absolutely reliable Japanese in the San Pedro and San Diego area, who will keep a close watch on all shipments of airplanes and other war materials, and report the amounts and destinations of such shipments.⁶⁶

This intercept indicated that the threat of spy activity in the United States by people of Japanese ancestry was a serious possibility, and decision makers felt it was better to be cautious and trust the cryptologists in order to prevent another terrorist attack. In the 1980s, Congress established the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment

of Civilians to study Executive Order 9066. Those who opposed the internment simply ignored the MAGIC intercepts and concluded there was no military justification of the incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry. Revisionists, however, determine there was a military necessity based on intercepts like the one transcribed above.

Ni'ihau Incident

A final justification for relocation on behalf of national security was the Ni'ihau incident in Hawaii. The incident occurred in the days following the attack on Pearl Harbor when a Japanese pilot crash-landed on the Hawaiian island of Ni'ihau. Previously assumed to be uninhabited, Ni'ihau was actually home to 136 residents, almost all of them ethnic Hawaiians who only spoke their native language. The Japanese pilot, Shigenori Nishikaichi, crash-landed nineteen feet away from where Hawila Kaleohano was standing. Kaleohano approached the plane to remove the papers and pistol from the man, as a precautionary measure.

News of the attack on Pearl Harbor had not reached the island yet, but Kaleohano recognized the plane as Japanese and knew relations with Japan were strained. The pilot was not harmed by the islanders, but in fact was treated with respect and courtesy and was even welcomed with a party that afternoon, in the traditional Hawaiian way. Since the majority of the island spoke only Hawaiian, they

called for their Japanese-born neighbor, Ishimatsu Shintani, to translate. Shintani spoke with the pilot for some time, but did not tell any of the neighbors what he said. Then, they called for their only other Japanese-speaking neighbors, Yoshio and Irene Harada, who were both second-generation Japanese from California. The pilot told the Harada's about the attack on Pearl Harbor, but they decided to keep that information from their neighbors and instead said they wanted the pilot to be taken to their home and watched under their care.

Later the same night, news finally reached the island and the natives confronted the pilot about the attack. Harada finally translated what was mentioned about the attack and the pilot continued to stay with them, but now with five village men guarding the door to their home. Shintani, the original Japanese neighbor brought in to translate, petitioned on behalf of the pilot to get his papers back, but Kaleohano refused. Shintani departed, but threatened that there would be trouble if the pilot's papers were not returned. Meanwhile, the pilot and Mr. Harada attacked the guard at the door of their house while the other four guards were away. Harada's wife Irene played music really loudly to cover up sounds of the struggle between the men and the guard. The men grabbed the guard's gun and went to Kaleohano's house to get the pilot's papers back.

On the way, the pair of men grabbed a sixteen-year-old captive and proceeded angrily. Upon seeing the two men outside the window of his house, Kaleohano ran and alerted the people in the next village to evacuate or hide. Everyone was shocked that their neighbors would so willingly turn on them. Kaleohano hid the pilot's papers and then set out in a lifeboat with five other neighbors to alert the closest, larger island of the problems they were having. In the meantime, Mr. Harada and the pilot burned the crashed plane and then burned Kaleohano's house.

On the morning of December 13, six days after the crash and the initial meeting of Nishikaichi, he and Harada took more captives. Ben Kanahele was ordered to find Kaleohano and the pilot's papers while they held his wife Ella captive. Kanahele knew Kaleohano was still rowing to the nearby island, but he pretended to look for him in order to waste time. When the pilot realized he was being tricked, he threatened to kill everyone in the village. This was just a façade, and Kanahele realized the men were both very discouraged by the trick. In that moment, he and his wife decided to fight back. They knocked the gun out of the pilot's hand, only to find that he had another in his boot. Harada pulled Ella off of the pilot, which enabled the pilot to shoot her husband three times. Suffering from serious gunshot wounds, Kanahele still managed to run at the pilot and throw him against a stone wall. Ella

smashed the pilot's head with a rock and her husband slit his throat. Realizing the plot to take over the island was squashed, the turncoat, Harada, committed suicide.

In the aftermath of the Ni'ihau incident, Harada's wife, Irene, was taken into custody and imprisoned for thirty-one months. She was not charged with any crime. When speaking in English, she claimed her innocence, but when speaking in Japanese to a Japanese audience she expressed her sorrow for the pilot and her desire to help him.

