

Non-Alien Enemies

*Treatment of the Japanese-American
Internment during World War II in State
U.S. History Standards*

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Non-Alien Enemies:

Treatment of the Japanese-American
Internment during World War II in State U.S.
History Standards

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Arguably one of the most sensitive events of 20th century U.S. history is the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. The internment exemplifies, among other things, a severe violation of the civil liberties of U.S. citizens and a failure of the United States Government in general and the Supreme Court in particular to intercept and prevent such a violation. Sadly, this unprecedented event has not received ample attention in the elementary and secondary education of the United States, also referred to as K-12, making it yet another issue of U.S. history that the majority of the nation's students are ignorant about. In 2011, *The Nation's Report Card* showed that the proficiency of American K-12 students was less in United States history than in any other subject. The study showed that only 20% of fourth graders and 17% of eighth graders scored at a proficient level. The results for high school seniors, meaning students that have just finished the most extensive instruction of U.S. history from the grade levels of 9-12, were even worse at a mere 12%.¹ With its findings, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) repeated the message of a number of studies and surveys in the past 30 years: American students do not know their own nation's history.² Educational scholars and historians alike place much of the blame on the whitewashed versions of American history, which dominate classrooms around the country and in addition to misleading students, fail to interest them. As one historian commented, when discussing the state of U.S. history education in the mid 1990s, "since nothing is supposed to offend, nothing is likely to arouse."³

The narrative of American history in secondary education is mainly determined by the state standards of the individual states. The reason for this is that curriculum

¹ National Assessment of Educational Progress, *The Nation's Report Card* (2011): 39

² The first of which was *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, in 1983. The report called for considerable reform in K-12 education in the United States. The report identified what it saw as an educational system of such mediocrity that if imposed by an "unfriendly foreign power...we might well have viewed it as an act of war." Its advice to "adopt more rigorous and measurable standards...for academic performance" was executed by education officials on a national, state and local level. U.S. Department of Education, "A Nation at Risk" (1983). NAEP followed with *The Nation's Report Card* in 1994, 2001, 2006 and the mentioned 2010, published in 2011, report. National Assessment of Educational Progress, "The Nation's Report Card."

³ Schudson, M. "Textbook Politics," *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 44 (1994): p.43.

standards function not only as a guide for teachers, but also for textbook publishers, because the standards declare what the students of each state should know and be able to do within a field. Furthermore, state standards determine the content of standardized tests, the dominant form of student evaluation for the past two decades. Creating, publishing and following up on state curriculum standards falls outside the mandate of the United States Government, making it a state constitutional responsibility. The central research question of this thesis is to evaluate the treatment of Japanese-American internment during World War II in the fifty-one state U.S. history standards used around the country.⁴

Three months prior to the release of *The Nation's Report Card*, the Fordham Institute, a conservative educational think tank, released a review of all state U.S. history standards.⁵ The institute assessed the majority to be “mediocre to awful.” Eighteen of the fifty standards received an F, and the average grade was barely a D. The review concluded that drastically improving the quality of the state standards should be considered the “first and most important step” when taking on the task of improving the teaching of U.S. history.⁶ The Fordham Institute is not alone in its assessment. Historians, teacher’s associations, politicians and educational organizations have for a long time criticized inadequate curriculum standards and the textbooks that are written to meet them.⁷ In fear of upsetting any group of the general public, or of diminishing American patriotism and pride, U.S. history is often presented as a sanitized laundry list of people and events. Such representations are often combined with a de-emphasis on historical inquiry and critical thinking skills, while memorization of numbers, names and dates are the de-facto methods of learning that are asked of students.⁸ The criticism

⁴ In elementary and secondary education in the United States, U.S. history is one of a series of subjects under the umbrella-definition of *social science*. Consequently, state U.S. history standards are often a separate entity within the framework of social science standards, in many states. All fifty states and the District of Columbia provide state U.S. history standards, but there is no uniformed configuration that they subscribe to. For more on the structure and set-up of state U.S. history standards, see the section “Method” at the end of this chapter.

⁵ Rhode Island was not included in the 2011 review of the Fordham Institute as its state U.S. history standards were published in 2012.

⁶ Stern, Sheldon M., and Jeremy A. Stern, “The State of State U.S. History Standards 2011,” *The Fordham Institute* (2011).

⁷ Moreau, Joseph, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present*, University of Michigan Press (2003): p.1-25.

⁸ The findings of an examination of eighteen leading U.S. history textbooks for U.S. high schools is presented in: Loewen, James W., *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*, Touchstone (2007).

of today's state standards focuses mainly on their lack of clarity, inclusion and level of detail, but the standards of a few states are also condemned for their clear political bias and historical censorship. The latter is particularly the case for the state U.S. history standards of Texas, a point that is further discussed later in this chapter.

Overview of the Internment of Japanese Americans

The internment of Japanese Americans refers to the involuntary incarceration of approximately 120,000 individuals of Japanese ancestry under President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066, from 1942 to 1945. The internees were both alien-born Issei (first generation born in Japan,) and citizen Nisei (second generation, U.S.-born naturalized citizens of the United States). Both groups, if they resided on the West Coast, were interned without due process. Elsewhere on the mainland and in the Hawaiian Islands few were interned. The treatment of Japanese Americans was unlike that of any other wartime "enemy" population group. Although non-citizen German and Italian aliens were also interned, the total numbers of these people were small in comparison to that of the Issei. Furthermore, no U.S. citizens other than the Nisei were interned. Despite the recent attack at Pearl Harbor, only 1% of Hawaiian Japanese Americans were interned, as apposed to the en masse internment on the West Coast. Internment camps were set up in locations throughout the interior, most sharing the characteristics of barren land with extreme temperatures. Internees were housed in poor conditions and overseen by guards with machineguns and surrounded by watchtowers and barbed wire. Despite being banned from military service at the start of the war, a manpower shortage lead to ease on restrictions and a reasonably large share of the internees saw service in and for the U.S. military at some point during the war. In 1943 and 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld different provisions of the internment by finding them constitutional, verdicts that were vacated by federal courts in the 1980s. Officially, the internment was the government's reaction to the threat of espionage and sabotage from Japanese Americans following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The general consensus today, however, is that the internment was the result of wartime-hysteria, particularly in the press, racial prejudice stretching back half a century and a failure of leadership from all three branches of the U.S. government.

Recent Historical Controversy

The internment of Japanese Americans during World War II is different from most other government-approved actions that have later been seen to violate the civil rights of a group of its citizens. First, all three branches of the U.S. government were directly involved during the span of the internment and are subsequently liable for the infringements that were caused. Second, after a study by the congressionally appointed Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), the U.S. government formally apologized in 1988 for its wrongdoing in relation to the internment to all the Japanese Americans affected by the program and have continued to do so on other occasions.⁹ Third, the U.S. government agreed to offer redress payments of \$20,000 to each surviving internee or their living heir.

Despite the extraordinary measures taken by the U.S. government in admitting guilt, though after considerable lobbying and pressure from civil rights organizations, a generally united scholarly community on the wrongdoing of the U.S. government and the vacated verdicts of the, often called, “Japanese American cases”, the battle waged over how the history of the internment should be told has never died out. At the heart of the discussion for those who defend the decision to intern Issei and Nisei from the West Coast, is the reasoning behind that decision. Claiming that it was, like the government claimed during the war years, based on a real military necessity. The most recent form of such critique has come from political commentator and author Michelle Malkin. In 2004, Malkin published “In Defense of Internment: The Case for Racial Profiling in World War II and the War on Terror.” In the book, she argues that “even with the benefit of hindsight, it is not at all clear that mass evacuation was unwarranted,” due to plans of “subversive activities by Japanese Americans.” The reasoning for Malkin’s assertions is information from the MAGIC decrypts, Japanese communications that were intercepted and decoded by the U.S. military during World War II, which, in her mind, provided a “solid rationale for evacuation.”¹⁰ The MAGIC decrypts have also previously been used to defend the internment. Four years before Malkin’s book, David

⁹ President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act and issued a formal apology with the signing in 1988. Other Presidents that have issued apologies on behalf of the U.S. government include George H. W. Bush on the 50th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1991 and when signing the Civil Liberties Act Amendments of 1992, appropriating additional funding for the final redress payments in 1992; President Bill Clinton when awarding the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Fred Korematsu in 1998.

¹⁰ Malkin, Michelle, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for Racial Profiling in World War II and the War on Terror*, Regnery Publishing (2004): p.141.

Lowman's posthumous publication of "Magic: The Untold Story of U.S. Intelligence and the Evacuation of Japanese Residents from the West Coast during World War II," presented the same argument. Though refuted by scholars and historical organizations alike,¹¹ the message of Lowman and Malkin has reached the masses. Especially Malkin's position as a highly publicized commentator and her established publisher of Regnery, made her book receive national attention.¹² The highly publicized publications of such works make the need for factual representation in state U.S. History standards and elsewhere even more prudent.

The Failure of U.S. History Textbooks for Secondary Education

The proposition of the Fordham Institute that U.S. history in K-12 education is lagging behind historical scholarly research in U.S. history is not only evident in state standards. The trusted companion of state U.S. history standards, namely the U.S. history textbook is also too often outdated and uninformed by newer academic study. Up until the social protest era of the 1960s and 1970s, the U.S. history presented in American classrooms focused on powerful white men, and gave little attention to minorities and women. A wide range of content analysis of textbooks was undertaken during those same decades, leading minority interest groups around the country to stand up in protest. The results were a number of battles over the historical content of U.S. history textbooks that became a part of the wider culture wars of the same period.¹³ Three separate analyses shed light on the treatment of the Japanese-American internment in U.S. history high school textbooks. The studies were conducted in 1995, 2004 and 2005 and reviewed a total of 30 textbooks published in 1988-92, 2002-2003 and 1958-2000 respectively.

¹¹ Historians' Committee for Fairness.

Legal professor Eric Muller, labeled Malkin's book "a smear on the historical reputation" of Japanese Americans, "So Let Me Get This Straight: Michelle Malkin Claims to Have Rewritten the History of Japanese Internment in Just 16 Months?"

For a detailed rebuttal of the assertions of Malkin, and subsequently Lowman, see Robinson, Greg, "Why the Media Should Stop Paying Attention to the New Book that Defends Japanese Internment."

¹² Other examples of how the CWRIC-commission's three-part reasoning behind the internment have been questioned include a state legislature of California, who in 1990 proposed a revision to the California state U.S. history standards on the subject of internment. The legislature put forward a proposal, which eventually failed to be approved, that changed the state's U.S. history standards that the internment was "justified by military necessity." Bishop, Katherine, "Bill on Internees Raises New Alarm," *New York Times*, August 28, 1990. Another claim that has been put forth by defenders of the internment is that the internment was voluntary and beneficial for the Issei and Nisei. The most famous proponent of this view was Lillian Baker. "Lillian Baker; Denied Japanese Incarceration" *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1995.

¹³ Christian-Smith, L.K. *The Politics of the Textbook*, New York: Routledge (1991): p.81.

Combined, the three studies give valuable insight into both the evolution of the coverage of this historical event and the level of inclusion and interpretation in recent U.S. history textbooks.

In a similar fashion to that of other minorities, Japanese Americans were often excluded from official U.S. history in the decades after the war. Neither of the textbooks reviewed from the 1950s and 1960s mentioned the internment in any way. In the books published in the 1980s, however, reference to the issue, although brief and vague on details, was present in all of the reviewed books.¹⁴ The treatment of the internment further improved in both width and historical detail in the 1990s. The textbooks now told the stories of the wartime contributions of Japanese Americans to the U.S. military, with particular focus on the highly decorated 442nd Regimental Combat Troop. They also included coverage, of varying degree, of information on the internment camps themselves and the experience of the internees. The 1990s textbooks did not, however, refer to the infamous Supreme Court case of *Korematsu v. United States* or present the reasoning behind the internment as anything other than the result of fear and military necessity. Furthermore, the 1988 redress and official apology of the U.S. government was only mentioned in half of the 1990s books.¹⁵

The progress of the decade that followed the 2000s was slow. The increasing level of coverage seen in the 1980s and 1990s presented an ever-improving treatment of the historical event. Once in the new millennium, unfortunately, that improvement halted. The reviews include seven books that are published in the 2000s. While all of these include information about the Korematsu case, only two include adequate coverage of the reasoning behind the internment. As Executive Order 9066 was still presented as a military necessity, deprived of any suggestion of alternative motives, the belief of the postwar years was carried into the 21st century. Further inclusions that obscured the true story of the internment included all of the textbooks' omissions of the situation of Hawaiian-based Japanese Americans and any reasoning for why there was no en masse internment of German and Italian aliens. The additional exclusion of the return of interned Japanese Americans to civil society after the war, which was filled

¹⁴ Selden, Mark, "Remembering 'The Good War': The Atomic Bombing and the Internment of Japanese-Americans in U.S. History Textbooks," *the Asia-Pacific Journal* (2005).

¹⁵ Romanowski M., "Impressions of the Democratic Ideals of Justice and Equality in U.S. History Textbooks: The Treatment of Japanese-Americans During World War II," *Journal of Social Studies Research*, 19 (Spring, 1995): p.31-39.

with anti-Japanese sentiments and hate violence, leaves the majority of the most recent textbooks, in the words of one of the reviewers, “imperfect educational tools,” that present a “mystified representation of American history.”¹⁶

The large scope of textbooks means that the reviews do not present a complete picture of the treatment of the Japanese-American internment in U.S. history textbooks. Even though the seven most recent textbooks only represent a sample of the publications available around the country, this sample does indicate their strengths and weaknesses. The incomplete coverage, and even neglect, of several of the most fundamental issues of the internment is alarming. Even more so when it is considered that six of these seven books were approved in 2002 for state adoption in Idaho.¹⁷ The role of the textbook in U.S. history courses is an aspect that is important to consider closely. A number of studies referred to by James W. Loewen, in his national bestseller *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, show that the assigned textbook accounts for as much as 70% to 95% of what is being taught in the average U.S. history course.¹⁸ Such a dominant role leaves little room for other sources, making it crucial for the content of that textbook to be of high quality. If it is not, however, and a biased or historically flawed textbook makes it through a statewide adoption and into the classroom, the only remaining line of “defense” is the history teacher.¹⁹

Figures from the National Center for Education Statistics offer little comfort in that regard. In a 1996 report they showed that 57% of high school history teachers lacked a minor or major in history. The percentage of such “out of field” teachers in social studies was by far higher than in any other academic field.²⁰ These figures suggest that the majority of high school history teachers do not have the required

¹⁶ Ogawa, M., “The Treatment of the Japanese -American Internment during World War II in U.S. History Textbooks.” *International Journal of Social Education*, 19 (2004): p.35-47.

¹⁷ Ogawa evaluates six popular U.S. History textbooks for high school, adopted for use in the state of Idaho from 2002-2007.

¹⁸ Loewen, p.288.

¹⁹ David Anderson, former publishing sales executive and current Curriculum Director for the Texas Education Agency, claimed “Nobody in a (school) district is going to say, ‘Where’s Betty Friedan?’ (leading figure in the American Women’s Movement) and not buy the book...The incentive for publishers to go beyond the standards is driven by market forces, but they also face the question of whether it creates a problem on the state board.” “Texas Textbook’s National Influence is a Myth” *The Texas Tribune*, March 26th 2010.

²⁰ Richard M. Ingersoll, “*Out of Field Teaching and Educational Equality*” National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (1996): p.16.

background and skills to detect erroneous or unbalanced content in a textbook, if they were to come across it.

Focus and Structure

The poor state of student proficiency in U.S. history is, as demonstrated above, an undisputed fact. The reasons for these unfortunate results, however, are the subject of an ongoing discussion. The responsibility cannot be fully attributed to insufficient state standards or the textbooks that are based on them. The role of teacher education and the place of U.S. history within the field of social studies are two other factors that are often part of the discussion.²¹ Such a debate is not included in this thesis, however, since its premise is based on what is already a widely accepted notion; that the triangle of state standards, textbooks and standardized tests is a crucial factor in the teaching of U.S. history in secondary schools. State standards are the defining element of such a triangle, a fact that is given further attention later in this chapter.

The curriculum standards themselves also contain a number of aspects that will be left out of the analysis for this thesis. Characteristics such as the standards' structure and form are surely valuable from the perspective of educational theory, but fall outside the focus of the chosen research question, which is centered on content.²² The remaining half of this chapter primarily covers the influence of state standards and consequently what role they play in American K-12 education. The politicization and alleged national influence of a handful of state standards are also discussed. Recognizing these issues is vital if the comparative analyses of the chapters that follow are to be fully understood. The central research question of how U.S. history state standards treat historical event of the Japanese-American Internment, are explored in chapters 2, 3 and 4, while a concluding chapter comments on the potential future uses of the findings of the thesis.

The Influence of State Standards

The importance of state standards is linked to how the educational systems of most American states are set up. In what is often referred to as the "Iron Triangle," state standards accompany textbooks and standardized tests as the three pillars of most

²¹ Jobrack B., *Tyranny of the Textbook: An Insider Exposes How Educational Materials Undermine Reforms*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (2011): p.96.

²² See the section "Method" for more on the educational criteria and pedagogical framework of the thesis.

individual state's educational policy for K-12 education.²³ The detailed practices of the nation's fifty-one different educational boards, each responsible for establishing and revising the state standards of the given state, differ in several areas. This is particularly the case with the authority and magnitude of the boards themselves. Texas and its state standards is used as an example to demonstrate the influence of state standards on the remaining two pillars of the mentioned triangle. The primary reason to use Texas is that its Texas State Board of Education has been in the center of the national discussion over state standards for the past three decades.²⁴ Steeped in controversy over allegations of political bias, the true influence of state standards nationwide involves a number of issues that need to be clarified. Though the state standards of Texas are unparalleled in the degree of national attention they have received, Texas is a representative example regarding the structural set up of its iron triangle of educational policy. As a detailed description will further clarify the controversy surrounding the state and its alleged national influence makes using it as the primary example serves a double purpose.

Starting in the school year of 2014-2015, the State of Texas Assessment of Academic Readiness (STAAR) will be used to evaluate students of all K-12 public schools. Similar to its predecessor, the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills, STAAR is a set of standardized tests meant to assess a student's knowledge in the different academic fields.²⁵ In order to graduate, high school students must have received a passing grade on each of their STAAR tests at the end of a course. The results can also account for as much as 15% of a student's final grade in the course the test covers.²⁶ In addition to its application to measuring student achievement, the STAAR test will measure and rank the academic results of teachers, schools and school districts. Consequently, the Texas Classroom Teacher's Association, with its 50,000 members, has voiced its concerns that teachers will be forced to spend an excessive amount of time preparing for the new tests, which will encroach on already busy

²³ Gloria Zyskowski, Deputy Associate Commissioner for Student Assessment at the Texas Education Agency, "Texas Textbook's National Influence is a Myth" *the Texas Tribune*, March 26th 2010.

²⁴ For more on the history of educational policy in Texas and the controversies it has provoked, see Delfattore, *What Johnny Shouldn't Read*, Yale University Press (1994): chapter 9.

²⁵ "State of Texas Assessment of Academic Readiness," *Texas Education Agency*.

²⁶ Legislation passed on February 7, 2013, made it a matter for the local school districts to decide how much of the final grade the STAAR results should account for. 15% has been set as a maximum. "Bill SB 134," April 2013, Texas Legislature.

teaching schedules.²⁷ Of the three STAAR tests in social studies, one is dedicated to U.S. history in high school. Focusing on the curriculum for U.S. history since 1877, the test will arguably stand as a clear reminder to history teachers across Texas never to lose sight of the newly revised Texas standards. As the use of statewide-standardized tests is engulfing the whole country, publishers are increasingly publishing specific content to fit the curriculum standards of individual states.²⁸

The third and final pillar of the iron triangle is textbooks. In addition to a state standard's communication with teachers and students, it also presents publishers with what students in a given state should "know and be able to do."²⁹ While this is the case with all fifty-one state standards, the influence of nearly half of them is even greater. Nationwide there are twenty-one so-called "adoption states." In an adoption state, the state's board of education recommend textbooks on the basis of how well they meet the standards of the given state. Texas and California, by far the biggest textbook buyers in the country, are two of the adoption states that only allow school districts to purchase textbooks with state-money if they choose books that have been adopted by the state.³⁰ Texas has even been known to pressure publishers into successfully letting state officials themselves rewrite whole passages of U.S. history textbooks. Contrary to the process of revising state standards, the negotiations between state boards of education and publishers are not open to the public. The influence of the state boards of other adoption states is therefore hard to estimate. It should be noted, however, that even the adoption lists that merely "suggest" textbooks are thought to wield considerable weight in the decision making process of school districts of which textbooks to purchase.³¹

The present day status of U.S. history in college further increases the importance of U.S. history in K-12 education and the state standards that form the basis of that

²⁷ "TCTA testifies at STAAR implementation hearing," January 23rd 2012, *Texas Classroom Teacher's Association*.

²⁸ "Texas Textbooks' National Influence Is a Myth," *The Texas Tribune*, March 26th 2010.

²⁹ The level of detail of such communication differs among the state standards, a matter that is further described in "Method."

³⁰ In the summer of 2011, a year after the new set of standards was ratified, the Texas State Senate signed into law senate bill 6. Under the new bill, the SBOE will still be adopting social studies textbooks, and is scheduled to do so in 2014, but individual school districts are now given fewer hoops to jump through when selecting their state-funded textbooks. While the bill unquestionably marks a step towards a more decentralized process of textbook adoption, watchdog group the Texas Freedom Network does not believe in a rapid change from the current logistical pattern. The group expects that the majority of textbooks purchased for the next five years will continue to be taken from the current adopted list. Texas Legislature Online; Texas Freedom Network, "analysis of Senate Bill 6" (2011): p.3.

³¹ Delfattore, p.138.

education. While 39 out of 50 states (79%) require student to take a U.S. history course in order to graduate from high school, the situation among the country's top fifty-five colleges stands in sharp contrast.³² A survey by the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA) showed that only twelve (22%) required courses in history and none of the colleges required courses in U.S. history.³³

The state-grounded, but federally initiated, Common Core Standards have been adopted by all but five states. The standards are identical from state to state, but only cover the subjects of mathematics and reading.³⁴ Consequently, the structure of state-by-state standards in U.S. history will continue for the foreseeable future. The last attempt to promote a set of voluntary national history standards was in 1994. While the intention of the National Center for History in the Schools in 1994 was to improve the subject of U.S. history in K-12 education, the attempt was deemed a complete failure, leading to the situation of today where there are fifty-one individual state U.S. history standards in use across the country.³⁵ Hoping that a new attempt at a national standard will be initiated is not a viable plan, meaning that the existing fifty-one state standards need to be addressed.

Politicization Involving State Boards of Education

The teaching of whitewashed history can be an efficient tool in instilling national pride and promoting cohesion among a nation's citizens. Consequently, teaching the *dark* chapters of a nation's history can be equally efficient in tearing down those same values.³⁶ Such reasoning has often been quoted as a factor contributing to the "culture wars" regarding K-12 education. Predominantly present in California and Texas because of their alleged national influence, such battles have raged over textbooks and standards in all subjects. While California has received praise for the revisions of its state's U.S. history standards, their strict guidelines regarding language and illustrations

³² "A Report on the State of History Education," *National History Education Clearinghouse* (2011).

³³ "Losing America's Memory: Historical Illiteracy in the 21st Century," *American Council of Trustees and Alumni* (2000).

³⁴ The Common Core State Standards have currently been adopted by forty-five states, the District of Columbia and four territories.

³⁵ Nash, Gary, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past*, Vintage Books (2000): p.255.

³⁶ Lepore, Jill, *The Whites of Their Eyes: The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle over American History*, Princeton (2010): 94-97.

in other subjects have been heavily criticized.³⁷ Texas, on the other hand, has been heavily criticized in all areas, and by a broad base of critics, for the past three decades. Its most recent revision process was no different in the critical response it received.

Under the supervision of the Texas State Board of Education (SBOE), the U.S. history standards of Texas were revised in the fall of 2009. Widespread controversy broke out as the amendments under consideration were reported in the press. Both national and international media continued to cover the process until the approval of the standards in May 2010. Critics on the left accused the SBOE of rewriting U.S. history to fit conservative political aims, while critics on the right feared the influence of unpatriotic content and secularism in the name of political correctness. In the end, the fears voiced by the conservative right proved to have been superfluous. The final standards adopted by the SBOE were, in the words of the Fordham Institute, a “politicized distortion of history...by the aggressively right-tilting Texas Board of Education...laden with contempt for historical scholarship and analysis...offering misrepresentations at every turn.”³⁸ The institute’s harsh statements followed similar critique by the Organization of American Historians, the National Council for History Education, the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board and both the former U.S. Secretary of Education, Republican Ron Paige, and current Secretary, Democrat Arne Duncan, to name a few critical assessments.³⁹

The 2010 revision process of the Texas standards coincided with the rise of the Tea Party Movement, and its highly publicized quest of bringing America back to “the intent of the founding fathers.” Finding itself in such a context, the SBOE was drawn into the polarized and highly tabloid media climate leading up to the U.S. midterm

³⁷ The U.S. history section of California’s “Social Science Framework for California Public Schools” received an A- from the Fordham Institute. Among the guidelines of other California standards that have received criticism are prohibitions to reference junk food in mathematical texts. Delfattore, p.127.

