

## The United States and Iraq: Why We're There, Where We're Going

- An educational forum, on Tuesday, May 11 at 7:00 pm, 100 Independence Hall.  
In April 2004 the United States suffered more casualties in Iraq than during the entire period of declared hostilities last year. Almost every aspect of the American occupation remains controversial. Has the removal of Saddam Hussein helped the United States in its war on terror? What are the prospects of fostering democracy in Iraq? What are the implications under international law? How does the invasion and occupation appear to people living in other parts of the world, especially the Middle East.

**Professor Mark Grimsley** (History) moderator.

**Professor Richard K. Herrmann** (Political Science/ Director of the Mershon Center) will discuss the broad issues of the US invasion and occupation of Iraq.

**Professor Mary Ellen O'Connell** (Moritz College of Law) will address the US invasion and occupation from the standpoint of international law.

**Professor Sabra Webber** (Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures) will talk about invasion and occupation from the perspective of the Iraqi people.

**\*Dont miss this informational forum. \*Refreshments are provided.**

Sponsored by: The Deans Student Advisory Group, College of Humanities; The Mershon Center; Moritz College of Law; Department of History; and the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures.

## Is World War II a departure or continuation of American Race Relations?

Asian Americans and  
the "Good War"

## The Nation as an Imagined Community

- The nation "is an imagined political community."
  - Benedict Anderson
- "It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet I the minds of each lives the image of their communion."
- "The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations."
- Impact of war on the imagined national community
  - expansion of communion
  - reinforcement of boundaries

## World War II as the Good War

- Fascism versus Democracy
- Atlantic Charter (August 1941)
  - right of all peoples to live in freedom from fear, want, and tyranny
  - pledged to all nations the right to self-determination
  - free trade and disarmament
- Anti-Colonial Movements

## Allied Asian Americans

- China, India, Philippines
- E.O. 8802 (1941)
  - banned discrimination in defense industries and government
  - appointed Fair Employment Practices Committee
- Double V campaign
  - A. Philip Randolph threatened March on Washington
- jobs outside of ethnic economies
  - white-collar, blue-collar, and agriculture



Yet you say we're fighting  
For democracy.  
Then why don't democracy  
Include me?

I ask you this question  
Cause I want to know  
How long I got to fight  
BOTH HITLER - AND JIM CROW

## military service



- Cultural and political citizenship
- masculinity and military service
  - "men, not houseboys"
- How to be a soldier and a lady?
  - Serving with vs. in the military
- Partial citizenship?
  - segregated units
  - military hierarchy

## Rights of Naturalization, Immigration, and Family Formation

- 1943 repeal of Chinese Exclusion
  - 105 quota
- 1946 Luce-Celler Bill
  - 100 for India
  - 100 for Philippines
- War Brides Acts
  - approx. 83,000 Asian women between 1947-1965



## Veteran Benefits: GI Bill of Rights

- 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act
  - unemployment compensation
  - low-interest loans to purchase homes, farms, and small businesses
  - funds for job training and education
- Question of eligibility



## Persistence or transformation of race relations?

- Legal/political status
- cultural recognition and representations
- social interactions
- individual perceptions

"World War II was the most important historic event of our times. For the first time we felt we could make it in American society."  
Charles Leong

How to tell your friends from the Japs?  
"Virtually all Japanese are short. Japanese are likely to be stockier and broader-hipped than short Chinese. Japanese are seldom fat; they often dry up and grow lean as they age. Although both have the typical epicanthic fold of the upper eyelid, Japanese eyes are usually set closer together. The Chinese expression is likely to be more placid, kindly, open; the Japanese more positive, dogmatic, arrogant. Japanese are hesitant, nervous in conversation, laugh loudly at the wrong time. Japanese walk stiffly erect, hard heeled. Chinese, more relaxed, have an easy gait, sometimes shuffle."  
Time, December 22, 1941

## Persistence of Racial Thinking

- Racial Lumping
  - difficulty of distinguishing between different Asian nationalities
  - Koreans as enemy aliens
- People of Asian ancestry in the U.S. perceived as representatives of Asian nations and embodiments of Asian races
- policies to promote international relations rather than greater domestic racial equality
  - Japanese strategy of pan-Asianism
  - Resistance against Racism and Western Imperialism