This incident, although not very well known today, led people to believe that more Japanese-Americans could turn on this country when faced with the choice of Japan or America. Many Japanese-Americans and Japanese nationals living in the United States pledged their loyalty to America and could not understand why they were targeted, but an incident like the one at Ni'ihau proved seemingly loyal people could in fact switch sides. The Haradas had lived on the remote island for three years without any complaints from the neighbors, but when faced with the choice of Japan or America, they chose Japan.⁶⁷

In addition to national security, the revisionists cite protection of the Japanese living in America as a reason for relocation. With the attack on Pearl Harbor and news of Japanese military atrocities against Americans in the Philippines, the American public was very emotional and angry, and justifiably so. Had there not been

relocation, mobs and riots could have harmed the Japanese living in predominantly white areas. Some say the American public displayed overly racist reactions, while others say it was the natural reaction given the circumstances. Malkin also cites incidents of mob violence from Japanese-Americans who assumed the influx of evacuees would damage their established positions in their communities.⁶⁸

Conventional thinkers also say the relocation was racist because Italian and German Americans were left alone. This claim is fueled by obliviousness. The day after the attack on Pearl Harbor, and three days before the US declaration of war against Germany or Italy, Roosevelt detained a predetermined group of dangerous people, which included Germans, Italians, Hungarians, Romanians, and Bulgarians. Throughout the war, 10,905 Germans and German-Americans, 3,278 Italians and 243 of a mix of ethnicities were interned, in addition to the 16,849 Japanese and Japanese-Americans.⁶⁹ Note this statistic is for those actually interned, not just relocated. All Japanese “internees” were released by June 1946, but some Germans were kept until August 1948. Additionally, the German and Italian immigrants had come to assimilate much better than Japanese immigrants. They served in the military more often and did not seek out repatriation, which many Japanese and Japanese-Americans did. Throughout the war, 19,000 Japanese or Japanese-Americans applied for repatriation, and 8,000 actually went back.⁷⁰

For many who learn about the relocation of Japanese-Americans during World War Two, it comes as a surprise that the US was not alone in this precaution. Through the MAGIC intercepts, the Canadian and Mexican governments were able to determine that the Japanese fifth column activity threatened their national security as well.

Conditions in Camps

Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, 3,000 Japanese aliens classified as dangerous were arrested and incarcerated by the Department of Justice.⁷¹ The Japanese that were arrested had been investigated previously and were placed on a list of potential threats beginning in 1939.⁷² Following the passage of Executive Order 9066 in February 1942, President Roosevelt appointed Lt. General John L. DeWitt as the military commander to carry out the Executive Order and Col. Karl R. Bendetsen as Director of the Wartime Civil Control Administration. The original plan according to Bendetsen was to assist Japanese-Americans in the process by which they would move inland on their own, as individual families. Bendetsen says, “Funds were provided for them [and] we informed them... where there were safe motels in which they could stay overnight.”⁷³ However, that system did not seem to work very well as it became apparent that most of the Japanese-Americans were not able to make arrangements to relocate quickly, even with help.⁷⁴ Additionally, the states just east of

California objected the unrestricted influx of people into their states without any governmental oversight. So, the assembly center phase began.

Revisionist thinkers acknowledge that the individual evacuees were not given much notice prior to their relocation, but this was because the government had to make quick decisions on behalf of national security. Assembly centers were often unfinished and not ready for the influx of Japanese, but the military did what it could to move quickly and efficiently. Because of the quick governmental action, there were improvised centers at converted racetracks and fairgrounds. Federal officials on the West Coast did what they could to quell public hostilities towards the Japanese and Japanese-Americans, and when they found the surrounding areas were safe enough, about 4,000 families moved inland on their own to communities of their choice. This occurred by the summer of 1942.

Conventional thinkers criticize the “barbed wire and searchlights” they report were present at the assembly centers. When asked about the criticisms at the 1984 redress trials Bendetsen replied,

That is 100 percent false... Because of the actions of outraged US citizens, of which I do not approve, it was necessary in some of the assembly centers, particularly Santa Anita,... to protect the evacuees... and that is the only place where guards were used. [As to] relocation centers... there was not a guard at all at any of them. That would not be true of Tule Lake [after it became a segregation center].⁷⁵

From what Bendetsen reports, where guards were present in the assembly centers it was for the protection of the people inside the camps. The conventional thinkers have misled the public when they mention the “camps,” as the actual internment camps were used for holding those who were considered potential threats.

