

64:5 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians - Redress

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Redress Reports

• Edward J. Ennis

ACLU's Statement to CWRIC

(Here's another statement to the CWRIC by a person who was involved at the decision-making level of government by Edward Ennis, whose stand against mass evacuation of Japanese Americans was not to prevail. Incidentally, James H. Rowe, assistant to Attorney General Biddle, thinks if there is any hero in this whole story, "his name is Edward Ennis".

New York: Sept. 8, 1981

I am Edward J. Ennis, member of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, 132 West 43rd Street, New York, New York 10036. I was formerly Chairperson of the Board (1969-1977), one of its General Counsel (1955-1969) and have served as a member from 1946.

I present the facts concerning the ACLU's opposition to the 1942 exclusion of all of the over 100,000 persons of Japanese ancestry from their homes in the states of California, Oregon and Washington on the West Coast. I shall also state briefly facts observed by me at the time from my vantage point as Director of the then Enemy Control Unit of the U.S. Department of Justice from December 1941 to 1946. The Unit was concerned with internment, parole, release and travel control of all aliens of enemy nationality, including Japanese aliens.

The Commission has received much testimony, written and oral, about the forcible evacuation. Of course, from our current perspective, the utter folly of this military exercise seems clear. It used thousands of military personnel who should have been training to fight the enemy abroad to uproot this minority on the West Coast, many thousands of them engaged in raising food for the military as well as the civilian population; and transported them to interior relocation centers to be fed and maintained in comparative idleness and guarded by military police. I shall not dwell on the folly of this decision here other than to say that it is an example of the confusion and hysteria that can lead to serious errors of military judgment. I shall, instead, restrict my remarks to a brief account of the opposition of the ACLU to the expulsion program and some personal observations which may interest and be of help to the commission.

Biddle Opposed Evacuation

As soon as it was known that an evacuation program was being considered, the ACLU, both the national organization with its headquarters in New York, and its West Coast affiliates, immediately, vigorously and continuously opposed the evacuation as unnecessary and unconstitutional. Before the evacuation and Executive Order, Roger Baldwin, then executive director of the ACLU, and Clifford Forster, Esq., staff counsel, came to Washington more than once and conferred with Attorney General Francis Biddle and me in the Department of Justice and with the Assistant Secretary of War and other War Department officials. The ACLU acknowledged that in wartime appropriate military areas might be established requiring military supervision, but urged that any mass evacuation not based on cause as established in individual hearings would be unconstitutional.

Just as Attorney General Biddle's own objections to the evacuation as a factually unwarranted measure did not prevail with President Roosevelt who approved the War Department's request for the necessary Executive Order, the ACLU's representations were fruitless. Given the atmosphere of panic which prevailed at that time because of Japanese military successes on land and sea in the Pacific in early 1942, such a high-level decision, while not excusable, was to be expected.

After Executive Order 9066 was issued on Feb. 19, 1942, the Act of March 21, 1942 was enacted amending the Criminal Code (18 USC § 97A) to make it a misdemeanor punishable by fine or imprisonment to violate restrictions (including curfew and expulsion orders) in military areas. The ACLU and its West Coast affiliates immediately became involved in myriad problems created by various military orders issued under the Executive Order. Defense was provided against the prosecutions brought to enforce the military curfew and exclusion orders, in which convictions were obtained. Gordon Hirabayashi received a three-month jail sentence for violating an 8 P.M. to 6 A.M. curfew order. Fred Korematsu was given a suspended sentence and placed

on probation for five years for failing to obey an order excluding all persons of Japanese ancestry from a military area. Both convictions were affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court. *Hirabayashi v. United States*, 320 U.S. 81 (1943) and *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214 (1944).

ACLU Active at All Stages in Evacuation Cases

The ACLU or its affiliates were active in all stages of the cases, including briefs in the Supreme Court arguing the unconstitutionality of the convictions. The ACLU was also involved in *Ex Parte Endo*, 323 U.S. 283 (1944), in which the Court held that the War Relocation Authority had not been authorized by statute or Executive order to detain a citizen of Japanese ancestry in a relocation center until acceptance in a community outside the camp was established under its administrative procedures. Thus, the decision of the question of whether such detention, if authorized, was constitutional was not reached by the Court. Justice Owen J. Roberts, in a concurring opinion, protested that the Court thus avoided the constitutional issue of factual detention by the WRA asserting and exercising the authority to do so.

After the war the ACLU continued to express its opposition to the detention by supporting the victims of the evacuation. We backed (1) enactment of the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act of 1948 (50 U.S.C. App. § 1981-1987), under which claims for property losses of evacuees by abandonment or forced sale upon evacuation were heard and allowed by a government commission; (2) litigation resulting in rejection of alien land and fishing laws discriminating against persons of Japanese ancestry (*Oyama v. California*, 332 U.S. 633 (1948)) and *Takahashi v. Fish and Game Commission*, 334 U.S. 410 (1949); and (3) successful litigation holding illegal the renunciation of U.S. citizenship in circumstances of detention, on the ground that such renunciation was involuntary.

'Substantial' Monetary Redress Urged

It is the view of the ACLU that the mass evacuation and subsequent detention of the entire Japanese American population from



Edward J. Ennis

the West Coast in 1942 was the greatest deprivation of civil liberties by government in this country since slavery. The fact that it occurred during a war, being fought principally abroad, is not sufficient reason to deny some compensation for the thousands of Americans so harshly treated.

The Courts of our country have readily decreed monetary redress by the Government for such less intrusive acts as temporary false arrest and illegal searches, and also denials of civil rights. The ACLU is not asserting how much in present dollars each evacuated or detained person should receive, or whether each individual shall have to make an individual claim for payment, or whether heirs of any deceased evacuee should have a claim. What is appropriate, however, is that any sum recommended by the Commission should be substantial in view of the serious and sustained violation of civil liberties suffered by the evacuees. This action would, at least, demonstrate in a significant way the nation's recognition of the grievous harm done.

Turning to my personal observations of the evacuation as Director of the Alien Enemy Control Unit, this brief statement does not permit extended comment. And the Commission would not be aided particularly by yet another opinion about the circumstances of this deplorable episode in the conduct of World War II based on a recollection of events some forty years ago.

The Commission would be better helped by the written record of research, such as Professor Morton Crodzin's *Americans Betrayed: Politics of the Japanese Evacuation* (University Chicago Press, 1949) and ten Broek et al. *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (University of California Press, 1954) and the analysis of the legal issues in such articles as Dembitz, *Racial Discrimination and the Military Judgment: The Supreme Court's Korematsu and Endo Decisions* (45 Col. L.R. 175

[1943]), and Rostow *The Japanese American Cases - a Disaster* (54 Yale L.J. 496 [1945]).

Personal Comment—FDR Blamed

One personal comment, however, may aid the Commission in considering both the responsibility for the decision to expel all Japanese Americans from the West Coast and any compensation to be recommended. This military action taken in World War II was not the emergency decision of a field commander on the battlefield, required to act at once for better or worse on the information available without benefit of seasoned judgment of his superiors. Nor was this like the actions of police or other government agents in hot pursuit of suspected criminals, when such officials violate rights against unlawful search and seizure without sanction of their superiors.

The action taken was not solely on the authority of Lt. Gen. J.L. DeWitt of the Western Defense Command, who demanded increased authority over ever larger zones and citizens as well as aliens as he perceived that frightened public opinion, aroused by the press, and farm organizations greedy for the farm lands of the evacuated Japanese Americans, would approve military action far beyond what he first contemplated.

The sweeping authorization for establishment of military zones and consequent evacuation was by the President of the United States on the recommendation of the Chief of Staff, George C. Marshall, and three distinguished civilian attorneys, Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy, Under Secretary of War Robert Patterson and Secretary of War Henry Stimson. The decision was ratified by Con-

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Witnesses: New York

Monday, Nov. 23, 1981

Roosevelt Hotel, Terrace Room, New York, N.Y.

Religious Leaders—Dr. John Coventry Smith, Rydel, Pa., National Council of Churches and United Presbyterian Church (former president, World Council of Churches; and a career missionary in Japan: 1929-1942, who came home on the exchange ship Gripsholm); Dr. Howard E. Spragg, exec. v.p., United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, United Church of Christ (pastor, 1943-48, Southside Congregational Church, Chicago, where he helped evacuees resettle).

Seabrook, N.J. Residents—Charles T. Nagao (Manzanar resident who resettled at Seabrook Farms in mid-December, 1944); Ginzo Muroto and Arthur S. Yakabe (both from Peru).

New York Residents—Mrs. Mitsuye Tono Kamada; Mrs. Grace Iijima, Jack Kiyoto Tono (Chicago, co-defendant in the Shigeru Fujii case, a Heart Mountain case questioning whether constitutional rights of Nisei were violated by EO 9066 prior to need for obeying Selective Service draft induction orders), M/M Tak Iijima, Carl Akiya (a 72-year-old Kibei), Norman Kurlan (New Hope, Pa., and a 442nd anti-tank company officer since inception in 1943 to deactivation in 1946), and William Kochiyama.

Impact on an Italian American—Angelo de Guttadauro.

Ellis Island Issei Internees—Dr. Kinichi Iwamoto (Dec. 7, 1941—Mar. 27, 1942), Tatsuji Shiotani, Kinnosuke Hashimoto (94, who had granddaughter Lori Kitazono of Bronx summarize his testimony), Mrs. Tsuyako Shimizu (91), and Hiroshi Matsuo.

Professional Perspectives—Dr. Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi, professor of sociology, Brooklyn College and CUNY Graduate Center; Robert Moteki; Dr. James K. Morishima (on behalf of American Psychological Assn.); Tadashi Tsufura (only Nisei principal in N.Y. public school system at P.S. 41, Greenwich Village).

Organization—Clarence Reynolds, Gene Brown (Organization for a New Life and Freedom, Chicago-based black movement seeking to establish a new nation in Africa for displaced black people wishing to return).

Nisei in Communications, Fine Arts—Emiko Tonooka (writer, Philadelphia), Mine Okubo (artist, New York), Catherine Okada Robin (actress, New York), and Henry Sugimoto (artist, New York).

Sansei Panel—Janice Sakamoto, Lori Kitazono, Greg Morozumi, Eric Koide, Mike Nakai, Toni Morozumi and Joy Kanazawa.

Written Statements Submitted by: Haruko Akamatsu (widow of Dr. Alfred S. Akamatsu), Haruko Kuroiwa Brown (psychiatric social worker, New York, from Seattle), Hiroko Azuma Miyakawa (principal, Matawan, N.J., school, from Los Angeles), Yuriko Matsuda Porter (cosmetologist, New York, from Tacoma), Motoko Spiegel (Briarcliff Manor, N.Y.), Masato Takashige (Honolulu merchant seaman who was aboard the Navy cargo vessel in Seattle on Dec. 7, 1941), Yuriko Domoto Tsukada (director of services for abused and sexually assaulted, Dept. of Social Work, Bronx Municipal Hospital Center), and C. Dale White, bishop, United Methodist Church, New Jersey jurisdiction.

Barrow's testimony on WRA

Testimony of Leland Barrows, a top administrative official with the War Relocation Authority, first under Milton Eisenhower and then Dillon Myer, represents the main WRA input before the Commission, as gleaned from the transcripts of July 14 session in the Senate Caucus Room.

Continued from Last Week

Chair Bernstein: Commissioner Mitchell, I think you had—

Commissioner Mitchell: I just had one question. I was wondering, Justice Goldberg mentioned the shooting, and the military individual as I remember, his name was Gold, and I just wondered whether there was a considerable conflict between the Military and the WRA in the policing and handling.

Mr. Barrows: No, there wasn't because by and large their jobs were quite distinct, and only when something like that happened did they impinge on each other, and that didn't happen very often.

Chair Bernstein: Thank you. I wanted to ask—

Mr. Barrows: Well, excuse me, but before we close I have one thing I want to say to the Commission, if I may.

Chair Bernstein: Proceed, Mr. Barrows.

Mr. Barrows: Well, I simply wanted to say that as I tried to understand the mission of this Commission, I believe you might find of some use to you a judgment made by WRA in its closing report, about the necessity for evacuation.

Now clearly it wasn't our business, but we couldn't help thinking about it, and in retrospect, officially commenting about it. And this is the judgment: "WRA believes that in all probability any selected evacuation of people of Japanese descent in the West Coast Military area was justified and administratively feasible in the spring of 1942. It does not believe, however, that a massive evacuation was ever justified and it feels most strongly that the exclusion orders remained in effect for months and perhaps years after there was any real justification for their continuance. Above all else the Authority deplors the stigmatizing effects of the mass evacuation, the spurious color of official approval which had led to the racial thinking of West Coast pressure groups. The severe blow which it dealt to the democratic faith of thousands of young American citizens."

Commissioner Brooke: That was written when?

Mr. Barrows: In 1946.

Chair Bernstein: Thank you very much, Mr. Barrows, for you—

Commissioner Goldberg: I would just like to ask this question, and say that people in the War Relocation Center were humane

people, and under great difficulty tried to do the job that they could do. But they operated under political and other pressures. Would you not agree with that, Mr. Barrows?

Mr. Barrows: Well, I suppose we were just ordinary people, really, but we had not been infected with any of the tensions of the West Coast.

Chair Bernstein: Are there further questions?

Mr. Barrows: Excuse me, just let me say, unfortunately now and then we would get people who were, and then we had trouble, and we never knew in advance what we were going to get. We found there were two kinds of people that didn't do; they were the ones who were secretly sure that they were dealing with spies and saboteurs, and then there were the others who were so emotionally upset by all that they wanted to go the other way.

We even tried one time by getting some psychologists together to get us a test of hidden racial attitudes, but we didn't get very far with it; but we had that, because some of our worst troubles came from the people who were just not emotionally stable enough.

Chair Bernstein: In connection with the critical press, Mr. Barrows, that you described, would you say that those attitudes were consistent with their prior attitudes about the Japanese and their presence in California, or was it something that was simulated by the war and by the wartime hysteria?

Mr. Barrows: There's no question about it, the war time hysteria was at the heart of matters. It wasn't pointed out by my predecessor and I'd like to mention that during the crucial weeks when the decisions were made, three ships were sunk off the Pacific Coast, and there was a shelling of one point. During that time women and children who had been evacuated from Pearl Harbor were coming in on ships filled with stories, all false, of sabotage and the like; so you could just sense how these things built up. And I must confess that I personally don't think that—I think a better security job can be done in such a situation by leaving people in place, but not unless you have general community acceptance of the situation.

Commissioner Mitchell: On that point let me ask you, whether you believed those stories, did they come to you as fact?

Mr. Barrows: Oh, we didn't no; as a matter of fact our usual reaction was to figure out how we could answer them.

Commissioner Mitchell: One little ship shot a shell into California some place and didn't hit anything, and that was the basis for an untold number of stories.

Mr. Barrows: Well, there were three sinkings also and the Army did sink a Japanese submarine and those things ended.

Chair Bernstein: And I assume those were all stories that were in the newspapers.

Mr. Barrows: Oh, yes.

Chair Bernstein: And widely broadcast.

Mr. Barrows: Yes.

Also you know the Japanese moving down the Pacific or I mean the Western Pacific, the Philippine stories were still in the newspapers and so it was being fed from—

Commissioner Goldberg: Well, we had sinkings now thought by military guard, which wasn't very much, it was a desk officer. We had sinkings by German submarines also off the Atlantic, very close.

Mr. Barrows: Yes.

Commissioner Goldberg: And they made no attempt to intern Germans or Italians.

Mr. Barrows: Maybe if they had all been concentrated in a small area and not amounted to very many people, so that they could be moved without destroying the local economy.

Commissioner Goldberg: Well, New York has a pretty good collection of both Germans and Italians.

Mr. Barrows: I know, but the point is—

Chair Bernstein: And so does Milwaukee.

Mr. Barrows: Well, anyway.

Commissioner Brooke: Wouldn't that make it more easy for you to provide security?

Mr. Barrows: I would think so, sir.

Commissioner Brooke: The fact that they are.

Mr. Barrows: I would think so, yes.

Commissioner Brooke: Rather than dispersed.

Mr. Barrows: I personally think from my experience since then in other activities, that you're more likely to have security if you leave people in place.

Commissioner Brooke: If they were perceived as enemies you would rather have your enemies concentrated to a small area than dispersed.

Mr. Barrows: I thought that in a small way this is the same error made by Hitler in his treatment of the Jews. He not only mistreated them but he lost a great resource. Well, we lost a resource, it's amazing how much we did get in the way of contribution by the Japanese Americans, considering how little we did to encourage it at the outset. In the end they made as much of a contribution as any other, perhaps more than any other group of that size.

Chair Bernstein: Thank you very much, Mr. Barrows. #

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gress by enactment of a criminal law to enforce the evacuation orders.

Attorney General Francis Biddle, to his eternal credit, opposed the evacuation as completely unwarranted but against this array failed to carry the day with President Roosevelt.

Civilian Authorities Cave into Military View

In my personal view, the result exhibited a complete failure of the theory that even in wartime military authorities are subordinates to their formally civilian superiors. Actually, Secretaries Stimson, Patterson and McCloy acted more like lawyers for their client, the Army, and gave the Army what it requested without exercise of the independent judgment their high offices required. But this view, even if accepted, cannot

change what happened, or even hold out any hope that in another such military emergency affecting the civilian population, the civilian authorities will not accept and enforce the military judgment passed up to them.

Instead of the adage that war is too important to leave to the generals, there seems to be prevalent, even in a democracy at war, that any novel situation with military aspects should be left to the military as the agency ultimately responsible for national security and survival.

But even if it be true that the military will prevail on all aspects of conduct of war, the Government should accept responsibility for compensating any segment of the population required to accept an unusual and discriminatory burden of the war approved by Congress and the President. The shameful evacuation and detention of Japanese Americans in World War II is such a case. #

NewsScope

FROM LOS ANGELES TIMES & WASHINGTON POST NEWS SERVICE

Internment slammed

WASHINGTON — A government commission, which Thursday issued the most detailed accounting yet of the World War II internment of 120,000 West Coast Japanese-Americans, concluded it was a "grave injustice" caused by "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership."

The 467-page report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians is the first phase of a process expected to lead to a recommendation in June that monetary compensation be paid to those who were detained because of false claims that Japanese-Americans were a threat to the country's military security.

The exhaustive report is designed in part to prepare the public and Congress, which set up the commission, for what could cost \$3 million or \$4 million in reparations of up to \$20,000 each for the personal suffering and property loss of those removed from the West Coast after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

The commission is also considering payments to Aleuts evacuated following the Japanese attack on the Aleutians. While the commission did not challenge the need for that evacuation from a war zone, it criticized the "deplorable condition" in abandoned mines and fish canneries where they were housed in southeastern Alaska. Ten percent of the evacuated Aleuts died during their two- or three-year stay.

"For every citizen and for American public life," the report said, the events of the period "pose haunting questions about our country and its past."

The commission, which reviewed thousands of documents unavailable to the public for years, said "there was no justification in military necessity" for the internment of Japanese-Americans. "Not a single documented act of espionage, sabotage or Fifth Column activity was committed" by any Japanese-American, the report said.

The epidemic has reached almost biblical proportions in central China, where one province claims to have a rat for every 70 square feet of farmland. Two state farms in the south saved their crops by killing 106 tons of rats last year. But peasants in the northeast grasslands were less fortunate and expect their hay harvest losses to reach about \$400 million.

No health warnings were issued Thursday, but most Chinese recall how bubonic plague transmitted by rats killed a million people in the first half of this century.

Although the next lunar year officially is the one named after the menacing rodent — the current being the year of the pig — Chinese zoologists say this is the peak year for rat reproduction because of the drastic decline in their natural enemies — cats, weasels, owls and snakes.

"The major cause of the serious danger from rats is the disruption of the ecological balance," said ecologist Hou Xueyu, writing in the official People's Daily. The slinky creatures appear to be winning the survival race in ironic fashion: their predators have died from feeding on rats that had eaten poison. So the rats' enemies are quickly vanishing.

The cycle of nature favors rats because they propagate at much faster rates than their predators. A mother rat is capable of producing up to 100 babies annually.

Rats also benefit from the ecological havoc wreaked by Chinese peasants who poach weasels for their pelts and illegally cut down forests for building materials, thus destroying the habitat of owls and snakes.

Dioxin still on sale

WASHINGTON — The Environmental Protection Agency, which on Tuesday decided to buy out the entire dioxin-contaminated town of Times Beach, Mo., still allows sale of herbicides with far higher levels of dioxin than were found in the tiny Missouri town, and has fought congressional efforts to restrict the sale.

NCCR Clarifies Its Thinking On Wartime Evacuation Redress

By LILLIAN NAKANO
NCCR Spokesperson

The Commission hearings are behind us now. But the old pride wells up each time I recall the hearings. Throughout the cities they echoed the same message to the Commission and the U.S. government that we demanded reparations and justice for the years of hardship, deprivation and losses suffered from the racist incarceration. The fighting spirit that came through was a testimony to our very pride and gut-level feeling which Japanese Americans (JAs) still embody despite 40 years of suppression. Indeed, this was a historic event within our JA Communities as finally our demands were clearly expressed in uncompromising terms. We no longer went by the old euphemism of "relocation center" as they would have us do, but firmly acknowledged that "a concentration camps experience" it was, under no uncertain terms.

Throughout that period, the different Redress and Reparation (R/R) groups including the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations (NCCR) really bore down to spread the word, mobilized and coordinated for strong community participation at the hearings. JAs had a message and it was said resoundingly.

Since its formation in November 1980, NCCR has been very active and in the forefront of the issue throughout our communities. All of the regionals are actively involved in their respective communities and our membership is growing. Now, it is appropriate for us to take our work a step further to speak concretely on the means to reparations. By a process of discussions in all of our regionals and on the level of the National Steering Committee, a decision was arrived at whereby NCCR will submit a draft to Congress as a first step to redress. On the basis of NCCR's principles, our draft will call for individual payments of \$25,000 and a community fund of 3 billion. This is also consistent with the overwhelming majority of testimonies by JAs at the hearings for individual monetary compensation.

Commission's Responsibility

It is now official the Commission for Wartime Relocation & Internment of Civilians (CWIC) has been granted an extension through December, 1982 to conclude its findings and make a recommendation on that basis. The evidence (hearings testimonies) would seem to indicate what the Commission's final recommendation *ought to be*, and that is to urge Congress to appropriate substantial compensation to all JAs who were affected by Executive Order 9066 (heirs of deceased, included). Yet, the climate of the economy and the "messages" of "political reality" we are getting from all sides, reminds us further that we cannot rely solely on officials to take the issue at hand. Our submitting a draft to Congress will be another way of speaking directly to the Commission as to their responsibility and response to our message at the hearings.

Legislative Perspective

At the same time, a legislative campaign does concretely require us to aggressively seek the support of as many Congressmen as possible including our Nikkei Congressmen. Underlying is the principle of the grave injustice done to Japanese people during WWII. JAs must stand firm and not let political expediency nullify our rights to seek redress

for gross injustices and violation of our rights and the damages incurred as a result of the camps. NCCR therefore feels it is correct to stand behind the strongest possible Bill.

A Unified Community

In the past, NCCR has worked jointly with various chapters of JACL, be it for the hearings, educationals or events like the Day of Remembrance. Additionally, we are working with various Church groups, community groups, Veterans groups, art & culture groups, different student organizations from the many campuses on the West Coast, and of course the many individuals who have joined us or supported us through the years. Our goal has always been to strive for a community united around a common goal — that of winning reparations.

There have been questions in the community around the different approaches to R/R that now exist such as the JACL's Foundation concept, Seattle's tax plan, NCJAR's class action suit and NCCR's direct appropriation bill. While NCCR is not at this time pursuing the tax plan or the class action suit, we do respect the initiative of these groups and feel that all approaches are in principle, speaking to a common sentiment for just compensation. Our draft will incorporate the "enabling legislation" or other legal aspects which would enable individuals to pursue the lawsuit route if desired. Specific to JACL's approach, as far as we are aware (J. Tateishi's article in Pacific Citizen March 12 and 19), they are advocating the creation of a "Chartered Foundation" from which individual payments would be disbursed with residual monies going into a community fund. We urge JACL to disclose the various details specific to the individual amounts, eligibility, method of payments and other such critical points related to their program to the community. These are questions of concern to all JAs and will help towards moving on a unified approach to redress. NCCR, in pursuing the direct appropriation route, feels that this is generally the quickest and most substantial means to redress with direct payments to individuals.

To the best of our knowledge, all drafts submitted to Congress will remain dormant for the period that the Commission is still in effect. NCCR will finalize a draft to be submitted into Congress as soon as possible. In the coming months, and throughout this year, NCCR would like to share this draft with our communities as well as with the different R/R groups. In this way, the differences may be discussed as we strive for a common approach or common bill. A common bill we feel, should be one that represents the sentiments of the entire community which incorporates individual payments that is meaningful and substantial.

The Tasks Before Us

It is very clear to us that this year is a crucial one for JAs to again rally, as we did for the hearings in 1981. We must reject feelings of apathy stemming from the attitude that the present reality is too formidable for winning any kind of reparations. Formidable it is, but the power of the people is likewise formidable. This will require mass involvement for our voices to spread into and beyond our communities. Justice minded people will support and respect us for our fortitude and righteous stand. We can in this period, come out with our heads high and our fists clenched in an all-out

effort to fight for what is right and just.

With the legislative campaign being the focus of NCCR in this period, we will continue to do our mass outreach within and outside our communities to build a strong network and the broadest support for reparations. We urge all of you to become involved in whatever level of participation possible. Some of the concrete ways in which individuals and organizations can help are to: join the coalition, endorse the NCCR (in writing), organize videotape (hearings) showings or other NCCR presentations, provide updated information to your members through your organization's newsletter, help with membership drives and fund-raising events. Other ideas are to form committees within your organization — taking up petition drives, letter-writing campaigns, or contacting and visiting Congressmen. Let's all march behind the banner of JUSTICE NOW! REPARATIONS NOW!

Haiku Poems Composed by S.J. Society

SAN JOSE — The symbols of spring were focused upon at the April 3 meeting of Yuki Teikei Haiku Society.

This month's winning poems were:

*Oh! the spring rainbow
Stands only to disappear
Before the mountain*

Kiyoshi Tokutomi

*Even here inside
The floors of the bank trembles
Shaken by spring storms*

Suzanne Stone

Haiku were written about spring rains. According to Tokutomi, spring rain in Japan is very fine and warm. Here in America, spring rain is much colder. "We see the difference in the haiku of Issa, as follow," Tokutomi pointed out:

*The spring rain:
A little girl teaches
The cat to dance*

Compare this with an American haiku by Jerald Ball:

*An April rainstorm:
Droplets on my friend's glasses
Appear to be tears*

The next meeting of Yuki Teikei Haiku Society is slated for Saturday, May 8. Jerald T. Ball is club president.

RAILWAY STRIKE AVERTED

TOKYO (Jiji) — A 48-hour strike by private railway workers scheduled for Tuesday and Wednesday was averted as they decided late Monday night to accept the management's wage increase offer.

The management proposed earlier in the day a wage hike of 14,500 yen (58.46 dollars) a month — a rise of 600 yen (2.42 dollars) over the initial offer — plus 1,000 yen (4.03 dollars) as an allowance for household expenses.

HAYASHIDA REELECTED KYOTO GOVERNOR

KYOTO (Jiji) — Incumbent governor Yukio Hayashida, 66, was reelected in Sunday's Kyoto gubernatorial election for a second four-year term.

Ms. Florence Makita Yoshiwara:

JACP Director Stresses Educational Angle of R/R at Federal Hearings

Following is the statement of Florence Makita Yoshiwara, director of Japanese American Curriculum Project (414 East Third Ave., San Mateo 90032) presented before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians hearing in San Francisco on Thursday, Aug. 13.

By FLORENCE YOSHIWARA

I represent the National Coalition for Redress and Reparations and I support all of their goals and objectives which have already been presented.

At the age of thirteen I, along with our family of nine, was evacuated from Cressey, California. Our family lost 130 acres of prime agricultural land and all our farm equipment, the home and contents of the home. I was interned for three and one half years at Amache, Colorado.

In 1970, it was the traumatic realization of the economically racist causes of that wartime experience which caused me to commit my life to the education of students and the general public about the concentration camps. I can think of no more appropriate expression than to say that I had my mind blown when I learned the real reasons behind those terrible years of my life.

Since 1970, I have been writing curriculum materials, lecturing to teachers and students, traveling all over the United States, disseminating materials about the Japanese American experience. I am presently the General Manager of the Japanese American Curriculum Project, Inc., which in ten years has become the largest distributors of Japanese American and Asian American books, audiovisuals and other educational materials. The only monies I have personally received from these efforts have been occasional consultant monies from schools, universities and other organizations.

The presentation I am making today on the topic of education is not meant in anyway to detract from the seriousness of the other recommendations already made for redress and reparations. The issue of education is being presented for your consideration as an additional problem connected with redress and reparations.

It is quite obvious from some of the testimony presented before the Commission and from feed-back from the general public on talk shows on radio and television that there still exists a great deal of doubt about the validity of our mission here. As Carlos Cortes, Professor of Education at the University of Riverside states, "The media - television, motion pictures, magazines, newspapers, and radio - serve as some of the most powerful, relentless educators within the societal curriculum."

In 1941 and 42 it was the racist media goaded by the economic greed of agricultural and other interests on the West Coast which convicted us and sentenced us to concentration camps. The evidence of this was placed in your hands as the Commission began its work in Washington, D.C., in a small booklet put together by JACP titled "Wartime Hysteria: the role of the press."

Even more seriously, most people, and this has been born out by surveys, still believe the propaganda built upon those half truths and innuendos, because very little has been produced in the media to combat those half truths and innuendos. It is this burden that we as Japanese Americans still carry. It is a burden inherited by our children and our children's children unless something is done.

It should not be the obligation of the victims to right a wrong cast upon us by a misguided and guilty government. It should become the responsibility of the government not only to provide redress and reparation for this terrible crime upon an entire people, but also to actively combat the myths which are still deeply imbedded in the history books in our educational system and in the minds of the majority of the American people.

Last month when I went to act as a consultant for the social science Education Consortium in Boulder, Colorado, we reviewed the products of the Ethnic Heritage grants of the US Office of Education over the past eight years. There were only four Japanese American

heritage products out of a total of approximately 350 products. And of those four I could only accept one as authentic and worthy of retaining for further distribution.

In looking at the June 1980 Directory of Asian and Pacific American Bilingual/Bicultural Programs in the United States which lists a total of 452 Bilingual/Bicultural programs. Of these only twenty-eight programs either contain a Japanese element or only 6% of the total. When you compare this data with the fact that Japanese Americans are approximately 20% of the Asian and Pacific American population and the fact of the severity of our racist experience in the United States then you will need to conclude that Japanese Americans have been receiving a disproportionately small percentage of federal monies to alleviate problems.

REMEDIES

There has developed, especially here in California, a number of strong organizations concentrating on the production and dissemination of Japanese American materials. These are groups organized and managed by Japanese Americans and Asian Americans since 1970. They all have a proven record of outstanding accomplishments in their respective fields. Unfortunately their commitment and talent has not been coupled with adequate financing either by the government or private sources.

These organizations are:
Visual Communications (213) 680 4462, 313 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles, CA 90013.
Asian American Studies Center (213) 825 2968, 3232 Campbell Hall, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90032.

JACP, INC. (Japanese American Curriculum Project,

Inc.) (415) 343 9408 414 East Third Avenue, San Mateo, California 94401.

Visual Communications will produce a series of television films designed to combat myths and stereotypes about Japanese Americans and to provide authentic portrayals of Japanese Americans life. Cost - \$100,000-000.

Asian American Studies Center will produce classroom materials as a supplement to existing curriculum which will honestly portray the role of Japanese Americans in building this country and authentic historical supplement which explain the wartime experience. Cost \$10,000,000. This includes the production and publication of such materials for low cost distribution.

