

WORDS CAN LIE OR CLARIFY:

Terminology of the World War II Incarceration of Japanese Americans*

by

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On July 9, 1981, I submitted a memorandum on the subject “Use of term ‘concentration camps’” to the executive director of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC). At that time, I was a member of the research staff of the CWRIC. My memo began with this summary of my findings:

*A search of archival documents reveals that most government authorities, Congressional officials, as well as the public at large, referred to the 1942-46 “relocation centers” as **concentration camps**. The following are examples which show that there was no question that high government officers, and even President Roosevelt himself, considered them as **concentration camps** [emphasis mine]. (1)*

That statement was followed by nineteen specific examples. Space limitations preclude a full list here, but a few examples illustrate the specificity of the evidence cited in my memo: (2)

1. President Roosevelt, Presidential Press and Radio Conference: “...it is felt by a great many lawyers that under the Constitution they (persons of Japanese ancestry) can't be locked up in **concentration camps** [emphasis mine].” -- Source: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (FDRL), OF 197. FDR Press Conferences #982. Vol. 246-248. November 21, 1944. CWRIC #3597. (3)

2. President Roosevelt, Presidential Press Conference:

Q: “Mr. President, will some of the Mexicans replace the Japanese in the truck gardens in California?”

A: “The President: That I don't know.”

Q: “Where did the Japanese come from who are being shipped off to Montana, sir?”

A: “The President: **Concentration camps.**” [emphasis mine]. – Source: FDRL, Of 197. FDR Press Conferences #863. Vol. 20. October 20, 1942. CWRIC #3595.

*Note: This essay has circulated over the past decade among friends and research associates with the working title “Work in Progress: Terminology – WW II exclusion/incarceration of West Coast Japanese-Americans.” Copyright 2009.

3. Francis Biddle, Attorney General, Department of Justice (DoJ). December 30, 1943, letter to the President, Franklin D. Roosevelt: “*The present practice of keeping loyal American citizens in **concentration camps** [emphasis mine] on the basis of race for longer than is absolutely necessary is dangerous and repugnant to the principles of our government.*”-- Source: FDRL, OF 4849. Folder: War Relocation Authority (WRA). CWRIC #3722.

4. John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, War Department, memo of March 28, 1942, to Eisenhower: “*There are also some grave legal difficulties in placing American citizens, even of Japanese ancestry, in **concentration camps***”. [italics mine]. -- Source: National Archives (NA). RG 107-Records of the Secretary of War. Entry 47, Box 8. Folder: ASW 014.311. CWRIC #588.

I wrote the memo because I saw my responsibility as staff researcher to be more than a mere compiler of conclusions and summations of existing publications. Thereafter I focused my attention on primary sources in the National Archives and other repositories.

During the course of my work as a CWRIC researcher I learned that “relocation center,” “non-alien,” and “evacuation” were only a few of many euphemisms that were deliberately used to obscure and conceal what was done to American citizens under the fraudulent rationale of “military necessity”. In fact, it was not lost on me that the extremely problematic word “internment” was in the very title of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. That is the reason for a list of terms that I had tentatively named a “Work in Progress” which I began to compile after beginning my association with the CWRIC. Over the years a fuller descriptive subtitle evolved: “Terminology: WW II Exclusion/Incarceration of West Coast Japanese Americans.” The latter refers not only to the Nisei—literally, the second generation of Japanese in America, who were U.S. citizens by birthright, but also to their Issei (first generation) immigrant pioneer parents who were banned from applying for naturalized citizenship.

What follows is a personal story of how my consciousness about the uses and abuses of euphemistic terminology has evolved through the hard work and courage of many individuals from myriad backgrounds, both without and within the community of Nikkei (persons of Japanese ancestry). I am certainly not alone, nor among the first, to be concerned about the power of words to lie or clarify, and the need to identify and replace inaccurate and misleading euphemisms that were used by government officials at all levels and perpetuated by many Nikkei as well.

In 1969 much controversy ensued when the hagiographic *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, written by longtime Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) insider Bill Hosokawa, was published. Many Sansei (third generation Nikkei) as well as progressive Nisei, including this writer, were offended by the title’s perpetuation of meek and supine stereotypes of Japanese Americans, and we were therefore delighted to see the appearance of solidly researched revisionist histories with hard-hitting titles, such as Roger Daniels’ *Concentration Camps, USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (1971), and Michi Weglyn’s *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America’s*

Concentration Camps (1976). It was during the early 1970s that a nationwide movement for an official government apology and monetary compensation for wartime losses slowly began to coalesce, and eventually evolved into what became known as the redress movement. (4)

As early as 1973, a war raged between proponents and opponents of euphemisms to describe the wartime Nikkei incarceration in the normally placid meetings of state historic landmark commissions and museum exhibitions. In 1973, the site of the former War Relocation Authority (WRA) concentration camp at Manzanar, California, was granted state historic site status, but when the wording for a bronze plaque to commemorate the site came before the State Historical Resources Commission, the majority on that body voted against calling it a “concentration camp”. Nadine Ishitani Hata was the first Japanese American appointed to the commission, but she was in the minority. Fierce opposition to “concentration camps” included an alliance between Lillian Baker, a widow whose husband died as a prisoner of war in the Japanese-occupied Philippines, and former WRA director Dillon Myer. Baker denied that Nikkei had suffered in the WRA camps, vehemently denounced the redress movement, and even described U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii as “a blackguard who dares blaspheme a Country he has taken an oath to defend.” (5)

After prolonged public acrimony the matter was finally resolved when the State Director of Parks and Recreation overruled the commission’s majority, and the words “concentration camps” appears on the bronze plaque at Manzanar and later at Tule Lake (1975). (6)

1. Naive housewife evolves as concerned citizen and political activist.

It was when my daughter Lisa was in high school, during the turbulent years of the Vietnam war and simultaneous demands for civil rights and social justice at home, that I began to think of words that reflected puzzling contradictions between events as they actually happened versus the words that were used to describe them. We discussed the current news and read of U.S. military press officers trying to explain the destruction of villages and the death of civilians with statements, such as “*They were communists, and we had to destroy the village in order to save them from communism....*” Other news reported sheriffs’ deputies in cities of the American South using heavy batons and fire hoses against men, women, and children who were peacefully demonstrating for voting rights, fair housing, and an end to racial segregation.

I found myself hard-pressed to satisfactorily explain to my daughter, let alone myself, the stark contradictions between what we had been taught about American values and American democracy versus the stark realities carried into our home by the news. I had naively accepted the dictum that we lived in a society based on the rule of law, but it was increasingly clear that laws were not synonymous with justice and fairness. Duplicity, betrayal and hypocrisy were more apt descriptions for a society whose laws were explicitly racist and sexist. Talk of what had happened to over 120,000 Nikkei during World War II was not a part of dinner conversation in many Nikkei families, where Nisei parents largely or mostly suppressed any mention of the wartime incarceration. Thus many Sansei (third generation Nikkei) did not learn that coded references to life in “camp” by parents, uncles and aunts were really about their lives as political

prisoners in concentration camps unless they read watered down or distorted versions about it in university political science and history courses. Unfortunately, the wartime Nikkei experience was not a part of classroom teaching and learning materials at all levels of instruction across the nation until relatively recently.

During those difficult talks with my teenage daughter over the dinner table, it became increasingly clear that I had to confront stark and painful memories that I had long suppressed and denied. Like many other members of the Nisei generation, despite having been forced into compliance with government powers, I had survived the trauma of our mass expulsion and imprisonment during World War II. Some survivors of the concentration camps were not as fortunate as their experience led them to play out their trauma often through domestic violence, addiction to alcohol, and other anti-social behavior. After our release at war's end, we struggled to survive and slowly reconstructed our lives by sheer hard work and a fatalistic attitude summed up by the Japanese phrases "*shikataganai*" (there is no recourse, you can't change it) and "*gaman*" (endure with patience).

The anti-war and social justice demonstrations of the 1960s led a conservative writer to describe Japanese-Americans as a hard-working, self-reliant, and politically docile "model minority"—unlike more militant ethnics and feminists. (7) Many Nisei were seduced by such backhanded praise and carefully steered clear of political activism and public controversy, lest it upset white employers and neighbors. I also had very personal reasons to blend into the background based on a terrible accident when I was five years old. I suffered third-degree burns which called for grafting skin from one part of my body to the burnt areas. This produced a sense of being badly scarred and a lack of confidence which I tried in various ways to overcome. But in the types of activities that other teenagers enjoyed, such as swimming, I was too embarrassed of what I considered a dreadful blemish to expose myself in a bathing suit and as one but important drawback I never learned to swim. I adopted the survival strategy of suppressing my fear and frustrations, studied diligently, worked hard, and avoided controversy. In the process I behaved like many other politically naive Nisei who strove to fit perfectly the "model minority" stereotype. But the sixties and seventies changed all that forever.