Given the speed with which the centers had to be built and organized prior to the influx of evacuees, the centers were not perfect but they were up to military standards. Following the evacuees’ settlement, government and military officials did all they could to accommodate the evacuees and made them feel at ease in the centers. Run almost entirely by Japanese-Americans themselves, centers often had libraries, movie theaters, Boy Scouts, arts and crafts classes, sports teams, and playgrounds. Additionally, there were children’s schools taught by Japanese-Americans, who were certified teachers before they were evacuated.

As the official relocation centers became available, many evacuees moved from the assembly centers to one of ten relocation centers. The War Relocation Authority, under Director Dillon S. Meyer, was in charge of the camps and making them livable for the evacuees. The camps were designed in the same style as the US troops quarters overseas, so they were not very homey, but they were functional. According to conventional thinkers, there was great economic loss because the people

had to sell everything they could not carry to the camps. However, this is not entirely true.

Originally, the army's orders said evacuees could bring only what they could carry to the *assembly centers*, but if the evacuees decided to relocate elsewhere, attend college, work away from the military zone, or move to a *relocation camp*, the rest of their personal property was shipped to their final destination on the government's dime.⁷⁶ If relocated individuals did not request to bring their heavy items, like a piano or furniture, the items were indexed and stored in warehouses paid for by the government until the family wanted to claim their things.⁷⁷ It was common to see Japanese and Japanese-American store owners selling off all of their goods prior to evacuation, but contrary to popular belief, this was unnecessary.

Critics attack the camps, citing a poor healthcare system, lacking cleanliness, and deficient cultural necessities. However, as reported by Dillon Myer, Director of the WRA, the health care system was "excellent and free", which is more than most Americans could say about their health care plans.⁷⁸ The camps were located in remote areas where dust storms were prevalent, so the officials overseeing the camp would water down the ground in order to stop the dust. But with the addition of water came mud. Steps were taken to get the evacuees some relief, but it was a matter of making the best of an imperfect situation. Culturally, there were community centers,

stores, theaters, hairdressers, and newspapers.⁷⁹ Evacuees set up Ping-Pong, judo, boxing, badminton, and sumo wrestling teams as well. There were very few limitations in the camps, and the WRA did all they could to make the people feel comfortable.

Children even went to public school taught by certified teachers, read from the same textbooks as those children outside of the camps, and had all the extracurricular activities one would find in any school.⁸⁰ Many kids, who graduated from the camp's high school and wanted to go to college, often attended mid-west or east coast schools on full scholarship.⁸¹ By the time the war was over, these "kids" were ready to apply for jobs.

Overall, revisionists are upset with the conventional way the relocation/internment is taught in schools and understood by most people in the United States. Historian Ken Masugi, whose parents were relocated during the war, is one of the more prominent revisionist thinkers today. He thinks a revisiting of the "internment" is necessary to present a more well-rounded and accurate account. In 1984, he testified before Congress that the current view of the issue is the product of "Japanese-Americans who were activists in the Sixties and then became lawyers and community organizers." He continued, "the intent is to achieve one of the goals of the Sixties protest movements: To show that America is a racist society, and that even in the case

of World War Two, America's noblest foreign war, America was corrupt, having its own 'concentration camps.'" It seems like conventional thinkers are looking to discredit the honest fear and insecurity the majority of Americans felt following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Chapter 6

The Aftermath

In 1948, the “Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act” was passed by Congress and provided about \$38 million to be paid for property losses.⁸² Those who had been relocated moved back to their homes or elsewhere and eventually established themselves in the middle class.⁸³ Beginning in 1952, Issei were eligible for American citizenship and Japanese immigration began again. In 1959, Hawaii became a state, which allowed for Asian American legislators to take their places in Washington, D.C. By the 1960s, Japanese Americans had regained their “model minority” status in the eyes of most Americans.