JACP, Inc., will broaden their promotions and exhibiting to include all national educational organizations which deal with social studies, history, bilingual/bicultural and libraries. In addition, JACP will promote and distribute those materials produced by both Visual Communication and Asian American Studies Center (which it is already doing). Cost \$2,000,000.

These funds for these projects should be set aside as priority funding from the monies which are awarded to education on an annual basis. Since as I have pointed out, the Japanese Americans in the past have not received their rightful share of educational funding, there should be no need for providing special monies for these projects.

In our present world community which is growing increasingly interdependent the United States as a leader in human rights has a heavy moral obligation to lead the way through their sympathetic handling of their own mistakes.

Nov. 7 Set for 41st Annual Goodwill Dinner of Placer JACL

PENRYN — Placer County Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) will sponsor its 41st annual Goodwill Dinner on Saturday, Nov. 7, 6 p.m., at the Placer Buddhist Church hall, 3192 Boyington Road, Penryn, with Tad Yamashiro as general chairman, disclosed Kay Miyamura, vice-president for program and activities.

Co-chairmen Gary Imamoto and Harry Kawahata will assist in coordinating the assignments of various dinner committee.

Howard Nakae was appointed to handle the dinner program as the master of ceremonies.

Guest committee chairman Hike Yego reported that the chapter guest list is presently being prepared and the invitations will be in the mail by Sept. 15.

The dinner steering committee will hold its first meeting early in September to make general arrangements and set

up the overall program for the local JACL's biggest annual event, said Yamashiro.

Overseas Tourism Still Popular

NARITA (MDN) — A total of 318,240 travelers left the New Tokyo International Airport in Narita for points overseas during the peak summer period between July 23, and August 16 according to immigration authorities at the airport.

They said 242,086 persons arrived at the airport from abroad during the period.

Of the totals, 225,165 leaving from the airport and 242,086 arriving were Japanese, down some 5 percent and 2 percent, respectively, from a year ago.

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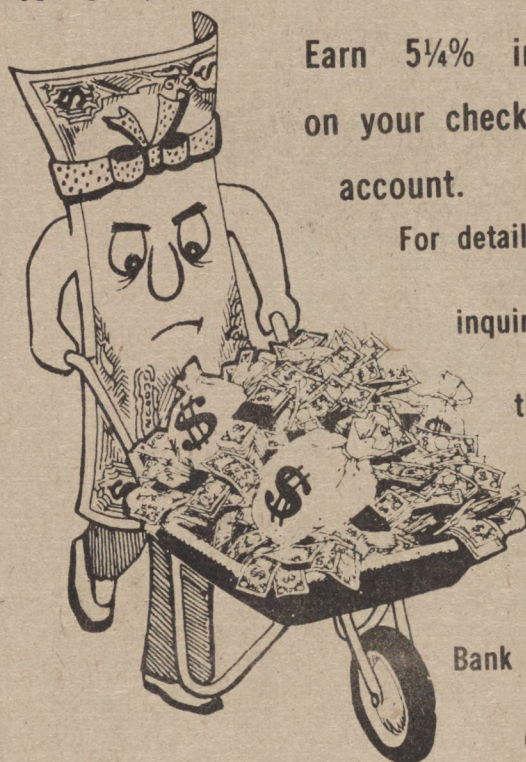
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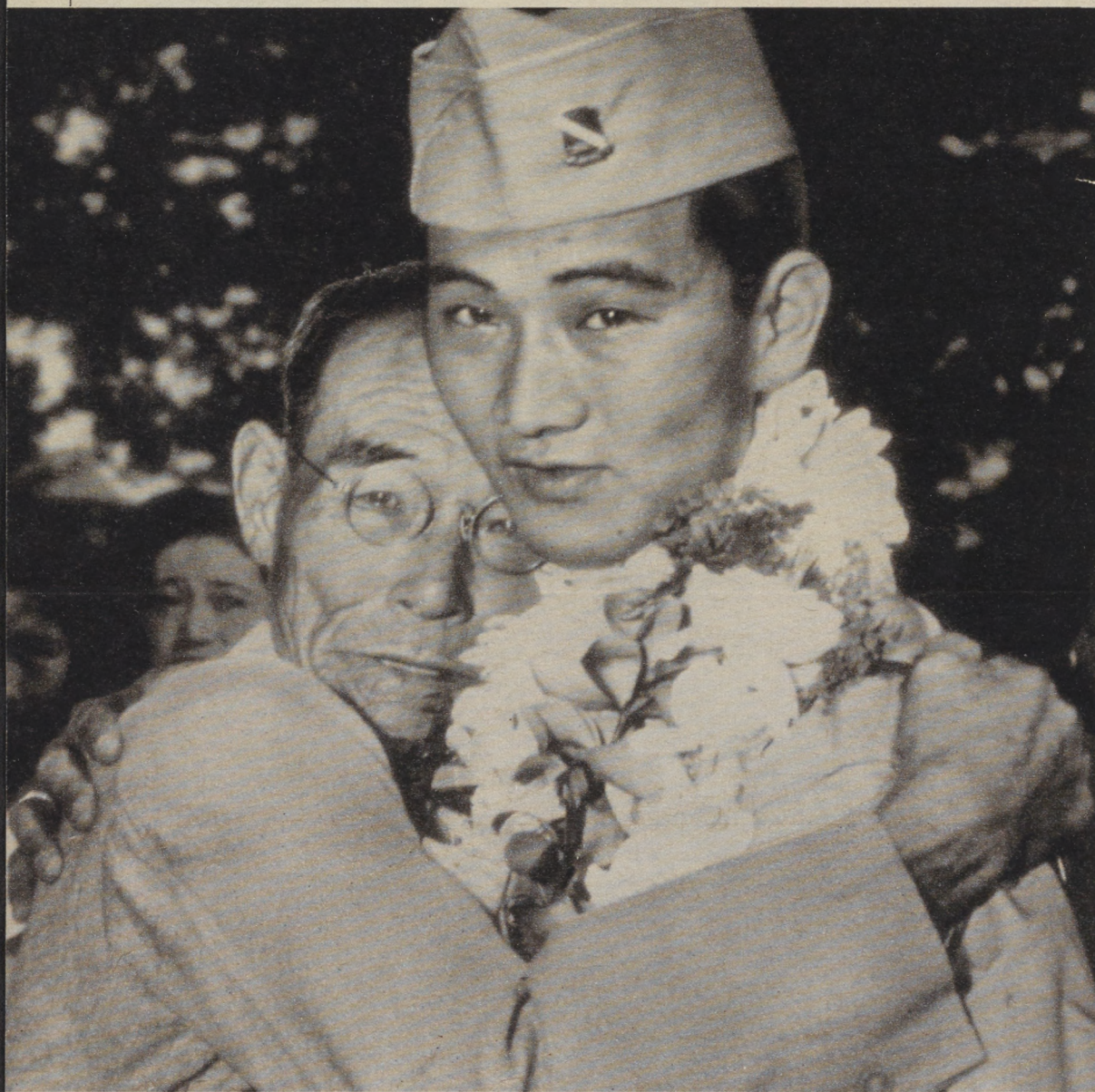


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THE ANXIETY OF BEING A JAPANESE-AMERICAN



A Japanese-American soldier, Sgt. Howard Kiyama, returns home from World War II in August 1946 and is greeted by his father.

By Gene Oishi

MY BASE CAMP WAS THE Hyatt Regency Hotel, an imposing fortresslike structure towering above downtown Phoenix. My room on the 12th floor looked south over the desert, dotted with flat-topped buttes that looked like bombed-out Mount Fujis. Somewhere out there was the site of the Gila River Relocation Center, the internment camp in which I spent an important part of my childhood during World War II.

As I looked out over the desert from my well-appointed hotel room I could feel traces of a nagging fear, and I

began to sense why it had taken me nearly 40 years to revisit the scene of my wartime internment.

It was last April that I made the trip to Arizona, ostensibly to complete my research for an article dealing with the assimilation of Japanese into the American mainstream. Actually, I went there in the hope of overcoming a writer's block.

Much has been written about the internment of Japanese during World War II, and so I had not intended to dwell on that aspect of Japanese-American history. But as I began to write the article, it became clear to me that there was much more that needed to be said about the experience.

I recalled the hearings held in 1981 by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. The commission was created by Congress, in the wake of renewed demands for reparations, to re-examine the internment of Japanese during World War II. Hundreds of Japanese came forth to testify, and many feel that those hearings constituted the most significant event that has occurred in the Japanese community since the internment itself.

The commission concluded its work in the summer of 1983 with a list of five recommendations, including one that calls for a \$1.5 billion fund to be used to provide a one-time compensatory payment of \$20,000 to each of the approximately 60,000 remaining survivors of the internment. There was a bill in the last Congress — and action on a reintroduced version is expected in the current session — that would implement the commission's recommendations. Regardless of the fate of that bill, the commission hearings had a permanent impact on the Japanese community.

At the hearings, the usually reticent and undemonstrative nisei — second-generation Japanese-Americans — choked back tears or let them flow as they told their stories. Many of the spectators wept, too, as they listened, and it seemed as if a dam had burst and the community was at long last truly mourning its past. The sansei — third-generation Japanese-Americans, most of whom were too young to have experienced the internment — were astonished. "I never saw nisei act that way before," said a sansei afterward.

It was not *what* the witnesses said that was so remarkable, for most of them simply described the economic and physical hardships they endured. What was remarkable was that they spoke at all. I, too, spoke to the commission at a pre-hearing briefing seminar in June 1981. My throat and chest suddenly felt so constricted that I thought I was coming down with an attack of bronchitis. It took all the strength I had to get through my talk and to keep from breaking into tears.

The reasons for the severity of my reaction, and that of the other witnesses, long remained a mystery to me. Even in the spring of 1983, when I traveled around the country interviewing Japanese of all ages and in a wide variety of occupations, I had not yet plumbed the emotional depths of the internment experience. Nor did I start out with the intention of doing so. My plan was to flesh out what social scientists had been saying for

(Continued of Page 58)

Gene Oishi is managing editor of *Action Line*, a publication of the Maryland State Teachers Association.

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JAPANESE-AMERICANS

Continued from Page 54

the last two decades: that Japanese-Americans are an extraordinarily successful ethnic group.

As a group (there are about 700,000 Japanese in the United States), they are for the most part prosperous, well-educated and are rapidly joining the mainstream of middle-class life. But in the course of my interviews I began to notice in myself as well as in those I interviewed an intense discomfort with the "model minority" theme.

Chris Iijima, a teacher and politically oriented folk singer in New York, first articulated this discomfort for me in a rational way. Every stereotype, he said, has a "flip side." Hard-working can become ruthless. Resourceful and ingenious can become diabolical. Friendly can become sneaky. Dedicated can become fanatical. What Iijima said struck a chord in me, for within my own lifetime I have seen the Japanese stereotype among the American public turn from negative to positive, and there are signs that as a result of economic competition with Japan it might flip again as more Americans view Japan as a threat to their livelihood.

Later, as I thought about Iijima's observation and my reaction to it, I began to understand that the reason for my near-breakdown before the Congressional commission was fear. I was speaking to a commission that represented in my mind the same type of officialdom that in 1942 could not see past the color of our skin and hair and the shape of our eyes and noses and concluded that we were actual or potential enemies.

IT WAS IN ARIZONA, AT the scene of my wartime internment, that I began to suspect that our discomfort with stereotypes, even positive ones, was rooted in fear. For the first time, I began to get a sense of how fear had ruled much of my life and perhaps the lives of most Japanese of my generation.

I was surprised by the ease with which I found the old campsite in the Gila River Indian Reservation, about 30 miles south of Phoenix. The barracks were gone, but the concrete foundation blocks, with twisted and rusted steel flanges clinging to them,

were still there, as were the large slabs of concrete that once were the floors of the mess halls. From the top of a butte I had often climbed as a child, I could see a cattle farm and greening fields of wheat in the distance. None of this had existed when I first was here. At that time, there was nothing but desert wilderness as far as the eye could see. I felt high indignation; they were ruining my desert, encroaching on that precious isolation that had provided a measure of safety for me as a child. I realized then that I had not wanted to leave the camp. The desert, with its primitive desolation and extremes of weather, can be frightening at times, but it was not as frightening to me as the uncertainties and ambiguities of the world from which I had been ejected.

For the first nine years of my life my home had been Guadalupe, a small farming community in California's Santa Maria Valley. My father, who was a prominent farmer and civic leader in the Japanese community, was arrested early in the morning on Dec. 8, 1941, within 24 hours after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Though he was never charged with any crime, he thought he was going to be executed and so he wrote a letter of farewell to his family from a cell in the Santa Barbara County Jail.

Although my father and other community leaders arrested with him were not killed, many of the older Japanese feared they were being sent to extermination camps as the general "evacuation" began on the West Coast several months later. These fears I learned of much later, but I got a hint of them at the time from my mother's perpetually furrowed brow, from the sound of her crying at night and from her hair, which seemed to have turned gray overnight.

The roots of the fear went back to the late 19th century, when Japanese first started coming to this country in significant numbers. Like the Chinese before them, Japanese were subjected to intense racial hatred and vilification. Every effort was made to keep them from becoming woven into the social and economic fabric. They were not allowed naturalization privileges. Most

Western states passed laws forbidding Asians from owning land. Antimiscegenation and other racially discriminatory laws were enacted. There was pressure put on Congress to stop further immigration from the Far East. In 1882, immigration from China was stopped, and in 1924 the ban was extended to Japan.

With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, racial animosity flared with renewed ferocity. It was a time when racism was not universally condemned as it is today publicly, and members of Congress and newspaper columnists and editors openly expressed racial hatred for the Japanese. Ultimately, in February 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which enabled the Government to remove 110,000 Japanese — 71,000 of them American citizens — from the West Coast and to place them in internment camps in the interior.

The first camp we were sent to was an "assembly center" built at the county fairgrounds in Tulare, Calif. My memories are of heat, dust and a pervasive, sickening smell of the tar paper

with which the barracks were covered. There were two barbed-wire fences surrounding the camp. This was not simply an "assembly center"; it was a prison. Soldiers with fixed bayonets patrolled the area between the two fences, and if you had any further doubts about what this camp was, there were guard towers along the perimeter, each equipped with a machine gun and searchlight.

Tulare was a hateful place, and I suppose anyone who spent time there would find his own reasons for finding it so. Mine never had any coherent pattern. First of all, my mother got sick and I had the feeling that she had deserted me. The food tasted tinny, maybe because it was served on metal trays. Juices from the canned vegetables, canned frankfurters and melting Jell-O flowed together to form a tepid, mildly sweet soup. The latrines were dirty and smelly and swarmed with flies. I still have unpleasant dreams about toilets filled and smeared with human feces. The barracks were crowded and noisy. Our family of six was assigned one small compartment that was barely

large enough to hold our cots. The couple in the next compartment were always quarreling, and you could hear every word, even those they whispered.

During the day, I roamed with a band of children who resembled a pack of domestic dogs gone wild. We tried to make friends with the soldiers patrolling the camp, but they were sullen, even a little hostile, so we gave up. I don't know about the other children, but I never held it against the soldiers. Instead, I began to resent the Japanese they were guarding.

THE CAMP IN ARIZONA had no fence. None was needed, situated as we were in the middle of the wilderness. I recall being inordinately afraid of rattlesnakes. I was afraid to go out of the barracks at night for fear that one would come slithering out of the crawl space under the building. It is only in recent years that I have begun to realize that the state of panic in which I lived during the first few months in Arizona was in some way connected with being a Japanese. At the weekly movie, an American war film played

that ended with the sinking of a Japanese battleship. As American bombs began exploding on the deck of the ship, Japanese sailors began to panic and leap into the sea. The children and young adults in the audience began to giggle, and as the battleship sank they broke into cheers and applause. I cheered and applauded, too, knowing full well that our parents in the crowd were deeply pained that their children were turning against Japan and perhaps even against them. By late 1943, those who had pledged their loyalty to the United States were allowed to leave. Most of those who remained were children — or older folk who had been born in Japan and who, under the law, were not allowed to become citizens. They knitted, sculptured ironwood, grew morning glories, built rock gardens, or sat in the shade, fanning themselves and squinting against the heat. Life remained pretty much that way until the war ended and we were told to leave.

I recall the first words spoken to me when I met a former schoolmate upon our return to Guadalupe. He had

been a friend before the war and I had often gone to his house to play. "Hi, Norman," I said. "Remember me? I'm Gene." Norman stared for some time. I waited for a smile of recognition that never came. Instead, he tilted his head back a little and asked with a sniff, "All you Japs coming back?"

I eventually got over Norman's rude welcome. I graduated from high school, served in the Army, went to college, got married to a Swiss woman, moved to the East Coast and began a career as a newspaper reporter. I lived in a white neighborhood, had white friends and for long stretches of time would forget I was Japanese. I would feel extremely uncomfortable when inevitably I would be reminded of it.

For years I thought I was unusual in my reactions, but as I interviewed Japanese around the country, I discovered I was more typical than not of the generation of so-called nisei who grew up in the 1930's and 40's and were interned with their immigrant parents.

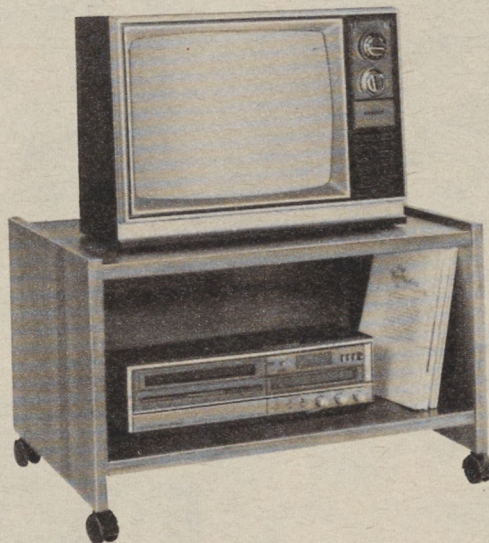
Dwight Chuman, a Los Angeles journalist and sansei, or third-generation Japanese,

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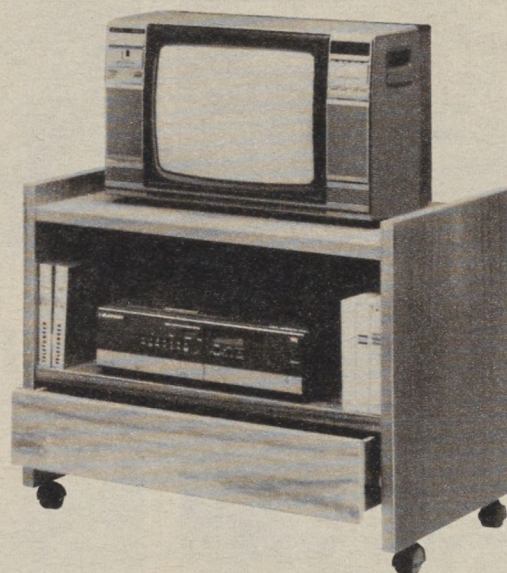
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called the nisei "confused young men who succeeded by selling their self-hatred and disappearing into the mainstream mentality." It is difficult to be lectured by a member of the younger generation, but I found myself agreeing with Chuman and with most of the sansei activists I interviewed.

Feelings of self-hatred and shame are well documented among victims of aggression and abuse, such as raped women, abused children and prisoners of war. But until recently, I had not thought of myself as a victim and had not allowed myself to feel fear or anger about the internment. As I interviewed Japanese around the country, I found others who were better able to articulate their feelings.

Bebe Toshiko Reschke, a psychiatric social worker at an adult outpatient clinic in California, was a child during the internment. She recalled that while in camp three military policemen came into her family's compartment to search for contraband.

"I had such a feeling of being violated," she said. "I still have a problem with that, of trusting authority. ... That anyone can have such control over you, and it can happen so fast."

"When I read these stories dealing with Japan," she continued, referring to coverage of Japanese competition with the United States, "I still get

that emotional reaction. I think, 'Oh my God, the American public is turning against us again.' This time I'm not going. That's my line. This time I'm going to fight. I've joined the American Civil Liberties Union. That's my way of coping with my fears about what happened."

Her comment is an indication of the anger suppressed by many nisei that is only now beginning to bubble to the surface. The more fortunate Japanese-Americans, in my view, are those who in one way or another expressed their anger at the time. Minoru Yasui, a lawyer and former executive director of the Denver Community Relations Commission, is one of them.

A trim elegant man with a lively twinkle in his eyes, Yasui does not strike one as a stubborn fighter. In fact, as a young lawyer in Portland, Ore., in 1942, he had no intention of turning himself into a test case. "But we couldn't find anyone else to do it," he said. "You were laying your career, your life, your record on the line. ... It was scary. If you were convicted, you didn't know whether you were going to come out of prison alive."

Despite his fear, Yasui refused to obey a curfew imposed on Japanese-Americans after the outbreak of World War II and refused to leave his home voluntarily when ordered to evacuate. He

was arrested and served nine months in the Multnomah County Jail in Portland. Yasui appealed his conviction all the way to the Supreme Court, which upheld it.

Yasui and others who fought for their constitutional rights in court were the exceptions. The Japanese American Citizens League, which assumed leadership within the Japanese community in 1942, discouraged even legal challenges and urged cooperation with the authorities. After an initial protest, league leaders accepted the position of the authorities that the evacuation of all Japanese from the West Coast was a military necessity. They cooperated with the authorities in getting Japanese into camps. Once they were there, the league lobbied Washington successfully to allow nisei to volunteer for the armed forces and to be subject to the draft. At one point, Mike Masaoka, a league leader, was reported to have urged the formation of an all-Japanese "suicide battalion." Masaoka today says he does not recall having used the words "suicide battalion," and goes on to say that even if he had he did not have in mind anything like the kamikaze units formed later in the war by the Japanese enemy.

Passions were whipped raw during the first months of internment. In some camps, Japanese American Citizens

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A Japanese-American family at dinner in a World War II internment camp at Manzanar, Calif.

Continued from Page 60

League leaders were attacked and beaten. But on the whole, the league position was supported. About 75 percent of Japanese-American males responded "yes" to a loyalty questionnaire that made them subject to the draft. Ultimately, more than 33,000 Japanese-Americans, including women, volunteered or were drafted into the armed forces during the war. In the Pacific, they served as interpreters and translators; and in Europe, the all-Japanese 100th Battalion and the 442d Regimental Combat Team were two of the most decorated and bloodied units of the war.

Thus, Japanese in the United States paid with blood the price of acceptance as Americans. But there are many of us who feel that we are continuing to pay a price.

Amy Iwasaki Mass, a nisei who is a clinical social worker and an instructor at Whittier College, in Whittier, Calif., has worked with many nisei as a therapist and concludes that the internment experience continues to be "a real attack on our sense of well being and our self esteem."

The reaction of many nisei, she said, was much like that of some hostages who start to identify with their captors. "Identification with the aggressor makes us feel safer and stronger," she said.

She observed, as others have, that some nisei have shed their ethnic identity and have merged into the white mainstream. "What is sacrificed is the individual's own self-acceptance," she said. "It places an exaggerated emphasis on surface qualities, such as a pleasant non-offensive manner, neat grooming and appearance, nice homes, nice cars and well behaved children."

A further misfortune, she said, is that many nisei have passed on their basic insecurity to their sansei children.

SOME SANSEI, HOWEVER, have managed to break out of such a nisei mold. One of them is Steve Nakajo, a familiar figure on the streets of San Francisco's Japantown. His generous girth decked out in jeans and sneakers, he walks the streets with a swagger reminiscent of a sumo wrestler. He founded Kimochi Inc. to help the people of Japantown. One of the first projects was a movie escort service. Sansei, wearing yellow and

black happi coats, walked or drove issei — first-generation immigrants — to and from Japanese movie theaters. This proved to be a popular service because of the old people's fear of street crime. Later, the Kimochi (which means "feeling") Lounge was opened, where issei could congregate, find reading materials, take up handicrafts and receive counseling for social services. A nutrition program was started as part of the federally financed meal program. Kimochi's crowning achievement, so far, is a \$1.3 million, 20-bed facility for elderly Japanese. It was built entirely with private contributions, mostly from individuals, but with some corporate and foundation grants.

There are those who say that the internment benefited the Japanese by dispersing them throughout the country and making them more familiar and acceptable to other Americans. Such people ignore the damage done to the Japanese sense of family and to generational ties that sansei like Nakajo are trying to restore.

I AM ONE OF THOSE whose trauma was real, and in recent years I have struggled with the thought of my father's humiliation and downfall. After coming to this country in 1903 at the age of 19, he established himself as a successful farmer in Guadalupe. A flamboyant man, he drove a big Buick, wore tailored suits, smoked cigars and sent two sons to Stanford University. With his arrest by Federal Bureau of Investigation agents and the internment of his family, he lost everything he had worked for and achieved in 40 years.

When we returned to Guadalupe after the war, he and my mother went to work as field laborers. Contrary to the Japanese stereotype, my father was a man who freely vented his feelings. A devotee of the Kabuki theater, he would be moved to tears by tales of death, sacrifice and downfall. Yet he never complained about his own economic ruin and loss of status. He carried on as if none of that really mattered. It is only in recent years, long after his death, that I have grown to appreciate his courage and to understand that if the authorities indeed wanted to emasculate him, they did not succeed. When I am able to accept that, perhaps my long night of fear will finally come to an end. ■

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January 25, 1985



Photo by Ken Nakano

ISSEI CONTRIBUTION — American flag is raised at the former Japanese Evangelical Church of Seattle, rebuilt as an exhibit at Japan's open-air Meiji Village near Nagoya. (Story on page 7.)

Midwest community rallies behind Chinese victim

by Helen Zia

DETROIT—Kiet Tien, a 20-year-old ethnic Chinese from Vietnam, moved to the U.S. with his brothers, grandfather and other family members through a refugee assistance program four years ago. They settled in Grand Ledge, Mich., a semi-rural town of 7,000 located about eight miles from Lansing. Off and on for the last four years, Kiet Tien has been harassed, and in December the harassment turned to violence.

On Jan. 2, four white men were arraigned for attempting to break into the Tien home with intent to commit murder the day before. The four—Robert Schrauben, 18, Rick Wallace, 18, Jerry Wilson, 18, and Michael Osborne, 19—were freed on bond, and preliminary hearings began Jan. 10.

Knock at the Door

At the hearings, Tien's wife Christina, a Caucasian and a native of Grand Ledge, testified that at about 11 p.m. on Jan. 1 she answered a knock on the door. Schrauben, accompanied by the other three, was at the door wielding a hunting knife. When Mrs. Tien asked what they wanted, Schrauben reportedly replied, "I just want to talk to your Chinese

husband and any other chinks you have in there."

While Mrs. Tien went to call the police, the men began pounding on the door with their knives and breaking windows. Local police arrived within minutes. As they subdued the four, some allegedly yelled, "Why are you protecting them? Ship 'em in a boat and send them back to China where they came from."

Neighbors who knew the Tien

reported that this was not the first such incident for Kiet Tien. "He's been harassed by four or five young men...saying things like he's taking their jobs and why doesn't he go back where he came from," said Betty Miller, who sponsored the Tien family's move to the U.S.

As a result of these violent encounters, Tien, a quiet man who speaks in halting English, has quit

Continued on Page 6

New redress bill attracts 100 sponsors

WASHINGTON — Ninety-nine members of Congress have signed on as co-sponsors of redress bill HR 442, also known as the Civil Liberties Act of 1985. The bill was introduced to the House of Representatives Jan. 3 by Rep. Jim Wright (D-Tex.), who introduced redress bill HR 4110 in 1983.

The new bill, named in honor of the all-Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat Team, is essentially the same as HR 4110. One provision of HR 4110 that was dropped from the present bill is the requirement that five of the nine members of the proposed Civil Liberties Public Education Trust Fund be Japanese Americans. Some members of Congress had considered the requirement discriminatory.

The current list of supporters includes representatives who were not co-sponsors during the last session of Congress: Robert Borski (D-Pa.), Dan Burton (R-Ind.), Bob Carr (D-Mich.), Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.), Edward Madigan (R-Ill.), and Don Young (R-Alaska). Also on the list is newly-elected congressman John Miller (R-Wash.).

* * *

Co-sponsors of HR 442 (By State and District)

Alaska: Don Young (R-At Large)
American Samoa: Fofu Sunia (D)
Arizona: Morris Udall (D-2nd)
California: Douglas Bosco (D-1st), Robert Matsui (D-3rd), Vic Fazio (D-4th), Barbara Boxer (D-6th), George Miller (D-7th), Ronald Delums (D-8th), Fortney Stark (D-9th), Don Edwards (D-10th), Tom Lantos (D-11th), Norman Mineta (D-13th), Tony Coelho (D-15th), Leon Panetta (D-16th), Richard Lehman (D-18th), Henry Waxman (D-24th), Edward Roybal (D-25th), Howard Berman (D-26th), Meldon Levine (D-27th), Julian Dixon (D-28th), Augustus Hawkins (D-29th), Matthew Martinez (D-30th), Mervyn Dymally (D-31st), Esteban Torres (D-34th), Jim Bates (D-44th)
Colorado: Timothy Wirth (D-2nd)
Connecticut: Samuel Gejdenson (D-2nd), Bruce Morrison (D-3rd)

District of Columbia: Walter Fauntroy (D)
Florida: Lawrence Smith (D-16th), William Lehman (D-17th)
Hawaii: Daniel Akaka (D-1st)
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Indiana: Danny Burton (R-6th)
Louisiana: Gillis Long (D-8th)
Maryland: Barbara Mikulski (D-3rd), Parren Mitchell (D-7th), Michael Barnes (D-8th)
Massachusetts: Barney Frank (D-4th), Nicholas Mavroules (D-6th), Edward Markey (D-7th), Joe Moakley (D-9th), Gerry Studds (D-10th)
Michigan: John Conyers (D-1st), Howard Wolpe (D-3rd), Mark Siljander (R-4th), M. Robert Carr (D-6th), Dale Kildee (D-17th), David Bonior (D-12th), George Crockett (D-13th)
Minnesota: Bruce Vento (D-4th)
Missouri: Richard Gephardt (D-3rd), Alan Wheat (D-5th)
Nevada: Harry Reid (D-1st)
New Jersey: William Hughes (D-2nd), James Howard (D-3rd), Robert Roe (D-8th), Robert Torricelli (D-9th), Peter Rodino (D-10th)
New York: Thomas Downey (D-2nd), Gary Ackerman (D-7th), James Scheuer (D-8th), Charles Schumer (D-10th), Eldolphus Towns (D-11th), Major Owens (D-12th), Charles Rangel (D-16th), Ted Weiss (D-17th), Robert Garcia (D-18th), Mario Biaggi (D-19th), Hamilton Fish (R-21st), Benjamin Gilman (R-22nd), Frank Horton (R-29th)
Ohio: Thomas Luken (D-1st), Tony Hall (D-3rd), Edward Feighan (D-19th), Louis Stokes (D-21st)
Pennsylvania: Thomas Foglietta (D-1st), William Gray (D-2nd), Robert Borski (D-3rd), Joseph Kolter (D-4th), Robert Edgar (D-7th), Peter Kostmayer (D-8th), Austin Murphy (D-22nd)
South Dakota: Thomas Daschle (D-At Large)
Tennessee: Harold Ford (D-9th)
Texas: Charles Wilson (D-2nd), Jim Wright (D-12th), Mickey Leland (D-18th), Solomon Ortiz (D-27th)
Vermont: James Jeffords (R-At Large)
Washington: John Miller (R-1st), Thomas Foley (D-5th), Mike Lowry (D-7th)
Wisconsin: Robert Kastenmeier (D-2nd), James Moody (D-5th)
Total: 100

Japanese, American auto-makers in new relationship

by Robert Shimabukuro

The refurbished Toyota-General Motors plant in Fremont, Calif., sent its first Nova off the assembly line last month, and industry, labor and management experts are watching the experiment with great interest. In an era of sometimes disquieting envy of Japa-

Analysis

nese industry by American corporations and animosity toward Japanese products by American labor unions, the Fremont plant is a cautious *ménage à trois* of two of the world's largest manufacturing concerns and the onepowerful United Auto Workers (UAW).