The more I watched the brutal suppression of peaceful protest movements the more I realized that I had personally experienced discrimination in many ways: rejected by landlords and employers who "did not want Japs," refused my high school diploma by a racist principal, coerced to use "Louise" instead of my real first name which many non-Japanese found difficult to remember--the list of daily humiliations was long. Gradually I developed a sense of righteous indignation and outrage about social injustices experienced by many groups in the U.S., and I began to seek out events and organizations to learn more and become involved in political change. After the war I had moved to New York, where eventually a small but sophisticated and politically active Nikkei enclave had evolved. (8) I joined a group called Asian Americans for Action (AAA), one of the first such ethnic political organizations on the East Coast. The group included Bill and Yuri Kochiyama, Shizu "Minn" Matsuda, the Iijima family—Kazu, Tak and Chris, Mitzi Sawada, June Kushino, Chiyeko Watanabe, and other like-minded political activists. I joined them in demonstrations about social injustice, economic and political issues at home and abroad.

In 1976 when her seminal work, *Years of Infamy*, was published, I met the extraordinary Michi Nishiura Weglyn, a costume designer for television programs. Evidence she discovered through her meticulous research revealed previously unknown facts that refuted the claim of “military necessity” for Executive Order 9066 and the vast gulag of concentration camps that ensued. Her book made me acutely aware of the grave injustice of the dispersion, exile, and imprisonment of Nikkei from the West Coast.

Marriage to Jack Herzig, a former U.S. Army lieutenant colonel paratrooper, moved me to a home in Virginia conveniently located about 20 minutes from the National Archives (NA) in Washington, D.C. My initial interest in going to the NA was to find records concerning my own family in the concentration camps, but Michi cajoled and encouraged me to pursue an ever-expanding variety of these and issues related to the wartime exclusion history. NA archivists were delighted to see my interest and were generous in help and advice. Michi’s relentless pursuit of the long-concealed truth inspired me to travel to other sites with Jack, who had joined me in the search for truth. We visited institutions where official records and private collections were accessioned, including the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York; the George C. Marshall Library in Lexington, Kentucky; California branches of the NA in San Bruno and Laguna Niguel; the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley; the Hoover Institution at Stanford, California, and other venues. During this process my attention was drawn increasingly to the arcane euphemisms employed by officials, scholars, and journalists that obscured or distorted what was really going on.

Jack joined me as a fulltime, enthusiastic research partner after his retirement. As a career soldier for a good part of his life, he had fought during WW II on the front lines in the Pacific Theater to secure the liberty and freedoms of Americans while at the very same time--he learned through the research in which we were engaged--our government was denying its own citizens their constitutional rights and benefits by uprooting and incarcerating them. For himself and for the many very close trooper friends who lost their lives during World War II, he felt very betrayed by his own country. Jack was outraged by the injustice caused to an innocent racial minority through the promulgation of Executive Order 9066. His experiences in the Army not only as a combat soldier but also in intelligence gathering and evaluation served the CWRIC well as the commission was able to call upon him as a consultant when necessary in connection with War Department documents.

2. Researcher for the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

By the time I applied for a position in 1981 as a researcher for the newly-created Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Citizens (CWRIC), I had accumulated approximately 8,000 documents relating to the subject that served as the basis for the commission’s investigation. Jack and I reviewed thousands of documents from the War Relocation Authority and War Department records, as well as other federal agencies. I utilized the 3 x 5 index card catalog system by cataloguing every document added to the collection for study by the commission. These may have been a memo, letter, cablegram, report, telephone transcript, directive, table/chart or some other form of communication. I wrote a brief summary of major

points of each document and assigned a CWRIC number to it, including the citation or source from which I had retrieved it.

These efforts assisted the National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR) which filed a class action lawsuit, *William Hohri, et al., v. U.S.A.*, on behalf of the prisoners. (9) The Supreme Court denied a hearing of the complaint on a technicality.

In another judicial action, Jack and I joined the legal teams in the search for documentary evidence for the *writ of coram nobis* petitions in three separate wartime cases, those filed in the names of Fred Y. Korematsu, Gordon K. Hirabayashi, and Minoru Yasui. In 1942 these men had sought to challenge the constitutionality of the mass removal and incarceration. Evidence was discovered that federal officials had committed perjury before the wartime Supreme Court in these cases and that the government had falsified, suppressed, altered, and destroyed critical evidence “that could have persuaded the Supreme Court to strike down” the massive exclusion and incarceration. These revelations provided the legal basis Japanese Americans needed to seek redress and restitution for their wartime imprisonment. (10)

Soon after I began working with the CWRIC, I began to compile a list of terms that I tentatively named a “Work in Progress—Not for Publication.” Over the years a fuller descriptive subtitle evolved: “Terminology: WW II Exclusion/Incarceration of West Coast Japanese Americans.” Now it is called “Words Can Lie Or Clarify: Terminology of the World War II Incarceration of Japanese Americans.”

3. Influenced and inspired by others.

A powerful statement was submitted to the CWRIC during a public hearing in San Francisco on August 13, 1981, by Raymond Okamura, an historical revisionist and activist. Okamura’s 1981 statement to the CWRIC was a compelling review of euphemisms, such as “relocation”, “evacuation”, and other terms that were identical to those on my growing “Work in Progress” list. A year later, his concerns were shared with a broader audience when his letter to the commission was adapted and published as an article in *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* (1982) with a provocative title, “The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up through Euphemistic Terminology.” Okamura made a direct connection between euphemisms employed by Nazi Germans and those used by Americans:

The government of the Third Reich (Nazi Germany) utilized an elaborate system of euphemisms to cover up what was actually happening to millions of European Jews, Gypsies, and other groups deemed undesirable. ‘Emigration,’ ‘evacuation,’ ‘final solution,’ ‘relocation,’ ‘resettlement,’ and ‘special treatment’ were used as code words for the Nazi program of mass murder. (11)

Okamura’s reference to Nazi German euphemisms was a political hot potato. While his article probably went unnoticed beyond a small audience of academic readers and was based on undeniable facts, such a connection was far too polemical for most to accept. It would take years

before such terms as “concentration camps” would be accepted as accurate descriptions of sites to incarcerate political prisoners—and as recent books by scholars, such as Alice Yang Murray and Greg Robinson reveal—that struggle for a more accurate nomenclature for the World War II Nikkei diaspora and gulag experience is still not completely resolved. **(12)**

The Okamura article was not only a list of specific euphemisms, but also a scathing indictment of scholars who contributed to the problem:

*Books published during, or shortly after the [war] invariably used the government euphemisms without qualification or explanation. Since most of these early books were written by camp administrators and government employed or affiliated scholars, it is no wonder that the ‘evacuation-relocation’ nomenclature saturates these works.... Beginning with the ethnic awareness movements in the late 1960s, the term concentration camp and internment have frequently appeared in book titles. Although many authors have used titles like America’s Concentration Camps, Concentration Camps USA...none has systematically replaced euphemistic terminology in their text.... An incongruous situation exists wherein authors provocatively use internment or concentration camp in their titles, but revert to the old ‘evacuation-relocation’ nomenclature in their text, tables, and illustrations. The record needs rewriting. **(13)***

Okamura’s barely veiled criticism of *America’s Concentration Camps* and *Concentration Camps USA* did not go unnoticed by their author, Roger Daniels, who observed later in his keynote address to a large audience at a 1983 conference on “Relocation, Redress, and the Report: A Historical Appraisal,” that “*Raymond Okamura has recently charged me and other scholars with being part of a cover-up.*” **(14)** But Daniels, whose pioneering scholarship and publications had launched revisionist scholarship on the Nikkei, was already aware of the need to confront the euphemism problem, and in that same keynote speech said:

*...it is important that we call things by their proper names. George Orwell has taught us that twentieth-century political speech is largely ‘the defense of the indefensible’ and that political language consists ‘largely of euphemism’. This certainly has been true of language used to describe the relocation. From Karl R. Bendetsen’s **(15)** memos, which habitually describe Japanese Americans as ‘non aliens,’ to the congressional statute that created the Commission and beyond, euphemisms have prevailed. Rather than the ‘Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians,’ it should have been ‘incarceration of civilians.’ **(16)***

The CWRIC’s final report to the Congress, published in 1982 as *Personal Justice Denied*, exacerbated rather than resolved the euphemism controversy. For example, this statement from the report admitted on the one hand, that terms like “concentration camps” had indeed been widely used by U.S. officials, but then concluded by supporting the use of wartime euphemisms:

There is a continuing controversy over the contention that the camps were ‘concentration camps’ and that any other term is a euphemism. The government documents of the time frequently use the term ‘concentration camps,’ but after World War II, with full

realization of the atrocities committed by the Nazis in the death camps of Europe, that phrase came to have a very different meaning. The American relocation centers were bleak and bare, and life in them had many hardships, but they were not extermination camps, nor did the American government embrace a policy of torture or liquidation of the ethnic Japanese. To use the phrase 'concentration camps' summons up images and ideas which are inaccurate and unfair. The Commission has used 'relocation centers' and 'relocation camps,' the usual term used during the war, not to gloss over the hardships of the camps, but in an effort to find an historically fair and accurate phrase. (17)

To his credit, Professor Daniels pursued his argument against euphemisms with renewed vigor. Regarding the oft-used (and insidiously misleading) term “internment,” he pointed out its historical origins in the Boer War, its longstanding definition in international law, how “internment” is grossly misused and poses a clear and present danger to a true understanding of what happened to U.S. citizens in World War II—and how, if not corrected, it can happen again to some other group:

'Internment' is a well-defined legal process by which enemy nationals [i.e., Issei, (18)] who were not allowed to become U.S. citizens] are placed in confinement in time of war.... What happened to the... West Coast Japanese was lawless. Citizen and alien, male and female, old and young, all were simply swept up, placed in the holding pens from Santa Anita to Puyallup, and then shipped out to ten desolate camps.