However, the Sansei generation, the grandchildren of the Issei, began to take part in the civil rights movements springing up all across the United States. While the Sansei generation felt it was necessary to fight for reparations in order to restore Japanese pride, the Nisei felt it was more important to move past the traumatic episode in their history and assimilate. In response to pressure from the Sansei movement, President Gerald Ford apologized to all those affected by the relocation saying, “We

know now what we should have known then: not only was the evacuation wrong, but Japanese-Americans were and are loyal Americans.”⁸⁴

In 1980, President Carter established the “Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians”, which issued a report in 1983 entitled, *Personal Justice Denied*. This report was the first time the conventional understanding of the Relocation/Internment was presented as the whole truth. There was no mention of the MAGIC cables or any espionage network in the report.

Beyond the *Personal Justice Denied* report, the Commission held hearings on behalf of those who felt wronged by the Relocation/ Internment. Hundreds of people gave their testimony, which detailed their personal story with Relocation/Internment. Whether actually relocated or just relaying the story of a family member, the testimonials convinced the Commission that each of the more than 60,000 surviving detainees deserved \$20,000 and an official apology. While this was seen as a success for the Japanese civil rights movement, not everyone was happy with the way the trials were conducted. John J. McCloy, War-time Assistant Secretary, was also asked to testify to his involvement in the decision to pass Executive Order 9066. McCloy remembers, “The manner and the atmosphere in which the hearings were held was outrageous and a disgrace... I have been before this Congress many times in hearings, but I have never been subjected to the indignities that I was at the hearings of the

Relocation Commission. Every time I tried to say anything in favor of the United States or in favor of the President of the United States, there were hisses and boos and stomping of feet.”⁸⁵ The trials were emotionally charged, but in all fairness to both sides, they should have been mediated more fairly.

After all testimony was heard, the Commission decided a \$20,000 grant to each surviving detainee should be given as an apology for the mental strain endured during their time in the camps. A total of \$1.6 billion was awarded to those who were wronged during World War Two. Revisionist thinkers were quickly concerned with the nature of some of the recipients of the official apology and monetary grant. Of those who received reparations, 490 people repatriated to Japan during the war, 6,000 were born in the centers, 4,300 left the centers and attended American universities during the war, 1,370 were among the enemy aliens immediately detained after the attack on Pearl Harbor, 3,500 were Japanese-Americans who asked to be expatriated to Japan after renouncing their U.S. citizenship, and 160 were part of the Black Dragon Society during their time in the camps.⁸⁶ The rest of the 60,000 were regular Americans, living and working freely.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The subject of Japanese-American Internment/Relocation has been highly contested in the years following the attacks on September 11, 2001. Most people agree our government officials would not relocate entire portions of the population again, but some wonder if this guilt about the past will hinder our efforts at preventing another attack on American soil in the future. While one side cites blatant racism and misuse of power, the other assumes the relocation was a necessary step to protect national security in a time of vulnerability.

The practice of relocating segments of a larger population was not a new concept when President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his advisory committee decided to implement their plan in 1942. Very similar measures were taken by Canada during World War One, when 4,000 ethnically Ukrainian men were placed in camps and another 80,000 had to report to the police regularly.⁸⁷ Similarly, in World War Two, ethnic Japanese were required to move away from specified areas into camps. Unlike the United States, Canadian practice forbade the detainees from working or going to school outside of the camps. In England during World War One, German detainees

were not allowed to read newspapers, listen to the radio or to receive letters. In the camps, sleeping arrangements were tents without mattresses, and families were often separated.⁸⁸ While these examples do not excuse the relocation of American citizens during World War Two, they do show that relocation was not a new practice. While the camps were not ideal, they were built according to American military standards and people could leave to work or attend school outside of the camps.

Another myth that has permeated throughout history is the idea that the Japanese segment of our population was the only group relocated. In fact, over 10,000 Germans, over 3,000 Italians, and hundreds of ethnically Eastern European people were arrested immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor and placed in high security camps.⁸⁹ Beyond the immediate arrest of “enemy aliens”, the MAGIC intercepts provided insight into German war strategy, and eventually, led to the arrest of more people who were considered threats to national security.

When I began my research, I had the hardest time deciphering fact from fiction. One expert would say the camps were miserable, while another equally qualified expert would cite how much freedom the camps allowed. I often grew frustrated with overwhelmingly agenda focused reports. Originally, I wanted to come to a concrete conclusion in which I would pick one school of thought over the other; however I cannot do so. Rather, I should not do so. I have come to the realization that

these schools of thought are the most extreme opposites. Instead, I have decided a moderate stance on the subject suits my understanding best. In coming to my conclusions, I decided to try and comprehend the subject according to the time period in which it occurred.