Unlike the Honda plant in Ohio and the Nissan plant in Tennessee, the NUMMI (New United Motor Manufacturing, Inc.) plant in Fremont is comprised of union members, a large number of them rehired from the old Fremont GM plant. Because of that, the UAW has as much at stake as GM and Toyota.

In February 1983, when GM-Toyota announced the formation of NUMMI, then-UAW president Douglas Fraser said that, based on his discussions with GM chairman Roger Smith, the UAW had "every reason to believe the UAW will continue to be the bargaining agent at the plant." But when Toyota chairman Eiji Toyoda announced in Tokyo that laid-off UAW workers would not be given priority when hiring was done at the Fremont plant, relations soured. Because union activists were not hired at Nissan and Honda, the UAW members were very skeptical about who was going to work for NUMMI.

Skepticism Countered

Toyota officials were skeptical also. The GM Fremont plant had a high absenteeism rate, low morale, drug and alcohol abuse, and union-management friction. But intense pressure, meetings, discussions with high-level officials, and reassurances from Fremont City Councilman Yoshio Fujiwara about the abilities and habits of American workers, resulted in

NUMMI recognizing the UAW; presently, 90% of the work force is from the pool of ex-GM workers. According to UAW members, their job is to show that American workers can produce a quality car and that the problems of the GM Fremont plant were due in most part to GM management.

Management Techniques

NUMMI is incorporating Japanese management techniques that appear to be meeting with the approval of the workers. Time clocks are gone, and so are private offices. Executives fight for parking space along with assembly-line workers, and everyone eats in the same cafeteria. Group leaders, team leaders, and team members talk about teamwork, mutual trust, cooperation, and quality over early morning calisthenics.

Rather than the specialized, one-man-one-job process emphasized in the U.S., NUMMI will operate within the flexible Japanese system in which a worker performs more than one function,

Continued on Page 4

News in Brief

Government response to Hirabayashi due

SEATTLE—The U.S. Dept. of Justice is expected to file its pretrial order in response to Gordon Hirabayashi's petition for a writ of *habeas corpus*, filed in January 1983. Hirabayashi, whose conviction for violating military curfew and "evacuation" orders was upheld by the Supreme Court, charged that the government suppressed, altered and destroyed evidence attesting to the loyalty of Japanese Americans during WW2.

U.S. District Court Judge John Voorhees heard the petition in May 1984 and agreed that he should conduct an evidentiary hearing, or trial, on the matter. The government's pretrial order, due today, must indicate the issues, documents, and witnesses it plans to use in its case against Hirabayashi.

Veterans help rebuild torched Buddhist temple

HAWLEY, Mass.—After three angry Vietnam war veterans burned down a Buddhist temple New Year's Eve 1984, other veterans from around the country helped to rebuild it. A new, larger temple is now ready for the congregation of the Mahasiddha Nyingapa Center.

The men said they burned the shrine to protest the lack of services available for Vietnam veterans. The congregation of the temple is nearly all white.

Hiring of Southeast Asian protested

PORTLAND, Ore.—The director of the Willamette National Cemetery reinstituted a work experience program with Portland Community College after cancelling it when a local veterans group objected to the hiring of a Vietnamese student. An employee of the cemetery had instigated the protests.

Paul Bannai, director of the Veterans Administration's Dept. of Memorial Affairs, which oversees the national cemetery system, has backed the Willamette director.

Elected official says he didn't intend slur

BOISE, Idaho—State Sen. Walter H. Yarbrough (R-Grand View) said he "didn't mean it as degrading" when he referred to Japanese as "slant-eyes."

Yarbrough, who is beginning his 11th term, made the remark during a hearing of the Idaho Legislature's revenue projection committee Jan. 4, when it discussed ways to improve markets for Idaho agricultural products in the Pacific.

Speaking as a cattle rancher, Yarbrough said beef producers have run into difficulty trying to sell to the Japanese. "When you start dealing with those slant-eyes, you'd better be pretty sharp," he said.

Later that day, Yarbrough declared, "All the Japanese are my good friends," and noted that Japanese Americans, the most unpopular ethnic group in the U.S. during WW2, have since become among the nation's most respected citizens.

The slur prompted Pocahontas Blackfoot JACL president Kunio Yamada to write Yarbrough a letter which read, in part: "Your derogatory remark is an affront to Japanese everywhere, including those Japanese Americans with whom you claim friendship...."

Asians encountering Black hostility

by Hiroshi Uyehara

PHILADELPHIA—Four hearings were conducted by the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations from Oct. 27 to Nov. 5 to investigate incidents of violence against Asian refugees and immigrants. The hearings were a result of Councilwoman Joan Specter's prodding of the city council's inaction in the face of increasing violence against Asians in West Philadelphia and the Logan section of the city. Mayor Wilson Goode's response was to tour the troubled West Powelton area and declare that the attacks on Asians were not racially motivated.

It was against this background that Reiko Gaspar testified for JACL and recounted her personal experiences of racism at the last hearing. After her testimony she was asked about racial slurs and she responded in a loud clear voice that she had been taunted,

"Chink, Chink, Gook! Can you see through those slits?" as she walked through the halls of the University City High School. As a public school teacher for many years who had worked with Black students, she has encountered similar hostility and sensed increasing racism. There was no doubt in her testimony that the slurs were racially motivated.

During the past year a Vietnamese student was beaten and his neck broken and, recently, a Hmong visiting in West Philadelphia was savagely beaten with both legs broken and surgical repair of his skull needed. The Hmong did not report attacks, robberies, extortion, and even rape to the police because of fear of retaliation. The police say that they have not received any such reports. The Hmong response is to gather their extended families

Continued on Page 8

Congress demands action on Liu case

WASHINGTON—The murder of Chinese American journalist Henry Liu, already the subject of investigations by Daly City (Calif.) police and the FBI, is beginning to draw attention in Congress because of the recent implication of Taiwan government officials in the killing.

Rep. Norman Mineta (D-San Jose) has sharply criticized the Reagan Administration's response to the case. "How can Chinese Americans feel safe when the President remains silent on this terrorism and the State Dept. has to be dragged kicking and screaming into the investigation of this case?" he asked.

"Americans of Chinese ancestry should not have to demand that the President condemn this attack, or that the Justice Dept. will vigorously prosecute this case, or that the State Dept. will press for full cooperation from the Taiwanese government. The President should demand that the Taiwanese government return the two suspects in Mr. Liu's killing immediately, if only to assure us as U.S. citizens that Taiwan will not become a sanctuary for terrorists."

Rep. Tom Lantos (D-San Mateo) has called for a congressional inquiry. "The involvement of officials of a foreign government in

such acts is reprehensible and requires immediate and forceful action on the part of our government," he wrote in a letter to Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.), chair of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Solarz announced Jan. 18 that he planned to hold hearings on whether the killing violated a 1982 law prohibiting harassment of American citizens by foreign governments. Under the law, written by Solarz, arms sales to a country found to have engaged in such conduct would be banned.

Critical of KMT

Liu, who immigrated to the U.S. from Taiwan 17 years ago, was known to readers of the Chinese language press in the U.S. and Hong Kong for his articles and books criticizing Taiwan's ruling Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) and President Chiang Ching-kuo. After he was gunned down at his Daly City home Oct. 15, his widow and others in the Chinese American community charged that the killing had been ordered by the Taiwan government.

The controversy over Liu's death is similar to that which surrounded the case of Chen Wen-chen in 1982. Chen, a professor at

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Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh, was found dead on a Taipei college campus after being interrogated by security police. Government officials declared that Chen, a critic of the Kuomintang, had committed suicide, but associates of Chen believed that he had been murdered.

When Chen Chi-li, Wu Tun and Tung Kuei-sen, all reputed members of the Taiwan-based Bamboo gang, were identified by the FBI as suspects in the Liu case, they

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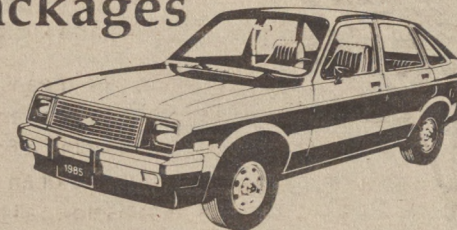
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Frequently Asked Questions about Redress

Q. Why seek redress? What are the issues?

The Japanese American Citizens League is seeking redress on behalf of Japanese Americans and legal permanent residents of Japanese ancestry (the Issei) for their eviction

and incarceration by an official act of the United States Government during World War II. This action was based solely on racial grounds and imposed without criminal charges, indictments or trials of any kind. It was a gross violation of rights

guaranteed under the Bill of Rights and the Constitution.

The basic question being raised is: are the guarantees enumerated in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution absolute for all people at all times, or are they conditional

and subject to the desires of those in power or the mood of the times?

Q. Which rights were violated?

Seven of the ten articles of the Bill of Rights were abrogated. They are as follows:

QUESTIONS

Continued from Page 1

witnesses, (k) right to call favorable witnesses, (l) right to legal counsel.

Article VII: (m) right to trial by jury

Article VIII: (n) right to reasonable bail, (o) freedom from cruel and unusual punishment.

Further constitutional guarantees abridged were: (p) right against involuntary servitude, (q) right to equal protection under the law, (r) right to vote, (s), right to habeas corpus.

Q. What are the bases for your claim?

Defamation of character, false eviction, false imprisonment, loss of life and health due to government actions, emotional and psychological damages, damage to ethnic identity, disruption of family.

Q. What do you hope to gain? What are your goals?

Compensation of sufficient magnitude to create a public awareness of the violations of constitutional rights during 1942-1946, and a greater awareness of the need for vigilance to prevent similar unconstitutional conduct in the future.

Q. Didn't the Supreme Court rule that the Government's actions were constitutional?

Yes, the United States Supreme Court did in the Hirabayashi, Yasui, Korematsu, and key portions of the Endo decisions. But we hold that these decisions were wrong—morally and legally—and need to be overturned. The Court reflected the prejudices of the times and based its decisions on rumors, stereotypes, and speculation. There was no factual evidence to support its decisions.

NOTE: At hearings of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians held in Los Angeles in Aug. 1981, Commissioner Arthur Goldberg, a former Supreme Court Justice, stated "A great deal (has been) made over the court's rulings. Well, the Supreme Court has been wrong in the past, as cited the Dred Scott decision which was so wrong that it brought on the Civil War and was eventually corrected

by the Fourteenth Amendment. Furthermore... the essential basis of Korematsu was overruled by the Supreme Court decision in *Bolling v. Sharpe* which said that the Fifth Amendment does contain, although not expressly stated, an equal protection clause."

Q. Weren't your losses already compensated?

The Japanese American Claims Act of 1948 compensated only a small and inadequate fraction of the property losses alone. Even though there was no inflation corrections and no interest paid, loss of freedom, loss of income, death, injuries, loss of increased land values, mental suffering, etc., were not covered. The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco estimated actual tangible property losses to be at least \$400 million in 1942. Even at 3% interest per year, property losses would have totaled \$538 million by 1952 when the claims were settled. However, the government placed an unreasonable burden of proof on most of the claimants, who received a total of \$34 million, which amounted to 8½% of the actual property losses.

Q. Considering the treacherous sneak attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, wasn't the Government justified in locking up the Japanese?

As Americans, we were not responsible in any way for the acts of the government of Japan. We had absolutely nothing at all to do with the bombing of Pearl Harbor or any other acts by the military forces of Japan. By the logic of the question, one could then ask, are Americans of German ancestry to be held accountable for the act of Nazi Germany? Or, Americans of Italian ancestry for the acts of the Italian government during WWII?

Remember too, that Pearl Harbor is located in Hawaii, yet Americans of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii were not locked up. To do so would have brought a halt to the economy of Hawaii because Americans of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii constitute a major portion of the working force there.

Q. Everyone suffered and lost during the war, so why should your case be considered different?

We made the same sacrifices that other Americans made during the war, including giving our lives for this country on the battlefield. But no other group of Americans suffered eviction and false imprisonment because of ancestry. Our losses were not the result of enemy action, but the actions of the American government against American citizens.

Q. Are you saying that the incarceration of Japanese Americans is similar to the Jewish experience in the Nazi concentration camps?

Obviously there are differences: the camps in Germany were death camps, while in America they were detention camps. However, there are similarities: barbed wire compounds with armed guards, innocent prisoners of our own country; isolated because of ancestry; imprisoned without charges and held without due process of law.

Q. Wasn't it a military necessity because of the dangers of espionage and sabotage?

If there were any such dangers, they did not come from Japanese Americans. No person of Japanese ancestry was ever charged with or convicted of espionage or sabotage. But numerous Caucasians were charged and convicted as agents for Japan.

The fact that the Japanese American population was no threat was fully documented by the FBI, Navy Intelligence,

and a special investigatory report ordered by the President. Furthermore, it was physically impossible for much of the Japanese American population to have engaged in espionage or sabotage—they were too young, too old, or too visible.

If military necessity dictated eviction and detention, why weren't those of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii, 3,000 miles nearer Japan and in an active theater of war, also detained?

Q. Wasn't it just an unfortunate necessity because there was a threat of invasion and there was no time to determine who was loyal and disloyal? If there was an actual threat of invasion, martial law could have been declared and the restrictions applied to everyone equally, as was the case in Hawaii. But martial law was not declared on the West Coast because our Government and the military knew that Japan was incapable of landing an invasion force on the continental United States, especially after June 1942 (the Battle of Midway) when the Japanese fleet was virtually destroyed.

The question of who was dangerous was already determined through FBI and Navy Intelligence files. Anyone suspected of the crimes of espionage or sabotage could have been charged and brought to trial in the civil courts which were in full operation.

Q. Wasn't it a perfectly understandable wartime lapse caused by panic and hysteria?

The movement to exclude Japanese Americans from the West Coast had been going on for nearly 50 years. The war was only a convenient pretext seized upon to accomplish that goal. The public did not suddenly and spontaneously go berserk; instead, a carefully calculated and organized hate campaign started to achieve results. Furthermore, panic and hysteria should never justify the abrogation of constitutional guarantees.

Q. Weren't most of the adults enemy aliens and therefore subject to summary detention during a war?

The so-called "enemy aliens" were permanent residents who were legally in the United States and fully entitled to constitutional protection of the Bill of Rights. They were "aliens"

only because they were prohibited by law from becoming naturalized citizens.

NOTE: Commissioner Goldberg reminded those attending hearings of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians in Los Angeles that the Supreme Court has construed that the protection of the Constitution extends to resident aliens as well as citizens.

Presidential Proclamation 2525, which was based on a 1798 statute, did permit the apprehension of certain "enemy aliens", but only those individuals against whom there was specific evidence to show they were dangerous to the safety of the United States, and all such individuals had the right to a hearing in a court of law to determine if there was sufficient cause for removal or detention. Only those persons arrested under individual warrants by the FBI and placed in Department of Justice internment camps fell into this category—and they comprised just 5% of the total number of Japanese aliens who were incarcerated. Japanese nationals could have been detained as "prisoners of war" under the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1929, and many of the detainees demanded POW status, but the Government refused to recognize them as POWs because many of the Geneva Convention rules would have been violated. Also, it should be noted that German and Italian "enemy aliens"—who incidentally, were free to become United States citizens—were not similarly imprisoned.

Q. Weren't most of the citizens who were incarcerated children who had to accompany enemy alien parents?

Under our legal system, children are not locked up just because their parents are imprisoned. The basic rights of United States citizens cannot be deprived due to age: the Constitution protects children as well as adults. The Government did not give the children, nor their parents, any choice in the matter. All persons of Japanese ancestry were ordered incarcerated, including orphans and other children with non-Japanese guardians, foster parents, or adoptive parents. The military arbitrarily decided that a person with as little as 1/16 Japanese "blood" was con-

demned to be evicted and incarcerated. This, by the way, is twice as harsh as Hitler's formula for determining those of the Jewish faith.

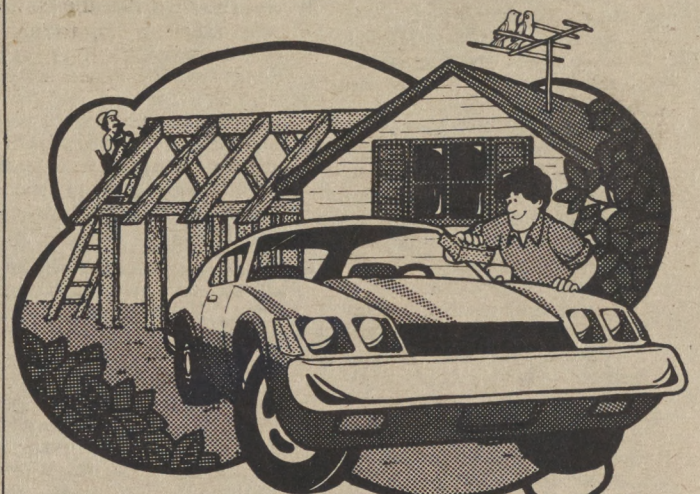
Q. Weren't you placed in these camps for your own protection against mob violence?

In a case of mob violence, the law-breakers should be locked up—not their innocent intended victims. There was no basis for believing that the Japanese American population was in grave danger. There were just 28 isolated cases of assault against Japanese Americans on the West Coast during the first months of the war, and only one was committed by a white person. The general pub-

lic may have been prejudiced, but they were law-abiding people. Any small need for security could have been readily handled by the local police and sheriff departments.

The physical arrangements of the camps prove that the purpose was detention—not protection. Despite being in the middle of isolated deserts with no others around, the camps were surrounded by barbed wire fences with the tops tilted inward to keep the prisoners in; the guards in the watchtowers had their weapons pointed INTO the camps, and the searchlights were directed INSIDE the camps.

Continued on Page 10



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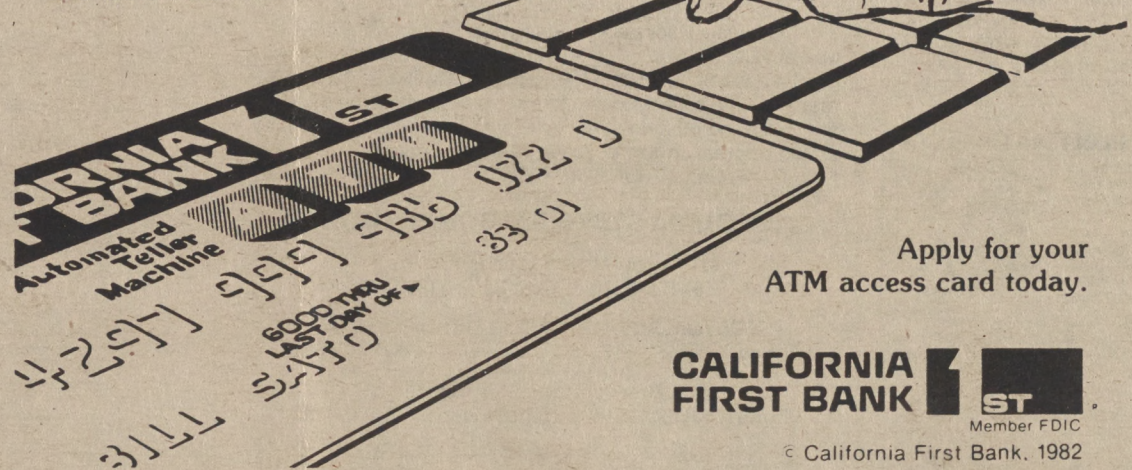
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NOTICE OF DEATH

KEN MATSUMOTO, 73, wartime National JACL vice president, of 559 Radnor Rd., Oakland, CA 94610, died June 16, 3:45 a.m. at Peralta Hospital, Oakland. Born in Los Angeles, he was an Oakland resident for the 25 years. During the past eight years he was director of public relations for the Salvation Army. Memorial services were held June 20 at Sunset View Mortuary Chapel and interment followed at Sunset View Cemetery, El Cerrito. He is survived by his wife Mary, d. Marilyn M. Jones, s. Stephen (El Cerrito), sis. Florence Ishida (South Gate), Margaret Iwatsu (Bergensfield, N.J.), Katherine Sakai (San Francisco), 2 gc, 8 nephews, and 8 nieces. Contributions in lieu of flowers may be made in his memory with the Salvation Army.

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QUESTIONS

Continued from Page 9

Q. Weren't these camps just relocation centers to give you temporary shelter until you could find new homes? Weren't you not only free to leave, but encouraged to do so?

Detainees were explicitly prohibited from leaving under Civilian Restrictive Order 1 and Public Proclamation 8 issued by General John L. DeWitt (Commander of the Western Defense Command), and Public Proclamation WD-1 issued by Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. Anyone leaving without permission was shot, as evidenced by the eight inmates killed by guards.

Another illustration of the fact that people were confined against their will is Mitsuye Endo's case. Upon finding herself involuntarily detained, she petitioned for a writ of habeas corpus in July 1942, but her plea for release was denied by the federal courts for almost three years. Temporary work of harvesting crops or education furloughs under strict parole conditions were granted to approximately 33% of the detainees at one time or another, but the majority of detainees were not actually "free" and "encouraged" to leave until after January 1945 when the camps began to close down.

Q. Considering all the present problems which need to be worked on, isn't it better to forgive and forget the past and concentrate on the present and future?

Much of the present problems affecting our youth and elderly are the direct result of injustices suffered in the past. We are inextricably linked to all that has happened before, and cannot forget unresolved grievances. As long as we have not received personal redress, our reputations are tainted, and unfortunately, many Americans still believe that we were disloyal and that the Government was justified in its actions.

Q. Aren't you being materialistic and greedy? What happened to the pride of the Japanese people?

We are only asking for partial compensation for actual losses. Considering the huge amount of losses, no one will make a profit. We ask for no more, and undoubtedly a great deal less, than what any other American would demand under similar circumstances. Reluctance to seek what is due constitutes false pride. True pride requires a full redress of justified grievances.

Q. Isn't it true that money cannot restore lost freedom? By placing a price tag on freedom, aren't you cheapening what is priceless?

The basis of American jurisprudence is founded upon the principle of monetary redress for lost freedom. Because freedom is considered so precious, false imprisonment has been compensated with large sums of money: for example, a Washington, D.C. court recently awarded \$10,000 per person

in damages to the 1,318 Vietnam peace demonstrators for just two to three days of false imprisonment in 1971. Refusing to arrive at an estimate is a functional equivalent of assessing the damages at zero.

Q. Victims of Nazi persecution are receiving compensation are they not?

The United States Government was instrumental in pressuring West Germany to pay reparations. West Germany has paid to date \$25 billion and is yet to pay another \$20 billion. Furthermore, the United States is urging Poland, the poorest of the East bloc nations, to pay a similar type of restitution to Jews for their experiences in Polish camps during WWII.

Q. Japanese Americans have a high income, so do you really need the money?

Present average income is not relevant to the issue. Our case is not based on need, and we are not asking for welfare. Right to just compensation for wrongs inflicted does not depend upon whether the victim happens to be rich or poor.

Q. Would you be satisfied with an official statement admitting error and tendering an apology?

We already secured such statements many times over. Each time one of the bills for partial redress passed, there were admissions of error and expressions of regret: in 1948, when the property loss claims bill was passed, in 1971 when the Emergency Detention Act was repealed, in 1972 when the Social Security retirement credit bill was passed, in 1976 when Executive Order 9066 was rescinded, and in 1978 when the federal employees retirement credit bill was enacted. What we need now is tangible compensation. The amount needs to be sufficient enough in order to

leave a lasting impression on the Government that constitutional rights cannot be violated so cheaply. Also, we need to find some means of rectifying the Supreme Court decisions in the Hirabayashi, Yasui, Korematsu and Endo cases.

Q. Why should we have to pay for the wrong committed by our parents' generation? We had nothing to do with incarcerating Japanese American.

We must remember that "we" also includes Americans of Japanese ancestry. As citizens of America, ALL of us are responsible for the acts of our Government. As a nation and as individuals, we are the products of the past. As citizens, we inherit the responsibilities, debts, etc., as well as benefits, passed on to us by our ancestors.

Q. Wouldn't it be better to fund community projects rather than to give the money to individuals who will squander it in a short time?

Such a concept for a lasting trust fund is already incorporated in the redress proposal. More importantly, we must remember that it was individuals who suffered, and each individual has a right to redress. We cannot legitimately take that right away. Individuals may donate their share to a community trust fund, but that choice has to be left to each individual. We are not limiting ourselves to one or the other—we are working for both individual and community trust fund payments.

Q. Why should those who were children at the time receive redress?

Children's constitutional rights were violated too. Children have a right to redress for false imprisonment, defamation of character, and emotional damages. Children were burdened with the life-long stigma of hav-

ing spent their childhood in captivity. One part of an entire generation of Japanese Americans spent its most formative years in prison camps and grew up with the stigma of having been prisoners in their own country.

In the camps, family structures disintegrated; children were deprived of normal parental nurturing and guidance; children grew up without a sense of security usually provided by parents. The schools were sub-standard, and the Government stripped children of their self-identity by prohibiting or discouraging Japanese language, religion, culture, and sports.

Q. Why should heirs receive payment? If you include heirs, would not that set a precedent for others, like Blacks and Native Americans, to make claims for ancestral grievances?

The Government is not relieved of the responsibility of making amends just because the victim died. Children and family members of detainees suffered the consequences of lost property, lost income, lost health, ruined reputations, and psychological damage long after the camps closed. No other group of American citizens suffered such a massive denial of constitutional rights in existence at the time. Ours is a unique case in the constitutional history of this country. Blacks were brought here under a free enterprise system (i.e., not by Government order), and Native Americans suffered a series of broken treaties between nations. This is not to say that the Blacks and Native Americans did not suffer immensely, but that only in the case of the Japanese Americans was there a total abrogation of constitutional guarantees inflicted against a single

group of citizens solely on the basis of race.

Q. Weren't there numerous disloyal people, like those who refused the loyalty oath, resisted the draft, renounced their citizenship, and expatriated to Japan? Why should they be redressed?

There were very good legal, moral, and psychological reasons for resisting the Government. Each act of resistance was a protest against injustice. The loyalty oath was imposed after they had been imprisoned for nearly a year; the draft was instituted while they and their families were still incarcerated and American citizenship had proved to be worthless. The Government later recognized the mitigating circumstances surrounding these cases, and granted full pardons to the draft resisters and restored citizenship to the renunciants.

Q. Why redress now, after 39 years? Why so long a wait?

The time lag is an indication of the severity of emotional damage incurred. The wounds have to be at least partially healed before the victims can confront the offender. Also, it is not quite true that we simply waited. Efforts were made in the past and partial relief obtained. Examples of past actions are:

- 1942-44 court challenges;
- 1945-52 campaign to redeem property losses;
- 1968-71 campaign to repeal

the Emergency Detention Act

- 1969-72 effort to gain Social Security retirement credit;
- 1975-76 drive to rescind Executive Order 9066;
- 1975-78 effort to secure retirement credit for federal employees.

Q. Weren't the Americans in Japan incarcerated?

The question poses an incorrect analogy. We are talking about people who were incarcerated en masse by their own government, such as the German citizens of Jewish faith who were locked up by their own government, Germany.

Q. How much support do you expect from the American public?

We fully expect some bitter opposition. We believe, however, that there will be much more support than many Japanese Americans believe. Americans are not afraid to admit to the mistakes of their country.

Q. Who do you represent? Aren't there many Japanese Americans who oppose redress?

Based on five separate surveys conducted throughout the United States, we represent the views of the vast majority of Japanese Americans. Some form of redress was favored by 94% of the respondents, and direct payment to individuals was desired by 83%.

Continued on Page 12

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QUESTIONS

Continued from Page 10

Q. If you fail to obtain redress, will this campaign have been a total failure?

No, because the ultimate principle of the redress campaign is to help insure that what we experienced in 1942 does not ever happen to any other group of people in this country. Consequently, one of the objectives of our redress campaign is to educate the American public of our experiences and thereby to fortify the principles of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. The media exposure gained by the hearings of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians has helped achieve this.

Another objective of our redress campaign is for Congress to "acknowledge that the actions taken against American citizens and legal residents of Japanese ancestry during 1942-46 were wrong and contrary to

the Constitution of the United States." We think it unlikely that Congress would deny this basic objective of redress, for such a denial would represent approval of the right of the Government to abrogate the Constitution during a national emergency. Then the rights of all Americans will be in jeopardy. #

Sansei gymnast

WASHINGTON—Shaping up for the 1984 Olympics are three top gymnasts of the Rockville (Md.) Gym Club, who've won state honors since age 9. Cheryl Kaneshiro of Silver Spring, among the trio, is recognized as the world's best in uneven parallel bars by executing a double-twisting somersault dismount which few in the international women's competition can perform.

Cheryl, 13, has qualified for elite competition after six months training following a fractured ankle at the 1982 Junior National trials. #

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The past year has seen the redress movement go forward with great strides. Nikkei have continued to speak out — in courtrooms and in Congress — breaking the silence of so many years.

The movement followed two paths during 1984: the judicial route through the nation's courts and the legislative route through the halls of Congress.

Though the paths may be different, they both converge on the same goal — the official recognition and rectification of the injustice done some 42 years ago to one group of people in the United States.

The *coram nobis* cases, after long preparation, were finally heard before the courts at the end of 1983 and early in 1984.

Although San Francisco Federal District Court Judge Marilyn Hall Patel, in November of 1983, accepted the petition for a writ of error *coram nobis* filed on behalf of Fred Korematsu and vacated his wartime conviction, her written opinion was not issued until April of 1984.

Her 28-page decision, in essence, disagreed with the Supreme Court's ruling which upheld Korematsu's 1942 conviction for refusing to obey military internment orders and condemned the government's wartime action.

Judge Patel acknowledged that the Supreme Court decision has been severely discredited and "as a legal precedent it is now recognized as having very limited application."

Dale Minami, the leading attorney in the case, said that Patel's decision "should prove to be the death blow to a decision that has been discredited for years." He added that it was the first judicial declaration ever made that the evacuation was wrong.

In Portland, U.S. District Court Judge Robert C. Belloni also agreed to vacate the 1942 conviction of Minoru Yasui for violating a World War II curfew order aimed at Japanese Americans.

In his January action, Judge Belloni dismissed the indictment against Yasui, but declined to declare the military curfew and internment orders unconstitutional.

Although Yasui was disappointed that Belloni did not find the government in error, he noted that, because of the decision to vacate his conviction, "we didn't lose."

The third of the set of petitions, filed by Gordon Hirabayashi, was presented before Federal District Court Judge Donald Voorhees in Seattle.

Hirabayashi's suit charged governmental

Redress 1984

misconduct in the alteration, suppression and destruction of evidence which could have featured highly in his 1942 trial for refusing to obey the wartime evacuation and internment orders.

On May 18, Judge Voorhees ordered an evidentiary hearing for June 17, 1985, to review the federal actions taken in the internment.

Arthur Barnett, co-counsel on the case and one of the attorneys involved in the initial Hirabayashi defense of 42 years ago, said that the pending case was the "challenge of the century" in its importance.

Also following the legal path was the class action suit filed by the National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR) on behalf of 25 named individuals and 120,000 unnamed people.

The complaint sought \$10,000 for each of 21 alleged wrongs and asked the court to declare that the United States violated Japanese Americans' constitutional, statutory and civil rights. It was the first time a demand for government redress had been taken to court.

On May 17, the Federal District Court of the District of Columbia ruled in favor of the government's motion to dismiss the NCJAR lawsuit, saying that too much time had passed to review the facts essential to the case.