Daniels continued to research and refine his thoughts about euphemisms over the years, sharing with other researchers drafts of an evolving interpretive essay on the subject. In 2005 it was published as “Words Do Matter: A Note on Inappropriate Terminology and the Incarceration of the Japanese Americans” as a chapter in a history of *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest*. (19) It is a sweeping overview of how euphemisms have been used by U.S. officials to obscure and conceal what really happened, from the War of 1812 to the recent era of official duplicity and obfuscation in the wake of the events on “9-11”. His concluding statement is a powerful clarion call to reject euphemistic deceptions, and worth repeating:

As I have tried to show, there has been a long history of euphemistic language about the wartime atrocity that was wreaked upon the Japanese Americans of the West Coast during and after World War II. Begun with malice aforethought by government officials, politicians, and journalists, it has been continued, largely in thoughtless innocence, by scholars. As we are in the seventh decade after the promulgation of Executive Order 9066, it is high time that scholars begin to call things by their right names. Let us hear no more about the 'internment of the Japanese Americans'. (20)

4. Witness to a movement in the making.

Professor Daniels' admonition resonated among scholars and Nikkei community activists. A "Resolution Regarding Terminology" was adopted by the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund (CLPEF)—a body created in response to one of the recommendations of the Civil Liberties Act of August 10, 1988. The CLPEF resolution states that:

In the spirit of its mission, CLPEF Board is taking this opportunity to encourage the public, academia and governmental agencies to begin using accurate terminology with reference to the World War II internment [sic] experience. For instance, the terms 'evacuation' and 'relocation' have been widely acknowledged by historians and scholars as governmental euphemisms.... While the CLPEF does not want to dictate individual choice of vocabulary, it strongly urges grant applicants and the public at large to discontinue the usage of terms such as 'relocation,' 'evacuation,' and 'assembly centers' as clearly misleading references for this historic event..." (21)

The CLPEF resolution also cited the National Japanese American Historical Society (NJAHS) position on euphemisms:

The CLPEF concurs with the alternatives suggested by [NJAHS].... Specifically, rather than 'evacuation' or 'relocation,' the following terms for this event are more accurate: 'imprisonment, incarceration, internment, detention, confinement or lockup.' Rather than 'assembly centers,' the term 'temporary detention centers' is an accurate alternative; rather than 'relocation camps,' 'internment camps, detention camps, prison camps, or concentration camps' is more accurate; rather than 'evacuee,' 'detainee, internee, inmate or prisoner' is more accurate. (22)

While these manifestos reflected strong support for the need to revise the terminology, there was still much confusion and disagreement as to alternatives—a situation acknowledged in "A Note on Terminology" which introduces the "Terminology and Glossary" section on the home page of DENSHO, the online Japanese American Legacy Project that was founded in 1996 to collect and preserve oral histories of Nikkei:

*At present there is no clear agreement about the most appropriate terminology for what Japanese Americans underwent during World War II. In the 1940s, officials of the federal government and the U.S. military used euphemisms to describe their actions against people of Japanese ancestry in the United States. The deceptiveness of the language can now be judged according to evidence from many sources, notably the government's own investigation, as documented in *Personal Justice Denied* (1982), the report of the U.S. Congressional Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.... (23)*

Nonetheless, the need to scrutinize and seek more accurate alternatives to the old euphemisms had come a long way. On the eve of a new century, there was a growing consensus of like-

minded individuals, many of whom have been working toward the same goal but have never met or shared their notes. A movement was in the making, and a turning point came in August, 1995, when the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation invited the Japanese American National Museum (JANM) to mount an exhibit called “America’s Concentration Camps: Remembering the Japanese American Experience” at the Ellis Island Immigration Museum.

JANM was created in 1984 as a non-profit institution housed in a former Buddhist temple in Los Angeles’ Little Tokyo. An invitation from a venerable site like the Ellis Island Museum was a wonderful opportunity to increase public awareness of the new museum as well as to educate a broader public to the Nikkei wartime imprisonment, but Jewish organizations and key individuals objected to “concentration camps” as a proper term to describe the Nikkei imprisonment. In January, 1998, Diane Dayson, superintendent of the Statue of Liberty National Monument, under which the Ellis Island Immigration Museum operates, told JANM executive director and CEO Irene Hirano that “she had received substantial expressions of concern from the National Park Service regional office about the use of the term ‘concentration camp’ in the title, as well as concern over possible negative response by the Jewish community.” Later in the same month, Dayson warned Karen Ishizuka, JANM curator of the exhibit, that

The Park continues to strongly oppose the use of the words ‘concentration camps’.... This phrase today is used to refer to death camps; New York City has a very large Jewish community that could be offended by or misunderstand the use of this phrase. In addition, National Park Service superiors are not so inclined to endorse the title because of the controversy that stems from this title. (24)

Ishizuka, who recently published a book recounting her experience with this issue, responded to Dayson that the JANM

...fully recognized and respected the unique horror of the Holocaust and that we were aware that throughout history there have been many injustices, no one of which mitigates or draws equivalency to the others. In addition, I pointed out that it was critical for the [JANM] to address the semantics of suppression to underscore the broader lesson that when innocent Americans were herded into what the government itself called concentration camps, it was a failure of democracy that affects all Americans. I ended with the assurance that the museum would continue its original plans to discuss the issue with the Jewish leadership and other community leaders in New York. (25)

The controversy became headline news: “...the Jewish-Japanese feud has become a tug-of-war between two successful ethnic groups, both trying to establish their status as history’s victims.” (26) After interventions by historians like Roger Daniels, U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye, and a host of other intermediaries, a meeting between Nikkei and Jewish groups was held on March 9, 1998, where a compromise was worked out, whereby “an explanation—jointly authored—distinguishing the Nazi death camps from the American concentration camps be placed at the beginning of the exhibition. In this way the public would be further educated and it would be clear to all that no equivalency was intended.” The compromise was unanimously approved by the twenty-four persons in attendance, and Ishizuka and two members of the American Jewish

Committee drafted the following statement which was adopted and placed at the beginning of the exhibition:

A concentration camp is a place where people are imprisoned not because of any crimes they committed, but simply because of who they are. Although many groups have been singled out for such persecution throughout history, the term 'concentration camps' was first used at the turn of the century in the Spanish American and Boer Wars.

During World War II, America's concentration camps were clearly distinguishable from Nazi Germany's. Nazi camps were places of torture, barbarous medical experiments, and summary executions; some were extermination centers with gas chambers. Six million Jews and many others, including Gypsies, Poles, homosexuals, and political dissidents were slaughtered in the Holocaust.

In recent years, concentration camps have existed in the former Soviet Union, Cambodia, and Bosnia.