³⁸ Stern, the Fordham Institute, p.142-143.

³⁹ Reactions to the adopted Texas standards. All accessed November 3, 2012:

Secretary of Education, Arne Duncan <http://www.nbcnews.com/id/37271857/#.UUv8yFvV2LM>

Former U.S. Secretary of Education, Ron Paige <http://www.texastribune.org/2010/05/19/rod-paige-address-state-board-of-education/>

The Organization of American Historians:
http://www.oah.org/news/20100512_texas_textbook_resolution.html

National Council for History Education <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/03/17/AR2010031700560.html>

Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board <http://kutnews.org/post/report-social-studies-guidelines-not-aligned-college-standards>

elections of 2010. Reporters often made their stories relevant for a national audience by erroneously stating that the textbooks tailored to the Texas standards would be used all over the country. Furthermore, a large number of proposed changes to the Texas standards, some of which had never made it past the first round of voting, were presented as changes approved by the board. During the ten-month revision process, involving hundreds of proposed amendments, this approach made for sensational TV-segments and newspaper articles, but not accurate reporting.⁴⁰ After the final approval of the Texas standards, there was little reporting by the media. The most debated educational issue of 2010 ironically left the national spotlight without a conclusion about what had actually made its way into the completed document.⁴¹

The Alleged National Influence of Texas and California

During the controversy over the Texas standards, most national and international media outlets framed the battle as one of national importance. This was based on the belief that publishers are known to tailor their textbooks to meet the standards of California and Texas, the biggest and second biggest textbook buyers respectively, and selling those same books across the country to save publishing costs. The fact that California was cutting its educational budget that same year was used as further evidence for the national influence of the Lone Star State standards.⁴² While there is evidence to suggest that such an influence was very much real up until the mid 1990s, there have been no studies related to the topic for the past twenty years.⁴³ Despite the dated empirical data, most writings about the subject, from both scholars and reporters, continue to frame the

⁴⁰ Politifact reviewed the validity of the statements made about the Texas standards during a Fox News broadcast. The review found that the statements were false. "Fox News Anchor Gretchen Carlson Says the State Board of Education is Considering Eliminating Christmas and the Constitution From Textbooks," *Politifact*, March 12th 2010.

⁴¹ In the six months after Fox News, BBC, Al Jazeera and other media outlets had left the issue behind, the academic world was getting ready to publish its commentaries. In a number of articles, books and studies, the revision process, the media circus surrounding it and the standards themselves were portrayed. While most offered a superficial summary of changes made, some, like University of Texas' Keith Erikson and chair of the National Council for History Education Fritz Fischer, provided in-depth analyses of the historical representations within the Texas standards. Erikson, Keith A., *Politics and the History Curriculum: the Struggle over Standards in Texas and the Nation*, Palgrave Macmillian (2012). Fischer, Fritz, "The Texas History Standards and the Venona Papers," *History Matters*, Vol 1 (2010): p.4.

⁴² A 2002 estimate by the New York Times put the Texas allotment for textbooks in social studies to be \$700 million over two years. "Textbook Publishers Learn: Avoid Messing With Texas," *the New York Times*, June 29th 2002.

⁴³ Collins, Gail, *As Texas Goes...How the Lone Star State Hijacked the American Agenda*, Liveright (2012): p.111.

Texas standards as a matter of national importance, without referring to a source for those claims. One could be tempted to think that such assertions are simply made to reach a wider audience, as there at present time are a number of factors that would suggest the landscape of textbook publishing has changed since then. In the same way that large newspapers are able to issue an increasing number of customized editions to specific geographical areas, the textbook industry now professes that the digitalization of the publishing process has made them able to customize textbooks for individual states at a much lower cost.⁴⁴ This development also leads back to the influence of statewide-standardized tests and teaching material made by publishers to fit the curriculum standards of individual states.⁴⁵ With the technological progress of the past two decades, one cannot simply assume that twenty-year old studies are still accurate when dealing with textbook publishing. To claim that a few standards at present time influence textbooks sold across the United States is not based on current evidence and should be questioned, as it is in the context of this thesis, in future work on the subject of state standards and K-12 textbook publishing.

Instead, there is another way in which the standards of states like California and Texas are influential outside of their state borders: The share force of the attention brought to national controversies like the one that unfolded in 2010. In its review of state standards for U.S. history the Fordham Institute, in addition to its criticism of the standards themselves, voiced its concerns about the effect of the controversy over Texas' U.S. history standards. Stating that the effort of the right-leaning SBOE would strengthen the resolve and counterattack of the left, the Institute feared that past progress towards a more balanced historical narrative would be lost in a "vicious cycle of accusations and politics at the expense of education."⁴⁶ Looking at the reactionary events of the past culture wars, one cannot dismiss the fact that the fear might be well founded. Legislation that has later been passed in both New Orleans and California, which bans all history textbooks "adjusted in accordance with the state of Texas revisionist guidelines," might be the early signs of such a cycle.⁴⁷

⁴⁴"Historians speak out against proposed Texas textbook changes," *the Washington Post*, March 17th 2010.

⁴⁵"Texas Textbooks' National Influence Is a Myth," *the Texas Tribune*, March 26, 2010.

⁴⁶ Stern, the Fordham Institute, p.16

⁴⁷ "CA legislators rebuke Texas textbooks," *Watchdog.org*, June 3, 2010.

Orleans Parish School Board stated that: "No history textbook shall be approved which has been adjusted in accordance with the state of Texas revisionist guidelines nor shall any science textbook be approved

Method

The main research question of the thesis, how U.S. history state standards treat the World War II-internment of Japanese Americans, is answered through a comparative textual analysis in chapters 2, 3 and 4. The treatment of the topic in each of the fifty-one state standards is evaluated against seven individual historical criteria points that deal with different aspects of the internment. Given the complex and interdisciplinary nature of the issues involved with the internment, the scholarly writings included in this thesis come from scholars that are prominent in different fields. While the evidence provided is from an array of different sources, the works of three scholars are the most prominent regarding this topic. Roger Daniels, a widely published historian on immigration history in general and Asian American history in particular, is the main contributor on the subject of the pre-war discrimination experienced by Japanese Americans. Greg Robinson, a political historian and writer of the bestselling work *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans*, is used for the decision making process behind the internment. The late Kermit L. Hall, one of America's most noted legal historians whose works include a number of award winning titles, is referenced to on the constitutional issues of the internment of the citizen Nisei. Finally, the report of the congressionally appointed Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians is used throughout the thesis.

In order to present compelling reasoning for *why* the historical criteria points are important aspects to cover, each chapter include a section of historiography that explores the criteria of the individual chapter. The historiographies are located in the first half of each chapter, with the analysis of the state standards following soon thereafter. Consequently, each criterion, and the justification for its inclusion, is juxtaposed with the findings of the conjoining analysis. The historiographies, predominantly drawn from the scholarly sources listed above, also help in educating the reader. Given the unfamiliarity of the topic, at least in its true form, to the general audience, and the Norwegian audience in particular, it would be difficult to present the reasoning adequately without such an inclusion. Furthermore, as the textbook analyses have exemplified, educational material for secondary education in the United States fails to present a number of aspects of the internment, which are vital in the

which presents creationism or intelligent design as science or scientific theories.” “Orleans Parish School Board votes to ban creationism,” *WWLTV*, December 19, 2012.

representation of the event among leading scholars. A historically accurate, and properly referenced, presentation of the event might therefore also be beneficial for readers that feel familiar with the topic.

The educational criteria are based on the previously mentioned 2011 report from the Fordham Institute. The institute, and its series of reports on state U.S. history standards, has provided the most comprehensive evaluations of state standards during the past two decades.⁴⁸ This background has also made the reports the most influential source of its kind, being referred to by educational organizations, politicians and scholars alike.⁴⁹ The reports have also been known to influence the state education boards whose work has been reviewed. In fact, shortly after the release of the 2011 report, the Florida Department of Education ordered a revision of its state U.S. history standards, which was graded a C by the institute, resulting in the “Next Generation Sunshine State Standards for Social Studies.”⁵⁰ The analyses of this thesis use the content measures of the Fordham report as its educational criteria. These criteria include how well the standards manage to identify specific events and offer explanations of their significance within the context of the internment, the clarity of a standard’s phrasing, the accuracy of its information and its call for contextual comprehension. The latter is especially important when dealing with a topic like the internment, whose coverage has been filled with controversy. As apposed to “presentism,” contextual comprehension calls for students to see the event with the ideas and perspectives of past participants in the event, rather than with the present knowledge and attitudes of the present.⁵¹

The fifty-one state U.S. history standards each offer distinct characteristics. The standards do not have a uniformed structure, a distinct level of detail or common nomenclature that they subscribe to. While all the fifty-one state standards were evaluated in relation to the analyses of chapters 2, 3 and 4, there are a general separation in all the chapters between *content specific standards* and *non-content specific standards*. The distinction between a standard that neglects to include a specific historical event, and a standard that does not list specific events altogether is an

⁴⁸ The Thomas B. Fordham Foundation/Institute has published evaluations of state standards in U.S. History in 1998, 2000, 2003 and 2011.

⁴⁹ Jobrack, p.82

⁵⁰ “Florida’s U.S. history standards get an upgrade,” *Tampa Bay Times*, August 15th 2011.

⁵¹ Stern, the Fordham Institute, p.8

important one to make. A total of fifteen state U.S. history standards are non-content specific. A natural effect of the educational criteria of identification of specific events and explanations of their significance is that the coverage provided in these non-content specific standards are unmistakably failed. Consequently, they are completely excluded from the analyses of chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Out of the thirty-six content-specific state standards, there are eleven that fail to cover both the internment and the population group of Japanese Americans directly. With the exception of brief commentary on a selected few in chapters 3 and 4, these eleven state standards are mostly excluded from the three chapters, as the failure of their coverage is, in a similar fashion to that of the non-content specific standards, unmistakable. Examples of the treatment found in such excluded standards are Idaho's failure to cover the World War II in its entirety and Louisiana's call for students to describe "the impact of the Great Depression and World War II on American society." The focus of the standards is too broad and wide-reaching, meaning one cannot expect that the internment of Japanese Americans is likely to be included in any educational instruction that follows the standards. In contrast, the state standard of Utah also fails to identify both the internment and Japanese American, but its call for students to "Identify the impact of World War II on minority groups in America," is better suited and therefore directly evaluated.

Chapter 2, 3 and 4 cover a total of seven historical criteria points. Chapter 2 evaluates the three-part reasoning behind the internment, namely racial prejudice, wartime hysteria and the failure of leadership. Chapter 3 examines the violations of civil rights that resulted from Executive Order 9066 and the Supreme Court cases of *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.* Chapter 4 interprets life in the internment camps and the military contributions of Japanese Americans. The different historical criteria points are listed in the introduction of each chapter. In the analysis section of chapters 2, 3 and 4 the historical criteria points of the given chapter are dealt with separately. In the same section, the different state standards are dealt with individually if their treatment of the chosen criteria point is unique, or in groups if the treatment is comparable to that of other state standards. The state standards are organized in an increased fashion, starting from the least successful to the most successful treatment of the criteria point at hand. The individual state standard, or one standard that is representative for a group, is presented in the immediate proximity of its evaluation. For

practical reasons, these presentations are often shortened versions of the standards that also highlight the content that is related to the evaluation.

Terminology

The title of the thesis is a reference to the term devised by the military to describe citizens affected by the internment. Unlike the Issei who, being barred from naturalization, fit the common nomenclature of “enemy alien,” the second-generation Nisei, also seen as “enemies,” were U.S. citizens and therefore not “alien.” “Non-alien enemies” subsequently became the chosen idiom for the government. Other terminology connected to the internment is also important to understand. Even though the official jargon used by both the government and the military included “evacuees” and “residents,” in reference to the interned Japanese Americans,⁵² such terms will not be used in the context of this thesis. The separation between Issei and Nisei is vital as the experiences of the two groups were different both in relation to restrictions and their barred legal rights. In combination with the term “internees,” such classification is both precise and in line with that of most scholarly writing on the subject. Referring to the interment itself, the terms of “evacuation” and “incarceration” are also widely used, the latter being preferred by the main advocacy group for Japanese Americans, the Japanese American Citizens League.⁵³ The preferred expressions for the government at the time of its implementation was “relocation,” “removal” and “evacuation.” Following the nomenclature of the chosen scholarly writing this thesis refers to the event as simply “the internment.” In a similar fashion, the “relocation centers” are called “internment camps” and “evacuation orders” as “internment orders.”⁵⁴ While there is evidence to support a continued reference to “concentration camps,” as was the original term used by both president Roosevelt and military officials, the connection to the Nazi death camps of Europe, whose treatment of inmates differed vastly to the American camps in question, is simply too strong to be appropriate.

Sources

⁵² The term “Japanese Americans” is used for the group of Issei, Nisei and further generations of people of Japanese ancestry living in the United States.

⁵³ “Power of Words Handbook: A Guide to Language about Japanese Americans in World War II,” *the Japanese American Citizens League* (2012).

⁵⁴ Robinson, Greg, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans*, Harvard University Press (2003): p. 261

The most important primary source material for this thesis is the individual state U.S. history standards. All of the fifty-one state standards, which include that of the District of Columbia, are produced by the state board of education of each state and were available through the websites of their individual educational agencies. The state U.S. history standards themselves range from documents of a couple of pages, typically that of non-content specific standards, to extensive collections of standards consisting of several pages for each historical period.⁵⁵ Since U.S. history in K-12 education is one of a series of subjects within the umbrella definition of social science, the state U.S. history standards are often a separate entity within the framework of social science standards. For practical reasons, the state standards are not listed in their entirety. Instead, the individual standards that are relevant to the analyses of chapters 2, 3 and 4 are all listed in their original form in Appendix 1, with additional web links to the complete documents.

There is a large amount of scholarly writing that is used as secondary sources. Most important is the writing of the three scholars of Daniels, Robinson and Hall, and the report of the CWRIC. In addition, a range of other history and legal scholars, educational studies, legal documents and newspaper reports has been used throughout the thesis. The three external reviews of U.S. history textbooks, referenced to earlier in this chapter, are further commented on in chapters 2, 3 and 4. As noted earlier, it is important to know that none of the reviews cover the complete width of the U.S. history textbook market, but they *do* provide valuable insight into how current high school textbooks deal with the controversial events. The findings of the reviews also add valuable commentary to the reasoning behind the inclusion of the historical criteria points.

⁵⁵ Representative examples of the two groups are the standards of Maine and California. The U.S. history standards of Maine are included in a document of 17 pages that engulf the entire series of subjects for K-12 connected to social science. <http://www.maine.gov/education/lres/pei/ss102207.pdf>

The U.S. history standards of California, on the other hand, are a separate document from the remaining social studies subjects, and provide a total of 68 pages to world and U.S. history. <http://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/ss/documents/histsocscistnd.pdf>

Chapter 2

Reasons Behind the Internment

PART I: HISTORIOGRAPHY

In 1980, the United States Congress appointed a nine-person commission to conduct an official government study on the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. After three years, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) presented its conclusions. In contrast to the government's official reasoning during the war, the commission found the internment *not* to be the result of "military necessity", but "racial prejudice, war hysteria and failure of political leadership"⁵⁶. These findings were very much in line with those of historical scholars at the time, and today. Any educational instruction of the event, including that for students of secondary school, fails in presenting the true reasons behind the internment if this three-part conclusion is not properly explained.

Historical Context of Anti-Japanese American Sentiment

The Japanese-American population experienced racial prejudice for nearly half a century before the first relocation order went out in 1942. There is a long and well-documented history of discrimination against Asian immigrants in general and Japanese immigrants in particular on the American West Coast. Japanese immigration to the United States did not reach considerable numbers until the turn of the 20th century. The Chinese immigrants were far more numerous, at the census of 1870, showing 63,000 Chinese and less than 3,000 Japanese.⁵⁷ The former were the target of racist attacks and discriminatory behavior, which mirrored American behavior towards Japanese immigrants some thirty years later. That immigrants from Asia could not become naturalized citizens, unlike their white and black counterparts, is an example of measures that were put in place with the arrival of Chinese immigrants.⁵⁸ As far as Asian immigrants were concerned, until the 1940s the path to citizenship was only

⁵⁶ Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied*, Washington D.C., Government Printing Office (1982).

⁵⁷ These numbers exclude the Issei of the Hawaiian Islands given the status of Hawaii as an independent monarchy until 1893.

⁵⁸ Daniels, Roger, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882*, Hill and Wang (2004): p.16.

guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, that made the U.S.-born children of Asian immigrants U.S. citizens.⁵⁹ By 1915, the Japanese-American population of the United States had reached 100,000 persons.

Economic concerns were at the heart of the resentment towards both Chinese and Japanese immigrants on the American West Coast. For the Chinese immigrants, it was the competition for low income and unskilled jobs that fueled much of the demonstrations of the middle and late 19th century. Two of the political implications of such hostility were the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, barring working-class Chinese nationals from immigrating to the United States, and the creation of segregated California schools for pupils of “Chinese and Mongolian descent”.⁶⁰ When measures were introduced to force Japanese American children attend the latter schools, they received international diplomatic attention. Japan, unlike China a powerful nation in the first decade of the 1900s, wielded enough influence in Washington that President Theodore Roosevelt himself intervened to deal with the anti-Japanese actions. In the California school debate of 1906, the president met with California congressmen and San Francisco city officials and convinced them to withdraw the segregation order.⁶¹ Theodore Roosevelt also played an intricate role in negotiating the terms of what has been named the Gentleman’s Agreement of 1907, through which Japan agreed to stop issuing passports to Japanese laborers heading to the United States if the United States retained from putting formal restrictions on Japanese immigration.⁶²

Initially, the complaints regarding Japanese immigrants were very similar to those presented against their Chinese counterparts two decades earlier. In fact, a few labor leaders that had been instrumental to the anti-Chinese campaigns also pioneered the work towards the Japanese. However, as the numbers of Japanese Americans grew and their foothold increased, the ownership of agricultural land became the central complaint. By 1920, more than a decade after the San Francisco School Board incident, controversy broke out as the share of California’s agricultural harvest that was owned

⁵⁹ Daniels, Roger, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, Hill and Wang (2nd edition 2004): p.11-12.

⁶⁰ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.12.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.16.

⁶² Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door*, p.44.

and controlled by Japanese immigrants reached 10%.⁶³ The California legislature passed land acts denying, “aliens ineligible to citizenship,” meaning persons of Asian ethnicity born in Asia, the right to own agricultural land. The land acts were largely ineffective, as first generation Issei would easily evade the law by owning the land through a separate company or putting it in the name of their Nisei children.⁶⁴ Consequently, the issue of agricultural land ownership continued to be a source of conflict in the following decades and eventually became a major source of pro-relocation sentiment following the Pearl Harbor attacks in 1941.⁶⁵

Within the first decade of the first Issei arriving on the American West Coast, a number of newspapers started to run sensationalist stories filled with racially charged language against Japanese Americans. This was especially the case for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which published a series of anti-Japanese articles in the spring of 1900. Titles included such wording as “The Yellow Peril – How Japanese Crowd out the White Race.”⁶⁶ The media tapped into existing xenophobic fears in parts of the American public and furthermore exaggerated, validated and spread those fears to an even larger audience. The stereotypical Japanese, commonly referred to on the West Coast, was presented to a national mainstream audience through popular fictional writing. One example is the work of the San Francisco based writer Wallace Irwin. His popular “Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy,” which was serialized in *Collier’s Magazine* in 1907 (last edition in 1923), and the bestselling “Seed of the Sun” (1921) both presented a national audience to the untrustworthy “Jap.”⁶⁷ In “Letters of a Japanese

⁶³ Even though the Issei only controlled 1% of the actual land, their labor-intensive agricultural culture gave ten times the crops as that of the average California farmland. Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.10-13.

⁶⁴ The issue of economic greed and competition, in relation to the anti-Japanese sentiments on the West Coast, was brought to the attention of President Roosevelt in early 1942. Adamic, Louis, *Dinner at the White House*, New York: Harper & Brothers (1946): p.41.

⁶⁵ The California Alien Land Law of 1913 was succeeded by the California Alien Land Law of 1920. The 1920-law was further amended in 1923 and upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1923. Though not as effective in barring Issei ownership of land as it was set up to be, the law was not repealed until 1952 after the Supreme Court decision in *Sei Fujii v. California* found the law to be a violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Tsu, Cecilia M., *Garden of the World: Asian Immigrants and the Making of Agriculture in California’s Santa Clara Valley*, Oxford University Press (2013): p.139.

⁶⁶ Daniels, Roger, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California, and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion*, University of California Press (1962): p.25.

⁶⁷ “Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy” appeared in a wide range of publications, ranging from *the New York Times* to *Good Housekeeping*, making the series familiar to a large group of American readers. Hata, Donald Teruo, *Japanese Americans and World War II: Mass Removal, Imprisonment and Redress*, Harlan Davidson Inc (4th edition 2011): p.8.

Schoolboy,” Irwin writes about the fictional Hashimura Togo. Togo has large buckteeth, is always smiling and is outwardly polite. Behind this facade however, he is sneaky and secretly plans for great things for himself and his own race. Historians often use Irwin’s writing and subsequent success as a barometer of 19th century prejudice against Japanese immigrants. Two decades after the last story of Togo, the stereotypical image that Irwin had helped to promote was more prevalent in American minds than ever.⁶⁸

The number of Japanese immigrants continued to rise alongside the turmoil of the early 1900s. From its humble beginnings of only 3,000 in 1890, the number increased to 24,000 by 1900, 72,000 by 1910, 110,000 by 1920 and 139,000 by 1930. Even though a considerable number of Issei returned to Japan in the 1930s, the rapid growth of the Nisei generation kept the numbers relatively stable. In fact, on the eve of the attack on Pearl Harbor as many as two-thirds of the ethnic Japanese population in the U.S. were Nisei.⁶⁹ Even though these figures constituted a mere 2,1% of California’s population, the Japanese-American community was highly concentrated and therefore visible and vulnerable to criticism, hate and attacks. The history of Japanese immigration to the United States was filled with controversies and conflicts even before World War II. Since a number of these played out on the international arena, George F. Kennan has described the period as “the long and unhappy story” of U.S. Japanese relations. This story needs to be understood, if one seeks to unveil the full context of Executive Order 9066 and the internment.⁷⁰

Government Evaluations of Japanese Americans, 1936-1941

President Franklin D. Roosevelt is known to have looked at the Japanese American population as a potential security threat as early as 1936. He personally suggested to military officials that lists should be made of Japanese Americans in Hawaii that were in contact with Japanese Naval vessels, which frequented the islands’ main harbors. Unknown to Roosevelt, the military had already started work on similar measures. These measures became the basis of the military’s ABC-list, which identified leadership figures of the Japanese American community on both Hawaii and the West Coast. The

⁶⁸ Colleen Lye, *America’s Asia: Racial Form and American Literature, 1893-1945*, Princeton University Press (2004): p.117-118.

⁶⁹ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.16.

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

belief was that interning this group in the case of war would coax the Japanese-American communities, making them easier to manage and control.⁷¹

Roosevelt kept returning to the issue of the Japanese-American population in general, and the one situated in Hawaii in particular, throughout the prewar years. By 1940, Japanese Americans constituted nearly one third of the total population of the Hawaiian Islands. Around the same time, the White House commissioned a large quantity of reports and investigations, from different government and military agencies, evaluating the loyalty of and potential threat posed by the Nisei and Issei. Part of this effort was the re-opening of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Honolulu office in the summer of 1939. After a six-year hiatus, the office was given the task of coordinating anti-espionage and anti-sabotage activities with the intelligence branch of the army, named G2. They produced a number of reports that rebutted the findings of earlier reports, most notably that of the Joint Planning Commission (JPC).⁷² The Japanese American population, whom the JPC had branded as "massively disloyal," was seen as neither a potential threat for espionage nor sabotage. In fact, after a break-in at the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu, FBI agents reported that the Nisei generation was seen as "so overwhelmingly pro-American that the Japanese suspected them as potential American agents".⁷³

As relations to Japan continued to deteriorate over the summer of 1941 and in the following months, Roosevelt continued to pay a great deal of attention to the Japanese communities on Hawaii and the American mainland. The president decided to establish his own small team of confidential agents, and commissioned John Franklin Carter to lead the work of preparing a study on the "Japanese situation" in Hawaii and the West Coast. Carter's group of agents, seen as the forerunner to the Central Intelligence Agency, were journalists and businessmen who gathered intelligence on a part-time basis. Their report reached Roosevelt on November 7th, a mere month before the attack on Pearl Harbor. Its findings went further than the already mentioned FBI-report had done a year before in rebutting the image of an alien enemy community

⁷¹ CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.54.

⁷² The Joint Planning Commission was the staff of the Joint Board, the predecessor of today's Joint Chiefs of Staff. The FBI did not mention the commission's report by name, but most of its findings were listed and rebutted. Robinson (2003): p.62.