Although NCJAR suffered a disappointing setback with this decision, William Hohri, chairman of the Chicago-based council, said, "NCJAR has raised to a new level the consciousness of the courts to the tragedy of mass exclusion and detention of Japanese Americans."

NCJAR has appealed the decision. Joining them in the appeal is the Japanese American Citizens League which announced Oct. 12 that it would file an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief in support of the NCJAR suit, now before the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Tim Gojio, JACL Washington representative who wrote the brief, said: "The federal government cannot be allowed to hide behind the statute of limitations when evidence that was in the exclusive control of the government, and which would have allowed the plaintiff Japanese Americans to press a lawsuit for damages, was deliberately suppressed . . . for nearly 40 years."

Following the legislative path through the

Senate and House of Representatives, the redress issue progressed from the introduction of four bills in 1983 — two in the House and two in the Senate — to the point where hearings were held on two of the bills before House and Senate subcommittees.

At these subcommittee hearings many Nikkei — both individuals and members of redress groups — spoke out against the injustice of evacuation and incarceration.

With these hearings the redress issue went one step further than it had previously. However, it also became evident to many of the people who followed the hearings closely that the battle is far from over.

The hearings indicated that much more educating needs to be done, both for Japanese Americans and for the majority society, our nation's lawmakers included.

The hearings brought out the fact that many congressmen — especially those without a sizeable Nikkei constituency — are either unaware of the extent of the wartime injustice to Japanese Americans or are still equating Japanese American with Japanese national.

The hearings proved that those who are strongly opposed not only to monetary redress but to the whole reparations movement — for whatever reason — have continued to be active and vocal, sending reams of written material to congressmen and speaking out harshly against the issue.

The hearings have shown that many still do not see that the injustices done to Japanese Americans was an abridgement of freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution.

So long as there is no official recognition of this injustice, so long as there is no attempt by the government to rectify this injustice, so long as there are those who believe that the government's actions in 1942 were justified, then the constitutional rights of all Americans are in jeopardy.

The strides made during the past year have moved us toward our goal, but many barriers remain and we still have a long road ahead. The coming year will see a continuation of the struggle for justice and further steps will be taken.

But those steps will not move us quickly toward the goal until all of Japanese America is willing and able to break silence and call out with one voice for an admission of past wrong and a pledge for the future that the constitutional rights of a people will never again be abrogated on the basis of race or ethnicity.

(JMM)

4 Bills
183

2 - Senate
subcommittee
hearings

1/1/85

but always intensely and

In a way, this is a catharsis, but it is also living history that provides penetrating insights into the pain the Evacuation inflicted on individuals. And after one becomes acquainted with the individual stories, one is led to ask what it is about America that managed to preserve the loyalty and affection of those it mistreated. In the long run, that question may be more pertinent than asking how racism, hysteria and callousness caused the problem in the first place.

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6/84

Boycott Campbell's soup

such as Campbell Soup Co. decide the price of produce and so determine the farm labor wage. According to FLOC, the farm workers, whose average annual income is \$3,600, are exposed to dangerous pesticides in the fields and live without proper housing or sanitation. Campbell has refused to negotiate, according to FLOC.

Rita Himes, chair of Campbell

boycott of the UC Berkeley campus, said that the boycott is supported by national organizations such as the United Autoworkers Association, the Ohio AFL-CIO, the Oregon and California Democratic parties and the National Association of Farmworker Organizations. At the local level, the boycott was heartily endorsed by both the Graduate

SEE PAGE 22

Japanese internee wants overturned case off books

By ANITA M. SELINE
STAFF WRITER

Fred Korematsu, whose landmark U.S. Supreme Court case led to the upholding of Executive Order 9066 which sent 110,000 Japanese Americans to internment camps in 1942, was on campus yesterday with his legal defense team to discuss their efforts to get Korematsu's conviction stricken from the books.

After 40 years of waiting for an opportunity to have his case overturned, Korematsu finally got his chance when attorney Peter Irons

was doing research for his book, "Justice at War." He discovered U.S. Justice Department briefs which revealed that the government had withheld evidence from the Supreme Court misleading it to uphold Korematsu's lower court conviction in 1944.

Irons said he did not intend to open up the cases when he started the research for his book. "Originally, I wanted to analyze the cases and how they got through the justice system." As early as June of 1945, Irons said, constitutional law experts were condemning the weakness of the case.

Last year the legal defense for Korematsu petitioned the U.S. Federal District Court to overturn the original conviction. In addition, they asked that the court rule that there had been no "military necessity" for evacuating the internees.

Irons discovered important evidence through the Freedom of Information Act which revealed the government had knowingly suppressed reports from the FBI and other government agencies refuting

Berkeley high

enrollment in more advanced courses.

Black students make up 36 percent of the high school's enrollment. Yet, last fall proficiency courses had an 82 percent black student enrollment while black student enrollment in calculus classes was only 7 percent.

The program will allow a sort of

SEE PAGE 23

SEE PAGE 22

Internee

FROM PAGE 3

military commander John DeWitt's allegations that sabotage and espionage were conducted on the West Coast by Japanese Americans.

At the discussion in Booth Auditorium, Irons read one especially incriminating brief that stated it was unfair to a racial minority that these "lies" of espionage be put out in official reports.

In November, Federal District Court Judge Marilyn Hall Patel overturned Korematsu's original conviction. At the time, an attorney for the federal government asked the judge to dismiss the case calling the internment of the Japanese Americans "unfortunate," saying, "It is time to put behind us the controversy."

Based on the new evidence, Judge

Patel stated that in 1944 the Supreme Court upheld the original conviction based on unsubstantiated facts, distortions and misrepresentations of at least one military commander whose views were the product of racism.

Patel also said almost all Japanese Americans were loyal and suspicious individuals could have been investigated on an individual basis leaving no justification for the mass evacuation of all Japanese Americans living on the West Coast.

Before Korematsu's case can be taken any further, Judge Patel must hand down a written decision on the case. At that time, the government can either choose to appeal — which would keep alive the possibility of taking the case all the way back to the Supreme Court — or stand by the judge's decision, effectively weakening the precedent set by the lower court's defending the "military necessity" of evacuating

Japanese Americans.

Korematsu's lawyers said the government's appeal is crucial to the outcome of their efforts. There are two other cases similar to Korematsu's: the case of Gordon Hirabayashi, whose petition will be heard next month in Seattle and Minoru Yassui, whose conviction was vacated (voided) this year.

Donald Tamaki, defense lawyer for Korematsu said Korematsu's case has the strongest chance of the three to reach the Supreme Court because it was tried later than the other two and by then, "the suppression of evidence had been dragged out a long time."

Lawyers for Korematsu believe the landmark case which is still on the books sets two dangerous precedents — race alone can serve as a basis for disloyalty, regardless of an individual's innocence and "military necessity" can take precedence over individual civil liberties.

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COMMENTARY

Executive Order 9066 and Public Law 503

Part 1: Violation of Constitutional Rights

By MARSHALL SUMIDA

Editor's Note: In commemoration of the Day of Remembrance on Feb. 19, the 42nd anniversary of the signing of Executive Order 9066 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, we are publishing an article submitted to us by Marshall Sumida.

Because of the length of the article, we will print it serially in three parts, beginning today.

The report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians and the court records in the *coram nobis* cases to vacate the convictions of Gordon Hirabayashi, Minoru Yasui and Fred Korematsu will make a matter of public record details that led to the illegal detention in concentration camps of 120,000 American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry.

It was Mark Twain who once said, "Get the facts first and we can distort them later."

The illegal detention of American citizens of Japanese ancestry is a classical case of distortions rather than facts being used by government officials to violate fundamental civil rights principles of the Constitution.

On the occasion when Germany settled the issue of indemnification for the "holocaust," Chancellor Konrad Adenauer said, "Justice is a matter of education." We would hope, after 40 years, the truth and lessons learned in the illegal evacuation and detention of Japanese Americans during World War II will prevent this black mark on the history of American civil liberties from ever happening again.

The actions of Congress and the courts to correct the errors of the past could be an unprecedented story of democracy in action. Hopefully, the legislative and legal actions undertaken will restore the civil rights protection of the Constitution and declare illegal the evacuation and detention by the military of American citizens of Japanese ancestry in concentration camps.

Accountability

The current attention being focused on financial redress for illegal detention — an issue which has become devious because of its financial implications — serves to divert public attention away from the serious crimes which were committed during World War II. By focusing on the victims and the monetary issues, remnants of the wartime ruling establishment continue to perpetrate distortions of fact to sanctify their actions.

Instead, the focus should be on the wrongs committed by the members of the Cabinet and Congress, local politicians, lobbyists, pressure groups, organizations and those in the media who advocated the violation of the civil rights provisions of the Constitution.

The advocates of the evacuation and detention of American citizens denied the protection of the Constitution to fellow citizens and committed sedition against the United States. They should be held accountable for

their actions.

Historical Background

After the shock of Pearl Harbor, the general staff in Washington determined there was little threat of a major enemy invasion of the West Coast. Emergency conditions did not dictate martial law being imposed, civil government continued to function and the courts remained open.

The Department of Justice, the FBI and military intelligence had rounded up all suspected security risks who might engage in espionage and sabotage in Hawaii and on the West Coast.

The press, rather than using facts from the Justice Department and the FBI, relied on rumor of alleged "espionage and sabotage" at Pearl Harbor by Japanese residents of Hawaii, as inferred by Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and affirmed by the Roberts Report. News commentators and other media sources passed on unconfirmed rumors, spreading fear and hysteria on the West Coast.

West Coast politicians and lobbyists from pressure groups, civic organizations and veterans groups pointed out to the Secretary of War, high-ranking War Department officials and Army staff officers of the Provost Marshal General's office what they designated as the potential security risks posed by American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry.

Public pressure, rather than military necessity, was responsible for the actions taken by the War Department.

On Dec. 16, 1941, nine days after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt, the commander of the western theater of operations which was headquartered in San Francisco, recommended to the War Department that all enemy aliens over the age of 13 be removed from the West Coast to the "Zone of the Interior" and be held under restraint.

On Jan. 29, 1942, U.S. Attorney General Francis Biddle, largely as a result of Gen. DeWitt's request, issued the first of a series of orders establishing strategic areas on the West Coast and requiring the removal of all enemy aliens from those areas.

On Feb. 13, a West Coast congressional delegation wrote to President Roosevelt recommending "immediate evacuation of all persons of Japanese lineage, . . . aliens and citizens alike" from the "entire strategic area" of California, Oregon and Washington.

On Feb. 14, Gen. DeWitt sent a memorandum to the Secretary of War recommending the evacuation of "Japanese and other subversive persons" from the West Coast.

On Feb. 19, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which authorized the Secretary of War, or any military commander designated by the Secretary of War, to establish military areas and to exclude from them "any or all persons."

On Feb. 20, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson wrote to Gen. DeWitt, designating him as a military commander empowered to carry out an evacuation within his command under the terms of EO 9066.

On March 21, the 77th Congress passed Public Law 503 which provided the penalties for "violation of restrictions or orders with respect to persons entering, remaining in, leaving, or committing any acts in a military area or zone."

On March 22, the first large contingent of Japanese — both resident aliens and citizens — were moved from Los Angeles to Manzanar Assembly Center.

That year — 1942 — was an election year. State government officials all but forgot the 14th Amendment's "equal protection clause" to protect the rights of citizens. Disaster at Pearl Harbor was used to gain public approval for the intentional and willful violations of the civil rights provisions of the Constitution.

The evacuation and detention of Japanese residents became a popular campaign issue for local politicians running for public office.

Rather than protecting the rights of citizens, local politicians actively advocated that the military assume jurisdiction and carry out the evacuation from the West Coast and detention of American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry in concentration camps. Governor Earl Warren campaigned on the Japanese issue and became the governor of California in 1942.

(To be continued)

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COMMENTARY

Executive Order 9066 and Public Law 503

Part 3: Are We a Nation of Laws?

By MARSHALL SUMIDA

Fred T. Korematsu, a resident of San Leandro and a former shipyard welder who had lost his job after Pearl Harbor, decided not to obey the evacuation orders.

When he failed to show up for evacuation, he was arrested for remaining in a military area from which people of Japanese ancestry had been excluded, a misdemeanor punishable under Public Law 503.

In 1944 his case was appealed before the Supreme Court.

Dissenting Opinions

The Supreme Court affirmed the conviction of Korematsu, finding him guilty of remaining in a prohibited area. However, three justices, Owen Roberts, Frank Murphy and Robert Jackson wrote dissenting opinions.

Justice Roberts wrote: "It is the case of convicting a citizen as a punishment for not submitting to imprisonment in a concentration camp, based on his ancestry, and solely because of his ancestry, without evidence or inquiry concerning his loyalty and good disposition towards the United States. If this be a correct statement of the facts disclosed by this record, and the facts of which we take judicial notice, I need hardly labor the conclusion that constitutional rights have been violated."

Justice Murphy, in his dissenting opinion in the Korematsu case, stated: "The broad guarantees of the Bill of Rights and other provisions of the Constitution protecting essential liberties are not suspended by the mere existence of a state of war. It has been frequently stated and recognized by this court that the 'war powers,' like other great substantive powers of government, is subject to the great limitations of the Constitution."

Justice Jackson's dissent emphatically pointed out that the civil court is not subordinate to the military: "I should hold that a civil court cannot be made to enforce that which violates constitutional limitations even if it is a reasonable exercise of military authority. The courts can exercise only the judicial power, can apply only law, and must abide by the Constitution, or they cease to be civil courts and become instruments of military power."

Justice Felix Frankfurter wrote a concurring opinion, but on close analysis, it could be interpreted as a "dissent." In his opinion, he stated that if the military did not transcend the means appropriate for conducting war under martial law, it was legal to assume jurisdiction over civilians.

However, Frankfurter had reservations about whether the actions of the President and the Congress were legal using "espionage and sabotage" as a basis for military necessity and not martial law.

"To find that the Constitution does not forbid the military measures now complained of," he wrote, "does not carry with it approval of that which Congress

and the Executive did. That is their business, not ours."

In other words, in wartime the courts were reluctant to oversee the actions of the executive branch and Congress. In wartime, patriotic judges are human and will support the war efforts of the President who appointed them.

After the war, the executive department and Congress are expected to clean up their own public record and to establish a moral and ethical basis for their political acts.

If this is a fact of political life, then who will protect the victims?

If we are a government of laws, then a correction must be made in the law so that people cannot be victimized by illegal government actions — actions based on distortions motivated by politics.

Conclusions

1. It should be noted that espionage and sabotage by any American citizen are federal crimes of treason under Article III, Section 3, of the Constitution. The civil courts, not the military, have jurisdiction over acts of treason.

Furthermore, under Article III, Section 3, the government has the additional burden to produce two witnesses to an overt act of treason unless the person charged with treason confesses to such an act in open court.

Espionage and sabotage are felonies to be tried on an individual basis, not as a group action, in civil courts. All those suspected of treason against the United States must be charged, tried and convicted by due process under the Fifth Amendment before being imprisoned.

In an emergency, a military tribunal enforces military orders, not the civil courts. Only under emergency conditions, when martial law has been declared, does the military have jurisdiction over civilians. And in this case, martial law had not been declared.

Public Law 503 reduced the crime of treason, consisting of espionage and sabotage — a felony under the Constitution — to a misdemeanor. This can only be done by an amendment to the Constitution.

2. Former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, a member of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, called the conviction of Korematsu for violation of Public Law 503 and the decision which legalized the evacuation and detention of American citizens in concentration camps "one of the worst decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States." He further stated: "[If] *ex parte Milligan* is right, as I believe it to be, it necessarily follows that *Korematsu* is wrong, very wrong."

3. "The war power of the United States, like its other powers, is subject to applicable constitutional limitations." (*Hamilton v. Kentucky Distilleries Co.*, 251 U.S. 146, 156)

4. The real danger to the United States is that the provost marshal lawyers devised a legal method, sanctioned by Congress and affirmed by the Supreme Court, to overpower the civilian government. The same strategy that was used against American citizens of Japanese ancestry could easily be used to gain power needed to overthrow the civilian government of the United States.

For example: The military could assume jurisdiction over civilian authority by designating Washington, D.C., a military zone because of "military necessity," real or imagined. They could issue military orders, eliminate all civil government officials in the area, evacuate "undesirable" civilians living in their own homes inside the "off limits" area on suspicion of espionage and sabotage and put all undesirables in concentration camps without formal charges or a trial. The Korematsu case legalized such actions.

5. If the people desire to turn power over civilians to the military, except when martial law is in force, a constitutional amendment should be initiated. The President should not be able to use an executive order to make new laws or change the Constitution without such an amendment.

6. If the taxpayers object to the payment of financial indemnity, there is another option to consider. The damages should be paid by the advocates who urged the government to violate the civil rights provisions of the Constitution and caused the illegal detention of 120,000 American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry. Those who profited from the illegal detention of American citizens should also share the same financial burden.

We are a government of laws, not men. Everyone, including government officials, should be held accountable for any violations of the Constitution.

If, as Chancellor Adenauer said, "Justice is a matter of education," then the government leaders must be educated along with the people. Any damages caused by illegal government actions should be corrected and provisions should be made so that such actions cannot be taken again in the future.

Most American veterans of Japanese ancestry believe that the civil rights provisions of the Constitution should be protected and the *ex parte Milligan* parameters should be restored. Their comrades gave up their lives while their families were in concentration camps.

Surviving veterans are determined to prevent such abridgements of Constitutional rights as evacuation and detention from ever happening to anyone again because of race, color, national origin or any other spurious reason.

Uemura Spotted

DIFFERENT STROKES

By JIM OKUTSU

Forty-Two Since '42

This Feb. 19, marks exactly 42 years since 1942, when President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 which paved the way for the eventual mass evacuation and detention of Japanese Americans during World War II.

Forty-two years have passed since the names of Topaz, Tule Lake, Manzanar, Minidoka, Gila River, Heart Mountain, Amache, Rohwer, Poston and Jerome were first expressed through the lips to become indelibly etched in the minds of Nikkei Americans.

Forty-two years ago, Japanese Americans were forced to abandon homes, businesses, farms, educations, careers and friends for the barren shelter of temporary facilities, often a euphemistic term for a horse stall, before being sent to permanent concentration camps in remote and desolate areas of the country.

Forty-two years ago, my parents like other Nikkei in the San Francisco area, were abruptly ordered to the "Tanforan Assembly Center," and allowed to bring with them only what they could carry. My mother, seven months pregnant,

could not carry much except a hope for the future within her belly.

Forty-two years ago, young Japanese Americans Min Yasui and Gordon Hirabayashi chose to deliberately violate the militarily-imposed curfew, evacuation and detention orders to test the American judicial system, only to find out that justice can be blinded by racism.

Forty-two years since '42, the federal government has yet to acknowledge its complicity in the shameful treatment of Japanese Americans in a country founded on the principles of justice, equality and freedom.

On this February 19, on this "Day of Remembrance" let us reflect back 42 years to a past that still haunts us and remind ourselves that liberty and justice for all are mere words, ideals which can and were misinterpreted by mortals against Japanese Americans. And let us remind ourselves that all Japanese Americans — those who underwent the camp experience as well as those who did not — have, nevertheless, been adversely affected by the wartime detention.

Executive Order No. 9066 Authorizing the Secretary of War To Prescribe Military Areas

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

"NOW THEREFORE, By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize an direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restriction the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. . . . The designation of military areas in any region or locality shall supersede designations of prohibited and restricted areas by the Attorney General under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, and shall supersede the responsibility and authority of the Attorney General under the said Proclamations in respect of such prohibited and restricted areas.

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

"I hereby further authorize and direct all Executive Departments, independent establishments and other Federal Agencies, to assist the Secretary of War or the said Military Commanders in carrying out this Executive Order. . . .

"This order shall not be construed as modifying or limiting in any way the authority heretofore granted . . . nor shall it be construed as limiting or modifying the duty and responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with respect to the investigations of alleged acts of sabotage or the duty and responsibility of the Attorney General and the Department of Justice under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, prescribing regulations for the conduct and control of alien enemies, except as such duty and responsibility is superseded by the designation of military areas hereunder."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

The White House, February 19, 1942

Public Law 503

March 21, 1942
(77th Congress)

"To provide a penalty for violation of restrictions or orders with respect to persons entering, remaining in, leaving, or committing any acts in a military area or zone.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: That whoever shall enter, remain, leave, or commit any acts in any military area or military zone prescribed, under the authority of an Executive Order of the President, by the Secretary of War, or by any Military Commander designated by the Secretary of War, contrary to the restrictions applicable to any such area or zone or contrary to the order of the Secretary of War or any such Military Commander, shall, if it appears that he knew or should have known of the existence and extent of the restrictions or order and that his act was in violation thereof, be guilty of misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be liable to a fine of not to exceed \$5,000 or to imprisonment of not more than one year, or both, for each offense."

A Japanese American's Fight for Justice

'Being a citizen didn't mean a thing — they just put me in prison'

BY EDWARD IWATA

It is May 30, 1942. On a clear, sunny morning in San Leandro, suspicious police arrest Fred Korematsu, a skinny 23-year-old youth walking down the street with his girlfriend.

Korematsu, a shipyard steel welder, is an East Bay native, a Castlemont High graduate and a U.S. citizen of Japanese ancestry. His girlfriend is white. "Jap Spy Arrested in San Leandro!" trumpets a local newspaper headline.

Nearly six months have passed since Pearl Harbor, and two months since the forced "evacuation" of 112,000 Japanese Americans to West Coast racetracks used as temporary jails. Within weeks, they will be removed by the Army to 10 internment camps scattered across the United States.

After Korematsu's arrest for evading the government's evacuation order, FBI agents sharply interrogate him and threaten him with a gun. The shaken young man admits that he is Japanese American and that his family is already being held at the Tanforan racetrack in San Mateo.

Korematsu also confesses that in a desperate scheme to disguise himself as a Hawaiian-Spanish laborer, he underwent plastic surgery on his eyes and nose. A San Francisco doctor had performed the surgery for \$100.

"The operation was for the purpose of changing my appearance so that I would not be subject to ostracism when my girl and I went back East," Korematsu says in a statement to the FBI.

Aided by American Civil Liberties Union attorneys, Korematsu decides to test the constitutionality of the Army's "evacuation" order. His case swiftly moves to the U.S. Supreme Court, where the justices rule that evacuation is legal because of "military necessity."

Korematsu serves five years' probation for his misdemeanor conviction.

On a recent morning 41 years later, Fred Korematsu sits puffing a pipe in the San Francisco Press Club lounge after an upbeat news conference called on his behalf. Since reviving his case last January, the 64-year-old San Leandro man is a few legal steps away from a federal appeals court in San Francisco throwing out his 1942 conviction.

In the media spotlight this time around, reporters are friendly, not suspicious and accusatory. And Korematsu is flanked by a new generation of civil rights lawyers who are also Japanese Americans.

Still, Korematsu smiles stiffly and clenches his pipe in a tight half-fist, as if guarding himself against the irony, the absurdity, of the scene when it is placed against the tragic backdrop of his wartime memories.

"It took me over 40 years, but it was worth it," he says softly. "Forty years, but I can still remember what it was like to be shackled and put in prison for being a Japanese American."

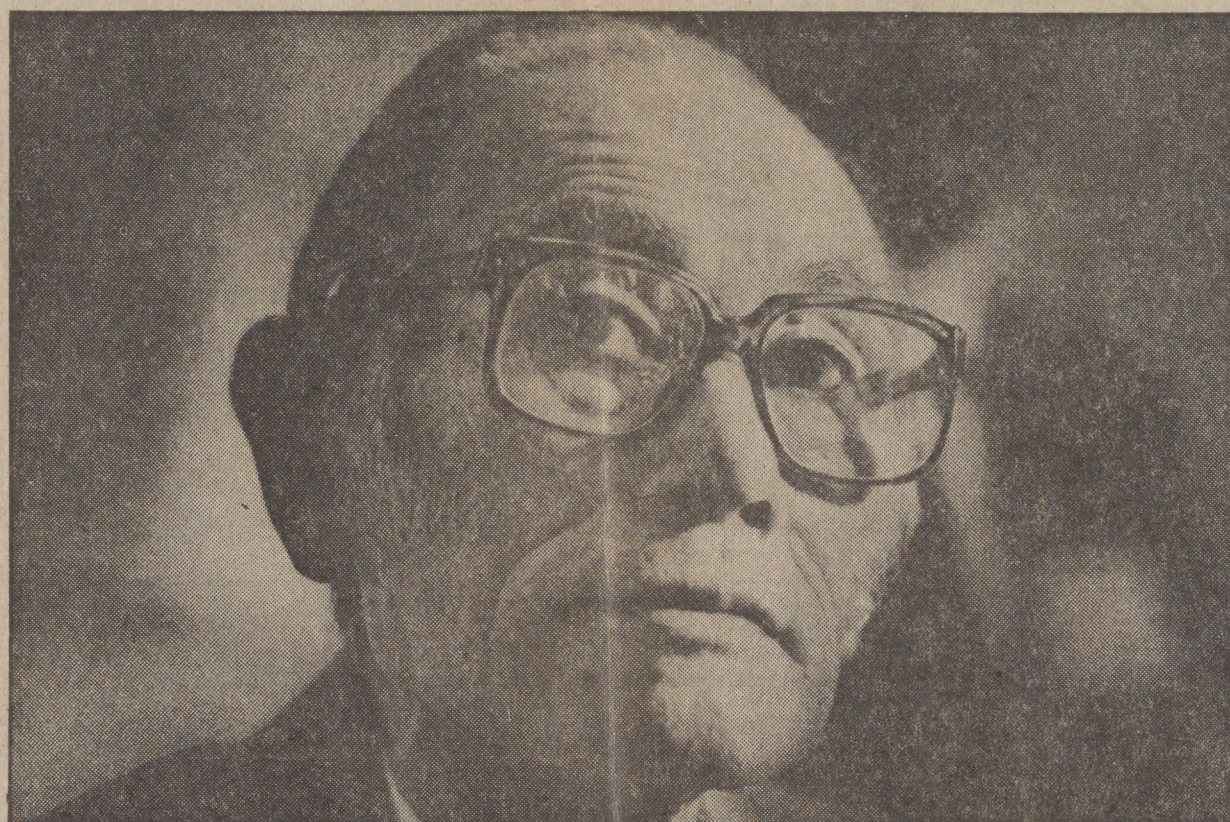
"Being a citizen didn't mean a thing then. No jury or trial, they just put me right in prison. Having my conviction cleared... It's made me very happy."

A few minutes earlier, his grinning attorneys had announced that the Justice Department has decided not to challenge Korematsu's 1983 appeal to vacate his conviction for disobeying the Army's evacuation order.

During a hearing scheduled for next Thursday, Judge Marilyn Patel is expected to accept the government's request that this case of "non-violent civil disobedience" be vacated.

Last January, identical lawsuits were also filed by Minoru Yasui and Gordon Hirabayashi, two other Japanese Americans in their 60s who lost similar World War II evacuation "test cases" in the Supreme Court. Federal judges in Seattle and Portland, Ore., are expected to rule similarly to Patel.

A short, quiet man, Korematsu doesn't look the role of a fighter who, during a turbulent wartime era, chal-



Fred Korematsu 'can still remember what it was like to be put in prison for being a Japanese American'

lenged the legal might of the White House and the War and Justice Departments.

But Korematsu had immediately decided to tackle the government after his first grim day at Tanforan. Shivering in a horse stall with a dirt floor and straw bed, he swore to himself, "I'm not going to live like this."

"I was scared," he admits. "Here I was, bucking the whole government and military. But I must have had enough confidence as an American citizen to test our democratic system. I was classified as a prisoner-of-war, an enemy alien, so I didn't have anything to lose."

His parents, already humiliated by the stigma of military evacuation, were upset further when their college-age son told them of his legal plans. The concept of

"haji," or shame, ran deep among Japanese Americans.

"Before the war, my mother and father were proud people," Korematsu said. "They taught us not to do anything shameful, to always be a good citizen, obey the law, work hard. They couldn't understand why I was doing this."

"After Pearl Harbor, everyone accused us of being traitors. Everything you read and heard was 'Jap this' and 'Jap that.' That really burned me up."

Despite the help of ACLU attorneys Wayne Collins and Ernest Besig, Korematsu was convicted in district court in San Francisco. Seven months later, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected his appeal.

While on probation, Korematsu spent two months

at Tanforan and eight months with his family at the Topaz internment camp in Utah.

After the war, his youthful dreams of becoming a real estate agent or an airline pilot were shattered, and he moved to Detroit to study drafting. He then returned to San Leandro and searched long and hard for a job, finally landing work with a small drafting firm.

"I wanted to work for the state, county or a big company with a pension plan, but no one would take a man with a conviction record," he said.

Like most Japanese Americans, Korematsu for decades had erased his bitter World War II memories. He declined to talk about his past with curious students, journalists, historians — and even his own son and daughter. Until last year. That's when lawyer Peter Irons, a San Diego professor and constitutional expert, telephoned Korematsu in hopes of re-opening the Supreme Court "test cases." Irons had discovered Justice Department documents showing that government lawyers had "suppressed and destroyed" key evidence that would have proven the loyalty of Japanese Americans.

"They've done me a great wrong," Korematsu told Irons.

After Korematsu revived his case, Japanese Americans embraced him as a historical hero, seeing in him reflections of their own personal tragedies. Fund-raising dinners and speaking engagements soon netted his legal defense team \$25,000.

Early in the appeal, the Justice Department offered to pardon Korematsu rather than pursue further legal action. "The government shouldn't pardon me, I should be pardoning the government!" an angry Korematsu told his San Francisco attorney, Dale Minami.

After his battle in court, the San Leandro man hopes to return his attention to his family and his activities with the local Boy Scouts, the Lions Club and the Oakland First Presbyterian Church.

Until then, he says, "I would like to have completely cleared that this will never happen again to another American citizen, just because he looks a little different than everyone else. If our case still stands (without vacating his conviction), any American who isn't Caucasian can be accused of disloyalty like we were. It can happen again."



BRIEFING

BY DAVID SMOLLAR

A Detroit auto worker beats a Chinese-American to death with a baseball bat in a fight that begins over racial slurs that the Asian bears blame for the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance and the depressed economy. After pleading guilty to manslaughter, the perpetrator is put on probation and fined \$3780.

A Japanese-American television newsman from San Jose is cursed and threatened with a knife by a disgruntled worker while covering the announcement by General Motors and Toyota that they are reopening an auto plant in nearby Fremont, to build cars jointly.

A Japanese-American congressman from California finds the word "Jap" sprayed on his garage door and is vilified on a radio talk show for the attack on Pearl Harbor when he speaks out for reparations for Japanese-Americans incarcerated in camps during World War II.

Bumper stickers screaming "Toyota-Datsun-Honda — and Pearl Harbor" and "Unemployment — Made in Japan" sprout in widely scattered locales.

To Asian-Americans — especially to Japanese-Americans — there is a disturbing trend in those signs. They see the debate over U.S.-Japan trade relations taking on a stridency with worrisome racial implications. And they fear that a developing anti-Japanese mood, combined with the tendency in some quarters to regard Asian-Americans as more Asian than American, may make them scapegoats for deteriorating U.S.-Japan relations.

As a race once subjected in the United States both to legal and informal restrictions on obtaining citizenship, owning land, or intermarrying, Asian-Americans now express both anger and fear that their hard-won access to the mainstream of American society may yet be threatened by a return to stereotypes and prejudice.

"You learn that you're always seen as Japanese, or Chinese, or Vietnamese, or Thai, or Cambodian when you come down to it," said well-known actor Robert Ito, himself Canadian-born, of the television show "Quincy."

Said Representative Robert T. Matsui, D-Sacramento: "I've never been to Japan, I can't speak Japanese, I'm American. Yet we have to bend over backwards to show our loyalty to the United States compared to other (non-Asian) ethnic groups."