Despite the difference, all had one thing in common: the people in power removed a minority group from the general population and the rest of society let it happen. (27)

A month later, on April 3, 1998, the exhibition opened, on time and with its original title intact: "America's Concentration Camps: Remembering the Japanese American Experience." (28)

While a major controversy between the Nikkei and Jewish communities had been resolved, no such consensus emerged in responses to the JANM's call for debate among its board members, staff, scholarly advisory group, and volunteers. Some suggested capitulating to the early warnings from the National Park Service, such as JANM board member Grant Ujifusa, who favored dropping "concentration camps" from the title for fear of having the exhibit rejected. But others, including this writer, sent indignant emails and letters saying

At what point are we, as Americans of Japanese ancestry, going to cease to resist having our history written for us by others? Is our empowerment so weak that we must capitulate and surrender our right to state our own history in our own words? If the [concentration camp] words are unacceptable in the title, why would they be acceptable in the text labels and what assurance is there that you would not be asked to remove them later also? (29)

Support for retaining "concentration camps" in the exhibit's title came from a younger generation of scholars who followed Roger Daniels' pioneer research and publications on the Nikkei mass removal and incarceration. Ishizuka quotes history professor Arthur Hansen at California State University, Fullerton, who replied by telephone within forty-eight hours:

There should be no compromise on the terminology. The slippage would be a form of accommodation that the Japanese American community participated in under duress in the past. The redress effort was an attempt to get over that. To flip back into it would be to capitulate to a historical falsification. 'Concentration camp' is a decidedly accurate term. (30)

UCLA professor and co-author of a book on the redress movement, Mitchell T. Maki, wrote to Ishizuka and urged her to stand firm:

A community is only as strong as its members' desire to maintain it. Self-definition is a central component to the maintenance of a community. Let us not have won the battle for redress only to sacrifice its true achievement: the Japanese American community's willingness to tell their own story of a terrible injustice and the subsequent recognition of that injustice by the United States government. (31)

On July 4, 2009, a panel discussion on “Concentration Camps vs. Relocation Centers, Internees vs. Prisoners,” attracted a large audience at the 2009 Tule Lake Pilgrimage. Panel chair James Hirabayashi, former JANM chief curator, recounted the evolving movement for accurate terminology, including the JANM brouhaha at Ellis Island. **(32)** The panelists at the Tule Lake Pilgrimage agreed that the conventional definition of “internment” is the incarceration of enemy aliens (non-citizens) in wartime, thus the use of this term perpetuates the dangerous myth that Nikkei were not U.S. citizens, and therefore subject to incarceration as enemy aliens. They reminded the audience that “concentration camps” housed political prisoners, and that certainly applies to the mass incarceration of Nikkei based on racist military commanders and overt lies by government officials. Hirabayashi noted that Nazi “death camps” should not be equated with concentration camps. Unfortunately, recent history is replete with examples of both concentration camps and death camps in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Perhaps the most important legacy of the Tule Lake panel was the presence of several National Park Service staff members from Manzanar National Historic Site, as well as NPS staff assigned to the Tule Lake Segregation Center National Historic Monument. Their active and supportive participation in the lively discussion augers well for a more enlightened and progressive role by the NPS than in the earlier Ellis Island controversy. Terry Harris, NPS Chief Ranger, responsible for preparing the interpretive center at Tule Lake, welcomed input from NPS colleagues, activists, community groups, and academics to work cooperatively in a common effort to present a full range of information that allows individual visitors to reach informed conclusions about what really happened. Harris’s commitment to an open-minded posture confirmed the keynote speech by his Regional Director Jon Jarvis at the dedication of the Tule Lake Segregation Center the day before, in which he declared that “*only a genuinely self-confident and mature democracy can afford to publicly admit to its failures in the past.*” Jarvis was recently confirmed as the newly-appointed Director of the NPS. **(33)** To their credit, interpretive centers created by NPS staff at sites, such as Manzanar, reflect an admirable and courageous effort to tell what, at the time of their creation, were the facts as described by the best scholarship available. **(34)** But since then the scholars themselves, starting with Roger Daniels, have admitted that their own use of euphemisms must be reviewed and revised for the sake of historical accuracy.

While euphemisms were being discussed at the 2009 Tule Lake Pilgrimage, retired educator Mako Nakagawa and a group of activists in Seattle proposed a two-pronged effort to replace wartime euphemisms with more accurate words: The JACL “Power of Words” proposal and the “Seattle (Terminology Action) Plan”. She explained the “Power of Words” proposal as:

...a position statement supporting the need to discuss, study and identify terms that will help us expunge euphemisms and support the use of accurate terminology regarding the incarceration of Nikkei people into American concentration camps during World War II.
(35)

The terms listed below for the Seattle (Terminology Action) Plan are identical in many ways to the terms in my “Words Can Lie Or Clarify.” Nakagawa’s categorization into two groups is based on the premise that certain terms will be more or less controversial than others.

This plan identifies two groups of terms. One group is labeled ‘Preferred Terminology’ with the following terms: forced removal, expulsion, uprooting, American Concentration Camps, incarceration, imprisonment, prisoner, inmates, incarcerated, Temporary Concentration Camps and confinement. The second group is labeled ‘Targeted Words for Replacement,’ and includes the terms: evacuation, relocation, Relocation Centers, Assembly Centers, Internment, and Non-alien. This proposal was kept separate from the Power of Words proposal so that in the event that it gets bogged down, the original proposal can continue to seek approval.... **(36)**

There is certainly a growing sense of mission and enthusiasm among academics and Nikkei community activists. One example among many is a forthcoming conference to be held in the spring of 2010 at the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, on telling the story of the former concentration camp at Heart Mountain, Wyoming. Lane Hirabayashi, who occupies an endowed chair on the wartime Nikkei experience at UCLA, is working with the Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation and the Japanese American National Museum to organize a conference marking 65 years since Heart Mountain closed. One of the sessions Hirabayashi plans is a discussion on terminology of the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans. His own evolving interest in accurate terminology was reflected in this 1995 statement, “A Note on Transcription and Terminology:”

I have avoided the euphemistic terms evacuation (which...implies a temporary removal in order to protect the population in question), relocation (which implies a long-term removal along the same lines), and associated terms as evacuee, assembly center, and relocation center.

It is also relevant here that the term internment camp (along with its derivations such as internee) is technically inappropriate for the WRA camps because the United States Department of Justice set up and ran special maximum security camps to imprison Japanese, Italian, and German nationals who had been swept up in the weeks following the attack on Pearl Harbor and whose loyalties were deemed suspect. These special camps were called internment camps by the Justice Department, and this convention has generally been followed in the scholarly literature to differentiate them from the camps run by the WRA.

As described in the research and publications of a number of scholars, the process that more than 110,000 Japanese Americans were subjected to was mass incarceration, and the facilities that they were placed in were American-style concentration camps. The

term concentration camp certainly describes conditions in a camp like Poston from the point of view of many of the Japanese Americans, none of whom, even if they were U.S. citizens, were given a fair trial before they were forced to leave their businesses, homes, and communities. (37)

The formation of organizations like the Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation dedicated to preserving former wartime Nikkei incarceration sites like those at Manzanar and Tule Lake presents an opportunity to pursue a full discussion of euphemistic terminology and the need to revise and create a nomenclature that educates visitors to these sites about what really happened, and how it can happen again, as we have seen in the wake of the terrorist attacks on “9-11.”

Recent and current developments strongly suggest a growing consensus among NPS, community activists, and academics that it is time to focus squarely on the importance of historically accurate terminology for the wartime Nikkei incarceration, and I would like to share selected terms from my ongoing compilation that has been previously circulated among colleagues and friends for a decade or more under the title “Work in Progress”.

5. Terms needing immediate replacement.

Refer to the Glossary below for discussion of the terms listed.

Replace “evacuation” with *banishment, diaspora, eviction, exclusion, exile, forced removal, mandatory or forced evacuation, uprooted*.

For persons imprisoned in WRA concentration camps, replace “detainee, evacuee, internee, and relocatee” with *excludee, inmate, prisoner*. [See especially *detain/detainee/detention* in the Glossary.]

“Internment camp” is totally inaccurate to identify a War Relocation Authority Center; therefore, in describing a person held in custody in WRA concentration camps as an “internee” is incorrect. It is advised that “internee” be replaced with more precise terms, such as *excludee, inmate, or prisoner*. [See *intern/internee/internment camp* in the Glossary that explains the legal basis for recommending and encouraging the avoidance of these words except when applied to Department of Justice (DoJ) prisoners or when referring to the DoJ camps.]

Facilities administrated by the War Relocation Authority in which Japanese Americans were imprisoned during WW II that have been referred to as “detention camps, confinement sites, internment camps, and relocation camps” should be replaced with *concentration camps, gulag, or prison camps*.

Refer to the popular names used for three WRA camps with their official names: Granada, for Amache; Colorado River, for Poston; and Central Utah for Topaz.

6. Glossary.

The following compilation of terms was originally created under the working title “Work in Progress. Terminology: WW II Exclusion/Incarceration of West Coast Japanese-Americans.” Many entries in this section are for informational purposes, supported by data found primarily in official records of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); e.g., “escape,” “contamination,” “draft,” “emancipated children,” “Executive Order 9066,” etc., which are not meant to be replaced by substitution of other terminology. They include words found in official documents, many of which were indicative of the attitudes of government officials with responsibilities associated with the program to evict and incarcerate West Coast Nikkei, or used by contemporary citizens in discussion of the historic, tragic wartime diaspora.

banish / banishment [See *evacuate/evacuation*]

During the April 30, 1987, hearing of the petitioner, U.S. Department of Justice, in its appeal to the Supreme Court in *William Hohri et al. v. U.S.A.* -- the class action lawsuit filed against the U.S. government by the National Council for Japanese American Redress – Hohri related the following exchange between Justice Thurgood Marshall and the Justice Department’s Solicitor General Charles Fried. Marshall asked:

‘What is the difference between exclusion and killing?’