As Otis Graham defends, a particular stereotype of the Japanese people was depicted to an entire generation of Americans throughout the 1920s and 1930s.⁹⁰ Hollywood movies and children's comic books drilled home the idea that all Japanese were sneaky, sinister, and murderous. Beyond the fictional media, American news media flashed images from the 1937-1938 Rape of Nanking, where Japanese forces tortured and killed over 300,000 Chinese civilians. The pictures of beheadings, mass graves, defiled women and children, and even live victims being skinned, were burned into the memories of American youth. These images, while extreme and far from an accurate description of the Japanese people living in the United States, helped shape the mindset of many Americans. Misunderstanding is never an excuse, but this background information was helpful to me in understanding the origins of the immense fear and anxiety that characterized the period.

Since the 1960s, we have apologized and accepted a mountain of guilt for the decisions made in World War Two. While I cannot imagine ever forcibly removing a segment of the population again, I can understand the fear and helplessness people

who lived through Pearl Harbor felt. I think we took away several important lessons from this event, including the decision to avoid relocation again in 2001; however, I also think relocation would have eventually happened at some point in our history if not for the World War Two precedent. In talking with both relocated individuals and individuals who were fearful of their Japanese neighbors, I grew to understand the sentiment of the time period. One Japanese woman I spoke with referred to the relocation as her “wartime duty” in “aiding the war effort.” She also remembered feeling immense shame and embarrassment for her people following the attacks on Pearl Harbor. While I would not be able to develop that level of acceptance, according to this woman, it was the rare person who acted out against the government’s relocation program.

After a year of research, I have concluded that the relocation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans during World War Two, while unfortunate and unconstitutional in many cases, was the right decision in the time period. As a college student in 2012, I would not condone relocation today, but in understanding this project I have had to place myself in a December 7, 1941 mindset. President Franklin D. Roosevelt made a decision based on national security, national sentiment, and I think, fear. This was the first major attack on American soil since the Revolutionary War. It should be understood that certain measures taken during this time were in reaction to this fact.

This thesis process taught me about the Japanese-American Internment/Relocation, but also about the problem with the way history is taught. If I did not decide to research deeper, I would have never known about the “revised” side of the story. While I have drawn my own conclusions from this presentation, I do not expect every reader to come to the same conclusions. Whether they support the “conventional” understanding or the “revised” understanding, these are the facts as I understand them.

REFERENCES

- Baker, Lillian. *The Concentration Camp Conspiracy: A 2. Pearl Harbor*. Lawndale, CA: Afha Publ., 1981. Print.
- Bellows, Jason "Incident on Niihau Island • Damn Interesting." *Damn Interesting • A Collection of Damn Interesting Things*. 01 Dec. 2006. Web. 05 Sept. 2011. <<http://www.damninteresting.com/incident-on-niihau-island/>>.
- Blum, John Morton. *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976. Print.
- Ciment, James. *Encyclopedia of American Immigration*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001. Print.
- Daniels, Roger. *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993. Print.
- Egami, Hatsuye, and Claire Gorfinkel. *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*. Pasadena, CA: Intentional Productions, 1995. Print.
- Fox, Stephen. *America's Invisible Gulag: A Biography of German American Internment & Exclusion in World War II : Memory and History*. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. Print.

Graham, Otis L. "Fear itself: how pop culture and Pearl Harbor drove the Japanese-American internment" The Free Library 23 February 2009. 30 April 2012
<[http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Fear itself: how pop culture and Pearl Harbor drove the...-a0194428829](http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Fear+itself:+how+pop+culture+and+Pearl+Harbor+drove+the...-a0194428829)>.

Hagen, Jerome T. *War in the Pacific*. Honolulu: Hawaii Pacific University, 1996.
Print.

Houston, Jeanne Wakatsuki., and James D. Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar*. Austin: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 2000. Print.

Ichioka, Yuji, Gordon H. Chang, and Eiichiro Azuma. *Before Internment: Essays in Prewar Japanese American History*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2006. Print.