But now, with Japanese-Americans taking the lead, Asians are beginning to speak publicly against what they see as racist economic appeals, breaking with the quiet stance historically taken during previous cycles of anti-Asian sentiment.

To a significant degree, Japanese-Americans of all ages, across a wide political spectrum, have been galvanized by the increasing number of overt incidents, in particular the beating death in Detroit.

"When the word 'Jap' gets painted on a door or a man is murdered, we ought to let the whole world know," declared Representative Norman Y. Mineta, D-San Jose, who added that "always present, usually well-concealed prejudice against Japanese-Americans" is now openly expressed once again.

In that June 1982 killing, Vincent Chin, a 27-year-old Detroit draftsman, was beaten with a bat following a barroom remark that led to a street fight. Robert Ebens, a 43-year-old Caucasian auto worker, apparently mistook Chin for a Japanese and accused him of being responsible for the high unemployment rate.

Police detectives and Wayne County prosecutors did not develop evidence indicating the racial nature of the fight until after the state allowed Ebens to plead guilty to manslaughter and his 23-year-old stepson, Michael Nitz no contest to the charges.

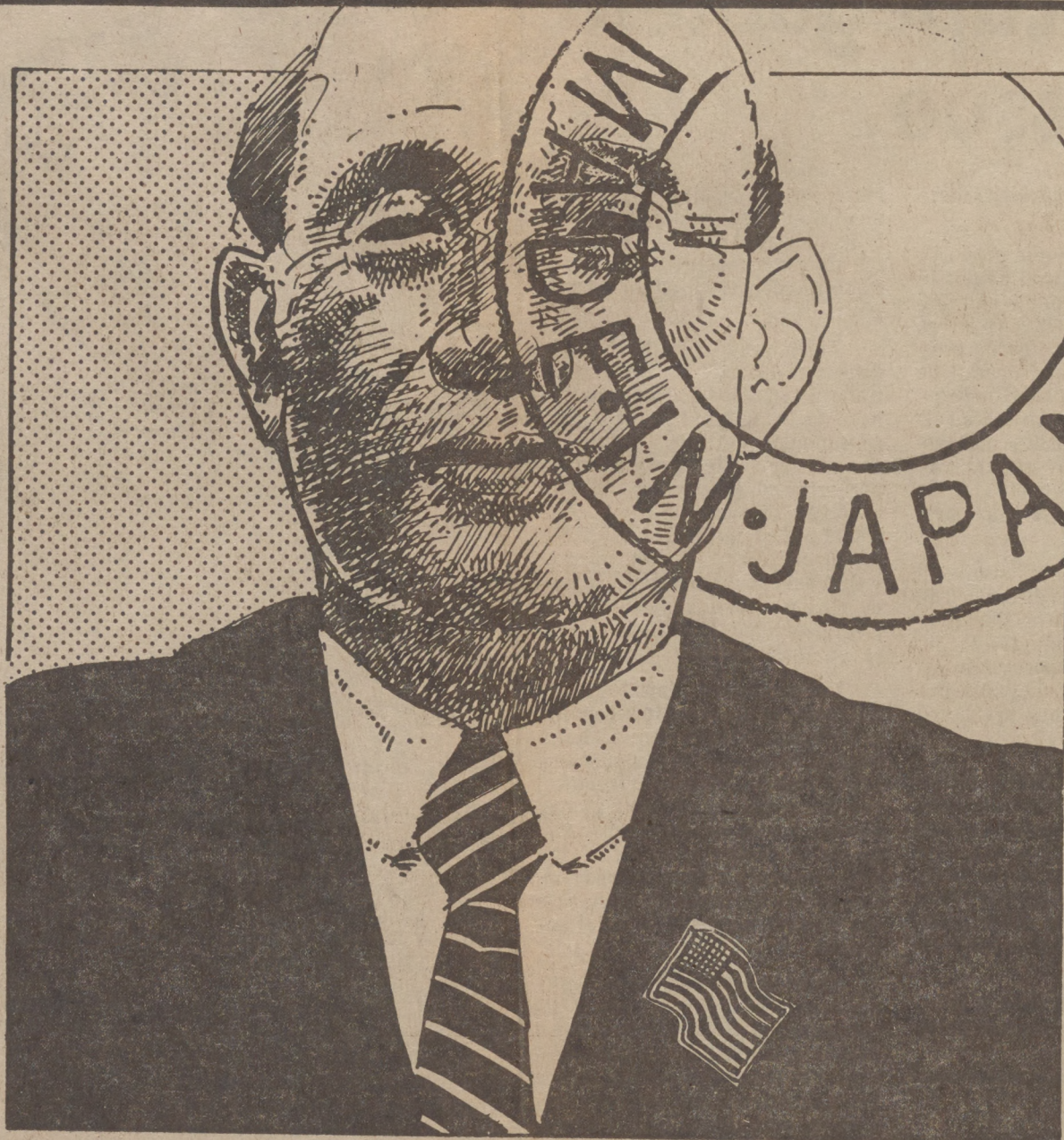
In March, Wayne County Circuit Judge Charles Kaufman put the defendants on probation and fined them, explaining that he was being lenient because the two men had no criminal records. "These men are not going to go out and harm somebody else," Kaufman said.

Detroit's small Asian-American community expressed shock over the sentence and was soon joined by a chorus of civil-rights groups nationwide, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who saw in Kaufman's decision an insensitivity to Asian-Americans paralleling the frontier-style justice meted to Chinese on the West Coast in the late 19th century.

As a result of intense lobbying by these groups, the U.S. Department of Justice ordered a probe by the Federal Bureau of Investigation into whether Chin's civil rights were violated by the racial nature of the incident. The evidence gathered by the FBI was judged sufficient by federal prosecutors to convene a federal grand jury September 7 in Detroit. That grand jury's report is expected to be released around mid-November.

But while Asian-Americans applaud the department's action, they have come to regard the Chin incident as not simply a case of justice denied, but rather the extreme consequence of a pattern of anti-Japanese trade rhetoric.

"The Vincent Chin murder reminds us that non-Asian-Americans tend to see all Asians as foreigners," Floyd Shimomura, president of the Japanese American Citizens League, said. "The Japanese trade issue tends to affect us negatively because we become much more visible and we are looked at more as a competitor than as an ally or friend." Shimomura, a law professor at the University of California, Davis, added: "While murder is an awfully extreme form of backlash to the trade problem, it symbolizes much



GRAPHICS: RUDY VANDERLANS

FIGHTING ANTI-JAPANESE FEELINGS IN U.S.

wider effects for us."

Oakland attorney Alan S. Yee said most Asian-Americans have experienced racial prejudice at one time or another and can relate to the Chin incident.

"That's what really unites all Asian groups on this issue even though the Asian-American community has traditional divisions," Yee, co-chairman of Asian-Americans for Justice, said. "But we find that from the outside, we're all perceived as the same and, despite an image as 'model minorities,' we see the search for the scapegoat still there."

Yee said he was particularly appalled by the "animalistic" nature of the attack on Chin. He noted that in some areas of the Midwest hard hit by Japanese auto imports, auto-bashing has been used as a device to raise funds for the unemployed, with the sponsors charging contributors \$1 a head to slam Japanese-made cars.

"Anyone of us could have been Vincent Chin," Yee said. "There is little difference between beating a sledgehammer into an import and a bat into a guy's head."

Among Japanese-Americans, there is no doubt that debate over trade practices, including calls for a new U.S. industrial policy that would limit imports, has taken on racial overtones, particularly in the industrial Midwest and on the East Coast. They cite a rousing speech made by Senator Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., in which he labeled Japanese trade practices "an economic Pearl Harbor."

Another lawmaker, Representative John D. Dingell, D-Mich., set off alarms by referring to Japanese workers as "little yellow people" at a closed-door committee hearing and later apologized to Japanese government officials for the remark.

Japanese-Americans also complain of a statement by Bennett E. Bidwell, while he was president of Hertz Corp., that the best way to stem car imports would be to charter the "Enola Gay," the B-29 that flew over Hiroshima and dropped the first atomic bomb. Bidwell joined Chrysler Corp. in June as executive vice president for sales and marketing.

They point to the bumper stickers printed by numerous United Auto Workers union locals. They mention the lobby of the Flint, Mich., Buick plant, where the final picture in a row of wall-mounted portraits of general managers is followed by a crude caricature of an Asian face with the admonition, "Don't let your business be his business."

Not only Asian-Americans sense a harsh mood. The president's special trade representative, William E. Brock, said "the line has been crossed" between legitimate criticism and racist demagoguery by some Americans. "I am by no means sympathetic to many Japanese trade practices," Brock said. "My job is to deal with them. But some of the criticisms are so extreme they almost put me in a position of defending Japan."

Brock said that so-called "Jap-bashing" doesn't solve the problems of lagging productivity or high deficits that hobble the American economy. "Not only does it create a racist attitude (but) in economic terms it becomes a dangerous cop-out."

Michael Barrett, the chief aide to Representative Dingell, who is planning a series of U.S. House subcommittee hearings on foreign economic competition, said the rhetoric is getting worse. Barrett said that many congressmen found it difficult to tell unemployed constituents with years of experience in auto factories or steel mills that they might never work there again.

"A lot of people are looking for a scapegoat and Asiatics are easy to identify and criticize," Barrett said.

Representative Lyle Williams, R-Ohio., whose district has suffered severe trade-related unemployment, said, "Johnny Washbucket doesn't want to hear about not hurting Japanese sensibilities. I'm careful to talk about imports, not specific nations, but everyone knows the names on the car grilles and where they come from. We don't feel sorry for the Japanese. The racial remarks bother me but they're inevitable."

Mike Russell, a press aide to Senator Riegle, said that bumper stickers and other strong statements are a "graphic, simple way to draw attention to the (trade) issue."

But the United Auto Workers, whose local members share considerable anti-Japanese sentiment, has undertaken a campaign to dissociate itself from bumper stickers and other anti-Asian remarks.

"It's important for us to say, 'Hey, lay off racist remarks on Japanese, on Pearl Harbor, on Asian-Americans, and to call attention to the brutality of the Chin case,'" Peter G. Laarman, a UAW spokesman, said. "Is that enough? I don't know. But if we don't say these things, it might be even worse."

Yet Laarman conceded that it was difficult to differentiate Japanese business trade practices from Japanese citizens and Japanese-Americans in the minds of an unemployed worker. Even the gatehouse guarding the entrance to UAW headquarters in Detroit boasts the same "Pearl Harbor" sticker criticized in UAW magazines.

Potomac Associates, a Washington consulting company, has found in telephone surveys a significant decline in the percentage of Americans — from 84 percent to 63 percent — who hold favorable views of Japan.

"There's a degree of resentment, of fear, partly because we're used to seeing Japan as a defeated former adversary and dominating the relationship," William Watts, president of Potomac Associates, said. "I don't want to overstate the problem. The numbers are still positive and there is a national fascination developing for Japanese food and culture. But I don't want to minimize the concern, either."

Mineta has written numerous congressmen asking that they refrain from "blatant racism" in their criticism of Japanese trade practices. He also held a long talk with Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale after Mondale warned steelworkers last year of the economic dangers in having American boys "sweep up under Japanese computers."

Mondale said later that he understood the legitimate concerns expressed by Mineta and that, while he never intended to inflame anti-Japanese sentiment, he has been "exceedingly careful" since to avoid any possible inferences.

To be sure, some people believe that Asian-Americans are overreacting. Chrysler spokesman Barron Bates, for example, said the Vincent Chin murder was a simple barroom fight akin to arguments over whether the Detroit Tigers can beat the New York Yankees. He said some racial antagonism was to be expected given the impact of imports on the auto industry.

"Overreacting? How many times does it have to happen before we aren't overreacting?" responded Helen Zia, a member of the Detroit-based American Citizens for Justice. Said Oakland's Yee: "Times are different from 40 years ago and people are less susceptible to demagogues. But the scapegoat idea is still there for some to try and whip up."

"Chin might be an aberration but it's certainly something to be worried about," Bill Hosokawa, the recently retired editorial page editor of the Denver Post, said.

Detroit resident Min Togasaki said: "Don't people realize our attitudes are the same as everyone else's? If Japanese imports mean layoffs, we don't like it either. I've never even owned a Japanese car. But I wish we built them as well as they do in Japan."

Shimomura of the Japanese American Citizens League said that Japanese companies must be made aware of the problems that they cause all Asian-Americans. "We must try to communicate more forcefully to them that... unemployment and closing of factories cannot be ignored," he said. "We don't want to see unemployment in our country, especially if we get blamed for it. Part of our role is to sensitize Japanese to our legitimate concerns as Americans and to get our own economy moving again."

Shimomura admitted such an activist role breaks new ground for Japanese-Americans, who traditionally have shied away from direct involvement in U.S.-Japan relations for fear of arousing cries over divided loyalties.

It is known that Japanese government officials are aware that an easing of trade tensions between the two nations would help greatly to lessen racial antagonism and to ease the burden on Asian-Americans. But the Japanese are loathe to acknowledge the problem publicly because of its sensitivity.

To a certain extent, Japanese-Americans accept the inability of most other Americans to distinguish between them and Japanese citizens, in large part because they are a small minority concentrated on the West Coast and in Hawaii. Ironically, the Japanese do not see Japanese-Americans as Japanese at all.

"We perceive them as Americans, though not as easily as we do Caucasians," Hidetoshi Kato, a sociology professor at Tokyo's Gakushuin University who specializes in U.S.-Japan issues, said. "It seems that Japanese-Americans get caught in the middle between Japanese who see them as Americans and Americans who see them as Japanese."

The public perception could improve somewhat when Ellison Onizuka, a Japanese-American from Hawaii, soars aloft as the first Asian-American astronaut early next year. Onizuka, while avoiding comment on race issues, says that he is well aware that he will be regarded as a breakthrough for his race.

"Sure, there will be some visibility," Onizuka said. "Being the first, there is added motivation to do good. The last thing I want to hear is that the first guy was a bust."

Perhaps the most important test for Japanese-Americans of their ability to weather the darkening mood will come later this year when debate begins in Congress on a proposal to apologize formally to Japanese-Americans for placing them in camps under armed guard during World War II and to pay surviving inmates \$20,000 each.

Japanese-Americans have strongly argued for the redress and reparations plan proposed in a final report this spring by the congressional-mandated Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

"This is important to show that we were and are Americans — of Japanese ancestry — who were denied equal protection under the laws," said Mineta, who expects increased criticism from people who will view those incarcerated as Japanese.

"The issue of redress is separate from that of trade but politically they are on the table at the same time," Shimomura said. "If we are denied redress because people hold us responsible for trade, as they blamed Japanese-Americans for a war that Japan as a nation (conducted) 40 years ago, then we haven't moved ahead one iota."

"The backlash is there. But so is the element of fairness among many Americans on trade as well as reparations. I hope through educating and speaking out we can encourage that strong point of American democracy."

A PERSONAL VIEW

TAICHI SAKAIYA/In Tokyo

Japan Feels 'Scapegoated' On the Trade Issue

Anti-Japanese sentiment has been on the rise in the old industrial centers of the American Midwest and Northeast, particularly among low-income groups and those with little formal education. Until recently, however, these Americans were neither pro nor anti-Japanese; they simply had no interest in a distant island nation called Japan.

Last year I went to Detroit on assignment for a Japanese TV network. The seriousness of the unemployment problem clearly defies the Japanese imagination. A big Chrysler plant on Lynch Street in Detroit had been closed for three years. All of the nearly 10,000 employees who once worked there had been laid off. Their unemployment benefits had run out.

The face of the city had changed. Houses were dilapidated and abandoned. One shopping center I saw was deserted. Even on the main street shops had folded up one after another, and some churches and local union offices had also been closed. It was a picture of utter desolation.

Many of the jobless had become vagrants. As early as 4 o'clock in the morning, lines began to form in front of churches for the free meals

is another. Nothing could be more dangerous.

So far, the Japanese economy has continued to expand by pursuing technical innovation and improving product quality. Overseas Japanese companies have prospered accordingly, and operations have rarely been cut back or factories closed. This has created a certain tolerance for Japanese management practices. But should the situation change, Japanese firms could be in for trouble from their employees.

Cultural differences also complicate bilateral trade disputes. The United States is asking Japan to boost defense spending and increase U.S. farm imports, fair demands by American standards. But the Japanese feel they are being scapegoated.

The word "goatability" (referring to a country's propensity to be made a scapegoat by other nations) gained brief currency in Japanese government circles a while back, when it seemed to many that Japan was being bullied by other countries. Yet this perception itself reveals a gap.

In the American view, it is exactly the other way around: today

More serious, complete nonalignment would require Japan to modify its industrial structure and lifestyle to accommodate a worsening of trade relations with either East or West.

Japan would first have to reduce its dependence on foreign trade. Food self-sufficiency would have to be improved and energy consumption cut back drastically. As industry shifted away from export-oriented production, the advantages of economies of scale would be lost. Inefficient industries producing for a limited market would have to be subsidized at public expense. In short, radical nonalignment would mean a retreat into semi-isolationism.

Contemporary Japanese are not mentally prepared to accept the precipitous changes such a choice implies. No one wants to return to a life of poverty. High incomes, affluent living, the joy of being a homeowner, a wide variety of entertainments to choose from — all the advantages of a high mass consumption society are taken for granted as the natural prerogatives of every citizen.

Considering the alternatives, I am convinced that not only is Japan's alliance with the United States desirable, it has become indispensable. Yet today this relationship is being threatened, and ordinary Japanese do not even realize it. We have come to a crossroads in postwar history.

Many Japanese think that the United States would never let go of Japan. If it went communist, they reason, Japan's economic might would benefit the Soviet Union to the detriment of the United States, creating a strategic shift in the balance of power. But the United States would not be much affected whatever Japan decided to do. Divorced from its Western trade partners, Japanese industry would be quickly debilitated. The Soviet Union and its satellites together lack the economic clout to replace the West in Japan's scheme of things.

On the other hand, the United States could deal a telling blow to Japan without getting itself hurt, in a number of ways. For instance, if the U.S. government should stop soybean sales to Japan, where the crop is a staple, this country would feel the effects immediately. And there is no assurance that America will not make such a move in the future. To avoid unpleasant and potentially disastrous surprises, Japanese must pay closer attention to what really makes Americans tick.

First, Americans have a strong sense of justice, as seen in Western movies, but it is tricky. "Justice" is always subjective and can lead one to act unreasonably. Take, for example, some of the old Ronald Reagan Westerns. Even a reckless action, if based on some notion of justice, can be applauded, probably because the American mentality is a combination of frontier spirit and puritanism.

Second, while free enterprise is part of America's spiritual heritage, dating back to the founding of the nation, free trade is not. Americans have traditionally revered freedom of speech, occupation, religion, and thought and the right to bear arms. But free trade is not an American tradition.

At the time of its founding, the United States actually sought to block the influx of industrial products from Britain. Its espousal of the Monroe Doctrine, which dominated American foreign policy right up to World War II, may also be seen as an early rejection of free trade. The "open-door policy" advocated from the late 19th century was an argument in favor of sharing the wealth of colonies with other powers, not a call for multilateral free trade.

After World War II, the United States started to patronize the idea of free trade, mainly because its industrial power gave it an overwhelming advantage and to a lesser extent, because the concept was useful in justifying America's self-righteous mission of defending the free world. Free trade, then, has a very short history in the United States and is still not accepted by some Americans.

Third, U.S. global strategy has never been inflexible. American strategic thinking is multilayered, and new ideas can supplement or supplant the old with relative ease. Withdrawal from Vietnam did not mean the collapse of U.S. world strategy.

Now that their country has become a major industrial power, the Japanese are being asked to chart their own course. Under the Tokugawa shoguns, Japan was a closed

'Few Japanese have any idea how badly Americans are being hurt by the economic crisis'

served at 6 a.m. "What is the main reason you're out of a job?" I asked about 20 people in the bread line. "Reagan and Japan," "The company management and Japan" were the most frequent replies. Almost everyone named Japan as one of the causes of unemployment and hard times.

Part of the cause of Japan's plummeting popularity in the U.S. is our collective self-centeredness, which keeps us from identifying with the problems of others. Japan has a hard time putting itself in another country's shoes.

As far as most Japanese were concerned, Japan tried to develop Manchuria in the 1930s out of sheer goodwill. They hadn't the slightest doubt that their country was acting in everyone's best interests. The Japanese never dreamed that the Manchurians might not appreciate their help.

Japanese leaders had no idea that the United States would react so strongly to the invasion of China or the dispatch of troops to Indochina. While they may have been prepared to incur American displeasure, no one dreamed that the U.S. would go so far as to threaten Japan's very survival. The Japanese sadly lacked the ability to calculate foreign initiatives and counter-moves.

In the early 1940s, the Japanese thought a war with the United States was not in the cards unless they attacked first. President Roosevelt's oil embargo against Japan, which threatened to immobilize Japanese warships, came as a nasty shock. Already bled by the war in China, Japan faced the prospect of watching its war machine grind to a halt. Its leaders decided to strike while they still could and plunged the country into war with the United States.

Japanese today are not all that different from the war generation. They cannot get beyond their preconceived notions about how Americans will react to Japanese moves. Few have any idea how badly Americans are being hurt by the economic crisis, or how deep the feeling against Japan is running.

Attributing Japan's economic success to Japanese management techniques and the hard-working character of its people, many countries, East and West, seem eager to "learn from Japan." Teaching those who wish to learn from us is one thing; imposing our values on them

Japan is the bully, not the victim. Instead of taking foreign criticisms to heart, however, an increasing number of Japanese are calling on the government to stand up forcefully for their country abroad. But how far can we go without losing important friends?

Some Japanese pacifists claim that Japan does not need to rearm in order to defend itself. If invaded, they say, all the country would have to do is appeal to world opinion, and the aggressor would be condemned and forced to withdraw. This is a dangerous illusion.

These pacifists oppose the Japan-U.S. alliance. Were Japan to dissolve this alliance, it would have to leave the Western camp. Few Western nations could be expected to risk antagonizing the United States by siding with Japan.

Cutting its ties with the United States would leave Japan only three options. It could commit itself to the Eastern bloc, either with the Soviet Union or China. Choosing China would entail the creation of a self-reliant bloc similar to the pre-war "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere." But this time Japan would be in no position to dominate it.

Whether in the Soviet or Chinese orbit, Japan's economic relations with its new partners would not be as profitable as they are now. It would have to restructure its economy and forego its high standard of living. Although Japan might try to promote East-West trade, it would most likely find its efforts frustrated.

Or Japan might opt for a variety of East-leaning neutralism, resulting in "Finlandization." Some people actually propose taking this route. They have been impressed with Finland's freedom and relatively high standard of living. Finlandization is not at all bad, they say. But in fact, a Finlandized Japan would be at loggerheads with the West on many issues and would no longer enjoy the benefits of free trade.

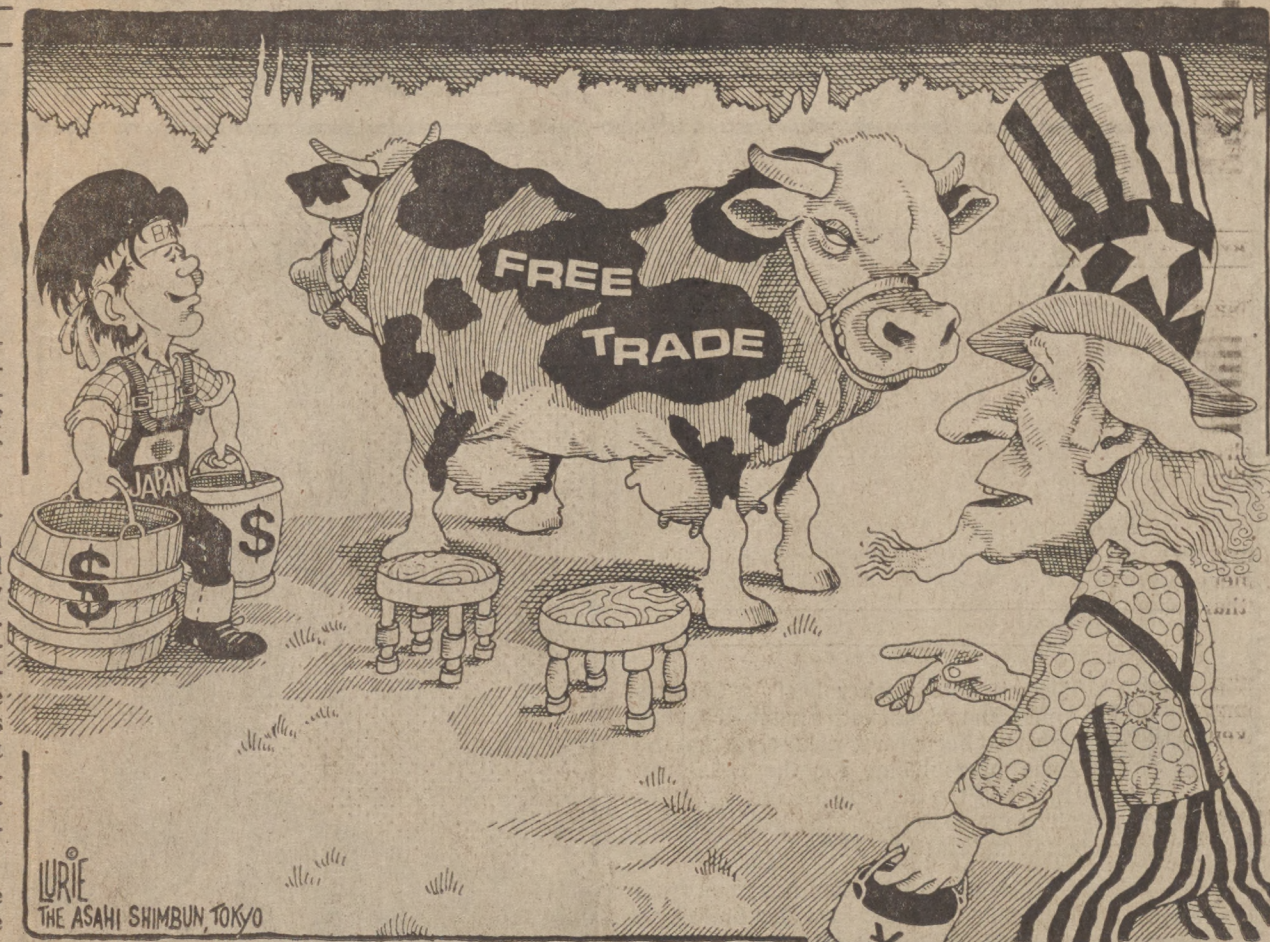
Another alternative is non-alignment. Japan would then be on its own. Burma, Iran, and, to some extent, China, are contemporary examples of countries that have taken this path. But the costs of nonalignment could be prohibitive. The country would have to increase its defense capability for one thing.

The Bay Area Calendar of International Events

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7: "Population Trends and Foreign Policy" Speaker, Ambassador Richard E. Benedick, U.S. coordinator of Population Affairs. 8 p.m., Napa Valley Bank, Trancas & Big Ranch Road, Napa. World Affairs Council members and students with I.D. free; non-members, \$3. Phone 982-2541.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10: "Crisis of the Month." A panel of foreign policy experts from academia, international business and the media analyze an issue currently making international headlines. 5:15 p.m., World Affairs Council, 312 Sutter Street. Members, \$12; non-members, \$15 (lunch included). Phone 982-2541 by November 10.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11: "New Missiles for NATO: Why Now?" Conference with European guest speakers: General Sir Michael Gow, Royal College of Defense Studies, Britain; Dieter Kastrup, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, West Germany; Dr. Neto Valerio, deputy permanent representative to NATO from Portugal; Major General Bjorn Egge of Norway, former deputy commander, NATO Defense College. 9 a.m.-2 p.m., World Affairs Council, 312 Sutter Street. Members, \$12; non-members, \$15 (lunch included). Phone 982-2541 by November 10.



'Seems, Taro san, that your special milking talents work well with this animal'

nation with a coherent national policy: seclusionism. The arrival of the black ships captained by Commodore Matthew Perry deprived Japan of that status. Emerging from their shell, the Japanese of that day resolved to turn their country into a major power.

Prewar Japan sought to attain that goal mainly through military means and failed. After World War II, the same efforts were concentrated in the economic sector. By throwing military aspirations out the window and diverting resources from cultural endeavors, Japan managed to become a first-rate economic power. To what heights should Japan aspire next? At present the Japanese seem to be drifting aimlessly. But we are not the only nation in search of a national purpose.

A country in our predicament

can choose from two historical alternatives. It can strive to become a "leader nation," or it can work toward becoming a "pacesetter nation." But it is difficult to do both at the same time.

What about Japan? Here, what is desirable is as important as what is feasible. When a once backward country moves ahead of the others, it encounters resistance from those it overtakes. A power on the rise should be careful not to overreach itself.

Clearly, asserting its military supremacy in the world is out of the question for Japan. Japan never went to war with a foreign country in premodern times, except for a brief encounter with Mongolian invaders. Nor can it become a "leader country" today, outperforming oth-

er nations in all fields. Japan must be particularly careful not to establish a new sphere of influence in the Asia-Pacific region.

Japan will have to maintain even closer ties with the United States if it is to avoid becoming isolated internationally. A solid alliance between an America aspiring to world hegemony and a Japan determined to become a vanguard merchant state is not only imperative for the security and continued affluence of the two countries; it may be the only way to bring peace and prosperity to the rest of the world.

Japanese writer Taichi Sakaiya wrote this article for the Japanese magazine Gendai. Translated by the Asia Foundation's Translation Service Center

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\$20,000 Each Asked for Interned U.S. Japanese

Washington

A commission recommended yesterday that the federal government apologize to the people of Japanese ancestry it put in internment camps during World War II

and pay \$20,000 to each of approximately 60,000 who remain alive.

The recommendation to spend \$1.5 billion in compensation and other forms of redress for the detention was sent to Congress after a

two-year investigation by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

The commission declared that there was no justification for the internment, and blamed it on war hysteria, racial hatred and a failure

of political leadership.

No congressional action is expected for several years, and even then it remains in doubt whether Congress will accept the commission's recommendations, said Ron-

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\$20,000 Sought for Each Interned U.S. Japanese

San Francisco Chronicle 17

☆☆☆ Fri., June 17, 1983

From Page 1

ald K. Ikejiri, Washington representative of the Japanese American Citizens League. He expressed gratitude for the recommendation, however.

In all, 120,000 people of Japanese descent were put in the camps under an order signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt 10 weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941.

About half of them have died since, and the commission did not recommend payment to their heirs.

The recommendations drew an expression of dismay from retired diplomat John J. McCloy, 88, who was assistant secretary of war dur-

ing the time and who testified before the panel in 1981 that the idea of apologizing to the internees "sends me up the wall."

He said the attack on Pearl Harbor "constituted full justification for President Roosevelt's relocation order."

The commission told Congress, "No amount of money can fully compensate the excluded people for their losses and sufferings."

The panel said, however, that monetary redress is justified: "Nations that forget or ignore injustices are more likely to repeat them."

Representative Dan Lungren, R-Calif., the commission vice chair-

man, disagreed. He alone among the nine members voted against monetary compensation. He said it made no more sense to him to pay the people of Japanese ancestry for past injustices than it would be to pay black Americans or American Indians.

The commission also urged Congress to enact a resolution, to be signed by the president, "which recognizes that a grave injustice was done and offers the apologies of the nation for the acts of exclusion, removal and detention."

Also recommended were:

② • A presidential pardon for an estimated 15 to 25 individuals who were convicted of violating a curfew imposed on people of Japanese

descent or refusing to report for relocation.

③ • The creation of a foundation to study civil liberties abuses and the effects of racial prejudice by governments acting under stress.

④ • Creation of a fund to sponsor research into "the cause and circumstances" of the detention.