Fried’s eloquence left him. The answer wasn’t in his text. He hunted for words. ‘Killing is much worse,’ he replied.

[Marshall:] *‘How much?’*

[Fried:] *‘Well,--’*

[Marshall:] *‘When you pick up people and throw them out of their homes and where they live,’ Marshall pressed on, ‘what is anything between that and murder?’*

.....

[Thurgood:] *‘What is the difference between **banishment** and hanging?’*

*Fried replied, ‘Well, large numbers of those who were **banished** were able, after 1945, to return to their homes, and we should be grateful for that.’ [emphasis mine] (38)*

camp.

War Relocation Authority officials stated that "camp," when referring to a WRA relocation center is objectionable because it confuses WRA relocation centers with the internment camps or temporary detention camps under the jurisdiction of the War Department or the DoJ (which were managed by the Immigration & Naturalization Service). -- Source: (39) RG 210-WRA. Memo of October 02, 1942, from WRA director Dillon S. Myer to All WRA Staff Members; Subject: Use of the terms "Japanese", "Camps" and "Internment."

camp names.

It is suggested that in the search for their government wartime concentration camp records, researchers visiting the National Archives identify the following three WRA camps by their official names rather than by their popular names, widespread within the Nikkei community in particular in the past decades. These include Granada, not Amache; Colorado River, not Poston; and Central Utah, not Topaz. This will facilitate retrieval of records and in the interest of

historical accuracy, it is recommended that we familiarize ourselves with the proper nomenclature for these three concentration camps.

colonists.

Example: Among other documents which use the word “colonists” in reference to those held in WRA concentration camps, there is a memorandum dated March 12, 1943, by WRA community analyst John Baker, the subject being “Repercussions of the Registration Program (draft)” in which he refers to Tule Lake prisoners as “colonists.” – Source: RG 210-WRA. CWRIC #3057. **(38)** Also see WRA director’s memo to staff, October 02, 1942, directing staff to avoid using certain terms that “are misleading and inappropriate”.

concentration camp.

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co.) 1996. 3rd edition. Defines concentration camp as “a camp where prisoners of war, enemy aliens, and political prisoners are detained ..., typically under harsh conditions; A place or situation characterized by extremely harsh conditions.” The following are examples of the use of “concentration camps” by government officials and community leaders in the 1940s:

1. “Prepare plans for concentration camps (Army-Justice).” 09 October 1940. Memo from Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox to President Franklin D. Roosevelt [FDRL] – Source: FDRL. PSA Safe File, Box 5-Navy Dept. CWRIC #3552-3553.

2. November 1941. [Curtis] Munson Report, page 12. CWRIC #3684

3. December 1943. Attorney General Francis Biddle to FDR. *“The present practice of keeping loyal American citizens in concentration camps on the basis of race for longer than is absolutely necessary is dangerous and repugnant to the principles of our government.”* -- Source: FDRL. OF 4849. CWRIC #3721-3724.

4. January 10, 1942. Leland Ford to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. Ford says people in his district are concerned about possible sabotage and fifth column activities by Japanese, both citizens and aliens. He wants to know if concentration camps are going to be set up for Japanese in the interior. CWRIC #19388. Also see Jan 16, 1942, Ford to Stimson. CWRIC #4376.

5. February 12, 1942. Chief of Staff, War Dept., in “Hawaiian Defense Forces” paper submits plan for consideration by Joint Chiefs of Staff to establish concentration camp on Molokai and/or transferring the Japanese population from Hawaii to a concentration camp on the mainland. -- Source: FDRL. PSF (Conf. File) 10, Hawaii. CWRIC #3665.

6. February 16, 1942. Manchester Boddy to Attorney General Francis Biddle re syndicated columnist Walter Lippmann’s newspaper attack as influencing the public to demand the removal of West Coast ethnic Japanese and putting them into concentration camps. Boddy wrote: *“I find no distinction in the public mind regarding Japanese aliens and their dual citizenship children.”* -- Source: RG 107-Secretary of War, Entry 47, Box 6. Folder: ASW 014.311 Alphabetical. CWRIC #107.

confine / confinement sites.

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co.) 1996. 3rd edition. Defines as obsolete the use of “confine” as a prison.

The term "confinement," associated with a woman giving birth, has been used in recent years as a bland substitute for “concentration camp,” “prison camp” and “gulag” but suffers from the same problems as use of “relocation camp.” It obfuscates the truth. To say that one was confined does not adequately bring to mind the conditions that would be conveyed if one states that he/she was imprisoned in a concentration camp.

contamination.

Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy to WRA Director Dillon Myer, November 06, 1942, regarding a request of Minidoka family members to join husbands or fathers in Department of Justice (DoJ) internment camps, operated by the Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS), suggests paroling selected internees to "relocation centers" rather than transferring family into internment camps, where Nisei would be exposed to too many Issei and become contaminated. *"While ordinarily I would favor any steps toward family unity in appropriate cases, I am not particularly enthusiastic about a wholesale transfer which would subject the Nisei to further Issei contamination."* – Source: RG 107-Secretary of War, Entry 47. Folder: ASW 020 CAD. CWRIC #902.

detain / detainee / detention.

"A 'detainee' in the United States is an enemy alien when he is held in a detention camp under the jurisdiction of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice, pending a hearing or final decision on his case. When the case of each is settled, he is either interned for the 'duration,' released, or paroled. For the purposes of sending and receiving mail, a detainee has been accorded the privileges of prisoners of war."

– Source: RG 85-Immigration & Naturalization Service, Entry 279 WW II Internment Files. Crystal City-General Files, Box 26, titled: 211/032 thru 213/032. Folder: Regulations Governing the Censorship and Disposition of Prisoner of War and Interned and Detailed Civilian Mail. July 3, 1943. Chpt. 1, 9 A - Civilian Internees and Detainees. HPC #000453.

The primary reason to avoid using “detainee” for those imprisoned in WRA concentration camps and DoJ/INS internment camps is that “detention” is applied to temporary imprisonment.

An arrested Issei was first detained in a local jail, an INS detention facility, or transported to another holding area, sometimes a former CCC camp or an army post. After a hearing, the detainee was either released, paroled, or sent to an internment camp as a potentially dangerous person. Thus, Japanese-descended persons in WRA camps were not officially classified as "detainees." The men released were still under restrictions, some of which were not imposed upon parolees, who were reunited with their families in WRA camps. Those released were required to report regularly to either FBI or INS offices throughout the period of the war. Men who were sentenced after hearings as possibly subversive persons were interned for the duration of the war and jailed in DoJ/INS internment camps. Following a determination by officials as to their status as internees who should not be permitted to be paroled to WRA camps, some were

permitted to be joined by their families in the Crystal City Internment Camp in Texas, a camp that has been referred to as the DoJ/INS family camp.

Over the past 50 years, we Nikkei have claimed to have been detained in the camps but here, again, we have been misapplying the term because official "detention" was of a short, limited period of time and was used to describe that period when an alien was held in custody until a hearing was held. To reiterate, after the hearing the Issei was judged either to be eligible for parole to join his family in a WRA camp or to the family which may have resettled outside the camp, or the hearing board recommended that the Issei should continue to be an internee in a Justice Department camp. Nikkei incarcerated in WRA concentration camps, were therefore -- in government parlance -- never detainees detained in a detention camp, nor were they internees interned in an internment camp.

diaspora.

Wikipedia defines this as "a scattering [of seeds]," referring to "the movement of any population sharing common ethnic identity who were either forced to leave or voluntarily left their settled territory, and became residents in areas often far removed from the former. It is separate from the nomadic culture, and more appropriately linked with the creation of a group of refugees." [see *Google* and *Wikipedia*]

draft - Selective Service Act of 1940.

William Hohri has researched the subject of Nisei men drafted from the WRA camps, and has found that the government violated the Selective Service Act of 1940 when it drafted the Nisei out of the camps. The provision of the Act of 1940 which was violated appears in:

Paragraph 362, Class of IV-F: Physically, mentally, or morally unfit.

a. In Class IV-F shall be placed only registrant who:...