⁷³ Documents found during the break in revealed how consular officials mistrusted Issei and Nisei alike, referring to them as 'cultural traitors' who could not be trusted with important matters. Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.25-26.

within the U.S. Commenting that the Japanese population were “content with the American way of life,” Carter stated that the Nisei were “universally estimated from 90-98% loyal to the United States... (and) pathetically eager to show this loyalty.”⁷⁴ The report concluded that there was “no evidence which would indicate that there (was) a danger of widespread anti-American activities among this population group.” Furthermore, Carter’s agents reported of numerous instances of anti-Japanese protests and harassment of Issei and Nisei by American civilians. Referring to those observations, the report prudently warned that “the Japanese are in more danger from the whites than the other way around.”⁷⁵

A couple of weeks after Carter’s report, the FBI sent a new report concerning their examination of espionage from agents and consular officials sent from Japan. In it, the bureau upheld its previous findings about the Issei and Nisei. It even told of intercepted messages of insistence from a Japanese consulate on being informed of Nisei who booked passage to Japan, in case they were *American* agents.⁷⁶ The conclusions of Carter and the FBI were consistent with yet another report on the Japanese Americans, this one from the G2 army intelligence. Presented to the president three months prior to Carter’s report, it found that “both generations are loyal and pose no threat to the U.S.”⁷⁷

Immediate Consequences of the Attacks on Pearl Harbor

On the eve of the infamous December 7th attacks on the naval base of Pearl Harbor, there was no saying what would happen to the Japanese American population in the case of war between the U.S. and Japan. As shown above, the most recent studies and reports coming in to the White House were in agreement on the high loyalty of both Issei and Nisei and the minimal threat they represented to the country. Everyone did not support such conclusions, however. Military officials, in particular, held on to the belief that Japanese of both generations were “massively disloyal,” as the military’s own JPC-report had concluded a few years earlier. The notion that Japanese immigrants, foreign-born or naturalized, were unable to become true Americans was widespread. Political historian Greg Robinson argues that Roosevelt himself held this belief, stating that the

⁷⁴ Robinson (2003): p.67.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.66.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.60.

⁷⁷ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.25.

president had an “implacable belief that Japanese Americans, Issei and Nisei alike, were dangerous and foreign...[and ultimately] adjuncts of Japan”⁷⁸

Consequently, a number of military leaders had pushed for relocation as the preferred plan of action towards the Japanese population. While the plans for incarcerating Japanese-American leadership figures had been approved by Roosevelt years before, the fate of the rest of the Japanese population was unclear. Even the head of the West Coast Defense Command, General DeWitt, who became one of the biggest proponents of mass-internment after the attack on Pearl Harbor, showed serious hesitation on the issue. The prevailing thought among military and government officials alike was that the Nisei, being U.S.-born and therefore naturalized citizens, could not be forcibly removed due to “constitutional issues.”⁷⁹ The devastating, surprise attack on the Hawaiian naval base at Pearl Harbor changed this perspective however. The December 7th attack were a great shock to the whole country. The population was angry and the public’s calls for scapegoats, which included criticism of the military, were only seconded by the demands for revenge against the Empire of Japan. The changing attitude of General Dewitt and other military leaders on the question of interning the citizen Nisei has often been contributed to an unwillingness to face the disgrace that unprepared military commanders of Pearl Harbor had to withstand. In case of sabotage or an attack from within, an en masse interment would exonerate any potential blame on the leaders in charge of West Coast defense.⁸⁰

In the days after Pearl Harbor a number of immediate measures were taken towards the Japanese population. First, Japanese leaders and individuals with observable contact with the Japanese embassy or consulates, most of whom were listed on the military’s ABC-list, were immediately interned.⁸¹ Second, the borders were closed for all enemy aliens and “all persons of Japanese ancestry, whether citizen or alien,” which in itself was a breach of the Nisei’s rights as citizens. Third, and arguably the immediate measure that affected the largest number of people, the bank accounts of all Japanese aliens were frozen. This last measure led to dire conditions for many Issei, and consequently their Nisei children. Cut off from savings and income, the situation

⁷⁸ Robinson (2003): p.72.

⁷⁹ For more on the issues of civil liberties and the internment see Chapter 3.

⁸⁰ Robinson (2003): p.85.

⁸¹ This also included Italian and German enemy aliens as Germany and Italy declared war against the United States on December 8th 1941.

became so difficult that the Justice Department eventually agreed to set an allowance of \$100 per person each month, intended to provide for living expenses.⁸²

Hysteria in the West Coast Press

There has been extensive research and analysis done regarding the press coverage from December 7, 1941, until the announcement of the relocation order on February 19, the following year. There is much agreement among historians that the large number of erroneous reports from respected news outlets is typical of the chaotic and hysterical environment of war. The demonization of the enemy is just as typical.⁸³ Additionally, the inclusion of a group of ones own citizens, recall the memories of World War I and the treatment of German Americans. The astounding nature of the attack on Pearl Harbor had tremendous influence on the American psyche. Coming without a warning or declaration of war, the attacks bolstered the much proclaimed, stereotypical notion of the sneaky nature of the Japanese. The fact that a special Japanese envoy had been participating in negotiations in Washington at the time of the attack seemed to confirm that deception and dishonesty were involved. The influential Los Angeles Times proclaimed on December 8, that “treachery and double dealings are major Japanese weapons,” and that California was a “zone of danger” as the state had “thousands of Japanese,” residents.⁸⁴ Drawing parallels between the actions and behavior of the Japanese Empire and the potential behavior of the Issei and Nisei became more and more common, especially in the West Coast media. The previously mentioned article series in the San Francisco Chronicle in 1910 was mild compared to the barrage of derogatory, and almost exclusively erroneous, news stories directed at Japanese Americans in the six months following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

One week after the attack, after a brief inspection of the damage at Pearl Harbor, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox reported to the president on his return to Washington. Repeating his findings to the press a day later, he stated that he thought “the most effective fifth column work of the entire war was done in Hawaii with the

⁸² Even though many were affected by these and later measures, the circumstances they faced before Executive Order 9066 was unquestionably livable. Robinson theorizes that if the internal security of the country had been left to the internal security forces, such as the FBI, most Japanese Americans would have coped through the war years. Robinson (2003): p.85.

⁸³ The West Coast Press in particular deferred from using “Japanese” and instead preferred the derogatory terms of ‘Japs’, ‘Nips’, ‘mad dogs’ and ‘yellow vermin.’ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.29.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.28.

possible exception of Norway.” The president is believed to have been skeptical about these conclusions realizing Knox’s personal interest in placing the blame away from the navy itself. In addition, in conversations the president had with J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI leader had discounted Knox’s reasoning. The press, however, ran wild.⁸⁵ An array of stories of espionage and planned sabotage from the “Japs that were running around loose” followed in the nations newspapers. Once again the West Coast media were particularly active, often linking erroneous reports on sightings of Japanese navy vessels with erroneous reports on how Japanese American collaborators on the Pacific Coast were aiding them.⁸⁶ Not a single account of sabotage or espionage by Japanese Americans is proven to have found place during the war years. In spite of this, Secretary Knox’s statements were only one example of a long line of statements and reports from military officials and other sources that the press broadcasted to the public.⁸⁷ Combined with the writings of nationally recognized, and highly influential, columnists such as Walter Lippman and Harry McLeMure, the anti-Japanese sentiments reached new heights by the middle of January 1942.

Politicians Jump on the Anti-Japanese Bandwagon

President Roosevelt had appointed Supreme Justice Owen Roberts to lead a commission of inquiry into the attack at Pearl Harbor. In late January 1942, the press corps received its findings. Although vague and ambiguous in its language, the report included a brief comment that to an outsider sent a clear message, stating that prior to the Pearl Harbor attack espionage had been carried out by “some that were Japanese consular agents and others that were persons having no open relations with the Japanese Foreign Service.” The report, and the journalists who publicized it, failed to point out that the latter group of “persons” were white spies that had been hired by Japanese officials, resulting in the blame being placed on the long-term-resident Issei and citizen Nisei. The press saw the comment as the ultimate proof of treachery. By linking the terms “enemy spies” with “enemy aliens,” the sensationalist press-coverage gave the Roberts report tremendous influence on both the American public and government officials. Political leaders from

⁸⁵ Robinson (2003): p.77.

⁸⁶ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.29.

⁸⁷ Report from the Navy Office of Public Relations included in the *Inquirer* on January 26th 1942 was perfectly timed from an anti-Japanese perspective, stating that “Japanese Fifth Columnists” around Pearl Harbor had deliberately driven their cars and jammed the roads on December 7th to hinder military traffic. The report was later discredited. Robinson (2003): p.96.

California to the East Coast called for action towards not only the so called “enemy aliens” of Japanese origin, but also the U.S.-born Nisei.⁸⁸

The establishment of military zones and subsequent relocation of “enemy aliens” had been discussed publicly in the press several weeks prior to the publication of the Roberts report. After its publication, political heavyweights on the West Coast like California Governor Culbert Olson and California’s Attorney General Earl Warren both came out in support of “evacuation of the Japanese.”⁸⁹ General DeWitt, who had been hesitant on the primary mode of action towards the Nisei, also joined the chorus. The report had convinced him that “the Japanese,” had to be relocated. DeWitt presented a catch 22-scenario where the absence of sabotage was proof that “control is being exercised” and that the American people were led to feel a false sense of security before a new attack.⁹⁰ Expressing attitudes similar to those of the anti-Japanese nativist movement, DeWitt now declared that a U.S.-born Japanese American “grows up to be a Japanese, not an American.” This was inevitable, he continued, because with this “enemy race,” “the racial strains are undiluted.”⁹¹ Many Americans subscribed to such reasoning by February of 1942 with newspapers standing in line to support “immediate removal of the Japanese,” meaning aliens and citizens alike.⁹² Despite the continued stream of official studies concluding that “mass evacuation (was) unnecessary,” President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, on February 19, 1942. The order effectively authorized the internment of “any or all persons” in the name of “successful prosecution of the war,” later changed to “military necessity.”⁹³

The Argument of Military Necessity

Military necessity was the government’s official reasoning for interning the Japanese-American population away from the American West Coast. In later years a broad

⁸⁸ Robinson (2003): p.95.

⁸⁹ DeWitt emerged as one of the biggest defenders of the internment in the following years, commenting famously that “a Jap’s a Jap” when questioned on the loyalty tests of Japanese Americans in 1943. Ibid, p.183.

⁹⁰ Daniels, Roger, *Concentration Camps North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada During World War II*, Krieger Publishing Company (1993): p.49.

⁹¹ Muller, Eric L., *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War II*, University of North Carolina Press (2007): p.17.

⁹² Gordon, Linda, *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*, W. W. Norton & Company (2008): p.62. And Robinson (2003): p.96.

⁹³ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.46.

consensus has been reached that this is false. Besides the actual reasoning, outlined by the 1983-report of the Congressional commission CWRIC, one should note the factual basis for *why* military necessity is an erroneous explanation in itself. First is the issue of the enemy aliens of Italy and Germany. If Issei and Nisei posed a danger because of their ties to the enemy nation of Japan, that same logic could be used about the aliens from the other two Axis Nations and their descendants. No U.S. citizens of Italian or German ancestry were interned during the war and the provisions for individual hearings and levels of due process seen under Executive Order 9066 were only offered to aliens from the two nations, while barred to Issei and Nisei. Despite the fact that the German navy was far closer to the West Coast, on a number of occasions, than what any Japanese vessel ever was, it was the perceived danger of Japanese American collaborators that was seen as a major threat. Furthermore, on the East Coast, where a number of u-boat sinkings had taken place, there were pro-nazi and pro-fascist organizations such as the German Bund already established long before the declarations of war in 1941.⁹⁴ General DeWitt did request approval for a mass removal of Italian and German aliens from the West Coast, but Roosevelt turned him down.⁹⁵ In the state of California, where the majority of the interned Japanese Americans came from, the number of Italian aliens surpassed that of resident Issei.⁹⁶ German and Italian aliens in the U.S. outnumbered that of Japanese aliens by four and eight times respectively. Their total numbers of internees, on the other hand, were small and the percentage of their populations interned minimal. Approximately 11,000 German aliens were detained and relocated, but this number also include voluntary internees, meaning family members who voluntarily joined the relocation, and aliens paroled or released after only short periods of time. The most common measure was restrictions on movement, possessions and occupations, though such restrictions were withdrawn already in 1943 for Italian aliens, with the September 8th armistice of Italy.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Robinson (2003): p. 112.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p.116.

⁹⁶ Out of an estimated 695.000 Italian aliens and 350.000 German aliens only 2.500 and 11.000 were interned. Such numbers include voluntary internees, meaning family members and aliens paroled or released after only short periods. Ibid, p.112.

⁹⁷ For more on the experience of Italian and German aliens see: Krammer, Arnold, *Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (1997) and Di Stasi, Lawrence, *Una Storia Segreta: The Secret History of Italian American Evacuation and Internment during World War II*, Heyday Books (2001).

The second flaw in the claim for military necessity of the internment is the situation in Hawaii. Even though the Japanese Americans on the Hawaiian Islands counted 150,000 in 1941 only 1,500 were interned, a mere 1% compared to the en masse internment in the West Coast States. While the Issei and Nisei in California in 1941 accounted for 2% of the state's population, the same statistic for Hawaii was more than 30%. Deemed too important for both the civilian and military economy of the islands, 99% of the Hawaiian Japanese Americans escaped the fate of their West Coast counterparts. There was no shortage of high-powered military officials, such as Secretary Knox, who called for mass internment also in Hawaii, but only to be turned down.⁹⁸

Third, and without question the biggest blow to the claim of military necessity, is the well-documented loyalty of Japanese Americans. As shown earlier in this chapter, there were a large number of official government reports and studies praising the loyalty of both Nisei and Issei, while also discounting the potential security threat posed by the groups. Such findings reached the White House, but never received any publicity in the press. Sensationalist and erroneous reports, most of which were rebutted by government agencies such as the FBI within days of their publication, did however. The conclusions reached by the government commission in 1982 commented on the specific issue, stating that "had the appropriate high authority (made) a declaration of the government's faith in the loyalty of the Nisei, there is reason to believe that the West Coast racists and superpatriots would at least have had harder going to achieve their objective of mass exclusion."⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.47-48.

⁹⁹ Robinson (2003): p.122.

PART II: ANALYSIS OF STATE U.S. HISTORY STANDARDS

If teachers and students across America are to understand the true history of the Japanese internment, it is important that they get enticed to explore the issue in depth. While an exhaustive list of issues and events has no place inside the framework of a state standard, there are a number of issues that do. Such issues can attract the attention of its audience, being inside the classroom or a publishing house, and lead that audience on the path of further examination and enlightenment. When looking at the reasons behind the internment, the conclusions and categorization of the CWRIC-commission serve as a concise and excellent summary. Its findings that the internment was *not* the result of military necessity, but “racial prejudice, war hysteria and failure of political leadership” is an indispensable inclusion in any state standard. How the state U.S. history standards include these three criteria points will be the focus of analysis in the remaining section of this chapter.

An examination into the aspect of “racial prejudice” has the potential not only to uncover the racial hatred aimed at the Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor, but the extensive history of anti-Japanese sentiment preceding the event by half a century. Similarly, exploring the “wartime hysteria” can expose the vast amount of falsified reports and erroneous press coverage that filled its stories with derogatory language and discriminatory stereotypes about the Japanese-American population. Finally, the enticement to analyze the “lack of leadership” could reveal how the decision for internment was made even though evidence for its redundancy and reports on Japanese-American loyalty was steadily available.

As one can see from the historiography presented in this chapter, the three criteria points are clearly intertwined. The racial prejudice of some individual reporters, for instance, surely influenced, if not motivated, their writings on the “enemy” Issei and Nisei. Similarly, the wartime hysteria of the West Coast in the months following Pearl Harbor arguably contributed to the heightened sense of racial prejudice and anti-Japanese sentiments. Knowing this, the following textual comparative analysis will, for contextual and structural reasons, evaluate the treatment of the three criteria points individually.

There are a total of twenty-eight state standards that point to one or more issues connected to the internment. The majority of the standards do *not* include coverage of any issues bordering the three. For example, of the twenty-eight, six refer only to the “Japanese internment” or “internment of Japanese” as a single reference point, and three

do not even mention the words internment, relocation or evacuation at all, referring instead to the “issues” and “penalties of war” suffered by “Japanese citizens” and “the Japanese.”¹⁰⁰ Such phraseology is too vague for the standards to be deemed adequate in covering the three historical criteria points in question, given the educational criteria of identifying and explaining the significance of the specific event. The standards that are analyzed here are the twelve standards that directly or indirectly refer to the internment in a way that either promote or confuse the three criteria points.

The Treatment of “Racial Prejudice” in State U.S. History Standards

Possibly the most under communicated side to the Japanese internment is the historical legacy of racial prejudice and discrimination towards Japanese immigrants, preceding the internment by half a century and playing a decisive role in the political climate leading up to Executive Order 9066. Although the order was not specific as to race or ethnic background and both Italian and German aliens were among the internees resulting from the order, the circumstances and treatment of the three population groups were very different. Much of the racial prejudice connected to the topic is lost if one presents the issue as the internment of the ethnic groups from three enemy nations of America, as opposed to a separate examination of the internment of the Japanese Americans. The constitutional implications connected to the internment of the approximately 80,000¹⁰¹ citizen Nisei were unparalleled, as was the en masse internment of the alien Issei.¹⁰² A failure to distinguish the effects of Executive Order 9066 on the Japanese Americans, from that of the remaining two population groups, would leave students and teachers at a greater risk of missing the true facts of this historical event.

¹⁰⁰ Vermont and West Virginia are the two states in question. For the analysis of the two standards see Chapter 3.

¹⁰¹ Okihiro, Gary Y. *The Columbia Guide to Asian American History*, Columbia University Press (2005): p.104.

¹⁰² The violations of Nisei’s civil rights that resulted from the internment are dealt with in depth in Chapter 4.

Failure of Identification

Arizona

PO 2. *Describe the impact of American involvement in World War II:
d. Japanese, German, and Italian internments and POW camps*

Georgia

U.S. History 19b: *Explain the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the internment of Japanese- Americans, German-Americans, and Italian-Americans.*

Texas

Standard 7D: *analyze major issues of World War II, including...the internment of German, Italian, and Japanese Americans and Executive Order 9066*

Six of the state standards fail to make a differentiation between the three ethnic groups. Texas, Arizona and Georgia are the most obvious, asking students to examine the “internment of Italian, German and Japanese Americans”. By doing so, both the internment of the three population groups and the legal status of all the internees are presented as equal. Only a teacher that is competent within the field or a textbook addressing the issue would be likely to restore balance to this assertion. Knowing how the textbooks reviewed in chapter 1 failed to explain the different circumstances of the three population groups, in addition to the low level of historical competence that exists with a large part of U.S. history teachers, such a safety net is inadequate.¹⁰³

The textbook reviews referenced to in chapter 1 suggest that the textbooks improved on their treatment of the internment as time went by. The newer textbooks, in other words, far surpassed their older counterparts. This is a tendency that has also been visible regarding the treatment of other minority history in U.S. history textbooks.¹⁰⁴ In the case of state U.S. history standards, on the other hand, time does not always equal increased treatment and accuracy. Possibly the best example of this are the 1998-version of the state standard of Texas, the 2009 suggestion of the state’s Review Committee and the final 2010 standard, listed above. While the 1998-version included only a basic reference to the event, the revised suggestion of the Review Committee, comprised of professional historians appointed by the State Board of Education, was more accurate,

¹⁰³ “Of the six textbooks analyzed, only one text includes information on American citizens of German and Italian ancestry when President Roosevelt signed the order. However, this description is very brief: ‘Officials told foreign-born Italians and Germans to move away from the coast, but within a few months they canceled those orders.’” Ogawa, p.41.

¹⁰⁴ Christian-Smith, p.80-81.

helping students to uncover the racial prejudice at the heart of the internment by specifically distinguishing between the interned Japanese Americans and restrictions placed on other enemy aliens. This version was discarded, however, with the board members themselves, a minority of which had any historical background, putting together the current standard that is both misleading and factually inaccurate.¹⁰⁵

New Mexico

Benchmark 1-A 3: *Analyze the role and impact of New Mexico and New Mexicans in World War II (e.g., Navajo code talkers, New Mexico national guard, internment camps...)*

The standards of New Mexico, Maryland and Oklahoma are set up in ways that could easily lead to the same historical distortion. New Mexico's standard asks students to "analyze the impact of New Mexico" in World War II, listing "internment camps" as one out of five examples.¹⁰⁶ The "internment camps" of New Mexico refers to Camp Santa Fe, Fort Stanton and Lordsburg. Unlike the WRA's "relocation centers", the three New Mexico camps were run by the Justice Department and patrolled not by U.S. army soldiers, but border patrol agents.¹⁰⁷ Students asked to "analyze the role and impact" of the three camps would find camps holding Japanese-American internees in addition to German and Italian enemy aliens.¹⁰⁸ As this is the standard's only reference to the internment, the historical distortion is evident. Like the standards of Texas, Arizona and Georgia, which list the three population groups together, the examination of Camp Santa Fe would not present students with an adequate account of the Japanese-American internment.

¹⁰⁵ 1998-version of the U.S. history standard of Texas: "Analyze major issues of World War II, such as fighting the war on multiple fronts, the internment of Japanese Americans, the Holocaust, the battle of Midway, the invasion of Normandy, and the development of and Harry Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb."

Review Committee's Suggestion in 2009: "Analyze major issues of World War II, including the Holocaust; the internment of Japanese Americans and the regulation of some foreign nationals; and the development of and Harry Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb" Erikson, p.109

¹⁰⁶ It is important to remember the influence of state U.S. history standards discussed in chapter 1. Even though the analyses of chapters 2, 3 and 4 speak of how "students" would understand a standard, its audience is broader than that as both teachers and textbook publishers are known to use state standards for instruction on what students are expected to learn.

¹⁰⁷ Hata, p.57.

¹⁰⁸ Rogers, Everett M. and Nancy R. Bartlit, *Silent Voices of World War II: When Sons of the Land of Enchantment Met Sons of the Land of the Rising Sun*, Sunstone Press (2005): p.156.

Oklahoma

Content Standard 4B: *Evaluate the mobilization for war as stated in President Roosevelt's Day Which Will Live in Infamy speech including the role of women and minorities in the war effort, rationing, the internment of Japanese Americans and the Korematsu v. United States decision, and the internment of Americans of German and Italian descent.*

Though attempting to succeed where the standards above fail, Oklahoma suffers the same fate. The attempt to differentiate “Japanese Americans” from “Americans of German and Italian descent,” is not successful. If anything, the differentiation suggests that the latter two were Americans with German and Italian lineage. In actuality, the two population groups were German and Italian nationals, most but not all with long-term-residency in the United States. The separation fails to clarify both the composition and legal status of the three groups and is therefore of no factual value. The standard's added effort to set apart the treatment of the population groups is equally confusing, simply listing “the internment of...” in relation to all three groups. There is a need for a clear and concise differentiation between the three, but Oklahoma is unsuccessful in doing so.

Maryland

Objective 3D: *Evaluate the decision of the government to relocate American citizens and aliens to internment camps during the war*

Maryland similarly combines the enemy aliens from the three axis nations. Without specification, its standard indiscriminately lists “American citizens and aliens.” The incorporation of “citizens” is positive, but loses most of its value in the confusion over what population group those citizens came from. Consequently, further examination into what citizens were interned would be necessary to lead to the Nisei. Also, much like that of New Mexico, Maryland's standard fails to distinguish between the en masse internment of Issei and the German and Italian aliens who, to a much lesser extent, suffered the same fate.

California and District of Columbia

Standard 11.7.5: *Discuss the constitutional issues and impact of events on the U.S. home front, including the internment of Japanese Americans (e.g., Fred Korematsu v. United States of America) and the restrictions on German and Italian resident aliens;*

Florida

SS.912.A.6.4: *Examine efforts to expand or contract rights for various populations during World War II. Examples: Examples may include, but are not limited to, women, African Americans, German Americans, Japanese Americans and their internment, Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, Italian Americans.*

Only three state standards deserve praise for their differentiation among the population groups in question. Appropriately, with its historical ties to the subject at hand, California leads the way among these standards. In fact so much so, that the District of Columbia adopted its internment standard, as one of many standards from the Golden State, for their own use in 2006. The two standards call for students to discuss “the internment of Japanese Americans...and the restrictions on German and Italian resident aliens.” This separation makes a clear distinction among the conditions faced by the different population groups. The specification of “resident aliens” clearly points to the fact that all the internees of the two European nations were non-U.S. Citizens. The two standards do not, however, highlight any of the reasons behind the internment.

The state standard of Florida also includes an attempt to distinguish the different population groups affected by Executive Order 9066. While encouraging students to “examine efforts to expand or contract rights,” Italian and German Americans are listed along with five other minority groups, one of which is Japanese Americans. The addition of “and their internment” to the reference of Japanese Americans is a clear attempt at separating the population group from the six others. Unfortunately, no distinction is made in the nomenclature of the three groups to identify the status of citizenship among their members. Such a distinction would further clarify the circumstances. The reference to the internment with and contracted rights on the other, however, is a successful addition that would aid any user of the standard.

Successful Treatment

Kansas

7K: The student examines the complexity of race and ethnic relations (e.g., Zoot Suit Riots, Japanese internment camps, American reaction to atrocities of Holocaust and unwillingness to accept Jewish refugees).