• \$5 million be spent to compensate the Aleut community for the wartime evacuation of 900 Aleuts from their islands in the Pacific.

A study conducted for the panel, made public Wednesday, estimated that the ethnic Japanese from the West Coast suffered income and property losses of \$149 million to \$370 million — between

\$810 million and \$2 billion in 1983 dollars — when they were hastily taken from their homes. Farms, businesses, cars and houses were sold at panic prices.

Some Japanese Americans will probably consider the recommended compensation inadequate. A lawsuit filed in March by the National Council for Japanese American Redress asked for \$200,000 compensation for each internee.

Commission chairman Joan Z. Bernstein, a Washington lawyer, said there was no particular reason why the panel settled on \$20,000 but stressed it wanted to be "conservative."

Under a 1948 law, \$37 million was paid to compensate internees,

but the panel said the amount was inadequate to cover true losses.

When Japanese diplomatic codes were broken in the months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt and some top advisers may have learned that the Japanese government boasted it had "utilized" ethnic Japanese in this country for espionage. But Bernstein said a search of the records failed to document that claim.

"No documented acts of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity were shown to have been committed by any identifiable American citizen of Japanese ancestry or resident Japanese alien on the West Coast," she said.

Associated Press



Pacific Citizen

August 19, 1983

The National Publication of the Japanese American Citizens League

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Lowry bill stipulates pay to 'all registered' by EO 9066



Rep. Mike Lowry

Special to the Pacific Citizen
Seattle

To supporters of Congressman Mike Lowry (D-7th Wa.), it was no surprise that he was the first legislator ready to introduce in Congress a redress bill immediately following the premature announcement of the CWRIC recommendations on June 16. Those who have worked for redress in the Pacific Northwest for nearly a decade know that Lowry's commitment to seek justice for the victims of E.O. 9066, dates back to his initial term in 1978 when he won election to Congress.

Noted for his forthright stand on civil rights issues, Lowry holds the distinction of being the first to introduce a direct compensation redress bill, HR 5977, in 1980, a bill which died in the Judiciary Committee when the Commission bill was favored by Congress.

The current Lowry bill, HR 3387, and Sen. Alan Cranston's bill, S 1520, were introduced simultaneously on June 22, the intended date of the CWRIC report release.

Except for the omission of the dollar amount, the Cranston bill basically follows the provisions of the Lowry bill which stipulates that upon enactment the office of the Attorney General is to disburse directly tax-exempt individual payments of \$20,000 to all Americans of Japanese or Aleut ancestry who were registered in the prohibited military zone in 1942, with unclaimed, or amounts for the deceased to be allocated to a trust fund for community services (such as educational, health, housing, cultural needs, etc.) in areas populated by eligible individuals.

The trust fund of residual amounts is to be maintained by the Secretary of Treasury with such amount to be invested per Sec. 9702, Title 31, U.S. Code, and disbursed by an appointive Board of Directors, at least one-half of whom would be eligible individuals or direct descendants, geographically representative of the Japanese American or Aleut population.

Basic provisions are in line with the CWRIC recommendations, integrated with features of the January 1983 National JACL guidelines.

Method of Payment

With the total cost of the bill estimated to be approximately \$2.4 billion, Lowry pointed out that, "Payment of this amount could be spread out over a three-year period in the case of the direct individual payments, and even longer to reach the ceiling on the residual trust foundation. But even a quick comparison with the military bud-

Continued on Page 5

Nisei school official reinstated after grand jury investigation

STOCKTON, Ca.—A former Stockton Unified School District purchasing director—whose immediate dismissal was urged by the 1981-82 San Joaquin County grand jury—has been given a new job with the district after pledging to retire next February, according to Bill Cook of the Stockton Record staff.

Teddy T. Saiki was placed on paid "administrative leave" in January and removed from the district's payroll about two months ago.

His reinstatement is part of a "compromise and settlement agreement" negotiated between Saiki and district representatives.

As part of the agreement, Saiki's last evaluation and subsequent letters involving "disciplinary action" are to be removed from his personnel file and he is to receive back pay for the period his pay was stopped.

The evaluation was dated about a week after the grand jury issued a report charging that more than \$1.3 million in district funds had been spent improperly because business

office controls were inadequate.

In its report, the jury claimed that Saiki, a 19-year district employee, "abrogated his responsibility in a number of instances" and contributed to the alleged abuse of the district's "pay on invoice" procedure.

The jury said Saiki was unaware of state laws and regulations that applied to his job.

Jurors called for the immediate dismissal of Saiki; former data processing manager Forrest File, who committed suicide last October; former controller Earle Ennis; and former accounting manager Louis Ward. The last two recently retired.

The jury claimed all failed to exercise their responsibilities.

No criminal charges or civil actions have been filed against Saiki.

In his new job, Saiki will prepare an inventory of the district's portable buildings, then work on completing an inventory of the district's real property.

His salary will be \$24,329 a

Continued on Page 5

CENSUS BUREAU DECLARES...

Names and addresses 'not furnished' in 1942

Special to the Pacific Citizen

WASHINGTON — A background paper shared with the Washington JACL Office this past week (Aug. 8) addresses the contention that in 1941-42 the Census Bureau had provided names and addresses of Japanese residents to the White House and the FBI, thus assisting in their removal and detention.

The paper, "Census Confidentiality an Inviolable Tradition", with a letter from C.L. Kincannon, acting Census Bureau director, notes staff research came to the conclusion that "the Bureau did not fur-

nish names and addresses from its census records to the war authorities in 1942".

The various stories, such as passages found in Toland's "Day of Infamy" and Burnham's "The Rise of the Computer State", erroneously contend the Census Bureau had furnished names and addresses of Japanese Americans to the White House and the FBI, Kincannon explained in citing the problem.

"These stories... are not based on any facts that we have been able to verify," he added, and do a great disservice to the Census Bureau and

its reputation for protecting the confidentiality of its raw data. Research by staff of the events during 1941-42 showed the stories "do not ring true on a number of counts and most certainly cannot be substantiated", Kincannon emphasized.

The background paper (below) should be maintained in an appropriate file to ensure against inaccurate stories receiving further dissemination, the Washington JACL Office was advised.

Census Confidentiality an Inviolable Tradition

(From U.S. Bureau of the Census) Washington

Various publications and commentators have made charges that during World War II the Census Bureau gave names and addresses of Japanese Americans to other government agencies. These charges are totally unfounded. There is no solid evidence that shows such a disclosure ever occurred. The Census Bureau—concerned that such inaccurate charges could undermine public trust in a 200-year-old American institution—has investigated the matter thoroughly. Here are the facts.

At the outset of World War II, Administration and Congressional leaders encouraged all Federal

agencies to set aside routine work and focus on mobilization and defense. Under this policy the Census Director, Mr. J.C. Capt, made sure that government agencies had necessary statistics on industrial production, shipping, and the distribution of goods and services.

The Director also complied with two requests of the War Department. First, he sent a Bureau statistician to the Western Defense Command to assist the War Relocation Authority in compiling its own data and in the use of 1940 census data.

In addition, the Director tabulated available statistical data on an accelerated schedule showing the number of Japanese Americans in states, counties, and subdivisions. These counts were based on previously collected 1940 census data scheduled to be published from 1941 through 1943. The War Department used these statistics to plan the evacuation and relocation program. Insofar as we can determine, the Bureau compiled most of these statistics in two weeks between mid-February and mid-March 1942. None of this information contained names, addresses, or social security numbers.

'Does Not Ring True'

The undocumented charge that the Census Bureau delivered names and addresses of individuals does not ring true on several counts:

Continued on Page 6

Governors show resistance to CWRIC recommendations

PORTLAND, Me.—It may have not occurred to John Spellman, the Republican governor of Washington, that he would meet strong resistance when he sought approval of his resolution at the National Governors Assn., conference on Aug. 2 to grant government compensation to survivors of World War II internment camps (see Aug. 12 PC).

The same redress and reparation resolution introduced June 29 by Spellman at the Western Governors Conference in Kalispell, Mont., was passed unanimously by 11 governors at the time.

Spellman, however, discovered that instead of what he thought was a decent thing to do, he had provided in microcosm an example of the consequences of the national budget-policy stalemate, commented Thomas Oliphant of the Boston Globe in a Seattle Times article Aug. 3.

The leader of a state with a considerable number of Japanese Americans quickly faced opposition from Richard Lamm, ordinarily the Reagan-fighting Democratic governor of Colorado.

With President Reagan on the one hand and Congress and the governors on the other stuck in antagonistic positions, and with deficits still rising and beginning to take interest rates back up with them, the nation's agenda of relatively uncontroversial but still unmet needs is growing, Oliphant said.

Lamm said: Merits aside, such a commitment did not square with the governors' carefully arranged, bipartisan approach to reducing the deficit adopted six months ago. Instead, he proposed that the resolution's language on the Japanese Americans' case be restricted to an apology.

Continued on Page 5

Japanese women scholars to conduct 1st research in U.S.

TOKYO—Research into the postwar life of Japanese immigrants in the United States who were interned during World War II is being conducted for the first time by a group of Japanese women scholars this summer.

The internment of Japanese immigrants began in 1942 and a total of 120,000 Japanese were interned for about three years across the country. Stories of their hard experiences and books relating the facts of the internment have been published here recently, but none of them report on the postwar life of those interned.

However, it is believed that the Japanese immigrants, most of whom did not have good command of English, had more difficulty in resettling themselves after the war, surrounded by discrimination and prejudice.

The group to research their postwar history consists of Professor Teruki Kachi of Shoin Women's University and five other women scholars who belong to a group on immigrant problems formed by Kachi eight years ago in Tokyo.

Several hundred first- and second-generation Japanese Americans are to be interviewed. —Asahi Evening News

CONGRATULATIONS! Tracy Lynn Isawa, daughter of John and Colette of Torrance, captured the title of Nisei Week Queen at the Coronation Ball Aug. 13 at the Beverly Hilton. Her sponsor was the South Bay JACL.



Photo by Scott Takahashi



Photo by Jon Takasugi

1983 NISEI WEEK QUEEN AND COURT. (From left) Robin Oshiro, E. Los Angeles JACL; Terri Tasaka, Pan Asian JACL; Miss Tomodachi Geraldine Nakauchi, Twin County Optimist; Queen Tracy Isawa, South Bay

JACL; 1st Princess Elva Tamashiro, E. San Gabriel Valley JCC; Lorraine Kuda, W. Los Angeles JACL; Connie Takimoto, San Fernando Valley JACCCC; Denise Watari, Gardena Valley JACL.

LOWRY

Continued from Page 1

get for one year shows that this sum is relatively small.

"We are spending over \$240 billion on military appropriations this fiscal year. \$2.4 billion is just one percent of this amount. But what are we supposedly spending it for? To protect individual liberties, individual property rights and Constitutional guarantees. All of these rights were denied Japanese American during World War II. I feel that we as a nation are being less than consistent if we devote these immense resources to protect these rights, yet we have not compensated those who were deprived of these rights in our own land."

When Lowry received a special assignment for a congressional on-site study of the Nicaraguan situation in July, the Central American trip conflicted with his scheduled meeting with the NCCR to discuss the redress bill.

Lowry's Remarks

Taking his place, Ruthann Kurose, his administrative aide who has been a major source of strength on the bill, delivered to the group his letter of regret which said,

"I am very impressed by the courage of the Japanese American community despite having suffered such a great injustice. The response of the Japanese American community demonstrates an unmatched spirit of loyalty and patriotism.

"Although we can never fully rectify this grievous injustice, we can provide meaningful compensation to the survivors; I am convinced that justice requires an official apology and monetary compensation. The cost of \$20,000 per eligible individual is not great compared to the magnitude of the injustice. Americans of Japanese ancestry lost their property, jobs, dignity, and three years of their lives—because of actions taken by institutions designed to protect us all. They are entitled to meaningful compensation for these immense losses."

Lauding the careful and extensive research of the CWRIC,

Lowry feels that the recommendations will be a strong base of support in legislative efforts to attain redress. Regarding the key co-sponsorship of Rep. Norman Mineta, and the support of other colleagues, Lowry wrote,

"I would also like to commend the efforts of my colleagues Congressman Norm Mineta and Congressman Bob Matsui. They have played a key role in persuading government to accept responsibility for its actions and will be critical to achieving success in the coming legislative debate in the House."

Cooperation Offered

Pleased with the announcement that similar redress legislation is expected to be introduced by the Nikkei congressional delegation in the near future, Lowry stated,

"I will work in total cooperation with Congressman Mineta, Congressman Matsui, and the many other responsible citizens and legislators, in support of this common goal. Remedies are being sought through state, local, and federal legislation and through the judicial system. We have many views on how to accomplish our goal, but we all share the belief that redress is a fundamental requirement to achieve justice. If we are to accomplish our goal in the immediate future, we must operate at our fullest potential by identifying points of unity and opportunities for concerted action.

"It has been my privilege to have an opportunity to work toward clearing our government's shameful record and providing assurances that Constitutional guarantees still stand for all citizens regardless of race, creed or national origin." Lowry concluded.

As of the end of July, 41 cosponsors have signed on the Lowry bill, including key House members such as Congressman Don Edwards (D-Calif.) and Congressman Hamilton Fish (R-N.Y.). The most recent co-sponsor to HR 3387 is high-ranking Thomas Foley (D-Spokane). #

STOCKTON

Continued from Page 1

year plus normal fringe benefits. This is about \$5,400 a year less than he earned as purchasing agent.

The agreement prohibits either Saiki or the district from instituting or joining any action, law suit or proceeding against each other that involves Saiki's work for the district.

The waiver specifically prohibits claims of defamation, libel and slander, or the recovery of funds from either side.

Another provision of the agreement is that neither side "voluntarily discuss or comment on the substance of this agreement."

However, the settlement itself is a public document. Among other things, it calls for:

—Saiki to execute an irrevocable written commitment to retire from the district no later than his 55th birthday in February 1984.

—Saiki to be paid, at the annual rate of \$24,329, for the period he was on unpaid leave, less 16 3/4 days of vacation time he had accrued at the time.

—Upon his retirement in February 1984, Saiki will be eligible for the same health benefits as any other classified management employee retiring at 55 with at least five years of service.

Saiki was hired by the district as a buyer in June 1964. He became assistant director of purchasing in July 1974, and was appointed director of purchasing in July 1980. #

GOVERNORS

Continued from Page 1

The governors' federal budget position—not unlike the one a bipartisan majority of Congress has tried without success to recommend to the president—favors sharply curtailed increases in military spending, tax increases, restraint on the growth of benefit programs and a tough line on additional discretionary spending in hopes of reducing what will otherwise be a recovery-threatening string of \$150 billion to \$200 billion deficits.

Democrat Robert Nigh of Oklahoma, noting the presence of more than a few American Indians in his state, termed compensation for past injustice "a precedent we should not take".

Perhaps better known for his battles against Reagan's concept of a New Federalism, Republican Richard Snelling of Vermont suggested the governors instead vow never to let such an injustice occur again.

"Bills to authorize redress have been introduced in Congress," quoted an editorial in the Honolulu Advertiser on Aug. 4. "But the governors' vote indicates how they face several hurdles, including for AJAs and others to make the point how their wartime treatment was different from injustices suffered at other times by blacks, Indians and Hispanics."

Republican Bill Sheffield of Alaska advanced the case of the Aleuts under his jurisdiction if the precedent were to be set. #



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57-7323 EDITORIAL (415) 567-7324

Wednesday, August 3, 1983

Governors Say No To Monetary Redress

PORTLAND, Maine (UPI) — The nation's governors, in a surprise move, refused Tuesday to endorse compensation for Americans of Japanese descent who were taken from their homes and sent to detention camps during World War II.

The governors, meeting at their 75th annual conference, voted to express an "apology and national recognition" for the displaced Japanese Americans but rejected compensation for the 60,000 still living.

A national Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians concluded earlier this year a "grave injustice" was done and recommended compensation.

Legislation to provide money for the victims has been introduced in Congress.

The Governors' Human Resources Committee earlier approved a policy statement which said, "Appropriate redress for the victims of wartime internment is long overdue."

The statement also urged Congress to "provide just compensation to those individuals who suffered the injustices and hardships resulting from

the government's action in World War II."

But when the committee language was presented, Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm offered an amendment striking support for compensation.

Lamm said providing federal funds for reparations would be inconsistent with the budget and would set a precedent that could affect Indians, blacks and Hispanics.

But Washington Gov. John Spellman, chairman of the Human Resources Committee, said that what happened to the Japanese Americans was "unprecedented" and called it "fundamentally wrong."

"I don't think it's enough to say, 'Hey, I'm sorry,'" Spellman said. "We would be indicating good will and little more. This could be considered an insult."

But the governors, by a two-thirds vote, adopted the Lamm amendment.

Spellman attempted to withdraw the resolution but was blocked by North Carolina Gov. James Hunt on procedural grounds. Spellman then urged all the governors to vote for the amended resolution which was approved.

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Lowry Bill Gains Sponsors, Senate to Hold Hearing

By PHILIP TAJITSU NASH

MAYWOOD, N.J. — The campaign for redress has stepped into high gear on Capitol Hill in both the Senate and House.

On the House side, the redress bill (HR3387) introduced by Rep. Mike Lowry (D-Wash.), which conforms to the recommendations of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), has gained a total of 35 co-sponsors.

Early co-sponsors, such as Norman Mineta (D-Calif.) and Hamilton Fish (R-N.Y.), have been joined recently by congressmen from both coasts. From the New York metropolitan area are Richard Ottinger (D-N.Y.), Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), Robert Roe (D-N.J.) and William Hughes (D-N.J.). Also from the East Coast are Barney Frank (D-Mass.), Bob Edgar (D-Pa.) and Ed Markey (D-Mass.). Others are Henry Waxman (D-Calif.), Jim Moody (D-Wisc.) and Fofu Sunia (American Samoa).

While 218 congressmen, representing a majority of the total of 435, must vote to approve this or any other redress bill, the large number of co-sponsors at so early a stage is a hopeful sign.

The bill has been referred to the House Judiciary Committee's Administrative Law and Procedure subcommittee, headed by Sam Hall (D-Texas), where further action has not yet been set.

On the Senate side, the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Administrative Law and Procedure has moved quickly to schedule its first hearing on the commission's recommendations for Wednesday, July 27, in Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee, headed by Senator Charles Grassley (R-

Iowa), also includes Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.), Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), Howell Heflin (D-Ala.) and Max Baucus (D-Mont.).

According to inside Senate sources, the hearing on the 27th will last for about two hours and, although the witness list is not yet finalized, it will feature testimony by the empanelled members of the commission; the Justice Department; Senator Alan Cranston, who has introduced a redress bill, S.1520, conforming to the commission's recommendations except without a suggested dollar amount; Rep. Daniel Lungren, a member of the commission who agreed with its findings of wrong-doing by the government but who dissented on the method of redress; JACL Washington representative Ron Ikejiri; Ken Masugi, a Japanese American who apparently opposes redress and who has done a study of the commission's study, and Lillian Baker, anti-redress advocate and founder of Americans for Historical Accuracy.

David Lowman, who broke the story on the "Magic" cables (which purported to show the potential danger posed by Japanese Americans and, therefore, the need for removal and detention), was invited but will not be appearing.

Other groups requesting to speak were told to submit written testimony, which will be considered and which will not preclude appearing at any later subcommittee hearing. The address is: Senator Charles Grassley, Senate Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Administrative Law and Procedure, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

APAAC Monitoring Violent Incidents Against Asians

The increased incidence of violence against Asian Pacific Americans and the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill on immigration reform and control were targeted as crucial issues by the State Board of Governors of Asian Pacific American Advocates of California (APAAC), meeting in Los Angeles, June 25-26.

Dominating the nearly 30 actions passed by the board were cases of increased animosity and aggression against Asian Pacific American citizens, immigrants and refugees.

The board reaffirmed support for "Justice for Vincent Chin" efforts and demanded further investigation by the U.S. department of justice or congressional subcommittee into the murder, the subsequent light sentencing of the convicted killers, and the violation of Mr. Chin's civil rights.

APAAC will continue to monitor and act in the cases of Thong Hy Huynh, the murdered Davis High school student; Trac Thi Vu, the Vietnamese widow murdered in Los Angeles; the gunshot wounding of 10-year-old Cambodian Chansopheha Nhim in Houston, Texas; vandalism at China Camp in Marin County; cross-burnings on the lawn of a Filipino family in San Leandro; and the "White Power Telephone Messages" and racist flyers circulated in San Francisco.

Using its computer, APAAC now has the capacity to document, analyze and monitor violent incidents or acts against Asian Pacific Americans. Persons should report such acts to APAAC, P.O. Box 23280, San Jose, CA 95153.

The board continued its longstanding support of Chol Su Lee, recently found innocent of a 1973 San Francisco murder for which he spent 10 years in prison, and commended the Sacramento Region of APAAC for effectively defusing potentially explosive anti-Vietnamese/Laotian sentiments in the Rancho Cordova-North Highlands areas.

APAAC dissected and acted on each provision of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill (HR 1510). It strongly advocated the retention of the fifth preference provision and the Norman Y. Mineta, D., San Jose, amendment increasing the yearly quota of Hong Kong immigrants from 600 to 3000.

The board rejected the proposal for national identification employment cards and feared that proposed punitive sanctions imposed on employers hiring illegal aliens would discourage the hiring of *legal* immigrants and/or American citizens with Asian physical features.

Providing only 14 days for re-
(Continued on last page)



CWRIC Chairman Testifies Before Senate Subcommittee

— First in Series of Hearings on Wartime Treatment of Nikkei —

WASHINGTON — In her testimony before the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Senate Judiciary Committee Wednesday, Joan Z. Bernstein, chairman of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, reviewed the committee's findings and recommendations.

This hearing was the first of a series which will focus on the wartime treatment and experience of Japanese Americans interned in "relocation centers" following President Roosevelt's signing of Executive Order 9066.

Bernstein said of the internment: "In simple terms 120,000 people lost the right to live where they chose and the large majority were held in detention for more than two years without charges being brought against them."

"Of course, that is not the way in which the American government has historically behaved. The government is not free to lock up citizens or expel them from extensive areas of the country without making and

proving some charge against them.

"It is not surprising that the exclusion and detention were opposed at the time by men like Attorney General Francis Biddle who had a strong sense of the fundamental importance of liberty and due process in the United States. The importance of these events have not been forgotten by those who continue to believe in America as a bulwark of freedom."

Bernstein then reiterated in general terms the historical background of the relocation and internment and the findings of the commission that exclusion and detention were totally unjustified.

"Our legal system," she said, "is founded on determining guilt or fault on an individual basis, and citizens must be given the presumption of loyalty. Moreover, the conclusion that ethnicity determined loyalty was not a military judgment deserving of any deference."

"Generals are not experts on race; their views on the political loyalties of civilians are only as good as the facts they can marshal in their support."

"As John J. McCloy, who was Assistant Secretary of War in 1942, testified to the commission, the decision to issue the executive order was not based on any actual events of sabotage or espionage known to the War Department. The lack of evidence of disloyalty on the part of Americans of Japanese ancestry in 1942 speaks for itself."

Speaking of justification for the internment, Bernstein said: "By any analysis with the least sensitivity to American constitutional values there was no justification for holding loyal American citizens of Japanese descent in detention or prohibiting them from traveling, living and working where they chose."

"In his memoirs, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson cogently called the evacuation a 'personal injustice' to loyal Japanese Americans. It was a personal injustice precisely because the country failed to apply justice in a personal or individual manner."

"Men, women and children were uprooted from their homes and their lives shattered because the United States failed to

provide personal justice in time of war."

"It is important to emphasize that we are dealing here with American behavior."

"It is not a question of how the Japanese or the Nazis treated Americans or other prisoners which is one of the darkest chapters of modern history. What the commission has examined and taken testimony about, pursuant to the direction from Congress, is how the United States dealt with American citizens and residents."

Impact of Internment

On the impact of the internment on Japanese Americans, Bernstein said: "The damage done by this country to its own citizens and residents is a mosaic made up of thousands of lives and thousands of personal histories. The commission's hearing record is replete with searing and painful testimony. "There was the economic loss of farms and homes sold in distress circumstances, of elderly people having to start from scratch a second time after the war, of families detained in camps without employment and unable to meet tax and mortgage and insurance payments, of education and careers disrupted. . . .

"Over time and with perseverance material losses may be repaired, but the hidden scars of lives damaged by the exclusion and detention remain."

"Each individual excluded from the West Coast and sent only with the baggage he could carry to spend two and a half years behind barbed wire carries his own marks from that time."

"For people who knew their innocence and the injustice of their treatment the burden was not light. They bore the stigma of having been branded potentially disloyal, the deprivation of liberty and the loss of the common decencies of daily life."

"An essential foundation of our government — the citizen's trust that the government will deal with him individually and fairly — was deeply damaged. The injuries inflicted by the country on these citizens were different in kind from the suffering and loss which the Second World War brought to all Americans."

Sobering Thought

What was particularly sobering, Bernstein said, was that "men of the greatest stature with careers of the most distinguished public service — Democrat and Republican, conservative and liberal, judges, legislators and cabinet members, the President himself — were personally involved in a course of action which today we can only find gravely unjust and deeply injurious. The bulwark of our Constitution did not withstand it."

Stating that the commission had recommended several forms of redress, Bernstein noted that we must provide remedies for violations of our own laws and principles. "that our nation's ability to honor democratic values even in times of stress depends largely upon our collective memory of lapses from our constitutional commitment to liberty and due process. Nations

that forget or ignore injustices are more likely to repeat them."

In concluding her testimony, Bernstein summed up basic points which she believes deserve emphasis:

"Congress directed the commission to review the treatment of American citizens and residents by the American government."

"The commissioners deplore the methods and the record of Japan's armed forces during World War II, but it must be kept clearly in mind that the American citizens who were sent to Manzanar or Poston were no more responsible for Pearl Harbor and the Bataan Death March than German Americans were for the invasion of France or the bombing of Britain."

"The American principle that a man is judged as an individual and not by where his grandparents came from must not be allowed to become a casualty of war."

"A free act of apology to those who were unjustly excluded and detained during the war is an important act of national healing. If we are unwilling as a nation to apologize for these events, we will deliver a message to the thousands of loyal Americans who were held in the camps that will be bitter indeed."

"We will be affirming after 40 years that the American values of due process and equality before the law without regard to ethnicity or race are only rhetorical values and that in times of stress small minorities should harbor no hope that those principles will protect them from the fear and anger of their neighbors or the heavy hand of their government."

"Such a result is a threat to the liberty of all Americans."

Monetary Payments

"In addressing monetary payments, two points must be borne in mind. First, the commission was asked to recommend appropriate remedies, not simply ordinary and usual remedies."

"For events as unusual and extraordinary as these, one can only expect an extraordinary response. . . .

"Second, the justification for monetary payments need not rest solely on an argument as to whether the initial acts of 1942 were totally unjustified. One need only look at the last 18 months of exclusion and detention."

"By the middle of 1943 there was no conceivable threat of attack on the West Coast from Japan. Fifteen months of incarceration had provided ample time to identify spies and saboteurs if there were any of significance. Secretary Stimson and Mr. McCloy had concluded that there were no military reasons justifying the exclusion of the loyal from the West Coast."

"Nevertheless, the Japanese Americans were not allowed to go home until the end of 1944 and most of them spent that 18 months behind barbed wire."

"It's hard to imagine circumstances more clearly justifying compensation from the government."

were [redacted] and Pat Okura as being among them. And both, along with a number of others, participated in the March. We recall Harry Takagi for one.

explained. The room turned quite chilly. We gulped our sodas and left; this was no time to tarry.

AND NOW, IT is 20 years later. We wonder how much understanding has been achieved in those two decades. #

Keeping Track:

N.Y. Times focuses on redress

WASHINGTON—Under the New York Times headline Aug. 12, "Wartime Internment: A Personal Issue at the Fore", David Shribman, in a special feature, reported that two Nikkei congressmen from California now have a great deci-

sion to make on a key civil rights issue.

Reps. Norman Y. Mineta, of San Jose; and Robert T. Matsui, Sacramento, both Democrats, will have to vote on whether the U.S. government should apologize to Japanese Americans relocated during World War II and whether those who were confined in internment camps should receive monetary compensation.

The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians concluded this spring that the detention and relocation of 120,000 American citizens during the war had been a "grave injustice".

Mixed up in the controversy are the difficult issues of civil liberties and the passions of Pearl Harbor and World War II, now four decades past.

After the Recess

When the 98th Congress returns this month, it will begin to examine a \$1.5 billion proposal that would provide a formal national apology, grant \$20,000 each to the estimated

60,000 surviving victims and establish a special educational foundation for Japanese Americans.

How the question of redress, lingering just below the political landscape for nearly four decades, went from a matter discussed in hushed tones in Japanese American homes to an issue before the House of Representatives is a story of "changing attitudes and, according to experts on the issue, the coming of age of American citizens of Japanese descent."

In many ways, in fact, Mineta and Matsui personify those changes, the article noted. For years, both carefully guarded the details of their confinement, even from their children.

"And they tried, in the fashion of many ethnic groups to emphasize their similarities with other Americans rather than their differences."

Mineta, 51, and Matsui, 41, agree that the change came with the civil rights movement, with the questioning and rebellion of the 1960s and with the maturing of third gen-

eration Japanese Americans. The young people kept asking: What happened? What was it like?

● Hostage to History

The Indianapolis Star
Tuesday, March 22, 1983

Ed. Note: As the date of this editorial indicates, its comment on redress is directed to the class-action suit filed Mar. 16 by NCJAR (Nat'l Council for Japanese American Redress; William Hohri, Chicago, chair)—not with the CWRIC recommendations which most of the clippings submitted to us in recent weeks are addressing.

"A grave injustice was done," a special congressional panel ruled last month concerning the World War II internment of people of Japanese ancestry. Surely all thoughtful Americans agree.

But the verdict was arrived at in the healing perspective of time, not in the painful aftermath of a vicious surprise attack on United States forces and a formal declaration of war.

The congressional panel concluded the internment was moti-

Continued on Page 6

field of [redacted] to introduce [redacted] have also [redacted] of offenders [redacted] victims. It is [redacted] seen about the [redacted] perennial misca-

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SACRAMENTO FUND RAISER FOR CORAM NOBIS WRIT

SACRAMENTO, Aug. 9 — Disgrace — Embarrassment — Persecution — Criminal Conviction — all because of the color of a person's skin. These describe the unjust and unconstitutional decisions made by America's judicial system against three Americans of Japanese descent who refused to be subjected to incarceration and internment in 1942.

For Fred Korematsu, Minoru Yasui and Gordon Hirabayashi life as a Japanese American was filled with racism and anti-Japanese sentiment.

These three men who were denied their rights as Americans were arrested, convicted and imprisoned because of their moral conviction to defy a 1942 military curfew and evacuation (Continued on last page)

Draft Due in September . . .

House Redress Bill on Recommendations

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9 — House of Representatives Majority Leader Jim Wright announced recently that he will serve as a joint sponsor of redress legislation now being prepared by Rep. Norman Y. Mineta and Rep. Robert T. Matsui.

The legislation being drafted by Matsui and Mineta implements all of the recommendations recently offered by the commission on wartime relocation and internment of civilians.

As majority leader, Wright is the second highest ranking Democrat in the House, out-ranked only by Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill, and Wright's willingness to act as an active sponsor of redress bill is seen as an important asset for that legis-

lation.

Wright, a prime sponsor of the bill which created the commission on wartime relocation and internment of civilians, called the redress legislation, which will be introduced in September, "a fundamental civil rights measure."

Wright added that he was "proud and honored to help in the legislative struggle to implement the commission's recommendations."