*5. Is being retained in the custody of any court of criminal jurisdiction or other **civil authority**. [emphasis mine] In the event such court of other civil authority releases such registrant from custody, upon final adjudication or otherwise, such registrant may be reclassified.*

The War Relocation Authority began its 1946 report, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description*, with the following statement: "Some 120,313 persons of Japanese descent came under the custody of the War Relocation Authority [ed., a federal **civil authority**] between May 8, 1942 (the date Colorado River Relocation Center opened) and March 20, 1946 (the date Tule Lake closed)." (40)

Therefore, Nikkei men who were drafted out of the camps were inducted into the Army in violation of the Selective Service Act of 1940.

Hohri's findings include the following: "Selective Service Regulations section 622.43 classified draft-age men as 'Class IV-C' if they were 'not acceptable for training and service because of nationality or ancestry....'

Initially, Class IV-C was reserved for aliens. But a few days after the first relocation camp opened at Manzanar, California, the War Department 'discontinued the induction of Nisei [into the military] on the West Coast.' At the time, there was no classification category to deal with draft-age Japanese Americans. Only two of the available classes seemed even approximately suitable, one 4-C, originally established for aliens, and the other 4-F, for persons deemed morally, mentally, or physically unacceptable [ed., or who came under the custody of a civil authority]. After careful consideration, it was concluded that the 4-C classification would be least objectionable, and an order was issued, directing the use of this classification [IV-C] for all registrants of Japanese ancestry....

On September 14, 1942, the Selective Service 'adopted regulations prohibiting Nisei induction and classifying registrants of Japanese ancestry IV-C, the status of enemy aliens. To accomplish this, Section 622-43 was amended to apply to all men 'whether a national of the United States or an alien'.

Nikkei men who were initially classified as I-A and then reclassified as IV-C were, first, incorrectly reclassified. They should have been placed in category IV-F, as men who came under the custody of a civil authority, the WRA. Then, unless each of the draftees were again reclassified as I-A they were not legally eligible to be drafted out of the camps.

emancipated children, exemption from exclusion.

Discussion of whether to release children of mixed marriages is found in official government records. Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy states that the War Dept. is not opposed to allowing *happa* [mixed ancestry] children to join a non-Japanese parent or grandparents outside of WRA camps provided those adults are free of Japanese tradition/culture. McCloy does stress (after the fact) that the loyalty of individuals should be weighed rather than assumption of disloyalty to U.S. as a group. – Source: February 11, 1943 letter from McCloy to Gen. John L. DeWitt. RG 107-Secretary of War. Entry 7, Box 8. Folder: ASW 014.311-WDC Exclusion Orders. CWRIC #527-528

escape.

There were vocal non-Japanese who advocated the uprooting of Japanese Americans from the West Coast into the camps claiming that the exclusion program was designed for the protection of the Nikkei from anti-Japanese vigilantes. These persons and others who clamored for removing the Nikkei were motivated to do so for various other reasons – economic gains, racial bigotry, fear of the "enemy" living among them. If the WRA camps were not prisons, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover would not have asked Attorney General Francis Biddle:

I shall appreciate being advised whether these Centers are considered to be military reservations. I shall also appreciate advice as to the agencies responsible for the location of any persons who might escape from the Relocation Centers and as to what procedure may be instituted against such escapees, and as to the agency responsible for the enforcement of regulations promulgated with respect to such Centers by the War Relocation Authority. [ed., emphasis added]

-- Source: Hoover memo to Biddle, October 01, 1942. Department of Justice records. 146-13-7-2-0. Section 21, 9/26/42-12/2/42. CWRIC #24599-24600.

Obviously, persons who are ostensibly under protective custody and supposedly free to come and go would not need to "escape."

evacuation / evacuee.

Suggested acceptable words to replace "evacuate or evacuation": evict/eviction; exclude/exclusion; expel/expulsion; forcibly removed; banish/banishment; uprooted; exiled, kicked out, booted out, forcibly evacuated, mandatory evacuation, ousted.

Suggested words to replace "evacuee": excludee, inmate, prisoner. Apply the word "internee" only to those who were imprisoned in DoJ/INS internment camps. Do not use "evacuee, relocatee, and detainee" for persons who were incarcerated in WRA concentration camps.

The term resident is indeed innocuous but it obscures the truth. When referring to a person who is under custody in a local jail, a penitentiary, or in a concentration camp, most likely s(he) would be referred to a prisoner or inmate.

Many camp survivors do not wish the term prisoner to be applied to them since they had never committed any crime, but we should say it like it was in order to educate the public that we were indeed imprisoned simply on the basis of our racial ancestry. As Gordon Hirabayashi as aptly stated, "*Ethnicity is not a crime.*" However, important government officials and many American citizens deemed the Nikkei as possibly dangerously loyal to the Emperor of Japan and, therefore, we were considered potential enemy combatants.

The government's preferred nomenclature were *colonist, evacuee, resident, resident colonist, relocatee*. WRA memos, letters, and reports repeatedly emphasized that "evacuees" are not "internees." Examples:

-- October 02, 1942. Memo from WRA director Dillon S. Myer to All WRA Staff Members. Subj: Use of the terms "Japanese", "Camps" and "Internment."

-- April 01, 1943. WRA solicitor Philip M. Glick to Edwin G. Arnold, Special Asst to WRA Director. Memo re "Definition of the term "evacuee". RG 210-WRA, Series 16, Box-325. Folder: 31.000 Legal General. Also, RG 210-WRA, Series 16, Box 3. Folder: Edwin G. Arnold. CWRIC #7563-7563a.

-- May 04, 1943. Adm Instruction No. 77, Supplement II. By WRA director Dillon Myer. Subj: Definition of "Evacuee" and Property of Evacuees. RG 210-WRA. Series, 16. Box 325. Folder: 31.000 Legal (General) June 23, 1943-August 1943. CWRIC #8011, #4739

-- J. A. Krug, Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, and D. S. Myer, director, War Relocation Authority. *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington,

D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946) p.2.

*For purposes of simplification and clarity of terminology in this report, these persons shall be referred to as 'evacuees'. With few exceptions the group was composed of persons of Japanese descent who were **evacuated** from, or who were involved in, the Army **evacuation** of the West Coast in 1942.*

exclude / excludee / exclusion.

Webster's Collegiate Thesaurus (1976) and The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (1996) offer definitions for the word "exclude" as follows: count out, eliminate, suspend, prevent, prohibit, blackball, blacklist, ostracize, block, lock out, shut out, and prevent from entering, keep out; bar; to prevent from being included, considered, or accepted, reject; to put out, expel – all representing conditions experienced by Nikkei on the West Coast who were excluded from their homes as a result of E.O. 9066.

All persons in the WRA and DoJ/INS camps were excludees. Japanese-Americans who "voluntarily" removed themselves during a specific time allowed for such movement from the Pacific coastal areas and all other non-West Coast Japanese Americans who were prohibited from entering Military Area #1 were also excludees. The government labeled persons who moved out of Military Area 1 as "voluntary evacuees". There is a need for an appropriate nomenclature for this category of Nikkei who did not enter the camps but were nevertheless forced to leave their homes prior to March 27 from Military Zone No. 1.

The definition for "exclusion" in *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (1996)* is given as follows: "*The act or practice of excluding; the condition or fact of being excluded.*"

Exclusion or eviction definitely are among the preferable choices to replace the word evacuation.

Refer to August 02, 1943. McCloy to General Drum re persons issued individual exclusion orders. RG 107-Secretary of War. Entry 7, Box 8. Folder: ASW 014.311 General-Exclusion orders. Also see folder: ASW 014.311 EDC Exclusion Orders-General.

Executive Order No. 9066, Date of Rescission

Over the past few decades, it was assumed that until President Gerald Ford issued a proclamation, "An American Promise," on February 19, 1976, Executive Order No. 9066 was "still on the books," ready to be implemented against another minority group. However, attention has been called to take note of the end of President Ford's proclamation which raised questions about the decades-old belief that the executive order was still in force until 1976. The following is the statement from Mr. Ford's declaration concerning this matter:

Now, therefore, I, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that all the authority conferred by Executive Order No. 9066 terminated upon the issuance of Proclamation No. 2714, which formally proclaimed the cessation of hostilities of World War II on December 31, 1946.

President Ford's statement indicates that President Franklin D. Roosevelt's February 19, 1942 E.O. 9066 was already void as its authority had expired on December 31, 1946.

Roger Daniels, scholar and author of the Japanese American wartime history, was consulted about this. He responded, as follows: "... *What the language about 12/31/1946 meant was that the war was over. Actually, most of the authority of 9066 had been ended by the Supreme Court in Endo on December 13, 1944.*"

exemptee.

A term applied in the exclusion process by the government to a person exempted from forced removal from designated military zones.

gulag.