Jeffries, John W. *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front*. Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1996. Print.

Lange, Dorothea, Linda Gordon, and Gary Y. Okihiro. *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2006. Print.

Malkin, Michelle. *In Defense of Internment: The Case for "racial Profiling" in World War II and the War on Terror*. Washington, DC: Regnery Pub., 2004. Print.

- Malkin, Michelle. "Michelle Malkin - About In Defense of Internment." *Internet Archive: Wayback Machine*. 6 Feb. 2006. Web. 05 Sept. 2011.
<<http://web.archive.org/web/20060206033611/http://michellemalkin.com/aboutidoi.htm>>.
- Martel, Gordon. *The World War Two Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Print.
- Masugi, Ken. "Revisiting the American Japanese Relocation of World War II." The Claremont Institute, 18 Feb. 2003. Web. 19 May 2011.
<http://www.claremont.org/publications/pubid.276/pub_detail.asp>.
- McGrath, Roger D. "Intern(ment) Scandal." *The American Conservative*, 15 Mar. 2004. Web. 17 May 2011.
<<http://www.theamericanconservative.com/article/2004/mar/15/00022/>>.
- Moore, John, ed. "Japanese American Redress Movement." *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*. 208. *Global Issues In Context*. Web. 28 Feb. 2012.
- Muller, Eric L. *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War Two*. Chapel Hill: UNC, 2007. Print.
- Murphey, Dwight D. *The Dispossession of the American Indian: And Other Key Issues in American History*. Washington, D.C.: Scott-Townsend, 1995. Print.

- Nakano, Ujō, and Leatrice Nakano. *Within the Barbed Wire Fence: A Japanese Man's Account of His Internment in Canada*. Seattle: University of Washington, 1981. Print.
- Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Washington, D.C.: Commission, 1983. Print.
- Robinson, Greg. *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2001. Print.
- Seidman, Rachel F., and Christine Compstone Compstone, eds. *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003. Print.
- Takaki, Ronald T. *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II*. Boston: Little, Brown and, 2000. Print.
- Taylor, Sandra C. *Jewel of the Desert: Japanese American Internment at Topaz*. Berkeley: University of California, 1993. Print.
- Vance, Jonathan Franklin William. *Encyclopedia of Prisoners of War and Internment*. Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO, 2000. Print.
- Wilson, Robert Arden, and Bill Hosokawa. *East to America: A History of the Japanese in the United States*. New York: Morrow, 1980. Print.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ James Ciment, *Encyclopedia of American Immigration* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2001) p. 449
- ² Christine Compstone and Rachel Filene Seidman, eds, *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003) p. 115
- ³ Compstone, *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*, p.115
- ⁴ Compstone, *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*, p.115
- ⁵ Roger Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004) p. 7
- ⁶ Robert A. Wilson and Bill Hosokawa. *East to America: a History of the Japanese in the United States* (New York: Morrow, 1980) p. 122
- ⁷ Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 15
- ⁸ Jerome T. Hagen, *War in the Pacific* (Honolulu: Hawaii Pacific University, 2005) p. 29.
- ⁹ Hagen, *War in the Pacific*, p. 29
- ¹⁰ Dwight D. Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History* (Washington, D.C.: Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1995) p. 3
- ¹¹ John W. Jefferies, *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front* (Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1996) p. 132

-
- 12 Murphy, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 6
- 13 Jeffries, *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front*, p. 130
- 14 Hagen, *War in the Pacific*, p. 21
- 15 Hagen, *War in the Pacific*, p. 32
- 16 Hagen, *War in the Pacific*, p. 32
- 17 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 10
- 18 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* p. 4
- 19 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 4
- 20 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 4
- 21 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 4
- 22 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 12
- 23 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 18
- 24 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 20
- 25 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 26
- 26 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 23
- 27 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 24
- 28 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 25