Mineta hailed Wright's decision. "We supporters of redress face a long and tough legislative battle. But with Jim Wright as an active partner in our effort, we will have a standard bearer of great wisdom and stature, a legislator whose support will make the point that this is an important issue for all

(Continued on last page)

Dollar Closes Lower at Y244.45 in Tokyo

TOKYO, Aug. 9 — (Jiji Press) — The U.S. dollar edged lower in relation to the yen on the Tokyo foreign exchange market Tuesday, closing at 244.45 yen, down 0.10 yen.

Volume came to \$722 million.

The overnight announcement of hikes in prime lending rates by major U.S. commercial banks failed to affect the market.

The U.S. currency fluctuated in a narrow range of 244.10 to 244.50 yen in thin trading. The median rate was given as 244.25 yen.

The dollar opened the day at 244.10 yen. After that, domestic banks purchased dollars to meet their immediate needs, sending it back to 244.30 yen at one point.

But the dollar eased again because of export covering — selling of forward dollars — by Japanese makers.

Toward the close, the greenback recovered to 244.50 yen following its rise against the German mark.

CWRIC Evokes Variety of Opinions . . .

New York Daily News Poll Favors Redress

NEW YORK, Aug. 9 — Since the issuance of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians recommendations in June, a wide variety of opinions have been expressed nationwide — both pro and con — to its proposals which include, most notably, an apology and a \$20,000 payment to each of the approximately 66,000 living Japanese American survivors of the World War II concentration camps.

Most recently in New York, nikkei have been stunned by the overwhelming positive response to the New York Daily News "Inquiring Photographer"

Japanese Protest

U.S. Warship's Visit

TOKYO, Aug. 9 — Anti-nuclear protesters met the U.S. aircraft carrier Midway as it steamed into Sasebo Monday on the eve of the 38th anniversary of the atomic bombing of near-by Nagasaki.

About 800 people marched into the port in southwest Japan, claiming the 51,000-ton warship carries nuclear weapons in violation of the ban on nuclear arms in Japanese territory, organizers said.

question of July 20, which asked: Do you feel the United States should give \$20,000 compensation to surviving Japanese American internees in detention camps during World War II?"

All six respondents — Patricia Joseph, Keith Fisher, Ann Coltelli, Kevin Adams, Lorraine Castronova and Ronald Ferrell — said "yes," and some went a step further:

"The offer of compensation is recognition that the government was wrong. Why not pay the money to the surviving children of the internees?" Castronova said.

"I don't think \$20,000 is enough. Many of these people had to sell their businesses and homes..." said Joseph.

"The United States was wrong in putting American citizens in detention camps. The money amount was fair, but you can't put a dollar amount on lives that were changed as a result," said Coltelli.

While the latest news from New York was heartening for Gotham nikkei, reports from other parts of the country indicate a more divided opinion.

The CWRIC itself has reportedly received more than 70 letters opposed to its recom-

(Continued on last page)

'Peace from Nagasaki' Message . . .

28th

Variety of Opinions

(Continued from first page)

mendations. And, more opposition was reflected in a poll taken by the San Francisco Chronicle, where 51 per cent voted "No" and 49 per cent "Yes" to the question of reparations for Japanese Americans.

The most vehement and bitter comments came from individuals who place blame on Japanese Americans for wartime activity of the Japanese government.

One respondent to the Chronicle poll stated: "What about the Bataan Death March? They should give every American survivor of that march \$40,000. If Japan had won the war, what do you think they would have done to the rest of us?"

There are those who criticize CWRIC for failure to take into account that such things happen in wartime. One letter writer wrote: "It was unfair and an un-American thing to do, but it should be considered one of the many evils of war."

From another Chronicle reader: "If reparations should be made to the WWII internees, then reparations should be made to the many Americans whose lives were disrupted or destroyed by our senseless crusade in Indochina, which was at least as illegal as the World War II internments..."

The question of reparations has also hit a sensitive economic nerve. USA Today reported the opinions of seven readers (June 21) — three pro and three con and one undecided. A woman from Michigan told USA Today: "In a state with such a tremendously high unemployment rate, I just can't see paying people for something that happened years ago. Maybe a verbal expression of regret, sure, but not money."

Sac'to Fund Raiser

(Continued from first page)

order that ultimately incarcerated 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry — 70,000 of whom were Americans.

Today, the battle to ensure that the Hirabayashi, Yasui and Korematsu conviction is overturned continues. Writs of coram nobis to overturn their convictions have been filed in federal court.

A special fund-raising event to collect funds for court expenditures will be held at the Sierra II Center for the Arts and Community, 2791 - 24th st., on Saturday, Aug. 27, from 7 to 10 p.m. Tickets are \$20 per person.

The Sacramento community is

he assisted in gaining state historic landmark status for the Manzanar and Tule Lake WRA centers as wartime concentration camps.

A presentation was made by Steve Okamoto into the continuing discussion on the district's health insurance program.

The JACL's 1984 national convention is being held in Honolulu, Hawaii from Monday, Aug. 6, 1984 to the following Friday or Saturday, it was reported by Ben Takeshita, of Richmond, a JACL national vice president.

He said a number of tours are being arranged to the Islands for that period and will be announced shortly.

Dr. Harry Kitano, former San Franciscan and now sociology professor at UCLA, gave a talk after the meeting lunch. Speaking on "Re-Analysis of Japanese Behavior," he pointed out that the nisei were held down for years before the war, but have, with the sansei, made great gains in the war years.

The next N.C.-W.N. District Council meeting will be held in San Rafael on Sunday, Nov. 6 with the Marin JACL as hosts, according to Dr. Yosh Nakashima, district governor.

Iijima, Matsueda Show

(Continued from first page)

ing his melodic compositions to audiences across the West Coast. A second album is also on the horizon for Iijima.

Admission is \$5 in advance and \$6 at the door. All proceeds from the event will benefit the art and culture projects of the Southside People's Art Collective.

For tickets and more information, call (916) 444-2826 weekdays between 1 and 5 p.m. "Breakin It Down" and "Back to Back" will be available at the event.

New Redress Bill

(Continued from first page)

Americans concerned about justice and equality."

Mineta called Wright "one of the strongest proponents of civil rights in Congress today."

Matsui called Wright's decision "a major step forward toward redress of this historic injustice," adding that Wright's stature will advance the cause of redress by helping to build a broader base in the house for legislative action.

"The Majority Leader now

joins those of us who have a strong commitment to redress. This is an important step, but clearly a long and arduous road lies ahead. A lot of hard work awaits us before we can win passage of redress legislation.

Jim Wright's sponsorship underscores his long-standing personal commitment to issues of basic justice and equity for all citizens. His enormous skills of persuasion and going to the heart of an issue will be important tools in the house debates," Matsui said.

The redress legislation now being drafted will require full implementation of all recommendations offered by the commission on wartime relocation and internment: a national apology for the internment, creation of an educational and community fund of \$1.5 billion, and payments from that fund of \$20,000 to each survivor of the internment.

The CWRIC also called for pardons for those convicted of violating curfew laws and other racially discriminatory laws, and it proposed restitution of positions and status for those who faced actions such as dishonorable discharges or suspension of social security payments.

Majority Leader

Wright is known as a skilled legislative tactician and an outstanding orator. In 1980, during debate about the formation of CWRIC, Wright commented on the internment, calling the policy "one of those grotesque aberrations of the American political system — one of those outrageously wrong things that we do in moments of great national stress, and which we later regret."

In 1980, Wright also quoted Abraham Lincoln, "Those who would deny freedom to others do not deserve it themselves. And under a just God, they will not retain it long," and Wright spoke about the fact that he had objected to the internment even in 1944.

"I had just returned from a tour of military duty in the Pacific where I had participated in combat missions against Japan. But I could not agree with ... (the U.S. Supreme Court ruling which) upheld as constitutional the act of our government in rounding up the Japanese American citizens, almost as though they were cattle, and herding them into corrals.... I swore then that whenever I had a chance to do so, I would speak

out against ... (that) unconstitutional and unconscionable undertaking," Wright said.

During the 1980 debate about the creation of the commission to study the internment, Wright also recalled the heroics of the 442nd infantry combat team.

"Many of my very good and close friends in Texas who served in the 36th division during World War II owe their lives to the selfless, heroic and sacrificially patriotic devotion of the men of the 442nd...."

"Those Americans of Japanese ancestry who comprised that unit broke through the enemy lines in Italy after other units had failed and, at great cost to themselves, they rescued that substantial part of the 36th division which had found itself trapped and surrounded."

"No Texan and no American should ever forget that act of marvelous heroism," Wright said.

Wright represents the 12th district in Texas, which includes Fort Worth, and he has been in Congress since 1954.

Similar legislation implementing the commission's recommendations will be introduced in the senate by Sen. Dan Inouye and Sen. Spark Matsunaga.

JAPAN GUITARIST

LEADS BOSTON

CONCERT THURSDAY

BOSTON, Mass., Aug. 9 — Highly talented guitarist and Berklee College of Music junior Eiji Yamaguchi, son of Jiro Yamaguchi of 1968 Okuyama Ni-giokamachi, Otsukishi, will lead

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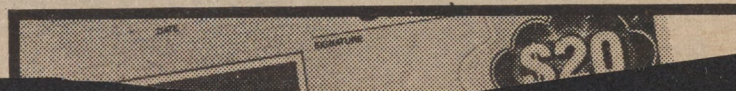
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Paul Greenberg

The justice of reparations

It doesn't require an historian to understand that an injustice was done those Japanese Americans who were shipped off to camps during the Second World War. All it takes is a visit to the modest monument at Rohwer, Arkansas — the site of one of the camps. That should be enough for anyone of normal sensitivity.

But when an official commission, after a long and exhaustive study, made the obvious recommendation that reparations be paid, resistance surfaced. Even though the commission's recommendation — \$20,000 for each surviving inmate of the camps — was modest enough considering the damage done:

- Two to three years of imprisonment.
- The loss of homes and farms, which had to be sold under pressure, or which were lost because taxes and mortgages and insurance payments couldn't be paid from camp.
- The dislocation and anxiety.
- The educations and careers disrupted.
- The old folks who had to start their lives all over again from scratch.
- And the injustice of it all.

Sam Yada, a Japanese American who settled down in North Little Rock, is in his seventies now. He and his wife spent more than three years at Rohwer. "No money can buy time at the camp," he explains. "They violated our civil rights. We were citizens of the United States, and they put us in jail, camp, without any hearing or anything." He agrees with the commission's recommendation, but he's not pushing it. He doesn't need the money, he says, and he'd probably give most of it to charity.

So what's the problem? Why that fierce look on some people's faces when reparations are mentioned? Why the adamant opposition from someone like John J. McCloy, elder statesman and distinguished public ser-

vant? He helped draw up the plans that sent the Japanese Americans to camps. Would refusing them reparations somehow vindicate his part in that sad affair? He is quoted as saying their treatment was "the most benign episode" of the war and that "no one got away with as little damage." Benign? And no one suffered so little? Not even those whose worst wartime experience was gas rationing?

John McCloy's statements are their own refutation. They're not so much controversial as nonsensical — unless he is comparing the treatment of these people in American camps to the suffering of prisoners in Nazi concentration camps or in Japanese prison camps. Was that war fought so that those horrors would become the standard by which Americans judge their conduct?

Can this opposition to reparations be based on the feeling that the "relocation" camps were a mistake, rather than an act of deliberate wickedness? Lindsey Hatchett, who was in charge of the camp's internal security at Rohwer, is 74 now. He grants that "it was an injustice to them individually, no doubt about that," but he doesn't think the country owes anything to those shipped off to the camps: "Hell, we was trying to protect this country!" But if a wrong is done by mistake, does that mean there is no need to make amends? Are people or governments responsible only for their crimes, not their mistakes?

Nor is it clear that this policy toward the Japanese Americans was a wholly innocent mistake. There is more than a touch of vicious ignorance in General John DeWitt's wartime justification for the evacuation: "The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil possessed of American citizenship have become 'Americanized,' the racial strains are undiluted."

Secretary of War Henry Stimson, a gentleman so honorable that he always seemed out of place in this century, was able to look back in his memoirs and describe the decision to evacuate the Japanese Americans as a "personal injustice" to loyal citizens.

As this commission pointed out, it was precisely that — a *personal* injustice, because the victims were not treated as persons and judged as individuals on the basis of their own records, but as members of a class. Are they now to be denied reparations as a class, too?

Back in 1970, a decade before he became president, Governor Ronald Reagan said: "A lesson was learned in California during World War II, which should be made a part of the record and heritage of Americans everywhere who cherish liberty, freedom, and constitutional guarantees." But hearing some of the more recent reactions to this history, one must wonder: Was that lesson really learned?



"USA TODAY hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation."

— Allen H. Neuharth
Chairman and Founder
Sept. 15, 1982

John C. Quinn
Editor

John Seigenthaler
Editorial Director

OPINION

The Issue: DETENTION'S PRICE

Each day, USA TODAY explores and debates a news issue. Today's page includes our opinion that the courts are the right place to decide reparations for Japanese Americans, other views from California, Connecticut and the District of Columbia, and voices from across the USA.

Japanese Americans deserve an apology

When the police came to Masao Takahashi's house in Seattle on Feb. 21, 1942 and dragged the Japanese American citizen off to a detention camp, he thought he would be home by evening.

Instead, he was stripped naked and inspected, then detained in Missoula, Mont., for nearly three years until the U.S. government finally admitted that the Japanese Americans on the West Coast were no threat to national security.

Those Japanese Americans, many of whom were U.S. citizens, lost most of their possessions. Refrigerators were sold for \$5, a new tractor for \$75, a 26-room hotel for \$500.

"We took whatever we could carry," said another Japanese American, Teru Watanabe. "So much we left behind, but the most valuable thing I lost was my freedom."

Now, 41 years later, the National Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Citizens recommends an "act of national apology."

In the hysterical aftermath of Pearl Harbor, grave injustices were heaped on 120,000 Japanese Americans. History has proved they were as patriotic as any Americans — yet they were rounded up, shipped to bleak barracks, and guarded by military police like common criminals.

During the war, 35,000 were allowed to leave to join the Army, go to college or take jobs far inland. But most — about 85,000 people — were detained until December, 1944.

The commission wants Congress and the president to sign an official apology. It calls for a foundation to keep the history of that era alive, declaring: "A nation which wishes to remain just to its citizens must not forget its lapses."

And the commission wants to give each of the 60,000 surviving Japanese American internees a one-time payment of \$20,000. The total cost to taxpayers would be \$1.5 billion.

An apology is in order. So is a foundation to remember that tragic American mistake. But blanket compensation is ill-conceived.

Instead of doling out cash by an act of Congress, the fairer way to make amends is through the judicial system. One Japanese American group has filed a class action suit that seeks \$25 billion in damages for the victims.

Unfortunately, Japanese Americans are not the only group the U.S. government has ever wronged. For centuries, black Americans have suffered unequal opportunity and economic injustices; American Indians have lost land and wealth to the government.

Courts can't make apologies or prevent history from repeating itself. But they can make monetary awards, case by case, on the merits. That is a remedy that allows all of America's aggrieved to be equal under the law.

QUOTELINES

"It was a terrible thing that happened. I have a grievance, and simply saying 'I'm sorry' won't do."
— Donald Nakahata, San Francisco, former internee

"Can anyone name a monetary figure which is precisely worth the value of years lost in a prison camp?"
— Rep. Norman Mineta, D-Calif., former internee

"A Jap is a Jap. It makes no difference whether the Jap is a citizen or not."
— Lt. Gen. John DeWitt, architect of internment plan

"When I heard rumors that all Japanese would be interned, I couldn't believe it. I kept saying that I was a citizen, and that it just couldn't happen in a democracy."
— Mabel Ota, Los Angeles, former internee

"How about those who are dead? Were they compensated? How about those tortured on Bataan?"
— John J. McCloy, assistant secretary of war, 1942

"Even the trauma of war does not excuse irrational and needless assaults upon humanity and senseless violations of our fundamental constitutional principles."
— Abe Fortas, former Supreme Court Justice

ONE LINE ON THE NEWS

■ Astronaut Sally Ride began her third day aboard the space shuttle Monday by jogging on the treadmill.
But no one thinks that Sally is just along for the run.



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

MARJORIE FLAHERTY

USA TODAY columnist

'Why would I hurt this country?'

STOCKTON, Calif. — In the spring of 1942, nearly 4,500 persons here of Japanese ancestry were ordered out of their homes and into government prison camps.

Shigeaki Harry Hayashino, a successful movie house operator, was one of the first to go. Four lawmen smashed through the front and back doors of his home before he could answer the doorbell.

"They turned everything upside down, even shaking up the books," Hayashino recalls. "But they couldn't find anything. There was nothing to find."

Hayashino waited out the war in a stockade in Santa Fe, N.M. The closest he got to a hearing was when camp officials called him in, put a picture of the Japanese emperor on the floor and asked him to step on it.

"That was to show loyalty to the American side. I told them,

"I've got five children and myself and my wife and my property all in this country. I have nothing in Japan. Why should I want anything to hurt this country?"

The Rev. Saburo Masada, minister of Stockton Calvary Presbyterian Church, cannot forget the day his father died in a Jerome, Ark., camp. It was the same day a wood-heater arrived for their barracks.

"It was too late," said Masada. "He died of pneumonia. It was too cold for him."

Ruby Dobana also remembered that Arkansas winter: "We'd hang laundry out and it would freeze."

The internees left Stockton with only those possessions they could carry. They often found little when they returned home in 1945.

Tomitaro and Koyumi Canaka discovered that the sewage system in their farm house had failed because the people rent-

ing the dwelling had cut a hole in the floor. The sewage had caved in the foundation.

Some families in a nearby farm community stored their belongings in a building that housed the Japanese school. While they were interned, the school was burned down.

Many lost more than possessions. Koto Otsubo and her husband, Sotaro, were in a barracks in Rohwar, Ark., in 1944 when they received a telegram from the war department, regretfully informing them that their son, Akira, had been killed in action with the 442nd U.S. Infantry in France.

They received a certificate from President Roosevelt, who said of their son, "He stands in the unbroken line of patriots who have dared to die that freedom might live and grow and increase its blessing."

DANIEL E. LUNGREN

Guest columnist

Show remorse in other ways

WASHINGTON — There's no doubt that the relocation of 120,000 Japanese American citizens and resident aliens was a grave injustice.

But the commission's conclusion that the exclusion decisions "were shaped by race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership," and the accompanying report, *Personal Justice Denied*, are the commission's most important work.

The printing of this historical report has accomplished its primary objective — to help people understand what actually transpired. Many people from my generation were not even aware that the injustices occurred. I hope the greater awareness of what happened will help prevent the unjustified exclusion of any class of

Americans ever again.

However, on the issue of reparations, I was the only dissenter on the commission.

There are three prime reasons: First, the sole focus of the commission has never been to determine some form of monetary restitution. I don't agree that individual monetary compensation is the only way to demonstrate remorse.

I believe it is demeaning to the affected Japanese Americans to assume that a monetary value could be placed on their experience. The relocation order was a mistake. We must apologize for it and learn from it. But nothing can erase its injustice.

Second, the commission's recommendations for reparations may establish a prece-

dent to pay money for the redress of other long past injustices. Should we pay monetary redress for countenancing the abhorrent practice of slavery or the inhumane treatment of Indians 100 years ago?

And does anyone believe that requiring present day monetary redress by the taxpayer for mistaken government actions of 40 years ago will act as a deterrent against future unjustified actions?

Third, the current fiscal environment makes the passage of any sizable reparations by the Congress extremely unlikely.

JOHN TOLAND

Guest columnist

Blame U.S. leaders for detention camps

DANBURY, Conn. — I fully support making payments to the Japanese Americans who were detained during World War II. They have been long-suffering, honorable citizens, and we have treated them miserably.

Fear of the Japanese started with Kaiser Wilhelm. He coined the phrase, "the yellow peril," among other nonsense. The odd thing is that the Japanese aren't yellow at all.

At the turn of the century, Japan's Emperor Meiji sought to bring his country Western know-how. The Japanese took the best developments in America and Europe and began to advance in manufacturing, and after World War I became a rival for the great trade of the Orient.

The Japanese wanted to join the white man's club, so they began to act like imperialists, as Western nations had done. They were inept at diplomacy, and they felt theirs was a superior culture — eventually the animosity and misunderstandings between the countries resulted in Pearl Harbor.

In America, those who had the greatest fear of the Japanese lived on the West Coast. It was an unfounded fear, because from the beginning the Japanese were hard-working, honest, and dependable — really excellent citizens.

In the 1930s, U.S. newspapers whipped up an anti-Japanese fervor. You can't blame them; they just printed what the government told them.

Prevailing public opinion was very anti-Japanese. In a 1941 poll, four out of five

John Toland, the historian and author of *The Rising Sun*, expressed his views in an interview.

Americans said they believed that "the Japanese people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible."

President Roosevelt, a consummate politician, heeded these voices — with the support of the American Civil Liberties Union and other defenders of democracy, including Walter Lippmann and Earl Warren. Roosevelt ordered the mass Nisei evacuation; it was no surprise when the Supreme Court upheld its legality.

Oddly enough, one of the few prominent Americans who said the Japanese Americans were not a security threat was the FBI chief, J. Edgar Hoover. He said there was no evidence that they could comprise a fifth column, or perform acts of sabotage. The evacuation demand, he wrote, was "based primarily on political pressure rather than upon factual data."

It was quite logical for most Americans to support the detention, but highly placed government officials knew better.

The Japanese Americans were a small group and not much of a political threat. Roosevelt didn't consider putting German Americans or Italian Americans in camps — they were big voting blocs.

So the blame for the Japanese evacuation and detention cannot be placed on the American public of 1942, but upon their leaders.

JOAN Z. BERNSTEIN

Guest columnist

Innocent victims deserve payments

WASHINGTON — In considering the commission's recommendations, including a one-time payment of \$20,000 to each of the 60,000 survivors excluded from their homes and detained, Congress and the nation should remember the commission's factual findings about the wartime treatment of Japanese Americans.

Exclusion, removal and detention were carried out without individual review. The prolonged exclusion continued despite their demonstrated loyalties to the nation.

There's no indication military necessity justified their exclusion from the West Coast. Wartime security didn't justify the delay, until after the 1944 presidential election, in allowing them to return to their homes, jobs and businesses.

The damages were enormous. To the disastrous loss of farms, businesses and homes must be added the disruption of careers and professional lives and long-term loss of income and opportunity.

Less tangibly, the ethnic Japanese suffered from an unjustified stigma. Physical illnesses and injuries were directly related to detention, but the deprivation of liberty is no less injurious because it wounds the spirit rather than the body.

No amount of money can fully compensate these people. Two and a half years behind the barbed-wire of relocation camps, branded potentially disloyal because of ethnicity alone — these injustices cannot be translated into dollars and cents. Anything we do

Joan Z. Bernstein is chairwoman of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

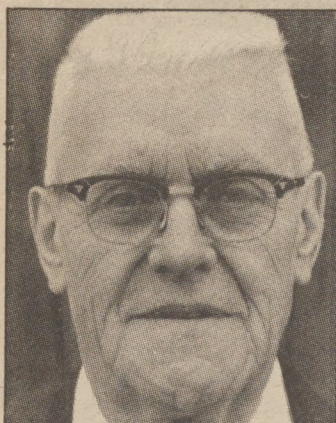
must be an expression of regret and an affirmation of our better values as a nation, not an accounting to balance or erase the events.

It is well within our power, however, to provide remedies for violations of our own laws and principles. Some have suggested that the injustice done black Americans during slavery and injustices to American Indians are equally deserving of redress. This may well be, but the charge to the commission was to review the facts and circumstances surrounding this event and to recommend appropriate remedies.

The commission recommends payment only to those who were personally excluded or detained. Compensatory measures to injured groups are not new to American law. Congress has passed laws to allow the Indian tribes to make claims against the government for both violations of their legal rights and for moral claims. Other minorities benefit from such statutory measures as set-asides in government procurement and affirmative action.

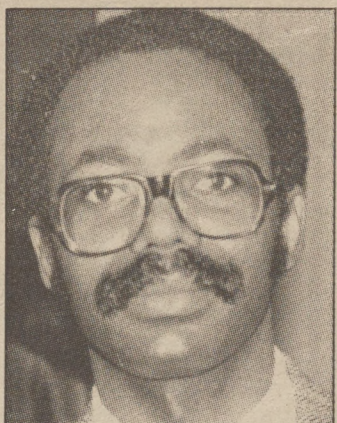
In the case of the Japanese Americans, their uncompensated losses, when adjusted for inflation and interest, range between \$2 billion and \$6.2 billion, which includes nothing for deprivation of civil liberties or pain and suffering. The provision of \$20,000 to each survivor is indeed conservative.

VOICES FROM ACROSS THE USA/Should the Japanese interned during World War II receive compensation?



BOB REDDY, 71
Retired
Danville, Ill.

After what the Japanese did to us in Pearl Harbor, we don't owe them a thing. I feel a little sorry for them, but I'm still very angry about what happened at Pearl Harbor. I remember the national sentiment after it happened, and it was very negative. People were angry. To tell the truth, I'm still a little angry myself.



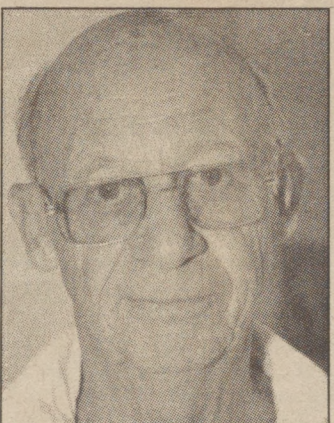
GREGORY PIERCE, 25
Physician
Nashville, Tenn.

What happened shouldn't be forgotten, but neither should the injustices that have been — and still are — perpetrated against other minorities today. What about the American Indian, the black man, the Cuban refugee? We've all been victims simply because we're different. We've been perceived as invaders.



DOROTHY SCHWARTZ, 51
Teacher
North Tonawanda, N.Y.

Even as a child, I remember what we did was wrong. If need be, let's pay for our mistakes. We can't do it to the exact penny, but we can estimate how much their property was worth and how much time was wasted during their imprisonment. We should do something. They were American citizens just like you and I.



WALTER KLIE, 71
Chamber of Commerce
Sanibel Island, Fla.

In World War II, I was on a carrier that sank in the Pacific Ocean. After a few hours, we were picked up by a destroyer, and I actually had time to think about what had happened. It scared hell out of me. Still, I felt sympathy for the Japanese after I got back. Many of them were loyal, innocent American citizens.



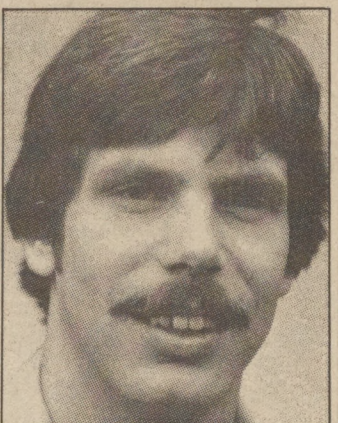
KAY CROSSWHITE, 33
Bookkeeper
Sheridan, Ark.

We're paying too many people for too many things as it is. Why is it that we have to pay such a goody-goody role all the time? Who will we try to rescue next? Frankly, we can't afford to do anything for them. And I certainly don't think they should try to sue. Let's just forget the whole thing once and for all.



JEWELL TESTER, 48
Housewife
Mason, Mich.

In a state with such a tremendously high unemployment rate, I just can't see us paying people for something that happened years ago. Maybe a verbal expression of regret, sure — but not money. Times are just too bad now. I'm sorry it happened, but there are better things that can be done with the money.



VINCENT TURRINI, 27
Firefighter
Fairfax, Calif.

After Pearl Harbor, Americans had honest fears. But history shows that what we did to the Japanese as a result of our own fears was wrong. Still, who could have acted rationally immediately after Pearl Harbor? Instead of cash, why not give them scholarship funds, or something they can collectively benefit from?

Pacific Citizen

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News
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Editorials on CWRIC: Steering public opinion?

In reaction to the recent release of the report, "Personal Justice Denied," by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, newspapers across the country have published editorials commenting on the World War II internment of Nikkei.

Of the editorials received from readers of the Pacific Citizen so far, just about all of the articles acknowledge the CWRIC's conclusion that a "grave injustice" was done to Japanese Americans during World War II. But on the issue of reparations, few could offer any concrete suggestions, but many felt that some form of redress was due.

The question as to whether or not these editorials will produce any favorable public opinion toward redress for the former internees remains to be answered.

New York Times

The New York Times, in an editorial March 1 entitled, "How to Atone for 'War Hysteria,'" said that the CWRIC's conclusions were "not novel," noting that as early as 1945, Eugene Rostow wrote that the internment was motivated by "ignorant race prejudice, not facts."

The Times, however, pointed out, "What is news, and important, is that an arm of Government has finally condemned this sad chapter of history."

Regarding reparations, the Times felt that some form of "symbolic atonement" is due, noting:

"Witnesses before the commission were split over the feasibility of individual reparations; it has deferred any proposals to a later report. In our view, symbolic atonement would be most appropriate—like a scholarship fund for Japanese American students. An even more important way to make amends would be to set forth principles against a recurrence of the tragedy. These could hold the nation to an ideal for which many Americans thought they fought in World War II: that the rights of citizenship in no way depend on race or ancestry."

Washington Post

The Washington Post, which had run a series of articles on the internment camps prior to the CWRIC's announcement of its findings, said March 2 that the Commission's study was a "powerful indictment of a shameful wartime policy."

But the Post couldn't offer any recommendations for redressing the issue:

"What should be done to compensate Japanese American citizens who suffered during this time? Two, who were children in the camps, now sit in Congress. Others have recovered and thrived, but surely the scars of such unjust treatment by their own government remain. Some received money damages for property losses that could be proved. But what compensation can there be for loss of respect, education, opportunities and three years of one's life? The commission did not address the question of compensation in this report, but it will be the subject of a final document later this year. Formulating that recom-

mendation will be a task even more difficult than the one accomplished with the publication of this powerful and moving history of a shameful time."

The Baltimore Sun said March 2 that, perhaps, if the issue of interning Japanese Americans had been more strongly debated in public in 1942, it might have been prevented:

"Some might question the need to re-examine continually the nation's mistakes. It is possible to develop a morbid obsession with the past. But if reasonably employed, backward glances can help a nation avoid repetitions in the future. The lesson we learn from re-reading the story of the Japanese Americans in wartime America is that it is easy to get caught up in mass movements and that it is dangerously wrong for democratic societies to allow great issues to go undebated."

The Sun even admitted that during World War II, it "went along with the hysteria" and even published an editorial during that time which insisted that "the Bill of Rights is seasonal." It concluded:

"We don't know that an open debate would have swayed public opinion to the point that President Roosevelt would have sought other means, consistent with the Constitution, to deal with the Japanese American 'problem' brought about by Pearl Harbor and World War II. But it might have. Or the Supreme Court might have overruled FDR, instead of upholding him. Presidents tend to listen to public debates, and justices are always influenced by 'the court of last resort,' public opinion."

"In the next crisis, when the mobs say we must sacrifice constitutional rights, we hope the defenders of traditional American values of liberty and justice will be as conspicuous by their loudness as they were by their silence 40 years ago. Otherwise, the mob will win again. Sometimes silence is golden, but in debates of this sort, silence is yellow. That is the enduring lesson of the relocation and internment of Japanese Americans."

In Ohio, the Akron Beacon Journal published a cartoon by artist Chuck Ayers on Feb. 28 depicting President Franklin D. Roosevelt sitting atop imprisoned Nikkei (below) and saying: "120,000 Japanese Americans interned... a number that will live in infamy."

The Journal also ran an editorial March 1 with the heading, "Paying Nisei would not absolve U.S. of blame." Citing some of the CWRIC's findings (such as the fact that the Nikkei committed no acts of espionage or sabotage during World War II and that German and Italian Americans were not interned en masse) the Journal wrote:

"So the war hysteria argument was overblown. And racism is indefensible in any context. The United States was clearly wrong. The question now is what is to be done about it."