Of the standards mentioned so far, even the ones receiving praise not been successful in specifically referring to racial prejudice as one of the reasons behind the internment. Although the U.S. history standard of Kansas offer far from a comprehensive coverage, which its wholesale categorization of “Japanese internment” is the main reason for, the standard is the most successful of the fifty-one state standards in enticing its readers to directly explore the criteria point of racial prejudice. “Japanese internment camps” is listed as one of four examples for examination within the issue of “complexity of race and ethnic relations.” As a result, exploration of the racial and ethnic dimension of the internment might seem inescapable with the Kansas standard. Paired with adequate aids, this is probably true. The danger, however, is that the phrasing of the standard puts it at the mercy of the quality of the chosen textbook or the level of competence, on the specific issue, of the individual teachers. A textbook that fails to present the history of prewar discrimination and anti-Japanese sentiment or the true reasons behind the internment, which the majority of textbooks reviewed in Chapter 1 do, could easily leave teachers and students to believe that the “complexity” refers to other issues. One such erroneous conclusion could be the difficulties of having enemy aliens and “non-alien enemies” as part of a country’s population during wartime.

The Treatment of “Wartime Hysteria” in State U.S. History Standards

Hawaii

Benchmark SS.10.3.17: *Analyze the effects of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, including the internment of Japanese Americans.*

Sample Performance Assessment: *The student...examines how the bombing of Pearl Harbor led to America's entry into WWII and the internment of Japanese Americans.*

Connecticut

1.1.8: (Students) *Analyze the influence of nationalism on American society (e.g. wartime conservation programs, immigration policies, Japanese-American internment).*

The criteria point of wartime hysteria is not directly mentioned in any of the standards. While there is no question that a thorough examination into the racial prejudice of the period could eventually lead to this criteria point, it demands attention in itself. Nearest to doing so are the standards of Hawaii and Connecticut. In both its main standard point and its connected “Sample Performance Assessment,” Hawaii’s standard makes references to the internment as the direct result of the “bombing of Pearl Harbor.” This assertion is successful if the attack on Pearl Harbor is seen as the trigger for the wartime hysteria that was prevalent around the country in general, and on the West Coast in particular, in the months following the attack. The problem is that the connection presented in the standard can easily be understood to mean something completely different. It could, for example, be interpreted to suggest that the internment was a typical wartime measure taken after the United States was attacked by an enemy nation. The correlation between the attack on Pearl Harbor and the internment is strong, but not exclusive. Had the attack never happened and the United States retained from a war with Japan, the internment of Issei and Nisei from the West Coast would arguably not have happened, as there would not have been the same public demand for the removal of the population group. However, suggesting that the internment was the direct result of the attack ignores the history of racial prejudice and wartime hysteria that were instrumental in making the internment a reality. The vague and generalized phrasing of the Hawaii’s standard could potentially mislead students on their quest to explore the reasons behind the internment.

Connecticut's standard does not give much attention to World War II in its U.S. history standards, but the inclusion of the internment is interesting. Focusing on "the influence of nationalism on American society," the "Japanese-American internment" is listed as one of three examples for further analysis. By doing so, the standard encourages an exploration into the nationalistic posters, slogans and newspaper articles from the period, exemplifying the wartime hysteria that was so prominent in the months following the attacks on Pearl Harbor. With the spotlight fixed on nationalism, the standard might also lead students to question why the Nisei, although U.S. citizens, were excluded from the conception of culturally being "an American," and why their Issei relatives were excluded from becoming Americans even in the legal sense. Exploring such questions would lead Connecticut students far in discovering the pretext of the internment, which in turn could possibly make them see a large part of the reasoning behind it. Similar to Kansas, Connecticut's standard explores questions of "us and them," but the focus on nationalism has the potential to evoke a more nuanced examination of the event than the former's focus on race and ethnic relations.

The Treatment of "Failure of Leadership" in State U.S. History Standards

Washington

5.1.2: Examines the underlying assumptions of President Franklin D.

Roosevelt's decision to incarcerate Japanese Americans during World War II.

The third and final criteria point, the failure of leadership, is similarly to the second point only covered indirectly in one state standard. Here, the decision making process of the internment is central, with special emphasis on the information available to government officials, including President Roosevelt, at the time. Similar to that of Kansas, the U.S. history standard of Washington can be an excellent starting point if one has adequate aids to support it. Washington's standard calls for an examination of "the underlying assumptions of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's decision to incarcerate Japanese Americans during World War II," putting the president's actions at the focal point. Such a focus demands a great deal of the teachers or students involved, as the narrative of textbooks varies greatly on the subject. As seen in the review of chapter 1, the notion that the decision for "incarceration" was made due to "issues of

fear and the need for national security,” is prevalent.¹⁰⁹ A teacher or student looking to examine the president’s “underlying assumptions” might just as well find perceived evidence for military necessity, as neither the standard nor the textbook provide other information. In addition to the focus of Washington’s standard, its terminology is also unusual. Along with that of New York, it is the only standard that uses “incarcerate” or “incarceration” in relation to the, more commonly named, internment. The term, although rare among state standards, is frequently used by scholars and actually preferred by the largest Japanese American organization, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), to be used as the main idiom for the Japanese internment.¹¹⁰

Summary of Findings

Racial prejudice, wartime hysteria and a failure of leadership are generally agreed to be the three-part reasoning behind the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. The evaluation of how these historical criteria points are treated in state U.S. history standards shows that none of the fifty-one state standards make references to all three. As it turns out, the three best standards (Kansas, Connecticut and Washington) do not even succeed in fully referencing two of the three issues. The treatment of the three historical criteria points in the fifty-one state U.S. history standards is truly unfortunate when one takes into consideration how the same criteria points were covered in the U.S. history textbooks listed in the reviews of chapter 1. With textbook coverage that continues to center around the military necessity of the internment, the factual accuracy of state standards shows its true importance. If any state standard is to convey guidance for understanding of the historic event of internment, it will have to start by including the entirety of its three-part reasoning.

¹⁰⁹ “Four of the six textbooks studied limit the discussion of possible reasons for internment to the issues of fear and the need for national security.” Ogawa, p.40.

¹¹⁰ “Power of Words Handbook,” *the Japanese American Citizens League*.

Chapter 3

Executive Order 9066 and the U.S. Supreme Court

PART I: HISTORIOGRAPHY

Executive Order 9066 will forever be associated with one of the most severe violations of civil rights in modern U.S. history. The internment of Japanese Americans was not only a failure of President Roosevelt and the U.S. Congress, in respectively signing the order and approving the affiliated legislation, but also of the U.S. Supreme Court who erroneously found different provisions of the internment to be constitutional in both 1943 and 1944. The cessation of the three branches of U.S. government in protecting the civil rights of Nisei is possibly the most important side to the internment for students of today. In a time where discussions of individual liberty versus matters of national security are as current as ever, the identification of the legal issues connected to the internment is vital for inclusion in U.S. history standards.

Discussions of the Constitutional Issues of “Mass Evacuation”

It needs to be stressed that government and military officials discussed the constitutional rights of the Nisei, already in 1941. When General DeWitt, on December 16th 1941, suggested that a 100-mile-wide military area should be designated along the West Coast in which the military should be able to remove any and all “undesirable persons,” the FBI objected.¹¹¹ The bureau was responsible for control of alien enemies and informed the DeWitt that no American citizen could be abruptly arrested.¹¹² The Justice Department also resisted the idea of a “mass-evacuation” throughout the decision making process of Executive Order 9066. The head of the department, Attorney General Francis Biddle, who confirmed that even in wartime the Justice Department could not approve arbitrary action against American citizens, fronted the opposition. Such views led Biddle into conflict with General DeWitt and other supporters of internment of Japanese Americans.¹¹³ Another high-ranking military official who disliked Attorney General Biddle’s “handling” of the issue of internment

¹¹¹ Robinson (2003): p.86.

¹¹² CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.65.

¹¹³ Robinson (2003): p.86.

was Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson.¹¹⁴ Stimson saw the evacuation of Nisei as unfeasible, as late as February 3, 1942, roughly two weeks before Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, feeling unsure if even the grounds of national security could justify the excessive step of interning U.S. citizens. This is interesting to note as he simultaneously viewed the Nisei to be the “most dangerous in terms of sabotage.”¹¹⁵ The discussions of the individual rights of Nisei and the position of Attorney General Biddle were also prevalent in the press. Similar to the overall media coverage of Japanese Americans, the attitudes grew increasingly negative throughout January 1942. On February 7, The Los Angeles Times attacked Biddle’s policy, charging that his concerns for the Nisei’s rights could not be allowed to meddle with matters of national security in a time of war.¹¹⁶

The opposition from government officials and agencies to the internment of citizen Nisei was never unreserved. Attorney General Biddle, FBI-director Hoover and other influential internment-opponents did not use constitutional issues as their main argument of finding an alternative solution. Instead, the logistical challenges and reported unnecessary nature of an internment was at the forefront of their line of reasoning.¹¹⁷ The favored argument was that a “mass evacuation” could sabotage, in the words of a military evaluation, “the entire offensive effort.”¹¹⁸ In the midst of the wartime hysteria that engulfed the United States at the start of 1942, the defense of the country was the priority, not the rights of Nisei.¹¹⁹ This was also the conclusion of Secretary of War Stimson, who received reassurances from an outside inquiry to three government lawyers that the step of internment could be taken if it was based on “military necessity.”¹²⁰ Having evolved into a tug of war within the Roosevelt administration, the debate over “mass evacuation” was ended when the president orally

¹¹⁴ Stimson noted in his diary in the summer of 1942 that the Department of Justice had been unhelpful on the evacuation question, but “the president has been alright.” Stimson saw Biddle as an obstructionist. Ibid, p.107.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p.101.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.98.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p.115.

¹¹⁸ The evaluation came from the military planners of Army Chief of Staff George Marshall in early 1942. Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.44.

¹¹⁹ Robinson (2003): p.115.

¹²⁰ Ibid, p.103.

granted Stimson his consent for the Secretary of War to take whatever “reasonable” measures he “deemed necessary,” on February 11, 1942.¹²¹

Executive Order 9066

President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. The Order provided military commanders with the power to “prescribe military areas...from which any or all persons may be excluded.” The order was reticent in detail, without specifications as to race or location, and gave substantial control to the military commanders who were able to implement it in the way they saw fit. Within a month, the president, supported by a unanimous Congress, passed a law that carried the provisions given in the executive order. The law cleared the path for the forced removal of Japanese Americans from the Pacific West Coast to camps being set up in the interior of the United States. The establishment of the civilian War Relocation Authority (WRA), which actually ran the internment camps, occurred during the same period of time.¹²²

As a result of the national borders being closed to all Japanese Americans on the day after the Pearl Harbor attack, an estimated 9,000 Issei and Nisei attempted to travel nationally, from the coastal areas of the Pacific West Coast moving eastward. Most did not get very far, however, as traveling through the interior with “the face of the enemy” proved very difficult. Some Japanese American travelers reported meeting groups of aggressive locals who threatened them while others were turned around by local police officers. Most had trouble buying gasoline or groceries and “No Japs Wanted” signs greeted them on main streets and outside businesses throughout the bordering areas of the interior to the West Coast. Communities knew in advance who were coming their way as local politicians had publicly decried the migration of Issei and Nisei objecting to the idea of becoming “California’s dumping ground.”¹²³

On March 24, General DeWitt announced a daily curfew intended to counter the perceived threat of nightly sabotage of “strategic sites,” such as military bases, harbors, large factories and power plants all along the West Coast.¹²⁴ As a prelude to the actual

¹²¹ Roosevelt wrote Stimson: “There will probably be some repercussions (from “mass relocation”), but it has got to be dictated by military necessity” Ibid, p.106.

¹²² All federal legislation on the issue was race neutral. Hall, Kermit L. and John J. Patrick, *The Pursuit of Justice: Supreme Court Decisions that Shaped America*, Oxford University Press (2006): p.105.

¹²³ Gordon, p.65.

¹²⁴ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.66.

exclusion order, it was addressed to “all persons of Japanese ancestry” living within “Military Area 1.” Since the area in question included the entire Pacific coastal region, the curfew entailed most of the Issei and Nisei that were to be interned approximately six weeks later. The process was initiated in late March 1942 with the internment of approximately one hundred Japanese American farmers on Bainbridge Island in Puget Sound. The progression of DeWitt and his Western Defense Command was slow, but it steadily worked its way south along the coast. Posters were put up on light poles, storefronts and community centers, generally a week in advance, with instructions to the afflicted Issei and Nisei. The head of each Japanese American household in the given areas were ordered to sign in at control stations situation within most urban areas, on behalf of the whole family. As part of the “relocation notice,” households were advised to sell or lease out their properties and possessions, only being allowed to pack and take with them whatever they could carry themselves. ”The government did provide warehouses for storage, but everything would be stored at the risk of the owner of the items. Many saw to religious centers such as Buddhist temples or community houses as their only viable option for secure and affordable storage. By August, 1942, the task was completed and all Japanese Americans had been removed away form the prohibited zone along the Pacific West Coast, reaching from the north-western tip of Washington, through Oregon, the length of California and across the southern tip of Arizona.¹²⁵

The Reaction of the Japanese American Community

The low level of disobedience and protest from the Japanese-American community to the exclusion orders and its subsequent internment is a side of the internment that has been hard for younger Japanese-Americans to understand and accept. There is no doubt that the process of “relocation,” once the orders had been signed and implemented, involved a high level of cooperation from the soon to be internees. Most Issei and Nisei obediently appeared at the designated assembly points around the West Coast, at the appointed times and without causing any trouble. The behavior is possibly best exemplified by the minimal amount of incidents reported by soldiers and security personnel present during the forced “evacuation”.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Ibid, p.46.

¹²⁶ Daniels, Roger, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850*, University of Washington Press (1988): p.181.

When discussing the reaction of the Japanese Americans, there are a number of different issues that are important to note about the historical period and condition of the Japanese American communities. First, the internment orders were given nearly two decades before the social protest movements of the late 1950s and 1960s swept the country. Mass disobedience to government orders would have been an astonishing act at the time. Similarly, distrust in government policies, which two decades later had become the norm, was at the time rare. Second, the Japanese American population knew very well how much the American public in general, and military and law enforcement agencies in particular, despised the Japanese Empire and its army. Knowing that the connection of themselves to the latter was seen as strong, Issei and Nisei were aware of the potential repercussions any opposition would entice. Third, the incarceration of the Issei leadership after the attack on Pearl Harbor, with background in the previously mentioned ABC-list, had severely weakened and divided the Japanese-American community. As a consequence, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) emerged as the prevailing voice of the population group. Nisei that were exceedingly eager to show their loyalty to the United States dominated the organization. The tactic of these self-professed “200 percenters,” referring to their level of loyalty, was full and unquestionable cooperation with the U.S. government. At times, this tactic took the form of enthusiastic endorsement of discriminatory government policies, a fact that is still debated among Nisei and their descendents today.¹²⁷

Legal Challenges to the Internment in the U.S. Supreme Court

During the initial process of the internment, meaning before Issei and Nisei were transferred to the actual internment camps, only a handful of dissidents resisted the provisions of the government’s internment policy. During the three years of the internment, on the other hand, resistance grew and there were a number of both violent and non-violent protests inside the camps.¹²⁸ The demonstrations, general strikes and riots, prevalent within many camps from early 1943, are examples of Japanese-American opposition to the internment that have received little attention in textbooks for secondary education, a fact that is clearly demonstrated by one of the textbooks

¹²⁷ Ibid, p.182.

¹²⁸ Hata, p.8.

reviews referred to in chapter 1.¹²⁹ Better known are the Nisei who took legal action to challenge Executive Order 9066. The most famous of these are the legal challenges that reached all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Four Nisei, from the West Coast states of Washington, Oregon and California, took legal action individually.¹³⁰

Gordon Hirabayashi, a 24-year-old student of the University of Washington in Seattle was arrested and convicted for violating DeWitt's curfew and refusing to register at a control station. Hirabayashi felt that the order was a racially discriminatory violation of the U.S. Constitution, more precisely his 5th amendment rights of due process of law.¹³¹ After losing the promised legal support of the American Civil Liberties Union, leaving him with his local lawyer who was inexperienced in appellate procedures, Hirabayashi only managed to test the legality of General DeWitt's curfew order, not the internment's possible violation of his rights under the 5th amendment. None of the nine justices objected to the racist curfew, which singled out the specific ethnic group of "persons of Japanese ancestry," and Hirabayashi's conviction from the Seattle Federal District Court was upheld in June of 1943. It was later known that one of the justices, Justice Frank Murphy, initially wrote a dissent, but after pressure from his colleagues changed it to a concurrence.¹³²

The court had heard the U.S. Solicitor General Charles Fahy deliver a brief on DeWitt's "Final Report" that included the erroneous claim that Japanese Americans were sending signals revealing sensitive intelligence to Japanese from the West Coast. Fahy also untruthfully stated that no one in the government had contradicted or criticized DeWitt's report on the necessity of the curfew or the internment order itself.¹³³ The court's opinion, written by Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone, emphasized the government's need for "the power to wage war effectively," arguing that, "in time of war residents

¹²⁹ The review of Mark Selden, which includes textbooks published in the 1990s and 2000s, found that, with the exception of the Supreme Court cases, "not a single text mentions the fierce Japanese and Japanese-American resistance against the violation of their constitutional rights." The other review evaluating recent textbooks, see Ogawa, did not have the issue as a topic for analysis. Selden.

¹³⁰ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.59.

¹³¹ Hall, p.106.

¹³² Hall, p.103.

¹³³ For more on the withholding of information from the office of the U.S. Solicitor General, see following section of this chapter, "Criticism and Vacation of Verdicts in the Japanese-American Internment Cases"

having ethnic affiliations with an invading enemy may be a greater source of danger than those of a different ancestry.”¹³⁴

A companion-case to Hirabayashi was that of *Yasui v. U.S.* Minoru Yasui also violated the curfew order of General DeWitt. In his case, however, the district court in Oregon ruled that the curfew was *not* valid against citizens. Yasui, a legal cleric at the Japanese Consulate in Chicago until December 7th 1941, had, in the opinion of the Oregon court, forfeited his citizenship due to his former employment with the government of Japan. As Hirabayashi’s case ruled the curfew to be legal, also against U.S. citizens, Supreme Court Justice Stone ordered a re-sentencing of Yasui and the case was sent back to the Oregon Federal District Court.¹³⁵

The third Supreme Court case to challenge the internment was *Endo v. U.S.* Mitsuye Endo was a civil servant of California who had obeyed the internment order in its entirety, but always with the intent to make a test case. The strategy of her civil-liberties attorney and herself was to wait until she was moved to a WRA-relocation center before applying for a “writ of habeas corpus,” a petitioning to establish if the imprisonment of a prisoner is lawful. Several scholars refer to a behind-the-scenes proposal that guaranteed Endo’s freedom if her legal actions were abandoned. Endo, however, endured and after a two-year linger, the case was decided in her favor. Justice William O. Douglas’ opinion did not place much blame on the parties involved however. Neither President Roosevelt, Congress or even the army were cited as being at fault for the unconstitutional treatment.¹³⁶ Only the civilian War Relocation Authority (WRA) was criticized, stating that the agency had “no authority to detain citizens who [were] concededly loyal.”¹³⁷

The case of Endo has been placed in the shadow of another Supreme Court case whose decision was handed down on the same day. While the case of Endo had not reached a conclusion on the constitutionality of the program of internment, the case of *Korematsu v. U.S.* did. Korematsu’s trial brought the broader program of the curfew, relocation and incarceration up for review. Different from the previous three plaintiffs of Hirabayashi, Yasui and Endo, Fred T. Korematsu had tried to go underground with a false name; he had even undergone minor plastic surgery to change his Japanese-

¹³⁴ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.59.

¹³⁵ Ibid, p.60.

¹³⁶ Hall, p.109.

¹³⁷ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.63.

appearance in a failed attempt to evade the order. Korematsu decided to challenge the constitutionality of the government's order after he had been arrested by the FBI and was awaiting trial in the summer of 1942. When his case was decided in the U.S. Supreme Court more than two years later, the court's majority upheld Korematsu's former conviction from San Francisco's Federal District Court, basing its decision on the "military necessity" of the internment. Even though the decision affirmed the legality of the internment, the circumstances, including a lesser sense of wartime hysteria among the general public, had changed considerably by 1944. With three justices in dissent, the constitutional breaches of the internment were for the first time publicly criticized by influential members of the judicial branch of the U.S. government.¹³⁸

Justice Owen J. Roberts, the author of the infamous report discussed in chapter 2, was one of the dissenters. Roberts differentiated between the Korematsu case from that of Hirabayashi's testing of the curfew order's legality, stating that "this is not a case of keeping people off the streets at night...It is a case of convicting a citizen...for not submitting to imprisonment in a concentration camp solely because of his ancestry." Justice Robert Jackson, a second justice in dissent, thought the circumstances in the fall of 1944 were important to take into consideration. When the war effort had progressed in the way that it had, he argued, to rule that DeWitt's order was constitutional would be the same as to "say that any military order [in wartime] will be constitutional."¹³⁹ The third justice in dissent, Justice Frank Murphy went even further in his critique of the court's majority ruling. Calling it a "legalization of racism," he reminding the court that "all residents of this nation are kin in some way by blood and culture to a foreign land." Neither Secretary of War Stimson nor President Roosevelt was mentioned in any of the dissents. Instead, all three dissenters labeled General DeWitt and the Western Defense Command to be the scapegoat for the entire program.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Hata, p.36.

¹³⁹ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.62.

¹⁴⁰ Hall, p.109.

Criticism and Vacation of the Japanese-American Internment Cases

The legal debate over the rulings of the Supreme Court cases listed above, often called the Japanese-American Internment Cases, started shortly after the individual verdicts had been issued. In the decades following the cases, consensus grew among legal scholars that the Supreme Court had been wrong in upholding the curfew and internment order. Most importantly, the scholars argued, was that the orders were in violation of the 5th Amendment of the United States Constitution. The amendment states that “no person shall be...deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.” There was no due process of law for the vast majority of the interned Nisei.¹⁴¹ Some of the Nisei who did appear before a judge did not receive due process either, as their trials were tainted by erroneous evidence and withholding of information. In 1983, a team of lawyers uncovered documents proving the withholding of evidence during the Hirabayashi case. One piece of such evidence that was the 1942 Ringle Report. The report, which was written by the Office of Naval Intelligence, had willingly not been shared with the court during the testimony of U.S. Solicitor General Charles Fahy. The report reaffirmed the conclusions of pre-Pearl Harbor reports, stating that there was little reason to question the loyalty of Japanese Americans and pointing out that the few disloyal members that existed within the population group were already incarcerated or indentified by the appropriate authorities.¹⁴²

In 1983, the report of the CWRIC-commission concluded that the failure of the U.S. Supreme Court was three-folded, one of which was procedural while two regarded the legal principles of the verdicts, in its rulings of the Japanese-American Internment Cases. First, the Supreme Court had not commenced a full review of the factual situation on the West Coast in early 1942. Instead, it chose to base its rulings on the military judgment on which the decision of internment had been based. The military’s decision was founded on cultural and social facts that it had neither the training nor expertise to evaluate effectively. General DeWitt had, in the words of the commission,

¹⁴¹ That fate was shared with the Issei, but their status as aliens meant they were not under the protection of the U.S. Constitution.

¹⁴² In 2011, Neal Katyal, then Acting Solicitor General of the United States, issued the office’s first acknowledgment of and apology for the “mistake,” stating that only with a “absolute candor in our representations to the Court...can we fulfill our responsibility to defend the United States and its Constitution, and to protect the rights of all Americans.” Neal Katyal, The United States Department of Justice (2011), <http://www.justice.gov/opa/blog/confession-error-solicitor-generals-mistakes-during-japanese-american-internment-cases>

“assumed the role of omniscient sociologist and anthropologist.”¹⁴³ The 1983 uncovering of the withholding of evidence by the U.S. Solicitor General further discredited the Supreme Court’s failure of inquiry. Second, the notion supported by the majority opinion in both *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.*, that the power to wage war is “the power to wage war successfully,” was labeled a “banal aphorism” by the commission.¹⁴⁴ The court’s definition held the curfew order and subsequent internment to be constitutional with the reasoning that the United States was at war through a declaration approved by the U.S. Congress. The commission pointed to the 1946 Supreme Court decision in *Duncan v. Kahanamoku* as confirmation for the principle of civil authorities governing civil territories. Since there was no martial law imposed in the four states included in the “restricted zone,” the military had no authority in civil matters at the time. Furthermore, the commission stated, when the military took on such an authority it should not have received “deference from the courts in reviewing its actions,” contrary to what happened in the listed cases of 1943 and 1944.¹⁴⁵ Third, the Supreme Court failed to strike down what were clear cases of offensive racial discrimination. The commission commented on how “the Japanese American cases” had never been followed in the U.S. Supreme Court, making them the “only modern examples of invidious racial discrimination which the Supreme Court has not stricken down.”¹⁴⁶

It was during the preparation of a team of lawyers that the uncovering of the suppressed evidence occurred. Led by civil rights attorney, and later author, Peter H. Irons, the team brought a series of legal actions to have the verdicts of Gordon Hirabayashi, Minoru Yasui, and Fred Korematsu overturned. After legal hearings in the mid-1980s, Federal District Court judges vacated the convictions of the three and erased them from federal court records.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Additional findings of the CWRIC stated: “No one reading the Supreme Court's opinion today with knowledge of the exclusion, evacuation and detention can conclude that the majority opinion displays any close knowledge of the reasoning used by the government in the momentous historical events under review.” CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p. 237.