## Enemy Asian Americans

- Executive Order 9066 (2/19/42)
- results in the removal and mass internment of approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans from the West Coast of the United States
- 2/3 are American citizens (Nisei)
- Issei (immigrants) prevented from becoming U.S. citizens
- 1,393 Germans, 264 Italians, and 2,192 Japanese interned in Department of Justice camps but no mass internment of all Germans and Italians



## Why mass internment (from the West Coast and not Hawaii)?

- 90% of Japanese Americans on the mainland were interned (2/3 citizens)
- 1% (979 aliens and 525 citizens) from Hawaii



"Yesterday, December 7, 1941 - a date which will live in infamy - the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan....Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us."  
FDR

## military leadership

- “In the war in which we are now engaged racial affinities are not severed by migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, has become ‘Americanized,’ the racial strains are undiluted....The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication such action will be taken.”
  - General John L. DeWitt, head of the Western Defense Command
- “We must distinguish between loyalty and disloyalty among our people.”
  - General Delos Emmons, military governor of Hawaii
- cultural attitudes that shaped perceptions of military necessity

## How to assess military necessity?

- Munson Report (Nov. 1941):
  - Japanese Americans no more likely to be “disloyal than any other racial group in the United States with whom we went to war.”
- Lt. Commander K. D. Ringle, Office of Naval Intelligence (Jan. 1942):
  - no need for mass action, estimated only 3,500 could be potential military threats
- Director J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. (Feb. 1942)
  - Mass evacuation of the Japanese could not be justified for security reasons, because suspected individuals already in custody.
- Federal Communications Commission
  - Monitored all radio broadcasts and reported that the army’s fears of Japanese American radio transmissions to Japanese ships were groundless.
- 13 ships sunk in January 1942 and over 60 vessels lost in North Atlantic and off of eastern seaboard due to German submarine attacks
- West Coast did not suffer any attacks from the Japanese until after President Roosevelt issued E.O. 9066

## newspaper coverage



- Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox:
  - informed press that Pearl Harbor resulted from 5<sup>th</sup> column activity despite lack of evidence from internal military reports
- Westcoast Media:
  - “In Hawaii...treachery by residents, who although of Japanese ancestry had been regarded as loyal, has played an important part in the success of Japanese attacks.” *San Diego Union*
  - “A Viper is nonetheless a viper wherever the egg is hatched – so a Japanese American, born of Japanese parents – grows up to be a Japanese, not an American.” *Los Angeles Times*

## Hawaii

- economic dependence versus competition
  - 37% of Hawaii vs. 1-2% of California
- cultural traditions of ethnic diversity versus racial purity

## Mainland

- civilian (political and economic) pressures on military leadership
  - “We’ve been charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons....We might as well be honest. We do. It’s a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown man. They came into this valley to work, and they stayed to take over....If all the Japs were removed tomorrow, we’d never miss them in two weeks, because the white farmers can take over and produce everything the Jap grows.”
    - Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association, May 1942
- history of racialized economic competition and political exclusion
  - Alien land laws
  - Ozawa - aliens ineligible for citizenship

## “A failure of political leadership”

- Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson :
  - Mass internment “will make a tremendous hole in our constitutional system” but supported DeWitt’s recommendation without “a clear military justification”
- Attorney General Francis Biddle:
  - “There were no reasons for mass evacuation.” (lunch with President Roosevelt 2/7/42)
  - “My last advice from the War Department is that there is no evidence of imminent attack and from the F.B. I. That there is no evidence of planned sabotage.” (2/17/42)
  - Did not publicly voice his objections

## President Roosevelt

- Executive Order 9066 (February 19, 1942)
- Preparations for internment
  - 1936 Naval Operations Plan prepared a “special list of those who would be the first to be placed in a concentration camp in the event of trouble.”
- Political Considerations
  - Detention finally declared unconstitutional in December 1944

## What was the impact of internment on Japanese Americans?

- Concentration and dispersal of ethnic communities
  - planned assimilation – laboratory for “democracy”
  - WRA and BIA
- “protection” of Japanese Americans
- family structure and relationships
  - Issei vs. Nisei
  - men vs. women