Wikipedia defines "gulag" as a Russian acronym which compares the vast system of labor and concentration camps for political prisoners in the Soviet Union to a chain of islands or an archipelago. The three-volume *Gulag Archipelago*, written by Aleksander Solzhenitsyn between 1958 and 1968, was published in the West in 1973. Historian Don Hata sees the nationwide network of isolated War Relocation Authority, Department of Justice/Immigration & Naturalization Service, War Department incarceration sites as a gulag.

imprisoned.

Describes accurately the condition of all Nikkei who were held in WRA or DoJ/INS camps.

incarceration.

December 29, 1942. FBI Special Agent in Charge M. B. Rhodes, Omaha, Nebraska, to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover: "... *who are presently incarcerated in various Relocation Camps*"
– Source: FBI 62-69030-16. CWRIC #6391.

On April 12, 1982, President Ronald Reagan issued Proclamation 4927 celebrating Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week, 1982. President Reagan refers in this proclamation (although he does not specify the ethnic minority by name) to the wartime forced removal of Japanese Americans:

In spite of years of struggle and toil, in spite of exclusion and incarceration and discrimination, peoples whose roots lie in Asia and the Pacific Islands have brought forth myriad contributions to this country -- source: Federal Register, Vol. 47, No. 2, Wednesday, April 12, 1982

According to Raymond Okamura (Berkeley, California), this is one of the rare instances where the highest elected U.S. government official has conceded that Japanese Americans were actually incarcerated instead of merely "evacuated" or "relocated."

inmate.

From *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1979)*: "*One of a group occupying a single place of residence; esp, a person confined (as in a prison or a hospital).*"

One of many examples of the use of "inmates" to describe the Japanese-American prisoners in the WRA camps is found in a memorandum dated December 09, 1942, from 11th Naval District (Douglas) to District Intelligence Office, re "Japanese Relocation Centers, Activities of Inmates" in which Douglas urges segregation. – Source: RG 107-Secretary of War. Entry 47, Box 9. Folder: ASW 020 CAD. CWRIC #876-78.

intern / internee / internment camp.

1. The following is extracted from a 196-page typescript report issued by FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, titled "Summary of Information-WRA and Japanese Relocation Centers, August 2, 1945":

Chpt. 5, A-FBI Summary of Japanese Relocation Centers and FBI Activities in connection with the War Relocation Authority.

....3. *Recommendations*

....t. *Segregation*

. It should be remembered that Japanese-American citizens cannot be placed in internment camps." p. 35. [emphasis mine]

– Source: RG 65-Records of the FBI. Document No. 62-69030-710.

2. 01 Nov 43 letter, 2 pp, from WRA Leland Barrows to Lt. Col. H. A. Gerhardt of Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy's office: "*Although evacuees denied leave clearance are transferred to Tule Lake and not permitted to leave Center, they are not legally interned.... Legal authority for detention of American citizens has never been tested in court.*"

Source: RG 107-Secretary of War. Entry 47, Box 9. Folder: ASW 014.32-014.33. CWRIC #837-838.

3. WRA memos, letters, and reports emphasize that "evacuees" are not internees.

Example: October 02, 1942 memo from WRA director Dillon S. Myer to All WRA Staff Members. Subj: Use of the terms "Japanese", "Camps" and "Internment." -- Source: RG 210-WRA.

4. Definition of "Civilian Internees and Detainees"

"9 A. A civilian internee is a non-military individual who is held by an opposing belligerent, if the cause of this detention is the simple fact of his being an enemy alien. In the United States, however, only those alien enemies who have been determined to be potentially dangerous to the security of the United States are interned." [emphasis mine]

-- Source: RG 85-INS. Entry 279-WW II Internment Files. Crystal City-General Files. Box 26, titled: 211/032 thru 213/032. Folder: Regulations Governing the Censorship and Disposition of Prisoner of War and Interned and Detailed Civilian Mail. July 3, 1943. Chpt. 1, 9 A - Civilian Internees and Detainees. HPC #000453.

The WRA, War, and State Departments did not use the word "internees" in identifying those in the WRA camps. Moreover, international political ramifications and outcry against the U.S. would have ensued if the word got out to the world that the U.S. government actually interned its own citizens of one targeted minority ethnic group,

among which were thousands of native-born American citizens banished from their West Coast homes. It was, therefore, critical that Nisei, Sansei or Yonsei (second, third & fourth generation Japanese-Americans) in WRA camps be referred to euphemistically by the U.S. government as evacuees, non-alien, colonists, residents, or relocatees – never internees.

non-alien.

Exclusion Orders (and other proclamations or documents) issued by the Western Defense Command (WDC) referred to Americans of Japanese ancestry as “non-alien” rather than as American citizens. [See p. 97, Civilian Exclusion Order No. 27 in *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast 1942*, by General John L. DeWitt, commanding general of the Western Defense Command.] Instructions issued pursuant to the proclamation of Civilian Exclusion Orders applicable to specific geographic areas were addressed to “all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien”.

parolee.

After having appeared before hearing boards, internees judged not to be subversive or potentially dangerous to national security interests were paroled to join families either in WRA concentration camps or to locations where their families had relocated.

prison / prisoner / prison camp.

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (1996) defines these three terms as follows:

prison (n). 1. A place where persons convicted or accused of crimes are confined; a penitentiary or a jail. 2. A place or condition of confinement or forcible restraint. 3. A state of imprisonment or captivity. (as vt): to confine in a prison; imprison.

prisoner: 1. A person held in custody, captivity, or a condition of forcible restraint especially while on trial or serving a prison sentence. 2. One deprived of freedom of expression or action. A second dictionary defines prisoner as a person deprived of his liberty and kept under involuntary restraint or custody; esp: one on trial or in prison.

prison camp: 1. A camp for prisoners of war. 2. A minimum security facility for the confinement of prisoners. In this sense, also called work camp.

Comment: In an encouraging sign that there are Americans who recognize the wartime WRA concentration camps for what they were, the following is excerpted from a recent article in the *Los Angeles Times*. It reads: “In 1988, Congress apologized to Japanese Americans who during World War II were thrown into **prison camps** such as Manzanar.” [emphasis mine]

--Source: *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 2009, page A3. “Legislature apologizes for past discrimination against Chinese,” by Corina Knoll.

relocation / relocation camp.

“Relocation” is a euphemistic term employed by the government rather than words that reflect the true nature of the exclusion of West Coast Japanese-American minority. Words to replace “relocation” are banishment, exclusion, exile, expulsion, forced removal, eviction.

Even the WRA administrative staff was not sure what "relocation" meant. Were Japanese-Americans relocated into the camps, or were the camps to be departure areas from which Japanese-Americans were to be relocated or resettled? [Example: see WRA administration Internal memo, September 25, 1943. CWRIC #6064-6065.]

Replace **relocation camp**, confinement site, or detention camp with *concentration camp*, *prison camp*, or *gulag*.

resettlement. [See **relocation**]

The WRA resettlement program involved the release and movement of Japanese-Americans from the concentration camps into mainstream American society.

The 'resettlement' (euphemism for murder) of Jews living in the so-called Government General (occupied Poland). -- Source: Washington Post, Monday, January 20, 2003, A-22. Letters to the Editor. Letter written by Peter Black, senior historian, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington.

resident / resident colonist.

The word "resident" in addition to "evacuee" was generally the preferred term that some WRA administrators used when referring to their charges in the concentration camps, while others chose the term "resident colonist", unacceptable euphemisms for camp prisoners.

Suggested substitute words are *excluee*, *prisoner*, or *inmate*.

segregee.

Segregee is the designation for persons who responded to questions No. 27 and 28 of the so-called loyalty questionnaire with a "No-No" or gave qualified responses, such as "Yes, provided that...." Persons from nine WRA concentration camps who fell into this category were transferred to the Tule Lake concentration camp to join those at that camp who had also signed "No-No" on those two questions or gave modified answers, rather than "Yes-Yes." This camp came to be identified as the Tule Lake Segregation Center. Also see CWRIC #659.

Voluntary evacuee. [See *excluee*.]