¹⁴⁴ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.59.

¹⁴⁵ CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.238.

¹⁴⁶ CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.239.

¹⁴⁷ Hall, p.110.

PART II – ANALYSIS OF STATE U.S. HISTORY STANDARDS

The details of Executive Order 9066 and the Supreme Court cases that followed the order show the extraordinary nature of the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Only by exploring these issues are the failures of the legislative, executive and judicial branch of the U.S. government, in protecting the civil rights of the Nisei, truly understood. There are two historical criteria points regarding the constitutionality of the internment that are important inclusions in a U.S. history standard. The following analysis will evaluate the treatment of state U.S. history standards of the violations of civil rights that resulted from Executive Order 9066 and the Supreme Court cases of *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.* True comprehension of each of the two criteria points is mutually dependent on the understanding of the other. In order to uncover the failure of the Supreme Court one needs to explore the violations of civil rights by Executive Order 9066. Similarly, the rulings of the Supreme Court demonstrate how those violations could endure through the duration of World War II.

The Treatment of “Violations of Civil Rights That Resulted From Executive Order 9066” in State U.S. History Standards

The violations of civil rights that resulted from Executive Order 9066 are at the heart of the topic of internment. Consequently, the constitutional issues of the order are arguably the most important inclusion in any U.S. history standard in relation to the event. As the ultimate evidence of the government’s wrongdoing, such an inclusion is vital in guiding the audience of state standards on the path of discovering the true story of the Japanese-American internment. Furthermore, it is important to understand the actual rights that were violated to fully appreciate both the legal implication of Executive Order 9066 and the true nature of the Japanese-American Internment Cases. Both *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.*, were ruled in favor of the U.S. government and have never been overturned by the Supreme Court itself. An inclusion of the accurate legal status of the internment could therefore assist students in uncovering the later admissions of federal courts on the two verdicts, helping to complete the exploration of the two cases.

Failure of Identification

Tennessee

4.0 *Recognize the effects of political policies on civil liberties during WWII.*

8.9 *Appraise how World War II impacted America's perception of human rights and national security issues.*

Utah

Objective 2: *Identify the impact of World War II on minority groups in America.*

Alabama

Standard 7: *Describing consequences of World War II on the lives of American citizens. Examples: Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill), desegregation of the military*

Besides the fifteen non-content specific standards, there are four content-specific standards that refer to civil rights violations, but without specifically mentioning the internment, Japanese Americans or Executive Order 9066. Similar to what was found in the analysis of chapter 2, the standards that fail to list the actual event and population group in question, fail to meet the educational criteria of identifying specific events and offering explanations of their significance.¹⁴⁸ In terms of adequately meeting the historical criteria point of the violations of civil rights that resulted from Executive Order 9066, Tennessee's standard is the most successful out of the three standards. To a well-informed reader, there is not doubt that Tennessee's standard point 4.0 is referring to the internment of Nisei with its reference to "the effects of political policies on civil liberties during World War II." Standard point 8.9 is more difficult to understand, however. If the standard point is intended to "appraise" the effects of World War II on the perception of human rights *versus* national security issues, such an examination could lead to important discussions of individual rights, directly connected to the issue of the internment. This is probably not the intended purpose of the Tennessee's standard, however. It is more likely that the standard is referring to the issues such as the Holocaust, debate over refugees, founding of the United Nations or the post-World War II interventionist policy of the U.S. government. A single reference to factual keywords such as Japanese Americans, internment of non-alien enemies or Executive

¹⁴⁸ For more on the educational criteria see chapter 1, section "Method."

Order 9066 would dramatically improved Tennessee’s standard, which is otherwise fairly good.

The standards of Utah and Alabama, on the other hand, need more than an addition of keywords. The focus on “consequences” and “impact” of World War II is too broad to be successful, both in regards to affected “citizens” and “minority groups.” As Alabama’s own examples of the “Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill), desegregation of the military” demonstrate, the impact of the war on the home front was not limited to the internment of Japanese Americans. Once again the limited qualifications of U.S. history teachers and the poor coverage of this historical criteria point in U.S. history textbooks need to be taken into account. To assume that the internment of Japanese Americans would be included in a “description” or “identification” of such issues is not to be expected.

West Virginia

Cluster 4 (World War II): *examine and identify the penalties of war faced by the Japanese in the United States and their homeland.*

West Virginia’s standard is unique in classifying the internment as one of World War II’s “penalties of war.” This is a classification most often used in relation to unfavorable treatment that is a direct consequence of war. Consequently, West Virginia’s standard completely ignores several of the reasons behind the internment, as it was not only the result of Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor and subsequent declaration of war. Even more severely, however, is the standard’s failure in exhibiting the extraordinary nature of the policy of internment itself. The classification of “penalties of war” is often related to population groups that are in direct contact with a conflict. The citizen Nisei, being mass interned by their own government because of its shared ancestry with an enemy power, is unprecedented in U.S. history and should be treated as such. West Virginia’s categorization is a severe misrepresentation of the actual event, because it equates the internment to a common example of habitual war practice. The standard’s exclusion of other nomenclature of the historic event, such as “internment,” “incarceration,” or “denial of civil rights” further diffuses the true nature of the internment.

Vermont

Standard 14: *Students act as citizens by...Analyzing and evaluating the issues related to and criteria for U.S. citizenship, past and present (e.g., analyzing the issues surrounding Japanese citizens during WWII).*

Another example of a failure to meet the educational criteria of identifying specific events and providing clear and precise phrasing is the state standard of Vermont. Its reference to the “criteria for citizenship,” in relation to Japanese Americans is vague, but could potentially lead students to discover the discriminatory barring of the naturalization of Issei. This issue, however, is only a small part of the internment, ignoring, for example, the issue of the violated rights of citizen Nisei. Categorizing the internment as an “issue related to...U.S. citizenship” is not factually wrong, but imprecise. As it stands, the phrasing is too inaccurate and would be better suited if changed to include an addition pointing to the rights granted *by* U.S. citizenship. The issue that is possibly the most closely related to Vermont’s standard is Minoru Yasui’s federal court conviction that stated he had forfeited his citizenship due to previous employment at the Japanese Consulate in Chicago. This, however, is hardly the standard’s intent.

Texas

Standard 7D: *analyze major issues of World War II, including...the internment of German, Italian, and Japanese Americans and Executive Order 9066*

The Texas standard is one out of only two state standards that specifically mentions Executive Order 9066. An analysis of the order and its details has the potential to shed light on the responsibility of both President Roosevelt and the U.S. Congress in respectively signing the order and approving the affiliated legislation. This aspect, however, is better addressed by the criteria point of “failure in leadership,” discussed in chapter 2. As the order portrays the internment as a required measure of “military necessity,” without any reference to either race or geographical location, a study of its details would most certainly confuse students if not aided with the proper instruction from either a textbook or a teacher. Knowing that only two of the textbooks reviewed in chapter 1 include the term “Executive Order 9066,” the need for specific inclusion of

the civil rights violations of the order is clear.¹⁴⁹ The void of any specific inclusion of the constitutional issues, together with the misleading reference to the internment of “German, Italian and Japanese Americans,” discussed at length in chapter 2, are clear examples of how Texas’ standard falls short on giving an accurate representation of the event.

Suggesting The Constitutionality of Executive Order 9066 is Undecided

New Jersey

Standard 11.6.1: *Determine if American policies regarding Japanese internment...were a denial of civil rights.*

Maryland

Objective 3C: *Evaluate the decision of the government to limit civil liberties during World War II*

Objective 3D: *Evaluate the decision of the government to relocate American citizens and aliens to internment camps during the war*

Whether intentional or not, the standards of New Jersey and Maryland present the constitutionality of the internment in a cloud of uncertainty. The void of factual standpoints within the two leaves both open to broad interpretations. Given that scholars, federal courts and the U.S. Government, have separately confirmed the violations of Nisei’s civil rights, such presentations are disfavoring to students seeking to understand the legal issues of the event. New Jersey’s standard would be fairly good, had only “if” been replaced by “how.” The phrasing suggests that the constitutionality of the policy is undecided, when in fact both its factual reasoning and legal principles have been discredited and abandoned. Maryland’s standard treats “the decision of the government” in an equal matter. The standard has no specific reference to Japanese Americans and the reference to limited civil liberties is separated to that of “the decision to...relocate” in two “objectives,” making the connection of the two even more unclear.

The standards of both Maryland and New Jersey are asking a great deal from the aids available to its students. If the internment is viewed as a case of military necessity,

¹⁴⁹ “Two textbooks use the term ‘Executive Order 9066.’ Although most of the textbooks do not develop any clear reasons why President Roosevelt signed the order, two textbooks discuss the fact that he signed the order for the national security.” Ogawa, p.41.

which a great deal of textbooks continue to portray it as,¹⁵⁰ Maryland students can potentially see the event as an inevitable decision by the U.S. government. Similarly, the reason of military necessity can make New Jersey students view the internment as a necessary evil and *not* a “denial of civil rights.” Enticing students to independently investigate and study evidence to form their own opinion, is an important part of K-12 education in general and within the field of history in particular. For both practical and informative reasons, however, students are usually guided through such a processes with the assistance of a teacher or assigned readings. As one cannot rely on students having readily access to aids that uncover the true reasoning behind Executive Order 9066, the vague phrasing of Maryland and New Jersey is potentially misleading.

Partially Successful Treatment

Florida

SS.912.A.6.4: *Examine efforts to expand or contract rights for various populations during World War II. Examples: Examples may include, but are not limited to, women, African Americans, German Americans, Japanese Americans and their internment, Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, Italian Americans.*

South Carolina

Standard USHC-7: *Evaluate the impact of war mobilization on the home front, including...limits on individual rights that resulted in the internment of Japanese Americans.*

California and District of Columbia

Standard 11.7.5 (World War II): *Discuss the constitutional issues and impact of events on the U.S. home front, including the internment of Japanese Americans (e.g., Fred Korematsu v. United States of America) and the restrictions on German and Italian resident aliens;.*

New York

¹⁵⁰ “Four of the six textbooks studied limit the discussion of possible reasons for internment to the issues of fear and the need for national security...fail to raise other possible motives for internment camps. [These textbooks] seem to justify internment based solely upon fear and military necessity.” Ogawa, p.40.

Unit six: *Students should understand that there were several moral issues that grew out of the war experience. These include (1) rights of Japanese-Americans*
Content: 5. *Incarceration of West Coast Japanese Americans; Executive Order 9066; Korematsu v. United States (1944)*¹⁵¹

The standards of Florida, South Carolina, New York, California and the District of Columbia, the later two list the same content in their standards, do the best job of all fifty-one state standards in covering the violations of civil rights that resulted from Executive Order 9066. The factual contents of the state standards are not optimal, however, and all five standards would be greatly improved if information regarding the unconstitutionality of the internment were added. The standard of Florida is especially vague since “Japanese Americans” is listed as one of a total of seven minority groups, meaning the significance of the ill treatment against citizen Nisei is partially lost. Additionally, the Florida standard does not specify if Japanese Americans were subject to the efforts to “expand” or “contract” rights. Even though the additional information of “internment” is provided, the standard’s phrasing is unnecessarily vague. Nevertheless, the reference of California and the District of Columbia to the “constitutional issues” and South Carolina’s wish for students to evaluate the “limits on individual rights,” are, together with that of Florida, all positive inclusions. The standards partially succeed in directing the focus toward the rights that were affected by the internment, although the legality of these violations is not listed.

The standard of New York is similar to only the standard of Texas in specifically listing Executive Order 9066. Its focus on the morality of the order, on the other hand, is unique among all the state standards. While there is no question that the internment can be viewed as a moral issue, the morality of the internment-policy was not the primary concern for officials during the time. The opponents of “mass relocation” had their primary concerns regarding the legal or logistical sides of such an operation. Placing the internment into a discussion of morality could therefore be misleading and encourage presentism. The addition of “rights of Japanese-Americans” can potentially lead the reader to understand that there were not only moral issues connected to the internment, but legal ones as well. As the standards of South Carolina, California, the District of Columbia and New York stand today, they too are at risk of

¹⁵¹ New York is together with Washington the only two standards to use the term “incarceration” in relation to the internment.

being misinterpreted if paired with inadequate aids. This risk, however, is in a lesser extent than with other state standards covering the criteria point in question, making the four standards the most adequate examples of all fifty-one state standards.

The Treatment of “Supreme Court Cases Hirabayashi v. U.S. and Korematsu v. U.S.” in State U.S. History Standards

The Supreme Court decisions in *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.*, are unprecedented in modern U.S. history. Only by including these cases as a criteria point, can the failure of the U.S. Supreme Court in fulfilling its role within the system of checks and balances be presented to students of secondary education in the United States. The cases of Gordon Hirabayashi and Fred Korematsu are chosen as a criteria point as they represent the most important rulings of the Supreme Court on the issue, concluding on the constitutionality of the curfew order and policy of internment respectively.¹⁵²

Failure of Identification

Mississippi

4. Analyze and evaluate the ongoing tension between individual liberty and national security. E) Compare and contrast the goals and objectives of other minority and immigrant groups to those of the Civil Rights Movement led predominantly by African-Americans.

The resistance shown by Hirabayashi and Korematsu, including their Supreme Court cases, fits within the extensive history of individuals and movements fighting for civil rights in the United States. This means that the cases could be included in standards that otherwise do not make any specific reference to Japanese Americans or the internment. It needs to be noted, however, that the reason for the potential inclusion of the two cases can simultaneously be the biggest obstacle for such an inclusion. The sheer number of minority groups whose history of civil rights violations are noted in U.S. history textbooks can easily supersede the unconstitutional treatment of the Nisei, if the latter is not specifically referenced to. The standard of Mississippi is in danger of doing just that. An evaluation of the legal actions of both Hirabayashi and Korematsu fit nicely

¹⁵² The ruling in the two remaining Supreme Court cases, namely *Yasui* and *Endo*, are either indirectly covered or contradicted in the rulings of the two chosen cases. Hall, p.107-109.

with objective “E” in the standard. The same is true of JACL’s strategy for acceptance, based on strong cooperation with the U.S. government during the war years. The issues need to be specifically identified, however. As Mississippi’s standard fail not only in listing the specific historical criteria point of the Supreme Court cases *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.*, but also the issue of internment itself, the standard is simply too broad in content and too vague in language.

Limited Treatment: Listing of Supreme Court Case Title

Arkansas

World Conflict 18.AH.4: *Evaluate the effects of the forced relocation of Japanese Americans including the Arkansas connection:*

- Internment camps (Jerome and Rohwer)
- *Korematsu v. United States*

The qualitative treatment of the Supreme Court cases of *Hirabayashi* and *Korematsu* within the fifty-one state standards is disappointing, a fact that is exemplified by Arkansas’ standard on two separate accounts. First, it lists only the case of *Korematsu v. U.S.* and not *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* Of the seven standards that specifically cover the criteria point; all but one limit their treatment to that of *Korematsu v. U.S.* Second, Arkansas’ standard does not provide any information about the outcome, legality or later development of how the convictions have been vacated. The standards of Oklahoma, New York, California and the District of Columbia follow suit, also limiting their treatment of the Supreme Court case by merely listing the case title. The seven standards do deserve praise for including the *Korematsu* case at all, given the fact that forty-four of the fifty-one state standards fail to do so. Nevertheless, one cannot escape the fact that minimal additions to the standards would vastly improve them, specifically additions on the actual legality or later development of the *Korematsu* case. The textbook reviews of chapter 1 showed that only three of the six textbooks discuss any of the Supreme Court Cases and the coverage of only one included more than a short paragraph.¹⁵³ If such textbooks exemplify the aids relied upon by students and teachers

¹⁵³ “Three of the six textbooks discuss the 1944 Supreme Court case, *Korematsu v. United States*... (One textbook include a) two-page section about the case, while two other texts provide only a short paragraph.” Ogawa, p.43.

in American secondary school classrooms, the need for specific factual guidance in the standards is clear.

Partially Successful Treatment: Description and Supreme Court Case Title

Rhode Island

Civics and Government 1: *Students demonstrate an understanding of origins, forms, and purposes of government by... D) distinguishing between the rule of law and the “rule of men” (e.g., Korematsu v. U.S. and Japanese internment during WWII)*

Indiana

U.S. History 5.5: *Explain the significance of the Supreme Court cases Korematsu v. United States (1944) and Hirabayashi v. United States (1943), dealing with individual rights and national security during World War II.*

The extraordinary nature of Executive Order 9066 and the Supreme Court case of *Korematsu v. U.S.* is better dealt with in the standards of Rhode Island and Indiana. The additional information of each of these standards, although brief, makes their treatment of the Supreme Court cases the most adequate of all fifty-one state standards. The standard of Rhode Island encourages students to distinguish between “the rule of law and the ‘rule of men’.” The expression indicates arbitrary rule by either one or more individuals where they are not governed by law. The phrasing leaves the standard with the potential of leading Rhode Island students to explore the failure of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branch of the U.S. government in respectively signing, passing and upholding the laws of Executive Order 9066. The standard also focuses solely on the Japanese American internment since there are no other examples listed, other than that of *Korematsu v. U.S.*

Indiana has the only state standard that includes any specific description on what the two cases were actually about. Its standard is also the only one that lists both of the Supreme Court cases of the historical criteria point. By asking to “explain the significance” of the cases, Indiana students are enticed to uncover the importance of the two cases in upholding the policy of internment. Since the coverage of the two cases in U.S. history textbooks is limited, it is disappointing, however, that Indiana’s standard does not guide students to the fact that the convictions have later been vacated. Additionally, the standard does not mention the overall internment or Japanese

Americans in any way, nor does it state that the “individual rights” were violated due to the government program of internment.

Summary of Findings

The violations of civil rights that resulted from Executive Order 9066 and the Supreme Court cases of *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.*, are part of a dark, but important chapter in the history of the United States. This makes them vital inclusions in the context of U.S. history standards for secondary school. The evaluation of how these two historical criteria points are treated in state U.S. history standards shows that only a handful of standards can be deemed adequate, while the rest are partially successful in its treatment of either historical criteria point, misleading due to imprecise phrasing or plain negligent in its treatment. Regarding the historical criteria point of the violations of civil rights that resulted from Executive Order 9066, five standards (New York, California, District of Columbia, South Carolina and Florida) incorporate, despite its limited aspect, the most successful treatment. Six standards (Oklahoma, New York, California, the District of Columbia, Arkansas, Rhode Island and Indiana) include the Supreme Court case of *Korematsu v. U.S.* Out of the six, only the standard of Indiana refers to the Supreme Court case of *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* in addition to that of *Korematsu v. U.S.* With its supplementary information to the arbitrary rule related to the internment, the standard of Rhode Island joins that of Indiana as the only two standards whose treatment can be considered partially successful in relation to the historical criteria point of the Supreme Court cases of *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.*

Chapter 4

Internees and Soldiers

PART I: HISTORIOGRAPHY

From 1942 to 1946, approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans were incarcerated in the ten internment camps run by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), officially named “Relocation Centers.” The duration of the individual internment varied greatly; a number of Nisei left the camps for good only months after their initial “evacuation” from the West Coast, while some Japanese Americans stayed interned until 1946, three months after the official capitulation of Japan. There are a number of complex issues regarding the internment camps themselves; including the structure of the camps, the conditions for release, the daily lives for internees and the role the camps played in relation to the war effort of World War II. Understanding these complex issues are vital if one are to identify the experience of the internment itself and the ramifications that it had on the affected Japanese Americans.

The Experience of Internment

Two experiences that are often used to describe the different phases of the internment of Japanese Americans are their uprooting from familiar surroundings and their settling in to new environments. Historian Roger Daniels argues that most internees actually went through these two processes on multiple occasions, starting with their initial placement in and later removal from “Assembly Centers.”¹⁵⁴ Since the internment camps of the civilian WRA first had to be built, most internees were placed in assembly centers operated by the army at the start of the internment. The first days in the centers were often traumatic experiences for Issei and Nisei alike. On arrival, they were greeted with barbed wire fences, guard towers and armed soldiers. Internees were stripped and searched for contraband, which included radios and knives, before they entered the centers for the first time.¹⁵⁵ Most of the assembly centers were former fairgrounds, racetracks and other large outdoor venues, all of which lacked proper facilities to house the more than 100,000 initial interns. Temporary barracks were put up by the thousands, and in the case of the commissioned racetracks, horses were moved out of their stables in preparation for the Japanese Americans to move in. The stable walls were whitewashed, but the stench of horse manure was for many interns unbearable and a clear memory from the time.¹⁵⁶ Nearly all of the centers were overcrowded, with

¹⁵⁴ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.65.

¹⁵⁵ Gordon, p.68-69.

¹⁵⁶ Sarasohn, Eileen S., editor, *The Issei: Portrait of a Pioneer*, Palo Alto California: Pacific Books (1983): p.183-184.

unsanitary and limited toilet and bathing facilities. The mess kitchens were also unsanitary, causing several mass outbreaks of diarrhea, especially in the first months of the camps' existence. The United States Public Health Service reported that its inspectors were surprised that the "unsanitary conditions" had not led to more epidemics than what it did.¹⁵⁷

The transfer to the WRA-run internment camps was only a minor improvement. While the assembly centers were primarily located in close proximity to the original homes of the internees, even allowing for visitors of non-Japanese friends, the internment camps of the WRA were geographically far away from their previous lives. The locations were in what the military called "safe locations," meaning in considerable distance from any major highways and railroad lines. All of the camps were located in the interior of the country and had not been inhabited by people before the camps were set up, and have not been so since, as all were areas with inhospitable climates. At the camps of Heart Mountain, Minidoka and Topaz, climatic conditions were extreme with winter temperatures often reaching - 30F (-34C) and colder. The contrasting extremes of summer were temperatures as high as 115F (46C). Dust was another obstacle in many of the camps, since they were situated in isolated and desert-like areas of the interior. On dry and windy days the dust created a number of problems for the internees and when wet the dust turned into heavy mud, covering the entire grounds of the camps.¹⁵⁸

All of the internment camps were created for the specific purpose of housing Issei and Nisei, and some of them were still under construction when the first of the internees arrived.¹⁵⁹ In fact, at Manzanar internees built the same houses that would later house them, and at Topaz the internees helped put up the barbed wire fence that eventually surrounded the camp.¹⁶⁰ The poorly insulated barracks were also cramped, and the paper partitions between inhabitants, and in many cases different families, offered little if any privacy. Each administrative "block" consisted of 12-14 barracks and a communal mess hall, toilets, showers, baths, a laundry and recreation hall. Each barrack was divided into four to six rooms of about 20 by 20 feet and housed at least

¹⁵⁷ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.65-66.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p.66.

¹⁵⁹ Manzanar was constructed to function as an assembly center and was later transferred from the army to the WRA on its change in operations to an internment camp. CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.158.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p.175.

one family.¹⁶¹ The conditions improved to some extent, at least in terms of square feet per internee, once the first internees were allowed to leave the camps.¹⁶² None of the barracks were provided with individual cooking facilities. Instead, everyone stood in line three times a day with meal trays to receive rather bleak examples of breakfast, dinner and lunch. The meals were often supplemented by vegetables grown by each family in make shift vegetable gardens outside the barracks.¹⁶³

Vegetable gardens were only one of the measures taken by internees to make the best of their situation, attempting to create a home for themselves within the, for most, surreal realities of incarceration. Even the temporary assembly centers were made more civilized by the internees. The public relations department of the army used this as propaganda, to present examples of the humane treatment exercised in addition to “evidence” of the gratitude of the internees for a “new beginning” within the camps. For the Issei and Nisei who embarked on such tasks, however, it was a desperate way of trying to normalize their lives as much as they could.¹⁶⁴ In the internment camps, furniture makers tried to equip barracks with essential fixtures from the scant access of materials, as no furniture, except army-style cots, were provided by the WRA. Community parks were also set up, often in the traditional landscaping-style of Japan.¹⁶⁵ On the whole the internees made every attempt to emulate normal life-functions with camps not only offering the essential services of hospitals,¹⁶⁶ but also schools, libraries, churches and newspapers, all run almost entirely by the internees themselves.¹⁶⁷ Internees working in the camps received wages far below that offered for similar work outside the camps. A WRA-librarian, for example, would receive \$167 a month, while an internee working as a library assistant received less than one tenth of that, a mere

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p.158.

¹⁶² Gordon, p.70.

¹⁶³ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.67.

¹⁶⁴ Tamura, Linda, *The Hood River Issei: An Oral History of Japanese Settlers in Oregon's Hood River Valley*, University of Illinois Press (1993): p.176.

¹⁶⁵ CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.161.

¹⁶⁶ During the testimonies given to the CWRIC, inadequate health care was the issue most frequently mentioned by former internees. No study of the care provided by the WRA-hospitals has been undertaken to verify those testimonies. The closest is a 1946 comparison of the death rates in the camps and those in the U.S. population as a whole, finding that the death rates in the camps were lower. Ibid, p.165.

¹⁶⁷ Due to limited opportunities before the war for Japanese Americans within certain occupations, only a small share of the internees were qualified in the professions of health care and education. As a result, there was a general shortage of doctors, nurses and teachers inside the camps, throughout the entirety of the internment. Ibid, p.171.