## Financial and Psychological

- “The exclusion, removal and detention inflicted tremendous human cost. There was the obvious cost of homes and businesses sold or abandoned under circumstances of great distress, as well as injury to careers and professional advancement. But, more important, there was the loss of liberty and the personal stigma of suspected disloyalty for thousands of people who knew themselves to be devoted to their country’s cause and to its ideals but whose repeated protestations of loyalty were discounted- only to be demonstrated beyond any doubt by the record of Nisei soldiers, who returned from the battlefields of Europe as the most decorated and distinguished combat unit of World War II, and by the thousands of other Nisei who served against the enemy in the Pacific, mostly in military intelligence. The wounds of the exclusion and detention have healed in some respects, but the scars of that experience remain, painfully real in the minds of those who lived through the suffering and deprivation of the camps.”
  - *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, 1982

## Why was there no resistance?

- imprisonment of community leaders
- lack of criticism during wartime from traditionally liberal and radical organizations
- patriotism as demonstration of resistance?
  - JAACL
  - 33,000 Nisei served in Armed Forces
  - 100th Battalion (Hawaii) and 442nd Regimental Combat Team
  - Military Intelligence Service

## Another look at resistance: Supreme Court cases

- Yasui v. U.S. (curfew)
- Hirabayashi v. U.S. (failure to register for evacuation)
  - 1943 - U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upholds constitutionality of the curfew restrictions as a military necessity
- Korematsu v. U.S. (failure to report to assembly center)
  - 1983 Coram Nobis - error of the court
  - War Department withheld information from the Supreme Court
- Ex Parte Endo
  - WRA cannot detain loyal citizens in the camps nor bar them from the West Coast
  - December 18, 1944 - One day after the War Department rescinds the exclusion and detention order, the U.S. Supreme Court holds the exclusion of a single racial group to be within the war powers of Congress and the president. On the same day, the Supreme Court announces that the WRA cannot detain loyal citizens in the camps nor bar them from the West Coast.

## Resistance in the Camps

- loyalty questionnaire and No-Nos
  - Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?
  - Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the U.S. from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization?
- 5,300 answered no-no; 4,600 refused to answer or qualified answers
  - It was difficult to distinguish “the No of protest against discrimination, the No of protest against a father interned apart from his family, the No of bitter antagonism to subordinates in the relocation center, the No of a gang sticking together, the No of thoughtless defiance, the No of family duty, the No of hopeless confusion, the No of fear of military service, and the No of felt loyalty to Japan.” WRA staff member

- draft resistance
  - 300 refused induction
  - Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee of One
- citizenship renunciation
  - 5,589 approved for citizenship renunciation (12.5% of internees)
  - 4,322 eventually regained citizenship
- camp strikes and protests
  - Poston and Manzanar

## Redress and Reparations

- 1948 Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act
  - “There were many kinds of injury the Evacuation Claims Act made no attempt to compensate: the stigma placed on people who fell under the exclusion and relocation orders; the deprivation of liberty suffered during detention; the psychological impact of exclusion and relocation; the breakdown of family structure; the loss of earnings or profits; physical injury or illness during detention.”
- repression of memories
- social movements of 1960s
- Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians
  - 20 days of hearings, 750 witnesses

## A Historical and National Assessment

- “The promulgation of Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity, and the decisions which followed from it - detention, ending detention and ending exclusion - were not driven by analysis of military conditions. The broad historical causes which shaped these decisions were race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership. Widespread ignorance of Japanese Americans contributed to a policy conceived in haste and executed in an atmosphere of fear and anger at Japan. A grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who, without individual review or any probative evidence against them, were excluded, removed and detained by the United States during World War II.”
  - Personal Justice Denied
- “I have since deeply regretted the removal order and my own testimony advocating it, because it was not in keeping with our American concept of freedom and rights of citizens.”
  - Chief Justice Earl Warren, former California Attorney General
- 1988 Civil Liberties Act
  - Public apology
  - \$20,000 for remaining 60,000 survivors

## Importance of Historical Memory

- “We are now at the end of a long and most painful process. It has been said that the wheels of justice grind slowly - it may seem intolerably slowly, to the victims of injustice. However, I hope that it restores a measure of faith in our nation's system of government to see it do its best to redress a wrong that has been committed. While we, individually and as a nation, must put the pain and bitter memories behind us, we must not forget them. Rather, this chapter must remain in our collective conscience as a grave reminder of what we are capable of in a time of crisis, and what we must not allow to happen again to any group, regardless of race, religion, or national origin.”
  - Senator Dan Inouye