END NOTES

1. Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, Research Staff, CWRIC, to Paul Bannai, Executive Director, CWRIC, July 9, 1981.
2. *Ibid.*
3. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library is identified as FDRL. Figures following the initials “CWRIC” represent the commission’s number assigned to the document in its Numerical File section among the commission’s extensive records accessioned in the National Archives and may be located in Record Group 220-Records of Temporary Committees, Commissions, and Boards, in series “Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.”
4. Bill Hosokawa. *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: Morrow, 1969). Roger Daniels. *Concentration Camps, USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); Roger Daniels. *Concentration Camps USA: North America. Japanese in the United States and Canada during World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); and Michi Weglyn. *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America’s Concentration Camps* (New York: William Morrow, 1976). For the redress movement, see: Roger Daniels, Sandra Taylor, and Harry L. Kitano (eds.). *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress, Revised Edition* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986); William Hohri. *Repairing America: An Account of the Movement for Japanese-American Redress* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1988); and Mitchell T. Maki, Harry H.L. Kitano, and S. Megan Berthold. *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress*. Forwards by Representative Robert T. Matsui and Roger Daniels (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
5. Richard Drinnon. *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1987), p. 253.
6. Hata referred to the political maneuvering that finally resolved the issue in her book, *The Historic Preservation Movement in California, 1940-1976* (Sacramento: Department of Parks and Recreation/Office of Historic Preservation, 1992), pp. 168-72. She co-authored an interpretive essay: Donald Teruo Hata and Nadine Ishitani Hata. *Japanese Americans and World War II: Mass Removal, Imprisonment, and Redress*, Third Ed. (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2006); also see: <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2005/0505/0505mem1.cfm>
7. William Peterson. “Success Story: Japanese American Style,” *New York Times* (January 9, 1966): “By any criterion of good citizenship that we choose, the Japanese Americans are better than any group in our society, including native-born whites....”
8. For the origin and evolution of the Nikkei community in New York City, see: Mitziko Sawada. *Tokyo Life, New York Dreams: Urban Japanese Visions of America, 1890-1924* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1996), 268 pp.

9. Thomas Fujita-Rony. “‘Destructive Force’: Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga’s Gendered Labor in the Japanese-American Redress Movement.” *Frontiers* (XXIV:1, 2003), 38-60: “*This article explores the labor of...activist Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga.... Her discovery of previously unknown factual evidence and...her ability to recreate and document the ‘paper trail’...for others prompted one opposing lawyer to call her a ‘destructive force’.*” (p. 38).

10. Peter Irons. *Justice At War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

11. Raymond Okamura. “The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up through Euphemistic Terminology,” *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* (Vol.10, No.3, 1982) 95-109.

12. Some scholars are still ambivalent, as reflected by historian Alice Yang Murray: *...scholars and activists declared that Japanese Americans were confined in ‘concentration camps’ and cited evidence that wartime officials, Supreme Court justices, and members of the press had used that phrase. They noted that using the term internment to describe the ten camps was technically incorrect ... they argued that the [WRA] camps fulfilled the dictionary definition of a concentration camp.... Yet although I agree that places like Manzanar and Tule Lake in California fulfilled the dictionary definition of a concentration camp, I personally can’t accept this designation [emphasis mine].... I considered using the term ‘concentration camp’ in the title...but then decided it might prevent me from reaching many potential readers. I want this book to be read by the very people who are alienated by the term ‘concentration camp’....*

Alice Yang Murray. *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2008); quoted by Roger Daniels at the end of his essay on “Words Do Matter: A Note on Inappropriate Terminology and the Incarceration of Japanese Americans,” in Louis Fiset and Gail Nomura, eds. *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 214. Also see: Greg Robinson, “A Note on Terminology” in *Tragedy of Democracy, Japanese Confinement in North America* (Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. vii-viii.

13. Raymond Okamura. p. 99.

14. Roger Daniels, et al (eds.). *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress, Rev.* p. 6.

15. Karl R. Bendetsen, Col., Assistant Chief of Staff for Civil Affairs Division, Western Defense Command, and director of WDC’s Wartime Civil Control Administration.

16. Roger Daniels, et al (eds.). *Japanese Americans, From Relocation to Redress, Rev.* p. 6. Also see: Eric L. Muller. *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War I.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

17. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982), p. 27. Reprinted by the University of Washington Press, with a “Foreword” by Tetsuden Kashima, 1997.
18. See Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); and Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: Macmillan, 1988).
19. Roger Daniels. “Words Do Matter.” pp. 183-207.
20. *Ibid.*
21. [Http://www.momomedia.com/CLPEF/background.html](http://www.momomedia.com/CLPEF/background.html)
22. National Japanese American Historical Society. *Due Process—Americans of Japanese Ancestry and the United States Constitution, 1787-1994* (San Francisco, California: NJAHS, 1995), p. 48.
23. [Http://www.Densho.org](http://www.Densho.org). Founded in 1996 by Tom Ikeda, to preserve and collect oral histories of Nikkei.
24. Karen L. Ishizuka. “Coming to Terms,” an entire chapter on the Ellis Island Immigration Museum episode, in her book, *Lost and Found: Reclaiming the Japanese American Incarceration* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2006), p. 156. In his “Foreword,” Roger Daniels notes that, “*Ishizuka was a key staff member for the first fifteen years of the museum’s existence. She helped establish the museum’s commitment to community as well as its Photographic and Moving Image Archive and Media Arts Center.*” p. xiv.
25. Facsimile to Karen Ishizuka from Diane Dayson, Superintendent, Statue of Liberty National Monument, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, January 20, 1998. *Ibid.* p. 157.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67.
28. *Ibid.*, p.171.
29. Email to Karen Ishizuka from Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, Virginia, February 6, 1998. *Ibid.* p. 158.

30. Telephone log of February 5-6, 1998, JANM. *Ibid.*, p. 159. Hansen was a pioneer in oral histories of former incarcerated. See Arthur Hansen and Betty E. Mitson, eds. *Voices Long Silent: An Oral Inquiry into the Japanese American Evacuation* (Fullerton: California State University, Fullerton, Japanese American Project, Oral History Program, 1974).
31. Letter to Karen Ishizuka from Mitchell T. Maki, Assistant Professor, School of Public Policy and Social Research, University of California, Los Angeles, February 4, 1998. *Ibid.* p. 159. See Mitchell T. Maki, et al, *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress*.
32. James Hirabayashi is emeritus professor and founding dean of the School of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University. Other panelists were George Nakano, former Torrance City councilman and California State assemblyman, and Don Hata, emeritus professor of history at California State University, Dominguez Hills. Hirabayashi referred to his “‘Concentration Camp’ or ‘Relocation Center’ – What’s In A Name?” article for the *Japanese American National Museum Quarterly* (Autumn 1994), pp. 5-10.
 “George Nakano - Legislator to Division President,” for the December 2009 issue of *CalRTA Contact Magazine*, California Retired Teachers Association. pp. 12-13: “Nakano’s growing-up years were unusual, including three World War II ‘concentration camps.’ (He is adamant about this term: ‘US citizens were put in concentration camps; non-citizens go to internment camps.’ He also isn’t fond of the euphemism, ‘relocation camps’).”
 Hata referred to his negative review of historian Alice Yang Murray’s *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment (California History*, 86:1, 2008) 74: “[This] is an expansion of the author’s doctoral dissertation and...she is no stranger to the subject.... Mature historiographical scrutiny of the voluminous literature on this subject could not be timelier in this era of a so-called war on terror, but that goal awaits another author.”
33. Terry Harris is Chief Ranger/Chief of Interpretation, National Park Service, Lava Beds National Monument. At the time of the 2009 Tule Lake Pilgrimage, Jon Jarvis was Director of the NPS’ Pacific West Region; see Julie Cart, “Parks chief foresees sunny skies: To Jon Jarvis, who takes the helm of the National Park Service today, the agency is on the brink of rebirth,” *Los Angeles Times* (October 5, 2009), A9. For the Tule Lake pilgrimage, see: Barbara Takei, “Tule Lake’s Block 42: A Little-Known Story of Wartime Civil Disobedience,” *Nichi Bei Times* (January 1, 2009), 3. Also see S. Floyd Mori, “JACL Needs Further Conversation on Tule Lake,” *Nichi Bei Times* (July 30-August 5, 2009), 2.
34. Alisa Lynch, NPS Chief of Interpretation at Manzanar National Historic Site, was among the founding staff. A 2004 article by Kimberly Edds in the *Washington Post*, “New Museum Revives Painful Memories for Internees,” reported that “Ross Hopkins, the first Manzanar superintendent, received death threats from residents.... He received so many calls at home he got an unlisted number.... Years of focus groups and extensive community outreach by park officials helped to allay many critics’ fears.” Also see: Jesse A. Garrett and Ronald C. Larson eds. *Camp and Community: Manzanar and the Owens Valley* (California State University, Fullerton: Japanese American Oral History Project, 1977) 233 pp, for interviews of local residents who recalled the site as “the Jap camp”.

35. Mako Nakagawa. "The Power of Words," *Nichi Bei Times* (August 20-26, 2009), p. 3.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Lane Hirabayashi, ed. *Inside An American Concentration Camp: Japanese American Resistance at Poston, Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), p. xxi.
Hirabayashi is the George and Sakae Aratani Professor of the Japanese American Internment, Redress, and Community in the UCLA Asian American Studies Department.
38. William M. Hohri, *Repairing America: An Account of the Movement for Japanese-American Redress* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1988) pp 221-22.
39. Unless otherwise specified, referenced primary source material can be found in the National Archives I, Washington, D.C., or in Archives II, College Park, Maryland.