\$16. One of the reasons for the low wages was a public relations setback resulting from an erroneous report by a Hearst newspaper, claiming that the internees were being paid three and four times that of U.S. soldiers fighting in the war. The subsequent Congressional hearings finally determined limits for the wages offered to the internees.¹⁶⁸

The day-to-day life in the camps was centered on keeping busy. Feelings of helplessness and depression were countered with attempts of making time go by. The recreational offers in sports were the main source of leisure activity for Issei and Nisei alike. Though their preference in food, literature and music often differed, a common interest for both old and young was participating in the sport of baseball. Other sports were also prevalent in the camps, including basketball, touch football and ping-pong. Athletic activities aside, the psychological effects of incarceration and the internment's rearrangement of the community structure of Issei and Nisei led to resentment and conflicts not only with the WRA-administrators, but among the Japanese Americans themselves.¹⁶⁹

One source of distress among the internees was a breakdown of family authority. Separation of families was common and normal family life was severely disrupted by the circumstances of living within the camps. As a result of the government providing food and shelter and, most importantly, being the ultimate enhancer of discipline and authority, the position of the head of internee-families was weakened.¹⁷⁰ An additional disruption of the community structure came from the official WRA policy of "self-government." The policy stated that only citizens were allowed roles in community councils, barring respected Issei their former positions and influence within the community, making the young Nisei the dominant voice within the camps. Accusations of corruption, malpractice and collaboration with the WRA, among the groups, created a number of conflicts. Most severely were the general strikes of Poston and Manzanar, the latter resulting in the institution of martial law in the camp and the death of two internees, after armed soldiers shot them during a riot.¹⁷¹

Resistance from internees against the WRA reached a peak in the early months of 1943. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Nisei wanting to enlist in the U.S. military

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p.167.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, p.172.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, p.177.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p.178.

were classified as “aliens not acceptable to the armed forces.”¹⁷² With a shortage of soldiers and increased willingness within the military to accept the possibility of measuring “Nisei loyalty,” however, the decision to form an all-Nisei combat team was made in early 1943. A loyalty questionnaire was designed to evaluate the loyalty of Nisei men in military age. In a decision by the WRA, described by historian Roger Daniels as an act of “almost incredible stupidity,” the poorly designed questionnaire was distributed to all internees over the age of seventeen years.¹⁷³ The ill phrased wording of especially two questions provoked vast objections within all the camps. *Question 27* asked for the willingness to serve in the U.S. armed forces, but without giving any information as to what consequences any particular answer would lead to. Since the questionnaire had been re-titled *Application for Leave Clearance*, the confusion further increased. *Question 28* focused on loyalty to the United States, but in the case of the Issei, who were barred from U.S. citizenship, it practically asked them to renounce their Japanese nationality, leaving many fearing they could end up stateless.¹⁷⁴ Out of the 78,000 internees who were issued the questionnaire, 6,700 were classified disloyal on the basis of their answers. Shortly after, WRA segregated the “disloyal” Issei and Nisei from the “loyal” and moved the former to one single camp, Tule Lake. The action split up families, often along generational lines, and the tension within the camps reached an all-time high.¹⁷⁵

The segregation of the camps also marked the height of Nisei petitioning the U.S. government to renounce their American citizenship. More than 5,000 Nisei formally did so, in addition to the approximately 1,600 Issei who asked for repatriation to Japan. Eager to show a tough stance towards the internees, Congress passed a renunciation law on the request of Attorney General Biddle.¹⁷⁶ The law simplified the process for both the applicants and the government and was signed by President Roosevelt in the summer of 1944. After the war, when transportation to Japan was first possible 1,600 Issei were accompanied by nearly 2,000 Nisei minors and 1,100 adult Nisei, left for Japan. The remaining 2,000 Nisei, who had also renounced their U.S.

¹⁷² Gordon, p.72-73.

¹⁷³ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.68.

¹⁷⁴ The wording of the question was changed after the protests of the Issei grew, but by then the damage was done since word had spread quickly within the camps. Ibid, p.69.

¹⁷⁵ CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.192.

¹⁷⁶ Robinson (2003): p.202.

citizenship, argued that they had done so under duress making the actions not legally valid.¹⁷⁷ It took more than two decades of legal battles, most of which was done by civil rights attorney Wayne Collins, for the majority of these Nisei to finally regain their U.S. citizenships.¹⁷⁸

Policy of Leave and Resettlement

It is a little known fact that the release of internees started, although slowly, as soon as the first Japanese Americans reached the internment camps. The first persons to be given “leave” from the camps were college students. Approximately 3,500 students were prohibited from attending their colleges and universities on the West Coast once the internment came into effect. Influential educators on the West Coast, lead by University of California president Robert Gordon Sproul, argued that the education of future leaders of loyal Japanese Americans would be lost if the Nisei could not continue their education. The educators persuaded California Governor Culbert Olsen to take action. In a letter to President Roosevelt, the governor stated that a lack of action would be harmful not only to Japanese Americans, but “to the nation, since well trained leadership for such persons will be needed after the present war.”¹⁷⁹ The president granted the request and the first Nisei students left their internment camps to attend school for the fall semester of 1942. Eventually, approximately 4,300 students were released to attend educational institutions in the interior. The program was deemed a success by the WRA, but it also had its difficulties. Anti-Japanese sentiment and discrimination were part of the daily life of many students, especially in the first semester, and several schools, including the prestigious Princeton University and The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), refused to accept the previously interned Nisei as students. Another difficult factor was the financial burden of the education itself. Students were not given any financial aid, beyond traveling money, from the government. This put extra strain on the financial situation of interned families, many of which had lost large parts of their lives’ work in the chaotic process of evacuating their homes.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.86.

¹⁷⁸ Gordon, p.77.

¹⁷⁹ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.73.

¹⁸⁰ CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.181.

The second group to be given leave was agricultural workers due to a severe manpower shortage within seasonal farm labor. Influential farmers successfully petitioned the White House in the summer of 1942 with concerns about losing crops due to the situation. The importance of a stable food production on the home front paved way for agricultural workers to be given seasonal leaves from the camps, reaching 10,000 internees already by mid-October 1942. Despite incidents involving discrimination, and to smaller extent violence, the WRA's experience with students and agricultural workers were seen as successful. This progress, together with the heightened tensions and increased level of protests seen within the camps at the start of 1943, lead WRA officials to attempt resettlement on a larger scale. By the early months of 1943, the agency was dedicated to a program of leave and resettlement. Even though the effectiveness of the program was meager and its progress slow, it was the beginning of a decrease in the number of Japanese Americans that were kept incarcerated within the internment camps.¹⁸¹

The resettlement policy received heavy criticism from many of the same anti-Japanese groups that had pushed the hardest for the internment in the first place. General DeWitt and the Western Defense Command (WDC) also protested fiercely against any alteration to its exclusion order. The government's reasons for seeking an exit-strategy for the internment camps were many, however. Legally, the hearing of *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* in the Supreme Court showed that legal actions against provisions of the internment were, if not successful, taken seriously. Politically, the internment camps had become a source of enemy propaganda that severely opposed the image of the United States as a champion for human rights. Militarily, the camps took up considerable resources and, most importantly, valuable manpower. Socially, the tensions within the camps kept increasing and WRA officials and military leaders feared that riots like those at Manzanar and Poston could occur elsewhere. A prolonged incarceration, administration advisors feared, could lead to psychological scarring of the Japanese Americans creating an indefinite dependency on welfare and other aid from the government.¹⁸² Roosevelt's approval of "loyal" Nisei to serve in the armed forces proved that there were in fact loyal citizens among the internees. The continued internment of such individuals became increasingly difficult to defend. Consequently,

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p.185.

¹⁸² Robinson (2003): p.178.

President Roosevelt supported a gradual ending of the camps in 1943, testing the public opinion on the return and resettlement of the Japanese Americans.¹⁸³ The President was hesitant about a general release, however. Even with the much milder political climate of 1944, Roosevelt, with the advice of Attorney General Biddle, feared the potential blowback of an abrupt ending to the internment orders and subsequent resettlement of Japanese Americans around the country. Both historian Greg Robinson and the CWRIC-report suggested that the president's reluctance to end the order was linked to the presidential election of 1944.¹⁸⁴ A general release was established in December of that same year, with only Nisei able to apply. Even though the process soon after included Issei, it was tedious and burdensome.¹⁸⁵

The new policy of resettlement aside, many internees were skeptical about returning to their former West Coast homes. Information about the current climate of outside communities was poor, and only the most dramatic news traveled throughout the camps. The passing of resolutions against the free movement of "evacuees," in certain towns, is one such example. The strained financial situation of many families made the option to resettle in a new area of the country just as difficult. With most family members in the same predicament, the opportunities seemed very limited to most interned Issei and Nisei. In meetings with the WRA the JACL expressed deep concerns about the future of several internees once they were to be released from the camps that were closing. For reasons of old age, poor medical conditions or sheer demoralization, the organization feared that a great number of internees were not, and would possibly never be, ready for a life outside the camps. The fact that a number of internees actually resisted leaving the camps after the war had ended, having to be forcibly evicted by the WRA is evidence of the complexity of the internment itself, and proof of the psychological impact of long time incarceration. By December of 1945, all camps had been emptied and closed with the exception of Tule Lake, the home of draft resisters and "disloyal" Issei and Nisei, which was closed four months later.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ President Roosevelt's preferred plan of action was to resettle the Japanese American internees in small numbers all around the country. He personally suggested that one or two families could be sent to the same district, but not much more than that. *Ibid*, p.226.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p.218 and CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.229.

¹⁸⁵ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.78.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p.86.

Military Contribution of Japanese Americans

In early 1941, the army established a language school in San Francisco, California, that included Japanese American faculty who taught Japanese. After the exclusion order by General Dewitt, the school was not allowed to keep its Japanese American staff, which was essential to its operation, if the school would continue to be situated in California. After a tug of war between DeWitt's Western Defense Command and the school's officers, it was eventually moved to Minnesota. In the summer of 1942, much to the objection of Dewitt, the school's Commandant was given permission to send recruiting teams to the different internment camps, in search of linguistically sufficient Japanese Americans who would volunteer for service in military intelligence. The army desperately needed the linguists, but the initial recruitment was highly discouraging. The search to find so-called Kibei, Nisei who had traveled to Japan for part of their education, with military experience from the Japanese army did not produce a single individual. The prospects of Nisei language skills had also been misjudged. They, like most second-generation immigrants, did not master their parents' mother tongue very well. Only 3% of the first 3,700 interviewed Nisei were fluent in Japanese.¹⁸⁷

Ultimately, the standards of the school were lowered, leading to the release of some 6,000 internees who were accepted at the school. 5,000 of these graduated and were sent all over the Pacific Theater of Operations as linguists with the Military Intelligence Services (MIS). The MIS-linguists served on an array of different tasks, including translating cables and interrogating prisoners to aiding military units on the front line. Several continued to serve the U.S. military in the postwar occupation of Japan. The contribution of these linguists received almost no publicity during the war and has been largely overshadowed by the well-publicized involvement of their armed counterparts of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. The same can be said about the contribution of internees who worked on naval and war department projects within the camps, such as the production of camouflage nets.¹⁸⁸

Arguably the best-known military contribution of Japanese Americans in World War 2 is that of the Nisei soldiers engaged in the European War Theater. After the attack on Pearl Harbor the War Department barred all Japanese Americans from joining the military. Two institutions were exempt, however, the segregated 100th Infantry

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, p.76.

¹⁸⁸ Gordon, p.177-178.

Battalion and, as shown above, the MIS language school.¹⁸⁹ The 100th Battalion started out as part of the Hawaiian National Guard. With the attack on Pearl Harbor, however, its members, like the enlisted Nisei on the mainland, were released from active duty. After extensive lobbying from a Hawaiian Commander, who had noticed the aspiration of many local Nisei to demonstrate their loyalty, the decision to form a special Nisei-battalion was made. Nearly 1,500 Hawaiian Nisei were sent to the mainland for training in the summer of 1942, before shipping to the battlefield of Southern Italy little over a year later. The battalion earned praise after heavy fighting equally heavy losses, resulting in its nickname “Purple Heart Battalion.”¹⁹⁰ After ten months of fighting, the 100th Battalion was attached to the 442nd Regimental Combat Team in June 1944.

The 442nd Regimental Combat Team stated when Secretary of War Stimson officially lifted the barring of Nisei from the military draft in January of 1944. The decision severely split the communities of the internment camps, with Issei and Nisei on both sides of the argument. Some saw it as the ultimate opportunity to prove their loyalty while others felt it was the latest of a long line of oppressions by the U.S. government. The draft only applied to those who had previously “confirmed their loyalty” through the infamous loyalty questionnaire. Even so, when the drafting process commenced, the chaotic circumstances of the questionnaire re-emerged. Since many had felt pressured to answer “yes” to the question of their willingness to join the armed forces, it was inevitable that there would be resistance to the actual draft. More than 300 young men refused to be inducted and nearly all of them were convicted to three years in federal prison for draft evasion.¹⁹¹ All resisters were given a presidential pardon by President Harry S. Truman in 1947, but the decision to reinstate the draft continued to be a source of controversy within Japanese American community for decades after the war.¹⁹²

Most of the 3,600 Nisei who entered the army directly from the camps, joined the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. In addition were the persons on leave that volunteered for duty. All in all, a reasonable proportion of the 18,000 Nisei who eventually served in the 442nd had direct experience with the internment camps. Considering such circumstances, it was the ultimate irony how the 442nd's Nisei, shortly

¹⁸⁹ CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.256.

¹⁹⁰ Gordon, p.74.

¹⁹¹ CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.246.

¹⁹² Gordon, p.74.

after their own release, helped liberate the Nazi concentration camp of Dachau. While the conditions of and policy behind the American internment camps cannot be equaled to those of Nazi death camps such as Dachau, the young Japanese-American soldiers did liberate incarcerated persons while many had family members of their own behind barbed wire in the United States.¹⁹³ Before the liberation of Dachau, which is situated in Germany, the 442nd fought with great distinction in both Italy and the south of France. The more than 18,000 Nisei who served in the 442nd, including the 1,500 young men of the 100th Infantry Battalion, suffered over 9,000 casualties, including nearly 700 killed. To this day, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team is the most decorated unit in U.S. military history, earning 18,143 individual decorations, including a Congressional Medal of Honor, 47 Distinguished Service Crosses and 350 Silver Stars.¹⁹⁴ Speaking to the remaining soldiers of the 442nd in 1947, President Harry S. Truman praised their sacrifice stating, “you fought not only the enemy, you fought prejudice - and you won.”¹⁹⁵

Contrary to President Truman’s praise, the military contribution of Japanese Americans did not end prejudice towards the population group. The reported instances of violence and discrimination towards Japanese Americans, veterans and civilians alike, actually increased after the war.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the military contribution and in particular the Nisei-soldier became the poster child for the JACL, in the organization’s post-war battle for naturalization-rights for Issei. Despite the extraordinary circumstances of Japanese Americans at the time, approximately 33,000¹⁹⁷ Nisei served in the military during World War II, including some 26,000 in the armed forces.¹⁹⁸ Truman’s praise of the Japanese-American war effort was reciprocated and even expanded in 2010, when President Barrack Obama signed legislation that awarded the Congressional Gold Medal to the members of the 100th

¹⁹³ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.64.

¹⁹⁴ CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.258.

¹⁹⁵ Gordon, p.75.

¹⁹⁶ CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.258-259.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p.253.

¹⁹⁸ The CWRIC also focused on the military contribution of Nisei outside the armed forces, in their final report, noting how “numerous others served in less glamorous but equally critical jobs. There were Nisei medics, mechanics and clerks in the Quartermaster Corps and Nisei women in the WACs (Women’s Army Corps). Nisei and Issei served as language instructors, employees in the Army Map Service, and behind the scenes in the Office of Strategic Services and Office of War Information.” Ibid, p.259.

Infantry Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and the Military Intelligence Services (MIS).¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ Jordan Steffen, "White House honors Japanese American WWII veterans," *Los Angeles Times*, October 6, 2010.

PART II – ANALYSIS OF THE STATE U.S. HISTORY STANDARDS

The involuntary internment during World War II directly affected the lives of some 120,000 Japanese Americans. The psychological trauma, economical hardship and disrupted family bonds that effected many internees stand as stark testimonies of the U.S. government’s injustice in relation to the program of internment. The military contribution of free and interned Nisei is an important contrast to that injustice. Despite the racial prejudice, barred rights and ill treatment that the population group as a whole had to endure, tens of thousands of Nisei volunteered for military service, a large proportion of which had direct experiences from the internment camps. The lengths to which these persons were willing to go in desperate attempts to prove their loyalty are not only inspiring, but also demonstrative of the hardship of the situation they found themselves in. There are two historical criteria points regarding the circumstances of the internment that are significant additions to a U.S. history standard. The following analysis will evaluate the treatment of life in the internment camps and the military contribution of Japanese Americans.

The Treatment of “Life in the Internment Camps” in State U.S. History Standards

Failure of Identification

Michigan

Standard 7.2.3: *Impact of WWII on American Life – Analyze the changes in American life brought about by U.S. participation in World War II including...internment of Japanese-Americans*

Virginia

VUS.12: *The student will demonstrate knowledge of the effects of World War II on the home front by*
c) explaining the internment of Japanese Americans during the war;

The state standard of Michigan is correct in describing the internment as “changes” in the lives of the Japanese Americans that were interned. It is doubtful, however, that Michigan’s standard attempts to shed light on the actual living conditions of the internment camps themselves. Even if that is the goal of the standard, students will probably have a hard time understanding the vague reference. Instead, it is more likely

that Michigan’s standard refers to the policy of internment itself, making the issue of life within the camps only one of many possible issues of focus.

The standard of Virginia is representative of both Georgia and North Carolina as the three use identical phrasing in their standards. The wish of the three standards for students to be “explaining the internment” is very broad and can best be understood as a reference to the *program* of internment, rather than its specific effects. Similarly to that of Michigan, the three standards are too vague to be considered adequate in relation to the historical criteria point of life in the internment camps. To succeed in attracting the attention of students to such a specific side to the internment, a standard need to include specific references. The state standards of Michigan, Virginia, Georgia and North Carolina, however, fail to do so.

Attempted Coverage Through External Resources

Ohio

Standard 3: *Historians develop theses and use evidence to support or refute positions.*

Instructional Strategies: *Display numerous artifacts or other primary sources related to a historical event (e.g., Japanese-American internment, immigration, civil rights).*

Instructional Resources: *Teaching With Documents: Documents and Photographs Related to Japanese Relocation During World War II. [Web link](#). This National Archives website contains primary source documents and teaching activities relating to the forced relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II.*

Lesson Plan: *Japanese American Internment. [Web link](#). This lesson from the Library of Congress website includes primary source documents and activities.*²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ See Ohio’s state U.S. history standard in Appendix 1 for more details, including the actual web link.

Kansas

Standard 7K: *The student examines the complexity of race and ethnic relations (e.g., Zoot Suit Riots, Japanese internment camps, American reaction to atrocities of Holocaust and unwillingness to accept Jewish refugees).*

High School Instructional Suggestions: *Read excerpts of letters or diaries from internment camps. [Web link](#).*²⁰¹

The standards of Kansas and Ohio are unique in how they contain suggestions for teacher resources connected to the Japanese-American internment. The two state standards include one web link each to different lesson plans at the website of the government run National Archive. In addition, Ohio incorporate a lesson plan from the website of the Library of Congress. The lesson plans are in both standards promoted as using primary source material in its instruction while being directly connected to the Japanese-American internment. By outsourcing part of the factual content to that of external providers, in this case government run websites, a state will not be able to guarantee the access of that content. The link in Kansas' standard is an example of this, since the web link is presently sending its readers to a invalid page on the website of the National Archive.²⁰²

A safety measure for the eventuality of denied access is that standards live up to the educational criteria of identifying and explaining the significance of the specific event. Sadly, the standard of Ohio does not manage to do so in relation to the historical criteria point of life in the internment camps. The standard of Ohio offers a structure once typical of social studies in secondary school. The majority of states have abandoned the structure after heavy criticism from educational organizations such as the Fordham Institute.²⁰³ The research-based style that characterizes the Ohio standard would be well suited as a supplementary project. It is ill suited, however, to stand alone as the only content reference for the state's K-12 students and teachers. The website of the Library of Congress, which Ohio's web link leads to, is without a doubt a valuable addition to the standard. It contains an extensive collection of primary source documents and photographs related to the interment. Outsourcing the factual content in

²⁰¹ See Kansas' state U.S. History standard in Appendix 1 for more details, including the actual web link.

²⁰² Unclear as to when the web link became inactive, but at least since February of 2013.

²⁰³ Stern, the Fordham Institute, p.117.

its entirety is not an adequate form of practice, however. Ohio's standard also fails to guide its teachers and students through the overwhelming amount of information that is offered in the web link. The external addition is therefore invalid for the evaluation of this thesis, leaving only the standard itself that fails on not only the educational, but also the historical criteria points in question.

The standard of Kansas is more successful in its addition of external resource, classified as an "instructional suggestion." The standard includes a description of the intended use of the web link, namely to "read excerpts of letters or diaries from internment camps." By adding such a detailed description, the standard can potentially be met by replacing the faulty web link with other sources of information. An examination of primary source material, such as the letters or diaries of internees, would undoubtedly provide valuable insight into the conditions of the camps. Nevertheless, since such an examination is only a suggestion and not a compulsory addition in the Kansas standard, the core standard point carries more weight. While the conditions of the internment camps could possibly be looked at under the Kansas standard as it currently stands, it is more likely that the examination encouraged by the standard to examine "the complexity of race and ethnic relations" will be predominantly aimed at the reasons behind the internment.²⁰⁴

Limited Treatment to That of the Economic Effect of the Internment

Minnesota

4. U.S. HISTORY 9.4.4.21.6: *Evaluate the economic impact of the war, including its impact on the role of...disenfranchised communities in the United States...For example: Treatment of Japanese-Americans, Rosie the Riveter, the Bracero Program.*

Minnesota's standard makes no reference to life in the internment camps. Instead, it focuses on a connected issue. Its listing of the "economic impact" of World War II and consequent link to the "treatment of Japanese Americans," as one of three examples, is unique among the fifty-one state standards. Though unique, the standard's phrasing is not particularly precise. As it stands, the "economic impact" can refer to one of two issues, or possibly both. The reference can be understood in connection to the economic

²⁰⁴ See the analysis of the state standard of Kansas in chapter 2 for more on the standard's treatment of the criteria point of "racial prejudice."

losses of Japanese Americans in the first months of 1942, as they had to desperately sell off property and belongings, often at heavily discounted prices, to prepare for the internment.²⁰⁵ These financial circumstances influenced the lives of many Japanese Americans both during and after their time in the internment camps. It limited the ability of many young Nisei to fulfill their academic ambitions and, most importantly, made the resettlement process considerably harder for a large number of families who found they had to start from scratch to rebuild what they possessed before the war.²⁰⁶ Another interpretation of the “economic impact” is the way in which interned Issei and Nisei were used as a workforce during the war. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the use of Japanese Americans as seasonal farm laborers was extensive. Throughout the interior United States, internees, who in many cases had owned and operated farms before the internment, were an invaluable addition to a labor force that experienced a severe manpower shortage. The standard of Minnesota’s two other examples suggest that the latter interpretation is the actual intent of the standard, since *Rosie the Riveter* and *the Bracero Program* are listed alongside the “treatment of Japanese-Americans.”²⁰⁷ The vague phrasing of Minnesota’s standard leaves its readers guessing. Either interpretation is a welcomed inclusion in the standard since both encourage Minnesota’s students to understand at least the economic ramifications of the program of internment, and with that one side of life in the internment camps.

²⁰⁵ There were also a large number of reported cases in which land or properties that had been leased out in 1942 were refused to be returned after the return of the Japanese American owners. Often, the original leaser had sold the property or land on to a third party or plainly forged documents proving ownership. Gordon, p.60.

²⁰⁶ For more on the economic losses of Japanese Americans, see Arnold, Frank S., *Economic Losses of Ethnic Japanese as a Result of Exclusion and Detention, 1942-1946*, ICF Incorporated (1983).

²⁰⁷ “Rosie the Riveter” was a term used in the United States during World War II. The term was widely successful in promoting female workers to support the war effort by taking on factory jobs as there was a manpower shortage due to the millions of male soldiers that had shipped overseas. For more see a suggested reading list at the Library of Congress: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/journey/rosie.html>

“The Bracero Program” was a series of agreements between the governments of the United States and Mexico in relation to the importation of temporary Mexican laborers. During World War II, the laborers were predominantly employed in the American agricultural sector and railroad system. In fact, in 1943 Mexican braceros and Japanese-American workers went on strike in protest of what they perceived as unjust treatment by local law enforcers. For more see: Daniels, Roger, *Guarding the Golden Door*, p.89-91.