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EDITORIALS Continued from Front Page

"The states involved and some federal agencies have already made some modest compensation to victims of the internment. Further compensation will very likely come out of the commission's findings.

"That hardly seems adequate. This country certainly owes a debt to its Japanese Americans, and not only as repayment for this wrong. That group is and has been among our most solid citizens. Even during the war, when they had little reason to serve or even trust the government, many young Japanese Americans in the camps signed loyalty oaths to the United States so they could enlist in a Nisei combat team, which served with Allied forces in Europe and became one of America's most highly decorated combat units.

"If the commission has a lesson for us today, it is to recall the internment hysteria to prevent a repeat of it in the future. Undoing the wrong—after 40 years—is proving much more difficult than prevention."

Moving westward, **The Salt Lake Tribune** said Feb. 27 that the conditions of the 1940s should be taken into consideration when reviewing the evacuation, but the CWRIC's report can serve to prevent such an incident from repeating itself:

"Few people in 1983 would condone the crude property seizure, the wrenching dislocation of families and other hardships inflicted on internees out of fear their Japanese heritage would subvert their allegiance to a new homeland. But who would say, given similar circumstances, that it couldn't happen again?"

Because the rights of minorities were severely limited during that era, the Tribune said that "the shocking" attack on Pearl Harbor and fears of further assaults on the U.S. Mainland "stirred passions and overwhelmed reason."

"Political leaders were either swept up in the tide of anxiety, or were reluctant or unable to stand against it," said the Tribune, which concluded:

"No doubt many of those whose decisions led to the mass internments and their unwarranted prolongation believed their actions were in the national interest and even for the safety of those uprooted and confined far from their homes. In hindsight, what they did was wrong. But there is little to suggest that they acted from base motives or with cruel intent.

"It is this recognition that normally decent leaders and ordinarily peaceful people can be incited or misled to inflict the gross injustices the report documents, that makes the belated findings both chilling and instructive.

"The commission's work is not so much an official admission that thousands of loyal citizens were brazenly mistreated and their rights flagrantly violated, but is more pointedly an abundantly footnoted plea that in future, analogous situations, the same mass hysteria fueled by underlying prejudices won't prevail once more."

California

Beginning with Northern and Central California, the **Sacramento Bee**, **Fresno Bee** and the **Modesto Bee** all ran the same editorial (because the three are published by McClatchy Newspapers) shortly after the CWRIC released its report on Feb. 24, and, like **The Baltimore Sun**, the editorial pointed out that the newspapers themselves had contributed to the wartime hysteria which led to the internment:

"The net effect of this damning report by a bipartisan commission should be to discredit once and for all the contention, still maintained by many, that the internment was somewhat justified 'under the circumstances.' Even now, a former president of the Native Sons of the Golden West, one of the organizations singled out by the commission for 'political bullying' of ethnic Japanese, dismisses the panel's findings. The racial climate of that time, not only among ordinary bigots but also among a number of respected institutions and public figures—including this newspaper—contributed to the hysteria. That

German-Americans and Italian-Americans were not interned has always stood in telling contrast to the internment of the Japanese."

The editorial added: "Why all this should matter some four decades later derives from the fact that the wrong inflicted on innocent people has never been officially redressed, whether it be in the form of an official apology, in some form of restitution or a combination of both. Moreover, it derives from the fact that, even in times such as now, when we as a nation are unquestionably more enlightened in many ways than a half-century ago, the specter of racism and its potential consequences are not yet extinct.

"It is that ever-present threat, together with the need to right a grievous wrong, that commands our attention to the unfinished business so rightfully resurrected by the commission's report."

The **San Francisco Chronicle** felt that "the mood of today (in America) was not the mood then (during World War II)." The Chronicle added that the "report's accurate hindsight was not available when wartime decisions were made in an atmosphere not of hysteria, the word used in (the CWRIC's) report, but of pervasive fear of attack..."

Noting Japan's World War II attacks on the Malay Peninsula, Hong Kong, Wake and Midway Islands, etc., the Chronicle concluded:

"Given those circumstances, it is little wonder that mistakes, even such gross mistakes as the internment of loyal citizens, were made. Such mistakes occur at any time a nation is involved in a fight for its life. They occur when fear is a dominant force throughout a society. And this, indeed, may be the most valuable lesson to be learned from the detention post-mortem.

"The story is tragic and sad and the nation has now given partial apology. War for survival breeds such tragedies."

Neither the Chronicle nor the **San Francisco Examiner** made any suggestions for redress. The Examiner, of the once anti-Japanese Hearst newspaper chain, offered this comment:

"After a three-year study of that occurrence (the internment), with all of its painful ramifications, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians has drawn a sobering, shaming picture of a 'grave injustice,' to the end that such denial of rights and due process never will happen again. The nation should make a promise to itself in that respect."

San Jose Mercury

The **San Jose Mercury** had written an editorial on Nov. 22, 1982, prior to the CWRIC's release of its findings. The Mercury felt that some monetary compensation was due:

"It is true that money paid 40 years after an injury will never equate to perfect justice. What is possible, and what Congress should have the courage to do, even in the face of a prolonged economic recession, is to make a substantial acknowledgement of national wrongdoing. Saying we're sorry and letting it go at that is not enough. It is too easy, and it sidesteps the principle that a person has a right to be compensated for injury.

"We have no magic numbers to offer the commission when it meets...to approve some portions of its final report. It would cost the government an estimated \$1.5 billion to give each of the 60,000 internment camp survivors \$25,000; some smaller, but nonetheless substantial, amount would probably do just as well. And we believe reparations should be paid only to camp survivors, not to their estates or to some community organization or foundation. The wrong done was personal; the amends for it should be equally personal.

The Mercury also pointed out the recent reparations made to

Nikkei former state and Los Angeles County employees who were dismissed from their jobs during World War II, and concluded, "Congress can—and should—do no less."

The **Berkeley Gazette**, in its Feb. 18 issue, recalled that during the war, "Prevailing racial fears and hatred were as common then to Berkeley as they were to most American towns."

The Gazette said that the CWRIC's work is "only a part of what has to be done," adding:

"Just as important, and vastly more difficult than setting up commissions and holding hearings, is the effort by individuals not only to share responsibility in the action, but to share the determination that such injustices will not be allowed to happen again."

The **Sacramento Union** said Feb. 28 that Rep. Robert T. Matsui (D-Sacramento) has cautioned Nikkei not to be too optimistic about any immediate action from Congress on reparations. But the Union noted: "...Regardless of whether Congress tackles the issue of reparations or leaves it to the courts,

Continued on Page 5



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mission brought out this fact, however, is a vicarious achievement. Its real significance is to be found in the fact that an official body, though a temporary commission created under pressure from an interest group, did acknowledge faults in the official past of the government. It, in fact, offers a precious lesson to leaders of Japan."

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EDITORIALS

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the commission has performed a valuable service. It started the process of a long-overdue apology and has reminded Americans how easily one innocent group of people can be made scapegoats, even in our democratic society."

Southern California

Of all the editorials from the Southern California newspapers, perhaps the most unique is the one by **The Register**, based in the mostly conservative Orange County area. The Register had been one of the few newspapers (perhaps the only one) which wrote against the internment of Nikkei during the war.

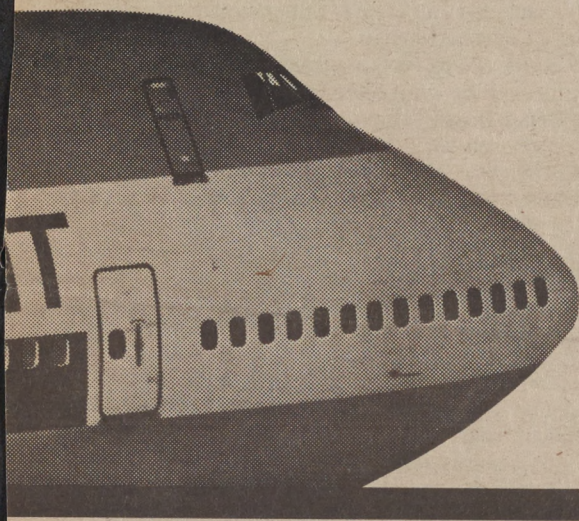
In 1942, co-publisher R.C. Hoiles and editor Pete Cooley were critical of the evacuation policies and ran anti-internment articles as the government's program was carried out.

In an editorial on March 2, The Register recalled Hoiles "lonely stand" against the internment. Quoting an Oct. 14, 1942 editorial by Hoiles, The Register noted:

"Few, if any, ever believed that evacuation of the Japanese was constitutional. It was a result of emotion and fright rather than being in harmony with the Constitution and the inherent rights that belong to all citizens.

"... We should make every effort possible to correct the error

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Friday, March 18, 1983 / PACIFIC CITIZEN—5

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as rapidly as possible. It would seem that convicting people of disloyalty to our country without having specific evidence against them is too foreign to our way of life and too close akin to the kind of government we are fighting. If we are not willing to run any risks and cannot have faith in humanity and regard people innocent until they are proved guilty, we are on the road to losing our democracy."

The Register's recent editorial pointed out that Hoiles, who died in 1970, was "a crusty individualist who took the ideas of limited government, personal freedom and the rights of individuals seriously. He tried to look at people as individuals rather than as members of a group or race. He was suspicious of government power. Right or wrong, diplomatic or painfully blunt, he had the integrity to follow his ideas to conclusions he believed logical and the courage to stand against the tide in expressing them."

The Register then concluded:

"We like to hope that his spirit still permeates this newspaper, though he passed to (we trust) a better place in 1970. He would probably not have been surprised that it took the federal government so long to admit its mistakes and outrages of 1942. And he would probably urge us to keep our suspicions intact as we view government's antics today."

"We will, R.C. We will."

The **Los Angeles Times** on Feb. 27 said this of reparations to Nikkei:

"The nation owes a debt to its wronged citizens that must be paid. The nation also owes an obligation to itself to understand why an injustice on so large a scale occurred with so little protest."

As for the Aleuts, the Times added, "At long last, they too deserve compensation."

The **Los Angeles Herald Examiner** commented upon both the CWRIC's report and the recent coram nobis petitions that were filed by Gordon Hirabayashi, Fred Korematsu and Min Yasui.

In its March 1 editorial, the Herald Examiner said that the CWRIC's report "is both heartbreaking and ominous" and that the Commission found the internment to be based on "racism, war hysteria and failed political leadership."

Regarding the coram nobis petitions of Hirabayashi, Korematsu and Yasui, the Herald Examiner urged a reversal of those Supreme Court decisions:

"Not only for the Nikkei, but for all Americans, the high court should bury forever this dangerous threat."

The **Long Beach Press-Telegram** made this comment on the CWRIC report on Feb. 28:

"The commission report makes its points in a calm, scholarly way that should be persuasive where some earlier, more emotional critics of the internment policy aroused only hostility. And since the commission membership covered the political spectrum from Congressman Robert F. Drinan to Daniel Lungren, it can be hoped that the report will reach—and touch—many Americans who might otherwise not think much about its subject."

Regarding reparations, the Press-Telegram said:

"It may not be so important that compensation be paid to the victims of the outrage—although that would be a tangible and possibly healing expression of shame—as that white America generally come to understand how its own racism fueled the injustice. Only if Americans recognize that disease in the body politic can they hope to prevent it from again spreading in time of crisis."

Seattle, Hawaii

The **Seattle Post-Intelligencer** said March 7 that the CWRIC was "absolutely right" in concluding that the internment was a "grave injustice" done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry.

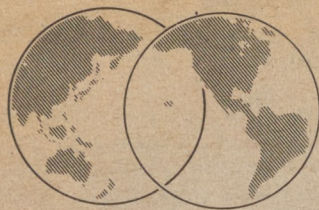
The Post-Intelligencer, while it offered no suggestion for redress, concluded:

"Even great nations and great leaders, like President Franklin D. Roosevelt, are capable of terrible mistakes. The final, and perhaps most painful, measure of greatness is what is done about them when they're uncovered."

The **Honolulu Advertiser** said Feb. 25 that some kind of restitution is in order, but left it up to the CWRIC to determine the form and dollar amount.

"For the moment, however, the United States government is taking the first steps toward a formal apology for incarcerating innocent Americans. Congressional acceptance of the Internment Commission's findings would be a significant step," concluded the Advertiser. #

Ed. Note: The PC will occasionally run other editorials it receives from readers across the country. The Editor extends his appreciation to the many readers who contributed to this article.



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CWRIC challenges 1942 government decisions

WASHINGTON—The first part of the long-awaited report by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians was released last week (Feb. 24), and to no one's surprise, the findings were concluded by a summary statement which said that a "grave injustice" was done to the Japanese Americans who were removed from their homes on the West Coast and detained in relocation centers during World War II.

The report also concluded that there was "no justification" for the harsh treatment that was imposed upon Alaskan Aleuts by the U.S. government during the war.

The 467-page report, entitled, "Personal Justice Denied," basically reviews the entire evacuation episode that some 120,000 Japanese Americans and resident aliens and several hundred Alaskan Aleuts underwent during the war. The findings were compiled from the testimony and documents that had been presented during the CWRIC's 1981 hearings, as well as from historical research done at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

The CWRIC document focuses on such findings as the conditions on the U.S. West Coast before the attack on Pearl Harbor; the decisions which led to the issuance of EO 9066; the implementation of the exclusion and evacuation orders; a brief summary of economic losses suffered by the Nikkei; conditions in both the "assembly centers" and "relocation centers"; the loyalty questionnaire; military service of the Nisei; the Japanese Americans in Hawaii; and the post-camp experiences of the Nikkei.

The report also focuses on the Japanese in Latin America and of course, the Alaskan Aleuts' plight.

The CWRIC faulted government leaders from President Franklin D. Roosevelt on down and said a failure of political leadership also lay behind the episode, now widely considered a blot on America's record.

The commissioners also noted that there was no rational justification for the internment, and government leaders had yielded to "political pressure and fear" by carrying out the evacuation.

'Grave Injustice'

The report's summary challenges the "military necessity" argument for the evacuation, which the government had used in their wartime Supreme Court cases against Gordon Hirabayashi, Fred Korematsu and Min Yasui.



CWRIC REPORT—Joan Z. Bernstein, chairperson of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, presents a copy of the CWRIC's findings, entitled, "Personal Justice Denied," to Rep. Robert T. Matsui (D-Sacramento). Looking on (at left) is CWRIC Special Counsel Angus McBeth.

The CWRIC summary states:

"The promulgation of Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity, and the decisions which followed from it—detention, ending detention and ending exclusion—were not driven by analysis of military conditions. The broad historical causes which shaped these decisions were race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership. Widespread ignorance of Japanese Americans contributed to a policy conceived in haste and executed in an atmosphere of fear and anger at Japan."

The summary also said, "A grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who, without individual review or any probative evidence against

them, were excluded, removed and detained by the United States during World War II."

The summary also criticized the 1942 exclusion orders which prohibited Japanese Americans from living, working or traveling on the U.S. West Coast. It stated:

"...Initially, this exclusion was to be carried out by 'voluntary' relocation. That policy inevitably failed, and these American citizens and their alien parents were removed by the Army, first to 'assembly centers'—temporary quarters at racetracks and fairgrounds—and then to 'relocation centers'—bleak barrack camps mostly in desolate areas of the West."

The summary also pointed out that the camps "were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by military police..."

"The policy of exclusion, removal and detention was executed against 120,000 people without individual review, and the exclusion was continued virtually without regard for their demonstrated loyalty to the United States," added the report.

The CWRIC also noted that no act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was committed by any Japanese American or resident alien on the West Coast and that Americans of German and Italian descent were exempt from any mass exclusion or detention order.

'Scars Remain'

In regards to what the Japanese Americans had experienced during the war, the report summary commented:

"...The wounds of the exclusion and detention have healed in some respects, but the scars of that experience remain, painfully real in the minds of those who lived through the suffering and deprivation of the camps."

It also noted that the "personal injustice of excluding, removing and detaining loyal American citizens is manifest..."

The CWRIC also acknowledged that the evacuation had stemmed from "a long and ugly history of West Coast anti-Japanese agitation and legislation."

Focusing on the U.S. government's decision to carry out the exclusion orders, the CWRIC took issue with the rationale used by Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt to justify the evacuation. DeWitt had believed that "the Japanese race is an enemy race" and their loyalty was questionable, even the loyalty of second and third generation Japanese born on American soil, because "racial strains are undiluted."

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DeWitt, using strange logic, had also expressed alarm over the possible espionage and sabotage activities of Japanese Americans and he said in his Final Report: "...The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken."

The CWRIC called both of DeWitt's justifications "unfounded" because "loyalty to the United States is a matter of individual choice and not determined by ties to an ancestral country" and the possibility of sabotage by Japanese Americans was "by (DeWitt's) own admission, unsupported by any evidence."

"In sum, the record does not permit the conclusion that military necessity warranted the exclusion of ethnic Japanese from the West Coast," noted the CWRIC.

Economic Losses

Regarding the losses suffered by the Japanese Americans as a result of the internment experience, the CWRIC had this to say:

"... After the war, through the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act, the government attempted to compensate for the losses of real and personal property; inevitably that effort did not secure full or fair compensation. There were many kinds of injury the Evacuation Claims Act made no attempt to compensate: the stigma placed on people who fell under the exclusion and relocation orders; the deprivation of liberty suffered during detention; the psychological impact of exclusion and relocation; the breakdown of family structure; the loss of earnings or profits; physical injury or illness during detention."

The CWRIC also noted that the so-called "loyalty questions" which served as a sort of prerequisite for Nikkei to leave the camps had caused much division among the Japanese Americans in the camps.

The CWRIC report said that "the loyalty review should logically have led to the conclusion that no justification existed for excluding loyal American citizens from the West Coast." However, the report pointed out, this position was reached by government officials in charge of the evacuation in the spring of 1943, but the exclusion was not ended until December of 1944.

"No plausible reason connected to any wartime security has been offered for this eighteen to twenty month delay in allowing ethnic Japanese to return to their homes, jobs and businesses on the West Coast, despite the fact that the delay meant, as a

practical matter, that confinement in the relocation camps continued for the great majority of evacuees for another year and a half," the CWRIC said.

Comparison to Hawaii

The CWRIC report also noted that the Nikkei in Hawaii, with the exception of about one percent of their population, were not forced into internment camps en masse. "This policy was clearly much more congruent with basic American law and values," the CWRIC summerized.

As for the Alaskan Aleuts, who were removed from their Aleutian Island homes by the U.S. military following attacks by Japanese forces in 1942, the CWRIC said there may have been good reasons for removing them, but the harsh treatment they endured during their evacuation and detention was unreasonable:

"... despite the fact that the Aleutians were a theatre of war from which evacuation was a sound policy, there was no justification for the manner in which the Aleuts were treated in the camps in southeastern Alaska, nor for (the U.S. government's) failing to compensate them fully for their material losses."

At the news conference held Feb. 24 to announce the findings, CWRIC chairperson Joan Z. Bernstein said, "Over time and with perseverance, material losses may be repaired but the hidden scars of lives damaged by this experience, remain."

She added, "No recommendation which this commission will make can undo this history. No redress to Japanese Americans can assure that we will not repeat the errors of 1942."

The conference was attended by seven of the nine-member CWRIC panel, and among them was Nisei Judge William M. Marutani of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, who said it was significant that the country "has acknowledged that a wrong was done," an admission he said was part of the rehabilitation and healing process.

The CWRIC was established by Congress in July 1980 to investigate the facts and circumstances which led to the evacuation and internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans and hundreds of Alaskan Aleuts during World War II.

The CWRIC held 20 days of hearings at major cities across the country and heard testimony from over 750 witnesses, many of whom were former evacuees.

The commission will release its recommendations for remedies at a later date. According to its mandate, the CWRIC's life will expire on June 30 of this year.

...says. Consideration will be given to the autonomous revision of the current Constitution and the

EDITORIALS Continued from Front Page

them by a nation founded on the principles of equal justice and due process before the law.

"The commission's decision to recommend compensation acknowledges the injustice not just in words, which are cheap, but in cash. If anyone wants a precedent to justify the recommendation, he need look no further than a decision handed down recently by a court in Washington, D.C. The court awarded \$10,000 in damages to each of 1,318 demonstrators against the Vietnam War who had been wrongly imprisoned for two or three days in 1971.

"Congress, of course, isn't required to accept the commission's recommendation. There will be debate, for instance, on the amount of compensation and whether it should extend to heirs of the internees. Those are legitimate questions. There ought to be no debate, however, on the principle involved. Compensation is not only due, it is long overdue."

Los Angeles Times Editorial

The Los Angeles Times followed with an editorial Nov. 22, entitled, "A Matter of Justice":

"In 1942, less than three months after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, the U.S. government took an extraordinary action. It interned thousands of Japanese-American citizens and legal Japanese aliens. In all, about 120,000 Japanese, principally from the West Coast, were sent to relocation centers during World War II.

"Their internment was an injustice of great magnitude, and Congress, 40 years later, has the opportunity to rectify it. A commission set by Congress to study the wartime treatment of Japanese-Americans will recommend monetary compensation for the 60,000 survivors of the camps.

"U.S. military officials said the internment was necessary to prevent possible sabotage, and to protect Japanese-Americans from attack by other Americans.

"At the time, a few Justice Department officials and private civil-liberties attorneys challenged both the legality of internment and its necessity, but the U.S. Supreme Court sanctioned the action. Constitutional or not, the internment has nagged the conscience of the nation ever since. Thousands of loyal Americans were imprisoned simply because of their ancestry and not for anything they did.

"Although the commission established by Congress will not submit its report until next month, it has decided to make three recommendations: monetary compensation to each of the 60,000 survivors of the relocation centers, the creation of a trust fund for projects honoring Japanese-Americans and an official apology for their treatment.

"Father Robert F. Drinan, a member of the commission and a former congressman, said that compensation up to \$25,000 for each internee may be suggested, but other commission members said that the exact amount has not been settled and could be lower. Drinan said that the \$25,000 figure is comparable to the amounts that were paid to American prisoners of war in Vietnam. It is possible that the commission will recommend payment on a 'per-diem' basis—that is, compensation for the period during which each internee was confined in a relocation center.

"We believe that some compensation, generous enough to make it meaningful, is due. The government, gripped by wartime fervor and acting against a perceived danger, nevertheless committed a wrong against thousands of its loyal citizens. That wrong must be rectified." #

S.F. Chronicle 2/25/83

Japanese Internment Called Needless, Racist

By John Fogarty

Chronicle Washington Bureau

Washington

The internment of 120,000 West Coast Japanese Americans during World War II resulted from "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership" — not military necessity — a congressional commission said yesterday.

While citing the causes of "this shameful page in American history," the nine-member Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians put off the politically tough question of whether the

victims of this "grave injustice" should be paid reparations.

Later this year, the commission will make recommendations based upon the report to Congress. The recommendations could range from a presidential proclamation of apology to the payment of \$3 billion in reparations.

The commission, which conducted an 18-month study of the causes of the internment, was created in 1980. Its members were appointed by congressional leaders.

Chairman Joan Bernstein insisted that the commission was not trying to duck the reparations question, but did not want its 467 pages of findings overshadowed.

"Too few Americans really know about the mass exclusion and detention of American citizens of Japanese ancestry and their resident-alien parents," she said.

"What happened after Pearl Harbor is particularly sobering because men of the greatest stature, with careers of the most distinguished public service — Democrat and Republican, conservative and liberal, judges, legislators and Cabinet members, the president himself — were personally involved in

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CHRONICLE'S NEW COLUMN

The Chronicle today begins a new weekly restaurant column written by Stan Sesser. His column will appear on Fridays in the People Section and is on page 27 today. Sesser is co-author with Patricia Unterman, The Chronicle's Sunday restaurant critic, of the "Restaurants of San Francisco."

JAPANESE

From Page 1

a course of action which today we can only find gravely unjust and deeply injurious," Bernstein said at a press conference.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary of War Henry Stimson, Attorney General Francis Biddle and Lieutenant General John Dewitt, the West Coast military commander, all shared major responsibility for rounding up Japanese Americans and moving them to inland relocation camps where they were kept under armed guard, the commission said.

"Secretary Stimson and President Roosevelt did not subject this program to sufficiently close and critical scrutiny," Bernstein said. "The attorney general did not believe the program necessary, but acceded to it when proposed by the War Department.

"The opinions of those with intelligence responsibility, such as the FBI, who believed that there was no sound basis for mass exclusion, were ignored or drowned out in the frightened uproar of the time."

The commission also found that Roosevelt was unwilling to end the internment until after the presidential election of 1944 — even though Stimson had told him that there was no military justification for continuing the policy.

The commission also criticized Roosevelt and others for failing to make it clear to the American public there was no evidence to support statements by Navy Secretary Frank Knox that the attack on Pearl Harbor had been aided by sabotage by Japanese residents in Hawaii.

"This policy of exclusion, removal and detention was executed against 120,000 people without individual review, and exclusion was continued virtually without regard for their demonstrated loyalty to the United States," the report said.

"All this was done despite the fact that not a single documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was committed by an American citizen of Japanese ancestry or by a resident Japanese alien on the West Coast.

"Thus the country was unfairly led to believe that both American citizens of Japanese descent and resident Japanese aliens threatened American security. . . . On the West Coast, where there had been a long history of prejudice and discrimination against the ethnic Japanese, there were sustained and ever louder demands for the exclusion of Japanese Americans."

Representative Mervyn Dymally, D-Los Angeles, introduced legislation in the last Congress that would have paid internees or their survivors \$25,000 each. An aide said yesterday that Dymally was working with Japanese American groups on a similar bill for introduction in this Congress.

Both San Francisco and Los Angeles recently approved reparation payments to Japanese Americans who lost public employee jobs when they were interned.

William M. Marutani, a Philadelphia judge who is the only Japanese American on the commission, said he favors monetary payments to those interned, or their survivors, and would push for such a recommendation as the commission presses to meet its June deadline for issuing a final report.

But California's two Japanese-American members of Congress, Representatives Robert Matsui, D-Sacramento, and Norman Mineta, D-San Jose, who were both interned as children, spoke cautiously about the prospects of Congress approving monetary payments for internees or their children.

Matsui said there is "no consensus in the Japanese American community about what should be done" and cautioned that any decision to seek monetary payments must be made in light of the debt currently facing the federal government.

An aide to Mineta said the congressman was pleased that the report "forcefully supplies evidence that the internment did not take place because of military necessity, but because of prejudice." But Mineta is not yet ready to support Dymally's legislation, the aide said.

The commission vice chairman, Representative Daniel Lungren, R-Long Beach, and the Rev. Robert Drinan both acknowledged that a commission recommendation in favor of reparations would be highly controversial and could face difficulty in Congress.

Other members of the commission are former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, former Senator Edward Brooke, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, the Rev. I.V. Gromoff of the Aleutian Islands and Hugh B. Mitchell of Seattle.

The commission also examined the evacuation of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands in 1942 and concluded that while the evacuation was necessary, the Aleuts "were subjected to deplorable conditions" that led to unnecessary disease and death among the islanders.

Panel May Seek Payment To Japanese Internees

A member of a commission appointed by Congress to study compensation for Japanese Americans interned during World War II has disclosed that the panel may recommend compensation up to \$25,000 for each of the 60,000 survivors of the relocation camps.

Former Representative Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts said in Los Angeles that the commission believes the \$25,000 figure is comparable to compensation paid by the U.S. government to anti-war protesters found to have been illegally arrested during 1971 anti-war demonstrations.

Drinan said in an interview that the panel also plans to call on Congress and the president to issue a formal apology to the Japanese Americans who were interned, and will recommend the establishment of a special trust fund whose income could be used for projects honoring the Japanese Americans.

But Sue Wrenn, speaking for the commission, said by telephone from Washington that no such consensus has been reached and that the members, who have been hearing testimony for two years, will not finish their report to Congress until next month at the earliest.

Drinan's disclosures came after

county supervisors in Los Angeles approved an ordinance to pay \$5000 each to about 50 former county employees who were fired and interned at the outset of the Pacific war.

The Los Angeles County ordinance is modeled on a state law passed in August that also pays \$5000 to Japanese Americans who were forced to leave their jobs with the state in 1942. The state fired 314 workers at that time, and now estimates about 80 would make claims under the new law.

In the Bay Area, Japanese Americans community leaders were reluctant yesterday to sound enthusiastic over Drinan's statements.

John Tateishi, national redress director of the Japanese American Citizenship League, which first urged direct compensation to internment camp victims in 1970, said "the report is premature."

"My understanding is that the commission members have not decided on the issue of compensation. If they are leaning in that direction, of course we would be pleased."

The issue of compensation arose, Tateishi said, because "there is a tremendous amount of confusion over who we are and what we went through. The same problem

existed in 1942 and that's why we wound up in the internment camps."

The federal commission has no authority to decide whether the Japanese Americans will be able to collect compensation. That decision can be made only by Congress, which would have to pass legislation authorizing the money.

In the past two years, the commission held public hearings and received testimony from more than 750 former internees in several U.S. cities, including San Francisco. The chairman of the commission is Joan Bernstein, former counsel of the Health and Human Services Department.

In all, approximately 120,000 persons of Japanese heritage, both citizens of the United States and permanent resident aliens, were taken from their homes and held in relocation camps during World War II. According to the Japanese American Citizenship League, 12,636 were relocated from the Bay Area and 4709 from San Francisco.

Currently, 12,050 Japanese Americans live in San Francisco and 20,850 in the Bay Area, the league said. If the commission grants compensation to internees, it also faces the question of whether to grant stipends to heirs of those who have died since the internment.

"I don't think any amount would fully compensate us, if you're talking about three years of imprisonment for no just cause. But we need a gesture to heal the wounds," Tateishi said.

"The wrong committed 42 years later is still a wrong. But I don't think there are Japanese Americans who just want to receive money from the government. It's much more a matter of principal as far as the community is concerned."

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Also presented at the meeting were the results of a survey that analyzed student perceptions of the college system.

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Saturday, June 12, 1982

Arthur Goldberg Says . . . Evacuees Should Be Compensated

HONOLULU, June 11 — The United States must compensate Americans of Japanese ancestry who were "imprisoned in concentration camps" during World War II, according to Arthur Goldberg, former associate Supreme Court justice and member of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

Goldberg was addressing a Honolulu JACL luncheon May 15 at Pagoda restaurant. He was in Honolulu to deliver the commencement address the next

day at the University of Hawaii graduation.

"In law, if you have sustained an injury, then you are entitled to be compensated for the injury that has been sustained.

"Our commission has to find a way to establish some wrong. That's what we will wrestle with later this month," said Goldberg.

"My lifetime has been devoted to justice — equal justice under law — and we (in the commission) are united in a single cause to remedy, if we can, one of the most monstrous injustices ever committed in our society: what was done to Japanese American citizens and resident aliens during World War II.

"There can be no argument that a terrible wrong was done by a president that I revere, Franklin Roosevelt. First, the record shows it. Second, it has been admitted.

"President Ford said so, and Congress has said so in creating the commission. In lawyer's term, we acknowledge liability; the only question is damages.

"Our commission has a problem, though. What do you do, 40 years past, with the remain-

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Evacuee Compensation

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ing 60,000 of the 120,000 Japanese Americans who were put in these concentration camps?

"It will be a difficult thing. How do you really make a person whole, or a people whole, for the physical injury, the financial injury and, what is worst of all, the stigma of being an American and branded as disloyal?" he said.

It was also noted some Japanese were also evacuated from Hawaii.

When asked how the U.S.

Nichi Bei Times

could prevent future internments, Goldberg said, "By creating the right type of society for everybody. That's the best way.

"You have to create a society in which the spirit of freedom, liberty and tolerance lives. That's the way and that's a hard thing to do."