-
- 29 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 27
- 30 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 27
- 31 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 35
- 32 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 37
- 33 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 37
- 34 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 37
- 35 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 31
- 36 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 32
- 37 *World War Two - Japanese Internment Camps in the US. History on the Net.* 01 Feb. 2011. 05 Sept. 2011.
http://www.historyonthenet.com/WW2/japan_internment_camps.htm.
- 38 Hatsuye Egami et. al, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami* (Pasadena, CA: Intentional Productions, 1996) p. 15
- 39 Hagen, *War in the Pacific*, p. 40
- 40 Hagen, *War in the Pacific*, p. 41
- 41 Hagen, *War in the Pacific*, p. 41
- 42 Hagen, *War in the Pacific*, p. 41
- 43 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 49
- 44 Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, p. 49
- 45 Hagen, *War in the Pacific*, p. 29
- 46 Michelle Malkin, "Michelle Malkin - About In Defense of Internment." *Internet Archive: Wayback Machine.* 6 Feb. 2006. Web. 05 Sept. 2011.
<<http://web.archive.org/web/20060206033611/http://michellemalkin.com/abo>

-
- utidoi.htm>.
- 47 Michelle Malkin, "Michelle Malkin - About In Defense of Internment." *Internet Archive: Wayback Machine*. 6 Feb. 2006. Web. 05 Sept. 2011.
<<http://web.archive.org/web/20060206033611/http://michellemalkin.com/aboutidoi.htm>>.
- 48 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 15
- 49 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 14
- 50 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 14
- 51 Eric L. Muller, *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War Two* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007) p. 32.
- 52 Muller, *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War Two*, p. 32.
- 53 Muller, *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War Two*, p. 35.
- 54 Muller, *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War Two*, p. 35.
- 55 Muller, *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War Two*, p. 36.
- 56 Muller, *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War Two*, p. 36.
- 57 Muller, *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War Two*, p. 38.

-
- 58 Michelle Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing Inc, 2004) p.27.
- 59 Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror*, p.40.
- 60 Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror*, p.41.
- 61 Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror*, p.41.
- 62 Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror*, p.42.
- 63 Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror*, p.43.
- 64 Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror*, p.48.
- 65 Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror*, p.39.
- 66 Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror*, p.184.
- 67 Jason Bellows, "Incident on Niihau Island • Damn Interesting." *Damn Interesting • A Collection of Damn Interesting Things*. 01 Dec. 2006. Web. 05 Sept. 2011. <<http://www.damninteresting.com/incident-on-niihau-island/>>.
- 68 Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror*, p.87.
- 69 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 22

-
- 70 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 18
- 71 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 5
- 72 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 5
- 73 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 6
- 74 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 6
- 75 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 11
- 76 Lillian Baker, *The Concentration Camp Conspiracy- A Second Pearl Harbor* (Lawndale, CA.: AFHA Publications, 1981) p. 81
- 77 Baker, *The Concentration Camp Conspiracy- A Second Pearl Harbor*, p. 319
- 78 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 7
- 79 Baker, *The Concentration Camp Conspiracy- A Second Pearl Harbor*, p. 228-233
- 80 Baker, *The Concentration Camp Conspiracy- A Second Pearl Harbor*, p. 228-233
- 81 Baker, *The Concentration Camp Conspiracy- A Second Pearl Harbor*, p. 224
- 82 Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- and Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 24

-
- ⁸³ "Japanese American Redress Movement." *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*. Ed. John Moore. Vol. 2. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2008. 203-205. *Global Issues In Context*. Web. 29 Apr. 2012.
- ⁸⁴ "Japanese American Redress Movement." *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*. Ed. John Moore. Vol. 2. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2008. 203-205. *Global Issues In Context*. Web. 29 Apr. 2012.
- ⁸⁵ Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 25
- ⁸⁶ Murphey, *The Dispossession of the American Indian- And Other Key Issues in American History*, p. 25
- ⁸⁷ "Internment Camps in British Columbia and Canada." *British Columbia Tourism, Travel, Accommodation, BC Hotels*. Web. 30 Jan. 2012.
<<http://www.britishcolumbia.com/general/details.asp?id=44>>.
- ⁸⁸ "Germans in Britain." *Spartacus Educational*. Web. 30 Jan. 2012.
<<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/2WWgermansBR.htm>>.
- ⁸⁹ Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for 'Racial Profiling' in World War II and the War on Terror*, p. 54.
- ⁹⁰ Otis L. Graham, "Fear itself: how pop culture and Pearl Harbor drove the Japanese-American internment" The Free Library 23 February 2009. 30 April 2012
<[http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Fear itself: how pop culture and Pearl Harbor drove the...-a0194428829](http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Fear+itself:+how+pop+culture+and+Pearl+Harbor+drove+the...-a0194428829)>.