Partially Successful Treatment: Reference to Specific Internment Camps

New Mexico

Benchmark 1-A 3: *Analyze the role and impact of New Mexico and New Mexicans in World War II (e.g., Navajo code talkers, New Mexico national guard, internment camps...)*

Only the standards of New Mexico and Arkansas seek to utilize the local connection of each respective state to the historical event of the Japanese-American internment. New Mexico's standard could potentially lead students to discover the state's Camp Santa Fe, Fort Stanton and Lordsburg. Even though this inclusion far surpasses the void of referring to any internment facility, which is the case for forty-nine state standards, New Mexico's inclusion is not fully successful in relation to the historical criteria point at hand. As described in the analysis of New Mexico's standard in chapter 2, neither of the three camps situated in the state were WRA operated "relocation centers," but rather enemy alien facilities operated by the U.S. Justice Department. The facilities housed not only Japanese Americans, but also German and Italian enemy aliens and were patrolled by border patrol agents. In short, the facilities and the conditions within them do not provide representative examples of life in the internment camps. Additionally, since none of the camps are listed by name, the reference is vague. With a focus that is limited to the local dimension of New Mexico, the state's standard is at danger of misleading its students in understanding the historical criteria point of life in the internment camps.²⁰⁸

Arkansas

World Conflict 18.AH.4: *Evaluate the effects of the forced relocation of Japanese Americans including the Arkansas connection: Internment camps (Jerome and Rohwer)*

A much more successful use of a local state-connection can be found in the state standards of Arkansas. The standard lists the state's two former internment camps of Jerome and Rohwer, in addition to a classification of the two as "the Arkansas connection." By doing so, the standard makes sure that its students are informed about

²⁰⁸ See the analysis of the state standard of New Mexico in Chapter 2 for further details of the standard's limitations.

the state's close relation to the internment, even before a textbook is opened. Arkansas' standard is furthermore the only state standard to specifically mention the name of any internment camps. This is a shame as the ten WRA-run internment camps were situated within seven different states, all of which could have taken advantage of their historical relation to the event when referring to it in its individual standards.²⁰⁹

The history of the two "War Relocation Centers" of Jerome and Rowher is representative of the internment camps found across the country.²¹⁰ The potential of the standard is therefore excellent. An example of this is the fierce objections from Arkansas' Governor to the plans of setting up the two camps within his state. Governor Homer Adkins, a former Ku Klux Klan member, was only silenced once he was assured by the WRA's Director that the internees would be watched over by armed "white guards" and that all internees would be removed from the state once the war was over. Although unsuccessful in keeping the camps out of his state, the governor did succeed in getting state legislation passed that barred Japanese Americans who left the camps, including citizen Nisei, to work or study within the state of Arkansas.²¹¹

The stories connected to Jerome, Rowher, or even Governor Adkins, could enlighten Arkansas students and help them understand the complex issues connected to the internment. That is, of course, if they explore the history of the two camps, rather than simply classifying them as two of the ten WRA-internment camps set up during World War II. Unfortunately, Arkansas' standard does not explicitly ask its students to investigate the history or conditions of the two camps. It does, however, ask them to "evaluate the *effects* of the forced relocation," potentially leading to the historical criteria point of life in the internment camps. Furthermore, the standard's focus on the "effects" could lead students to look beyond the actual time spent inside the internment camps, to the return to civil life and the difficulties that brought with it.

The use of the official WRA-nomenclature of "relocation" is something Arkansas share with only the standards North Carolina and Ohio. The description of "forced" is important in the standard of Arkansas, since it clearly shows how the kindly

²⁰⁹ See Appendix 2 for detailed map of all the seventeen facilities and the agency responsible for running them.

²¹⁰ Both camps were purpose-built for the internment and held only Japanese Americans. Jerome was furthermore both the last to open, October 1942, and first to close, June 1944. Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.86.

²¹¹ Williams, Patrick G., "Homer Martin Adkins (1890–1964)," *The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture*.

phrased “relocation” was not an act of kindness or a voluntary program. The erroneous claim that the internment was implemented to serve the interests of Japanese Americans themselves, protecting them from the racially hostile environment of the West Coast, is still to this day argued in recently published books.²¹² As “relocation” is often the term of choice for such writers, the addition of “forced” is vital.

The Treatment of “Military Contribution of Japanese Americans” in State U.S. History Standards

A Failure of Identification

Michigan

Standard 7.2.3: *Impact of WWII on American Life – Analyze the changes in American life brought about by U.S. participation in World War II including...role of women and minorities in the war effort*

Minnesota

4. U.S. HISTORY 7.4.4.21.4: *Outline the causes and conduct of World War II...For example: D-Day, Iwo Jima, Guadalcanal, segregated military, treatment of Japanese- Americans...*

Arizona

PO 2. *Describe the impact of American involvement in World War II:*
d. Japanese, German, and Italian internments and POW camps
e. War mobilization (e.g., Native American Code-Talkers, minority participation in military units, media portrayal)

The standards of Michigan, Minnesota and Arizona cover the military contribution of Japanese Americans during World War II only indirectly, through the classifications of “minorities in the war effort,” “segregated military” and “minority participation in military units,” respectively. The involvement of minorities in the war effort of the United States was extensive, and the total number of Japanese-Americans was small compared to that of other groups. Compared to the roughly 1 million African American soldiers, for example, the approximately 26,000 Nisei soldiers is minimal.²¹³ Even

²¹² See Malkin (2004).

²¹³ Japanese American participation rank third, just ahead of Native Americans, in the total number of soldiers with African American ranking first and Puerto Rican American second. “Selective Service and

though the percentage of Japanese Americans who participated in the war effort is more substantial, their efforts are likely to be overlooked in a U.S. history standard that refer to a group as wide-ranging as that of “minorities.” The accomplishments of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, the most highly decorated unit in U.S. military history, were astonishing. Furthermore, the circumstances surrounding the participation of the former internees that joined the unit were extraordinary. Consequently, it is both fitting and necessary that the 442nd is specifically listed to ensure their inclusion in discussions regarding minority participation in World War II. Since the standards of Michigan, Minnesota and Arizona are void of not only an identification of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, but also Japanese Americans in general, the standards are not adequate in their treatment of the historical criteria point of the military contribution of Japanese Americans.

Partially Successful Treatment: Listing of Japanese American Participation

Virginia

VUS.11: *The student will demonstrate knowledge of World War II by*
c) describing the role of all-minority military units, including the Tuskegee
Airmen and Nisei regiments

VUS.12: *The student will demonstrate knowledge of the effects of World War II*
on the home front by
b) describing the contributions of women and minorities to the war effort

Ohio

Standard 3: *Historians develop theses and use evidence to support or refute*
positions.

Content Elaborations: *Although Japanese Americans were interned in relocation*
camps by the U.S. government, many enlisted in the armed services.

Even though the standards of Ohio and Virginia also fail to identify the military unit of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, the two standards are distinct in how both provide additional information connected to the historical criteria point in question. Virginia’s standard “VUS 11” is unique among all the fifty-one state standards in using the term

Victory: The 4th Report of the Director of Selective Service,” *Government Printing Office* (1948): p.187-190. Accessible from the U.S. Army Center of Military History (CMH).

“Nisei.” Though “Nisei regiments” is not the correct nomenclature for either the 442nd Regimental Combat Team or the 100th Infantry Battalion, it does, if nothing else, demand a welcomed investigation into the population group of Japanese Americans. The second Virginia standard listed, “VUS 12,” is, for the same reasons as those of Michigan and Arizona’s standards, too broad in its focus on the contributions of “minorities”.

The additional information provided by Ohio’s standard is related to the extraordinary circumstances of the Japanese American contribution. The formerly interned Nisei who served in the armed forces, went to war for the same government that had methodically discriminated against them in previous years. Even though the reference, listed as “elaborations” to the content, is a positive addition, the vague phrasing of Ohio’s standard is once again an inhibiting factor. Similar to the standard’s shortfall in relation to the historical criteria point of life in the internment camps, its reference to the military contribution of Japanese Americans does not present any guidance or clarification to the factual content listed. The vague phrasing of Ohio’s standard can easily provide a reader, unfamiliar with the topic, the erroneous impression that all Japanese Americans were interned or even that all who “enlisted” were former internees. The one-sided focus on the Japanese Americans that enlisted can also be misleading. This largely voluntary act was one of two ways of entry for Nisei contributors, the other being a draft process that was surrounded by confusion and despair on the part of young Nisei and their families.

Partially Successful Treatment: Listing of 442nd Regimental Combat Team

Arkansas

World Conflict 18.AH.5: *Evaluate the military contribution of minorities in WWII: Tuskegee Airmen, Navajo Code Talkers, 442nd Regimental Combat Team*

District of Columbia

Standard 7: Identify the roles and sacrifices of individual American soldiers (more than 300,000 American soldiers died), as well as the unique contributions of the special fighting forces (e.g., the Tuskegee Airmen, the 442nd Regimental Combat team, and the Navajo Code Talkers).

Only the standards of Arkansas and the District of Columbia include specific references to the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Arkansas frames its reference to the 442nd as “the military contribution of minorities,” listing the Nisei regiment as one of three examples of minority military units. The District of Columbia, on the other hand, includes the 442nd in a standard that also deals with American soldiers in general, potentially ensuring that the coverage of minority soldiers is balanced against the role and sacrifice of its general counterpart. While parts of the war experience were shared among the average soldiers, the extraordinary circumstances of many Nisei soldiers were not. The standard of the District of Columbia highlights this fact by asking students to identify the “unique contributions” of the 442nd, along with that of the same two minority military units listed in the standard of Arkansas. Unlike the District of Columbia’s “Standard 6,” which is analyzed in chapters 2 and 3, its “Standard 7” has not been adopted from the standard of California. The California standard does not include any reference to the military contribution of either minorities in general or Japanese Americans in particular. “Standard 7” is therefore a valuable addition on the part of the District of Columbia that enhances its standard’s treatment of the criteria point in question.

Summary of Findings

The issues of life in the internment camps and the military contribution of Japanese Americans are both complex and require adequate identification and guidance to truly work in the format of a state U.S. history standard. These two historical criteria points are the ones that receive the best coverage in textbooks, according to the reviews included in chapter 1, out of all the historical criteria points of this thesis. Six of the seven most recently published textbooks include discussions, of varying quality, of the conditions within the internment camps and information about the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, while two textbooks also mention the contributions of the MIS

linguists.²¹⁴ While this is encouraging, it is not a reason for any state to ignore the historical criteria points in their state standards. The evaluation of how these two historical criteria points are treated in state U.S. history standards shows that the adequate coverage of textbooks is not reciprocated in state standards. Even the best standards are only partially successful in their treatment of life in the internment camps (Minnesota and Arkansas) and the military contribution of Japanese Americans (Virginia, Ohio, the District of Columbia and, again, Arkansas). The standard of Arkansas is the state standard boasting the most successful treatment of the two criteria points combined. It should also be noted that the standard of Arkansas is the only state standards, together with that of New Mexico, that seek to utilize the local connection of each respective state to the historical event of the Japanese-American internment. This is disappointing since a total of seven different states had one or more locations that in one way or another handled Japanese Americans under the Exclusion Orders of General DeWitt and the Western Defense Command. Such locations include camps, facilities and centers, run by the WRA, U.S. Justice Department or U.S. Army.²¹⁵

²¹⁴ “Some textbooks still exclude particular information pertaining to the conditions of the camps.” Ogawa, p.48.

²¹⁵ See Appendix 2 for detailed map of all the seventeen facilities and the agency responsible for running them.

Chapter 5

Future Use of Findings

Testifying in front of the CWRIC-commission in 1981, Albert Kurihara, a former internee of Santa Anita Assembly Center and Poston Relocation Center, told of his anger towards the U.S. government for how it had treated him and fellow American citizen Nisei during the internment. “I hope this country will never forget what happened,” Kurihara concluded, “and do what it can to make sure that future generations will never forget.”²¹⁶ The inadequate treatment of the internment in a majority of the fifty-one state U.S. history standards leaves the fate of Kurihara’s hope highly uncertain. If future generations are to fully know and understand the complex history of the internment, the current state U.S. history standards need to be drastically improved.

The analyses of chapters 2, 3 and 4 demonstrate a shortcoming of the majority of state standards. In chapter 2, no state standard is successful in fully referencing even two of the listed three historical criteria points. The three-part reasoning behind the internment; racial prejudice, wartime hysteria and a failure of leadership, is best covered in the standards of Kansas, Connecticut and Washington. In chapter 3, the standards of New York, California, and the District of Columbia include partial references to both the criteria point of the violations of civil rights that resulted from Executive Order 9066 and the Supreme Court cases of *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.* Furthermore, the standards of Arkansas and Rhode Island received praise for their treatment of the latter criteria point. In chapter 4, only the standard of Arkansas incorporates a successful treatment of both the criteria points of life in the internment camps and the military contribution of Japanese Americans. In addition to the unmistakable failure of the fifteen non-content specific standards, only a handful of the remaining forty-four content-specific standards entice its readers, either in- or outside the classroom, to obtain the factual knowledge needed to understand the significance of the internment and its place within U.S. history.

The need for improvement and development of U.S. history standards are extensive. The lack of a uniform configuration, level of detail and textual magnitude to

²¹⁶ Gordon, p.80.

the individual state standards have led to a number of the insufficient non-content specific and content-specific standards of today. Creating hugely extensive U.S. history standards does not solve the problem, however, as there are also practical concerns about the application of the standards that need to be taken into consideration. As shown in relation to the standardized tests, in chapter 1, the position and level of emphasis on U.S. history as a subject in secondary education differs from state to state. While the participation in the wide-reaching category of social studies is often mandatory for students in secondary schools wanting to graduate, the emphasis on U.S. history as one of the subjects within that category varies from state to state.²¹⁷ In practical terms, that means a different number of hours per week devoted to the instruction of U.S. history in high school classrooms around the country. If limited on time, any in-depth coverage of a historic event, in a U.S. history class, will most likely mean the neglected coverage of a different event. If an event is not considered a vital part of U.S. history, which the poor treatment of the internment in the majority of state standards might suggest it is not, it will not be given preference among state boards of education around the country in the revision processes of individual standards, or in the classrooms if a teacher needs to eliminate standards to be covered.

While the seven historical criteria points listed in the analyses of chapters 2, 3 and 4 are needed to cover the major sides of the internment, an inclusion of all of them within the majority of the fifty-one state U.S. history standard is unlikely. Most of the state standards do not refer to individual historical events in an all-inclusive or all-exclusive way. In fact, none of the fifty-one state standards devote a standard solely to the internment. Indiana is the closest example, but its standard focuses only on the legal issues of the internment, listing the Supreme Court cases of *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.* Most of state standards that cover the internment specifically include the reference to the event among other examples of World War II-issues, such as “minority participation in military units,”²¹⁸ “impact of war mobilization on the U.S. home front”²¹⁹ and “important domestic events that took place during the war.”²²⁰ A combination of this dispersed treatment and the desired instruction of the internment is

²¹⁷ Holland, Sally, “Subject Matters: Why students fall behind on history,” *CNN.com*, January 18, 2011.

²¹⁸ See Appendix 1 for the state U.S. history standard of Arizona.

²¹⁹ See Appendix 1 for the state U.S. history standard of South Carolina.

²²⁰ See Appendix 1 for the state U.S. history standard of Massachusetts.

to use the social, economical, political, constitutional and racial sides of the event. Consequently, the internment can, as is currently the case with several standards, function as a starting point for the examination of different historical issues. Unfortunately, such a tactic will only present certain sides of the internment. It is doubtful that any state standard would use the event as an example on more than a couple of issues, leaving the complexity of the internment hidden from students. The choice to organize standards after themes rather than content and chronology is heavily criticized by the Fordham Institute as they assert that because of such focus “teachers and students fail to grasp why history unfolded as it did.”²²¹

Practical concerns and the traditional configuration of many state U.S. history standards might prevent an all-inclusive and all-exclusive standard covering the internment, but the conclusions of chapters 2, 3 and 4 surely proves that there is a need for a more focused and comprehensive treatment of the event. With the limited and inaccurate treatment of the internment in U.S. history textbooks and inadequate treatment of the event in U.S. history standards, there is no reason to believe that the level of competency of high-school students on the specific historical event of the internment is any higher than what the same students show in U.S. history in general. An inclusion of the seven historic criteria points would make the U.S. history standards of any state a highly beneficial aid to students and teachers alike, in discovering the true history of the internment. Even an inclusion of three or four of the criteria points would surpass the guidance provided by most of the current standards. If placed in the format of a U.S. history standard, all seven historical criteria points placed could potentially be presented in the following way:

Students are to explore...

...the reasons behind the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, including racial prejudice, wartime hysteria and a failure of leadership; conditions within the camps; the military contribution of Japanese Americans, including the highly decorated 442nd Regimental Combat Team; the violations of civil rights resulting from Executive Order 9066 and the significance of the Supreme Court cases Hirabayashi v. U.S. and Korematsu v. U.S.

²²¹ Stern, the Fordham Institute, p. 9.

The content that the proposed standard asks students to explore is clearly more extensive than that of current standards. The standard itself, however, is only slightly larger than the direct references to the internment found in the standards of Ohio and the District of Columbia. In its evaluation of the quality of state U.S. history standards, the Fordham Institute concluded that, “most [state standards] lack the content and clarity needed to provide a solid foundation for effective curriculum, assessment, and instruction.” Since the same can be said of how the same state standards cover the historical event of the internment, the proposed standard’s focus on clear, accurate and specific information would be an improvement to most standards. Additionally, its attention to instruction could potentially make the proposed standard more easily understood by both teachers and students of secondary education in the United States, meaning it would be more successful in completing its purpose of promoting what “students should know and be able to do.” If successful, state U.S. history standards with similar additions can make fulfilling the hope of former internee Kurihara, for reasons well explained by the CWRIC-commission thirty-one years ago, more likely;

*Our nation's ability to honor democratic values even in times of stress depends largely upon our collective memory of lapses in our constitutional commitment to liberty and due process. Nations that forget or ignore injustices are more likely to repeat them.*²²²

²²² CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, p.460.

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Appendix 1

Excerpts from all fifty-one State U.S. History Standards on Their Treatment of the Internment of Japanese Americans During World War II

Alabama

Title: United States History From 1877 to the Present

Grade: 11

- Standard 7. Explain the entry by the United States into World War II and major military campaigns in the European and Pacific Theaters.
 - * Describing the changing home front, including wartime economic measures, population shifts, racial and ethnic tensions, industrialization, science, and technology
 - * Explaining Alabama's participation in World War II, including the Tuskegee Airmen, the Aliceville Prisoner of War (POW) camp, the growth of the Port of Mobile, Birmingham steel, and military bases
 - * Explaining events and consequences of war crimes committed during World War II, including the Holocaust, the Bataan Death March, and the Nuremberg Trials
 - * Describing consequences of World War II on the lives of American citizens
Examples: Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill), desegregation of the military

Source:

http://www.alsde.edu/html/sections/doc_download.asp?section=54&id=2074&sort=5

Accessed: March 30, 2013

Alaska

Title: Content and Performance Standards for Alaska Students

Grades: 1-12

Non-content specific standards

Source: <http://www.eed.state.ak.us/standards/pdf/standards.pdf>

Accessed: March 25, 2013

Arizona

Title: Social Studies Standards – American History

Grades: 8-12

Concept 8: Great Depression & WWII

- High school
 - PO 2. Describe the impact of American involvement in World War II:
 - a. movement away from isolationism
 - b. economic recovery from the Great Depression
 - c. homefront transformations in the roles of women and minorities
 - d. Japanese, German, and Italian internments and POW camps
 - e. War mobilization (e.g., Native American Code-Talkers, minority participation in military units, media portrayal)
 - f. turning points such as Pearl Harbor, D-Day, Hiroshima/Nagasaki

Source: <http://www.azed.gov/standards-practices/files/2011/09/socialstudiesstrand1.pdf>

Accessed: March 24, 2013

Arkansas

Title: American History (United States History) Social Studies Curriculum Framework
Grades: 9-12

- World in Conflict
 - WC.18.AH.4
 - Evaluate the effects of the forced relocation of Japanese Americans including the Arkansas connection:
 - internment camps (Jerome and Rohwer)
 - Korematsu v. United States
 - WC.18.AH.5
 - Evaluate the military contribution of minorities in World War II:
 - Tuskegee Airmen
 - Navajo Code Talkers
 - 442nd Regimental Combat Team

Source:

http://www.arkansased.org/public/userfiles/Learning_Services/Curriculum%20and%20Instruction/Frameworks/Social%20Studies/contemp_ushist_2006.pdf

Accessed: March 19, 2013

California

Title: History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools

Grade: 11

- Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century 11.7
 - 5. Discuss the constitutional issues and impact of events on the U.S. home front, including the internment of Japanese Americans (e.g., Fred Korematsu v. United States of America) and the restrictions on German and Italian resident aliens; the response of the administration to Hitler's atrocities against Jews and other groups; the roles of women in military production; and the roles and growing political demands of African Americans.

Source: <http://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/ss/documents/histsocscistnd.pdf>

Accessed: March 25, 2013

Colorado

Title: Social Studies Standards

Grades: 9-12

Non-content specific standards

Source: http://www.cde.state.co.us/CoSocialStudies/Documents/SocStudies_HS.pdf

Accessed: March 19, 2013

Connecticut

Title: Connecticut Social Studies Framework Grades PK-12

Grades: 9-12

1.1 Significant events and themes in United States history

- 8. Analyze the influence of nationalism on American society (e.g. wartime conservation programs, immigration policies, Japanese-American internment).

Source:

http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/curriculum/socialstudies/CT_Social_Studies_Curriculum_Framework_2011.pdf

Accessed: March 22, 2013

Delaware²²³

Title: History Standards

Grades: 9-12

Non-specific standards

- History Standard Four: Students will develop historical knowledge of major events and phenomena in world, United States, and Delaware history [Content].
 - 9-12a: Students will develop an understanding of modern United States history, its connections to both Delaware and world history, including:
 - Civil War and Reconstruction (1850-1877)
 - Development of an industrialized nation (1870-1900)
 - Emergence of modern America (1890-1930)
 - Great Depression and World War II (1929-1945)
 - Postwar United States (1945-early 1970s)
 - Contemporary United States (1968-present)

Source:

http://www.doe.k12.de.us/infosuites/staff/ci/content_areas/files/ss/LFSStandards_History_6-10.doc

Accessed: March 29, 2013

District of Columbia

Title: Social Studies - Pre-K through Grade 12 Standards

Grade: 11

- 11.8. Students analyze America's participation in World War II.
 - 6 Describe the constitutional issues and impact of events on the U.S. home front, including the internment of Japanese Americans (e.g., Fred Korematsu v. United States of America) and the restrictions on German and Italian resident aliens. (P, S)
 - 7. Identify the roles and sacrifices of individual American soldiers (more than 300,000 American soldiers died), as well as the unique contributions of the special fighting forces (e.g., the Tuskegee Airmen, the 442nd Regimental Combat team, and the Navajo Code Talkers). (M, S)

Source:

http://osse.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/osse/publication/attachments/DCPS-horiz-soc_studies.pdf

Accessed: March 30, 2013

²²³ The U.S. history standards of Delaware are classified as non-content specific even though includes a reference to "World War II." The reason for this is that the standard does not include any specific information or objective in relation to World War II.

Florida

Title: Next Generation Sunshine State Standards for Social Studies – U.S. History

Comment: Revised since 2011 review by the Fordham Institute²²⁴

Grades: 9-12

- Standard 6
 - Understand The Causes And Course Of World War II, The Character Of The War At Home And Abroad, And Its Reshaping Of The United States Role In The Post-War World.
- Benchmark #:SS.912.A.6.4
 - Benchmark description: Examine efforts to expand or contract rights for various populations during World War II.
 - Examples: Examples may include, but are not limited to, women, African Americans, German Americans, Japanese Americans and their internment, Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, Italian Americans.

Source: <http://www.cpalms.org/Standards/PublicPreviewIdea.aspx?IdeaID=840>

Accessed: March 30, 2013

Georgia

Title: United States History Standards

Grades: 9-12

- SSUSH19 The student will identify the origins, major developments, and the domestic impact of World War II, especially the growth of the federal government.
 - a. Explain A. Philip Randolph’s proposed march on Washington, D.C., and President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s response.
 - b. Explain the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the internment of Japanese- Americans, German-Americans, and Italian-Americans.
 - c. Explain major events; include the lend-lease program, the Battle of Midway, D-Day, and the fall of Berlin.
 - d. Describe war mobilization, as indicated by rationing, war-time conversion, and the role of women in war industries.
 - e. Describe the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos and the scientific, economic, and military implications of developing the atomic bomb.
 - f. Compare the geographic locations of the European Theater and the Pacific Theater and the difficulties the U.S. faced in delivering weapons, food, and medical supplies to troops.

Source:

<https://www.georgiastandards.org/standards/Georgia%20Performance%20Standards/United-States-History.pdf>

Accessed: March 18, 2013

²²⁴ <http://www.tampabay.com/blogs/gradebook/content/floridas-us-history-standards-get-upgrade>

Hawaii

Title: Social Studies Content Standards

Grade: 10

- Benchmark SS.10.3.17
 - Analyze the effects of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, including the internment of Japanese Americans
- Sample Performance Assessment (SPA)
 - The student: Examines how the bombing of Pearl Harbor led to America's entry into WWII and the internment of Japanese Americans.

Source:

http://165.248.30.40/hcpsv3/search_results.jsp?contentarea=Social+Studies&gradecourse=10&strand=&showbenchmark=benchmark&showspa=spa&showrubric=rubric&Go%21=Submit

Accessed: March 23, 2013

Idaho

Title: Idaho Content Standards US History II

Grades: 9-12

Non-content specific

- Standard 1: History
 - Goal 1.2: Trace the role of migration and immigration of people in the development of the United States.
 - 9-12.USH2.1.2.1 Identify motives for continued immigration to the United States. (495.01a)
 - 9-12.USH2.1.2.2 Analyze the changes in the political, social, and economic conditions of immigrant groups. (495.01b)
 - 9-12.USH2.1.2.3 Discuss the causes and effects of 20th century migration and settlement patterns.

Source: http://www.sde.idaho.gov/site/content_standards/ss2010/9th%20-%2012th%20U.S.%20History%20II.pdf

Accessed: March 22, 2013

Illinois

Title: Illinois Learning Standards, Social Science, U.S. history

Grades: 5-11

Non-content specific

Source:

http://www.isbe.state.il.us/ils/social_science/standards.htm

Accessed: March 22, 2013

Indiana

Title: Indiana U.S. History Content Standards

Grades: 9-12

- SS.US.H.5 2007 - The United States and World War II: 1939 to 1945
 - SS.US.H.5.5 2007
 - Explain the significance of the Supreme Court cases *Korematsu v. United States* (1944) and *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943), dealing with individual rights and national security during World War II.

Source:

<https://learningconnection.doe.in.gov/Standards/Standards.aspx?st=&sub=9&gl=234&c=0&stid=0>

Accessed: March 28, 2013

Iowa

Title: Iowa Core K-12 Social Studies

Grades: 9-12

Non-content specific

Source:

http://educateiowa.gov/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=12200&Itemid=4303

Accessed: March 28, 2013

Kansas

Title: Kansas Curricular Standards for History & Government; Economics & Geography Education

Grades: 9-12

- Benchmark 2:
 - The student uses a working knowledge and understanding of individuals, groups, ideas, developments, and turning points in the era of the Great Depression through World War II in United States history (1930-1945).
- High School Knowledge and/or Application Indicators:
 - The student:
 - 7 (K) examines the complexity of race and ethnic relations (e.g., Zoot Suit Riots, Japanese internment camps, American reaction to atrocities of Holocaust and unwillingness to accept Jewish refugees).
 - High School Instructional Suggestions:
 - Read excerpts of letters or diaries from internment camps.
 - Web resource:
http://www.archives.gov/digital_classroom/lessons/japanese_relocation_wwii/japanes_e_relocation.html

Source:

<http://www.ksde.org/404ErrorDefault.aspx?aspxerrorpath=/LinkClick.aspx>

Accessed: March 25, 2013

Kentucky

Title: Alignment ACT Course Standards U.S. History

Grades: 9-12

E. America Since World War II (1945–Present)

1. America at War

- a. Describe circumstances at home and abroad prior to U.S. involvement in World War II
- b. Identify the significant military and political aspects of World War II
- d. Evaluate the social, political, and economic impacts of World War II on the home front
- e. Identify and evaluate the scientific and technological developments in America during and after World War II

Source:

<http://education.ky.gov/curriculum/SS/Documents/Alignment%20ACT%20US%20HIS%20and%20KY.pdf>

Accessed: March 18, 2013

Louisiana

Title: Louisiana Social Studies Content Standards

- Grades: 5-8
 - Era 8: The Great Depression and World War II (1929-1945)
 - H-1B-M17 describing the impact of the Great Depression and World War II on American society.
- Grades 9-12
 - Era 8: The Great Depression and World War II (1929-1945)
 - H-1B-H13 analyzing the origins, course, and results of World War II;

Source: <http://www.louisianaschools.net/lde/uploads/2912.pdf>

Accessed: March 15, 2013

Maine

Title: Social Studies Standards

Grades: 9-12

Non-content specific standards

Source: <http://www.maine.gov/education/lres/pei/ss102207.pdf>

Accessed: March 17, 2013

Maryland

Title: Maryland State Curriculum US History

Grades: 9-12

- The United States in a Time of Crisis (1929-1945)
 - 3. Evaluate the economic, political and social impact of World War II on America's home front.
 - Objectives
 - C: Evaluate the decision of the government to limit civil liberties during World War II (PS, PNW)
 - D: Evaluate the decision of the government to relocate American citizens and aliens to internment camps during the war

Source: http://mdk12.org/instruction/hsvsc/us_history/standard5.html

Accessed: March 29, 2013

Massachusetts

Title: Massachusetts History and Social Science Curriculum Framework

Grades: 8-12

- World History II Learning Standards
 - USII.17 Explain important domestic events that took place during the war.
 - D: the internment of West Coast Japanese-Americans in the U.S. and Canada

Source: <http://www.doe.mass.edu/frameworks/hss/final.pdf>

Accessed: March 23, 2013

Michigan

Title: High School Content Expectations Social Studies

Grades: 9-12

- 7.2 World War II
 - Examine the causes and course of World War II, and the effects of the war on United States society and culture, including the consequences for United States involvement in world affairs.
 - 7.2.3 Impact of WWII on American Life – Analyze the changes in American life brought about by U.S. participation in World War II including
 - mobilization of economic, military, and social resources
 - role of women and minorities in the war effort
 - role of the home front in supporting the war effort (e.g., rationing, work hours, taxes)
 - internment of Japanese-Americans

Source: http://www.michigan.gov/documents/mde/SS_HSCE_210739_7.pdf

Accessed: March 23, 2013

Minnesota

Title: Minnesota K-12 Academic Standards in Social Studies

Grades: 9-12

- 4. U.S. HISTORY 7.4.4.21.4
 - Outline the causes and conduct of World War II including the nations involved, major political and military figures and key battles, and the Holocaust. (The Great Depression and World War II: 1920- 1945) For example: D-Day, Iwo Jima, Guadalcanal, segregated military, treatment of Japanese- Americans, development and deployment of the atomic bomb, Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin.
- 4. U.S. HISTORY 9.4.4.21.6
 - Evaluate the economic impact of the war, including its impact on the role of women and disenfranchised communities in the United States. (Great Depression and World War II: 1920—1945) For example: Treatment of Japanese-Americans, Rosie the Riveter, the Bracero Program.

Source: <http://education.state.mn.us/MDE/Welcome/Rule/ActiveRule/SocStudies/>

Accessed: April 10, 2013

Mississippi

Title: Mississippi Social Studies Framework

Grades: 9-12

- Domestic Affairs
 - Understand the evolution of the American political system, its ideals, and institutions post-reconstruction.
 - Cite and analyze evidence that the United States Constitution is a —livingl document as reflected in Supreme Court cases, Amendments, and presidential actions. (DOK 3)
 - Analyze and evaluate the impact of presidential policies and congressional actions on domestic reform. (DOK 3)
 - Explain and analyze the expansion of federal powers. (DOK 3)
 - Analyze and evaluate the ongoing tension between individual liberty and national security. (DOK 3)
- Civil Rights/Human Rights
 - 4. Understand how the Civil Rights Movement achieved social and political change in the United States and the impact of the Civil Rights struggle of African Americans on other groups (including but not limited to feminists, Native Americans, Hispanics, immigrant groups, and individuals with disabilities).
 - e. Compare and contrast the goals and objectives of other minority and immigrant groups to those of the Civil Rights Movement led predominantly by African-Americans. (DOK 2)

Source: <http://www.mde.k12.ms.us/docs/curriculum-and-instructions-library/2011-mississippi-social-studies-framework.pdf?sfvrsn=4>

Accessed: March 30, 2013

Missouri

Title: Social Studies Grade- and Course-Level Expectations 2.0

Grades: K-12

Non-content specific standards

- 2. Knowledge of principles and processes of governance systems
 - Principles and purposes of government.
 - Explain the importance of the following principles of government within the context of US History from Reconstruction to the present:
 - majority rule and minority rights
 - constitution and civil rights
 - checks and balances
- 3a. Knowledge of continuity and change in the history of Missouri and the United States
 - Political development in the United States
 - Analyze the evolution of American democracy, its ideas, institutions and political processes from Reconstruction to the present, including:
 - Reconstruction
 - struggle for civil rights
 - expanding role of government
 - expanding participation in political processes
- 3b. Causes, comparisons, and results of major twentieth-century wars
 - Examine the wars of the twentieth-century pertinent to US history including: causes, comparisons, consequences and peace efforts

Source: http://dese.mo.gov/divimprove/curriculum/GLE/documents/ss_cle_0907.pdf

Accessed: March 29, 2013

Montana

Title: Montana Standards for Social Studies

Grades: K-12

Non-content specific standards

- Standard 4
 - 1. select and analyze various documents and primary and secondary sources that have influenced the legal, political, and constitutional heritage of Montana and the United States
 - 5. analyze the conflicts resulting from cultural assimilation and cultural preservation among various ethnic and racial groups in Montana, the United States and the world.
- Standard 6
 - 6. investigate, interpret, and analyze the impact of multiple historical and contemporary viewpoints concerning events within and across cultures, major world religions, and political systems (e.g., assimilation, values, beliefs, conflicts).

Source: <http://opi.mt.gov/pdf/standards/ContStds-SocSt.pdf>

Accessed: April 4, 2013

Nebraska

Title: Social Studies History Standards

Grades: 9-12

- 12.1.8 Students will recognize and explain the origins and effects of World War II.
 - Relate the impact of mobilization for war, at home and abroad.

Source: <http://www.education.ne.gov/ss/Documents/SocialStudiesHistoryStandards9-03.pdf>

Accessed: April 6, 2013

Nevada

Title: Nevada Social Studies Standards

Grades: 9-12

- H2.0 Nation Building and Development
 - H2.[9-12].11 Describe the cultural, economic, political, and technological impact of World War II on the United States

Source:

<http://doe.nv.gov/Standards/SocialStudies/CompleteStandardsDec2008.rev4.19.11.pdf>

Accessed: April 5, 2013

New Hampshire

Title: New Hampshire K-12 Curriculum Frameworks for Social Studies

Grades: 9-12

Non-content specific standards

- SS:HI:12:2.2: Analyze how United States foreign policy has varied from periods of international involvement, to isolationism, to exerting power and dominance at different time periods, e.g., the Era of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars or the two World Wars.

Source:

http://www.education.nh.gov/instruction/curriculum/social_studies/index.htm

Accessed: April 7, 2013

New Jersey

Title: Core Curriculum Content Standards

Grades: 9-12

- Content Statement:
 - 11. The Great Depression and World War II: World War II
The United States participated in World War II as an Allied force to prevent military conquests by Germany, Italy, and Japan.
Domestic and military policies during World War II continued to deny equal rights to African Americans, Asian Americans, and women.
 - 6.1.12.A.11.c
 - Determine if American policies regarding Japanese internment and actions against other minority groups were a denial of civil rights.

Source: <http://www.state.nj.us/education/cccs/standards/6/6-1-12.htm>

Accessed: April 7, 2013

New Mexico

Title: Social Studies Standards

Grades: 9-12

- Benchmark 1-A. New Mexico:
 - 3. Analyze the role and impact of New Mexico and New Mexicans in World War II (e.g., Navajo code talkers, New Mexico national guard, internment camps, Manhattan project, Bataan death march);

Source:

<http://www.ped.state.nm.us/standards/Social%20Studies/Social%20Studies%209-12.pdf>

Accessed: April 8, 2013

New York

Title: Learning Standards for Social Studies

Grades 9-12

- Unit six: The United States in an Age of Global Crisis: Responsibility and Cooperation
 - PEACE IN PERIL: 1933 - 1950
 - CONNECTIONS: Students should compare the role of the United States in World War I and World War II in terms of (1) the arsenal of democracy, (2) United States military leadership and strategy, and (3) role of the President in planning the peace. Students should understand that there were several moral issues that grew out of the war experience. These include (1) rights of Japanese-Americans, (2) integration of African-Americans, (3) United States reactions to the Nazi Holocaust, (4) morality of nuclear warfare, and (5) treatment of war criminals.
 - Content: 5. The war's impact on minorities.
 - Incarceration of West Coast Japanese Americans; Executive Order 9066; Korematsu v. United States (1944)

Source: <http://www.p12.nysed.gov/ciai/socst/pub/sscore2.pdf>

Accessed: April 4, 2013

North Carolina

Title: North Carolina Essential Standards American History II

Grades 9-12

- AH2.H.7.3
 - Explain the impact of wars on American society and culture since Reconstruction (e.g., relocation of Japanese Americans, American propaganda, first and second Red Scare movement, McCarthyism, baby boom, Civil Rights Movement, protest movements, ethnic, patriotism, etc.).

Source: <http://www.ncpublicschools.org/docs/acre/standards/new-standards/social-studies/american-history-2.pdf>

Accessed: April 2, 2013

North Dakota

Title: North Dakota Standards and Benchmarks Social Studies

Grades: 9-12

Non-content specific standards

Source: http://www.dpi.state.nd.us/standard/perform/soc_p.pdf

Accessed: March 23, 2013

Ohio

Title: Ohio Learning Standards: K-12 Social Studies American History

Grades: 9-12

- 3. Historians develop theses and use evidence to support or refute positions.
 - Instructional Strategies
 - Have students develop theses for use in historical papers and debates. In either context, the thesis should be supported with historical evidence and documentation.
 - Display numerous artifacts or other primary sources related to a historical event (e.g., Japanese-American internment, immigration, civil rights). Give students the task of selecting and organizing a certain number of the resources to interpret. Have each student develop a thesis to explain the relationship among the selected resources, using information to support their theses.
 - Expectations for Learning
 - Develop a thesis and use evidence to support or refute a position.
 - 22. The United States mobilization of its economic and military resources during World War II brought significant changes to American society.
 - Content Elaborations
 - Job opportunities in the civilian workforce and in the military opened for women and minorities. African Americans organized to end discrimination and segregation so that they could contribute to the war effort. Although Japanese Americans were interned in relocation camps by the U.S. government, many enlisted in the armed services.
 - Expectations for Learning
 - Identify and explain changes American society experienced with the mobilization of its military resources during WWII.
 - Instructional Resources
 - Teaching With Documents: Documents and Photographs Related to Japanese Relocation During World War II
 - <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/japanese-relocation/>
This National Archives website contains primary source documents and teaching activities relating to the forced relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II.
 - Lesson Plan: Japanese American Internment
 - <http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/lessons/fear/>
This lesson from the Library of Congress website includes primary source documents and activities.

Source: <http://education.ohio.gov/getattachment/Topics/Academic-Content-Standards/Social-Studies/Am-History-Model-Curricula-Post-6-14-13-2.pdf.aspx>

Accessed: April 12, 2013

Oklahoma

Title: Oklahoma C3 Standards for the Social Studies

Grades: 9-12

- Content Standard 4:
 - B. Evaluate the mobilization for war as stated in President Roosevelt’s Day Which Will Live in Infamy speech including the role of women and minorities in the war effort, rationing, the internment of Japanese Americans and the Korematsu v. United States decision, and the internment of Americans of German and Italian descent.

Source: <http://ok.gov/sde/sites/ok.gov.sde/files/C3-SocialStudies.pdf>

Accessed: April 4, 2013

Oregon

Title: Oregon Standards by Design

Grades: 3-12

Non-content specific standards

Source:

<http://www.ode.state.or.us/teachlearn/real/standards/sbd.aspx>

Accessed: April 14, 2013

Pennsylvania

Title: Pennsylvania Academic Standards for History

Grades: 9-12

Non-content specific standards

- 8.3.US HISTORY 1850-PRESENT
 - 8.3.U. Evaluate how conflict and cooperation among groups and organizations have influenced the growth and development of the U.S.
 - Ethnicity and race
 - Working conditions
 - Immigration
 - Military conflict
 - Economic stability

Source:

[http://static.pdesas.org/content/documents/Academic_Standards_for_History_\(Secondary\).pdf](http://static.pdesas.org/content/documents/Academic_Standards_for_History_(Secondary).pdf)

Accessed: April 12, 2013

Rhode Island

Title: Rhode Island Grade Span Expectations (GSEs) for U.S. History, Civics and Government

Grades: 9-12

- C&G 1
 - Students demonstrate an understanding of origins, forms, and purposes of government by...
 - D: distinguishing between the rule of law and the “rule of men” (e.g., Korematsu v. U.S. and Japanese internment during WWII)

Source: <http://www.ride.ri.gov/Portals/0/Uploads/Documents/Instruction-and-Assessment-World-Class-Standards/Social-Studies/RI-Civics-GSEs-HS-9-12-Final-Version.pdf>

Accessed: April 10, 2013

South Carolina

Title: United States History and the Constitution

Grades: 9-12

- Standard USHC-7:
 - USHC-7.2 Evaluate the impact of war mobilization on the home front, including consumer sacrifices, the role of women and minorities in the workforce, and limits on individual rights that resulted in the internment of Japanese Americans.
- Standard USHC-5:
 - 5-4.7 Summarize the social and political impact of World War II on the American home front and the world, including opportunities for women and African Americans in the work place, the internment of the Japanese Americans, and the changes in national boundaries and governments.

Source: <http://www.ed.sc.gov/agency/se/Teacher-Effectiveness/Standards-and-Curriculum/documents/FINALAPPROVEDSSStandardsAugust182011.pdf>

Accessed: April 2, 2013

South Dakota

Title: South Dakota Social Studies Standards

Grades: 9-12

- 9-12.US.1.1. Students are able to explain the cause-effect relationships and legacy that distinguish significant historical periods from Reconstruction to the present.
 - Explain the entry, the major battles, and the effects of World War II.
 - Example: Native American Code Talkers

Source: http://doe.sd.gov/contentstandards/documents/SocialStudies_9-12.pdf

Accessed: April 13, 2013

Tennessee

Title: Secondary 9-12 Social Studies United States History

Grades: 9-12

- Era 8: The Great Depression and World War II (1929-1945)
 - Standard Number 4.0: Governance and Civics
 - Recognize the effects of the Great Depression on the United States political and judicial system.
 - Recognize the effects of political policies on civil liberties during World War II.
 - Standard Number 6.0: Individuals Groups and Interactions
 - Understand the changes in American life as a result of the Great Depression.
 - Understand the changing dynamics of American life during World War II.
 - Performance Indicators State:
 - 8.5 Interpret a timeline of major events from World War II.
 - Performance Indicators Teacher:
 - 8.7 Explore how World War II impacted everyday American life.
 - 8.9 Appraise how World War II impacted America's perception of human rights and national security issues.

Source: http://www.state.tn.us/education/ci/ss/doc/SS_3405.pdf

Accessed: April 15, 2013

Texas

Title: Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills for Social Studies (TEKS)

Grades: 9-12

- §113.41. United States History Studies Since 1877
 - (7) History. The student understands the domestic and international impact of U.S. participation in World War II. The student is expected to:
 - (D) analyze major issues of World War II, including the Holocaust; the internment of German, Italian, and Japanese Americans and Executive Order 9066; and the development of conventional and atomic weapons;

Source: <http://ritter.tea.state.tx.us/rules/tac/chapter113/ch113c.html>

Accessed: April 15, 2013

Utah

Title: Core Standards for Social Science United States History II

Grades: 9-12

- Standard 7: Students will understand the causes, course, and consequences of the United States' role in World War II.
 - Objective 2: Examine the impact World War II had on the American home front.
 - Identify the impact of World War II on minority groups in America.
 - Examine the role women played in the wartime workforce.
 - Trace American mobilization for war.

Source: <http://www.schools.utah.gov/curr/socialstudies/Core/SoSt7-12.aspx>

Accessed: April 16, 2013

Vermont

Title: History & Social Sciences Grade Expectations

Grades: 9-12

- History & Social Science 9-12: 14
 - Students act as citizens by...
 - Analyzing and evaluating the issues related to and criteria for U.S. citizenship, past and present (e.g., analyzing the issues surrounding Japanese citizens during WWII...).

Source: http://education.vermont.gov/new/html/pgm_curriculum/history.html

Accessed: April 17, 2013

Virginia

Title: Standards of Learning US History

Grades: 9-12

- Conflict: The World at War: 1939 to 1945
 - VUS.11 The student will demonstrate knowledge of World War II by
 - c) describing the role of all-minority military units, including the Tuskegee Airmen and Nisei regiments;
 - VUS.12 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the effects of World War II on the home front by
 - b) describing the contributions of women and minorities to the war effort;
 - c) explaining the internment of Japanese Americans during the war;

Source: http://www.doe.virginia.gov/testing/sol/standards_docs/history_socialscience/

Accessed: April 19, 2013

Washington

Title: Social Studies Learning Standards

Grades: 9-12

- 5.1.2 Analyzes the underlying assumptions of positions on an issue or event.
 - C: Examines the underlying assumptions of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's decision to incarcerate Japanese Americans during World War II.

Source: <http://www.k12.wa.us/SocialStudies/EALRs-GLEs.aspx>

Accessed: April 19, 2013

West Virginia

Title: The Next Generation Content Standards and Objectives for Social Studies

Grade: 11

- Cluster 4) Demonstrate an understanding of the events surrounding World War II.
 - SS.11.H.CL4.4 Students will examine and identify the penalties of war faced by the Japanese in the United States and their homeland.
 - SS.11.H.CL4.5 Students will identify the contributions from the home front during the war (e.g. Rosie the Riveter and "Rosies", victory gardens, war bond sales, wartime propaganda and opportunities for minorities).

Source: <http://wvde.state.wv.us/policies/csos.html>

Accessed: April 20, 2013

Wisconsin

Title: History Performance Standards

Grades: 9-12

Non-content specific standards

- B.12.18 Explain the history of slavery, racial and ethnic discrimination, and efforts to eliminate discrimination in the United States and elsewhere in the world

Source: http://standards.dpi.wi.gov/stn_ssb12

Accessed: April 20, 2013

Wyoming

Title: Wyoming Content and Performance Standards

Grades: 9-12

Non-content specific standards

- Citizenship/Government/Democracy
 - SS11.1.1 Students describe unique freedoms, rights, and responsibilities of living in a democratic society and explain their interrelationships.

Source: http://edu.wyoming.gov/sf-docs/publications/Standards_2008_Social_Studies_PDF.pdf?sfvrsn=0

Accessed: April 20, 2013

Appendix 2

Map from the National Parks Service showing facilities connected to the internment of Japanese Americans and Exclusion Area.

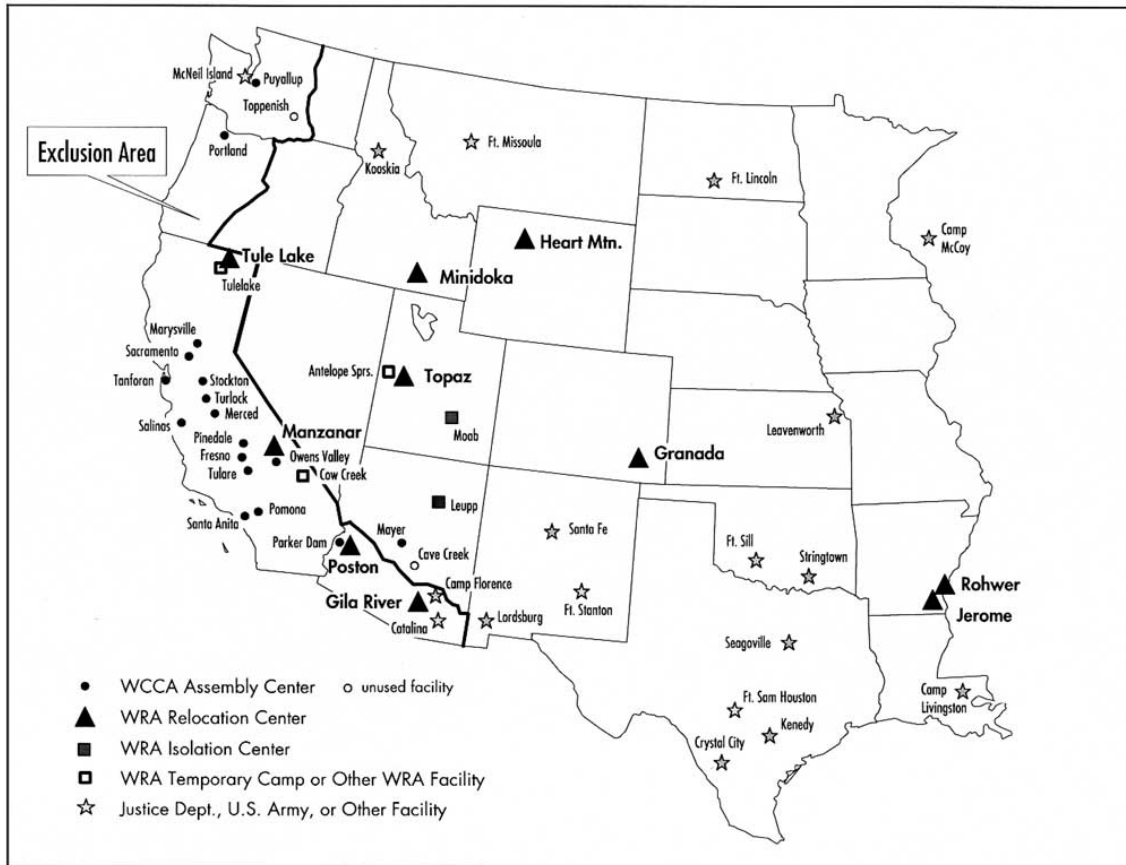


Figure 1.1. Sites in the western U.S. associated with the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II.

The map is part of the Public Domain and open for use.

Source:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_World_War_II_Japanese_American_internment_camps.png