1 D'ale Minami Minami, Tomine & Lew 2 370 Grand Avenue Oakland, California 94610 3 (415) 893-9100 4 Peter Irons ORIGINAL 429 Parkwood Lane FILED 5 Leucadia, California 92024 (619) 753-0403 JAN 1 9 1983 6 WILLIAM L. WHITTAKER Attorneys for Petitioner CLERK, U.S. DISTRICT COURT 7 NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA 8 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT 9 NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA 10 MHp 11 FRED TOYOSABURO 12 Petitioner, Crim. No. 27635-W 13 v. 14 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 15 Respondent. 16 17 18 PETITION FOR WRIT OF ERROR CORAM NOBIS 19 20From the Judgment of Conviction 21 September 8, 1942 The Hon. A.F. St. Sure, Judge $\mathbf{22}$ 23 24 25 $\mathbf{26}$ 27 All counsel of record for Petitioner designated 28 following Petition.

1	Dale Minami
2	Minami, Tomine & Lew 370 Grand Avenue Oakland, California 94610
3	(415) 893-9100
4	Peter Irons 429 Parkwood Lane
5	Leucadia, California 92024 (619) 452-3548
6 7	Attorneys for Petitioner
8	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
9	NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
10	
11	FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU,)
12	Petitioner,) Crim. No. 27635-W
13	
14	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
15	Respondent.)
16	
17	
18 19	PETITION FOR WRIT OF ERROR CORAM NOBIS
19 20	
20	From the Judgment of Conviction September 8, 1942
22	The Hon. A.F. St. Sure, Judge
23	
24	
25	
26	
27	All counsel of record
28	for Petitioner designated following Petition.

		\bigcirc	
1		TABLE OF CONTENTS	
2			
3			Pages
4	PARTIES		1
5	JURISDICT	ION	2
6	CONVICTIO	N BY THIS COURT OF PETITIONER	2
7	INTRODUCT	ION	3
8	Α.	Relation of This Petition to Those Filed on Behalf of Gordon Hirabayashi	
9		and Minoru Yasui	3
10 11	В.	Background of Petition and Relevance of Appendix	4
12	с.	Summary of Acts of Governmental Misconduct Alleged by Petitioners	5
13	D.	Relevant Statute and Orders at Issue in Petitioners' Cases	9
14 15	E.	History of Petitioners' Cases	13
15 16	F.	Summary of the Impact of Governmental Misconduct On the Factual and Legal	
17		Issues Presented In Petitioners' Cases and Decided by the Supreme	
18		Court	15
19			22
20	POIN	I ONE: OFFICIALS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT ALTERED AND DESTROYED EVIDENCE	
21		AND WITHHELD KNOWLEDGE OF THIS EVIDENCE FROM THE DEPARTMENT	
22		OF JUSTICE AND THE SUPREME COURT	22
23	Α.	The Justice Department Requested Evidence From the War Department For	
24		Use in the Government's Briefs in Hirabayashi and Yasui	22
25	в.	-	23
26		War Department Officials Altered the Final Report To Conceal Contradictions With Representations Made to the	
27		Courts By the Department of Justice	24
28			

-i-

1		TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)	
2			Pages
3			
4	С.	War Department Officials Destroyed Records of the Original Version of	
5		the Final Report and Concealed Records of Its Existence From the	
6		Department of Justice	30
7	POINT	T TWO: OFFICIALS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
8		SUPPRESSED EVIDENCE RELATIVE TO THE LOYALTY OF JAPANESE	
9		AMERICANS AND TO THE ALLEGED COMMISSION BY THEM OF ACTS OF	
10 11		ESPIONAGE	34
11	Α.	The Disloyalty and Espionage Allega- tions Made in the Final Report	35
12	В.	Officials of the War Department and the Department of Justice Suppressed	
14		the Report of the Office of Naval Intelligence on the Loyalty of	
15		Japanese Americans	39
16	с.	Officials of the War Department Suppressed Reports of the Military	
17		Intelligence Division That Refuted the Espionage Allegations in the	
18		Final Report	49
19	D.	Officials of the War Department and the Department of Justice Suppressed	
20		Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Federal Com-	
21		munications Commission That Refuted the Espionage Allegations in the	5.0
22	ρητι	Final Report	52
23	1011	TO ADVISE THE SUPREME COURT OF THE FALSITY OF THE	
24		ALLEGATIONS IN THE FINAL REPORT OF GENERAL DEWITT	. 62
25	Α.	Government Attorneys Attempted To	
26		Advise the Supreme Court of the Falsity Of The Final Report	63
27			
28			
		-ii-	

1	TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)	
2		Pages
3		rugeb
4	B. At the Insistence of the War Depart- ment, Justice Department Officials	
5	Altered the Burling Footnote and Thus Failed to Advise the Supreme Court of	
6	the Falsity of the Final Report	65
7	POINT FOUR: THE GOVERNMENT'S ABUSE OF THE DOCTRINE OF JUDICIAL NOTICE	
8	AND THE MANIPULATION OF AMICUS BRIEFS CONSTITUTED A	
9	FRAUD UPON THE COURTS	
10	A. The Government Abused the Doctrine of Judicial Notice During the Course	
11	of Petitioners' Cases	70
12	B. The War Department Manipulated the Amicus Briefs of the West Coast	
13	States and Unlawfully Submitted "Evidence" Withheld From the Depart-	
14	ment of Justice	79
15	POINT FIVE: PETITIONERS ARE ALSO ENTITLED TO RELIEF ON THE GROUND THAT	
16	THEIR CONVICTIONS ARE BASED ON GOVERNMENTAL ORDERS THAT	
17	VIOLATE CURRENT CONSTITUTIONAL STANDARDS	84
18	DRAVED FOR DELLER	96
19	APPENDIX	87
20	A. Steps Taken By the Government Before	
21	the Pearl Harbor Attack to Combat Espionage and Sabotage	87
22	B. Steps Taken After the Pearl Harbor	
23	Attack to Deal With Japanese Americans Considered Dangerous	90
24	C. Political Pressures for the Evacuation	
25	of Japanese Americans	92
26	D. The Debate Within the Federal Govern- ment Over Proposals for the Mass	
27	Evacuation of Japanese Americans	97
28		
	-iii-	

		\bigcirc			C		
1			TABLE	OF CON continu	ITENTS		
2			,		,		Pages
3	- 						14900
4	E.	The "Final Evacuation			on" and	the	102
5	F.	Adoption of			ecomme	ndation"	
6		and the Is 9066	suance	of Exec	utiwe	Order	105
7	G.	Conclusio	n				108
8	ATTORNEYS	OF RECORD		ITIONEF	ł		
9	FRED T. K	OREMATSU					110
10	-						
11							
12			*				
13							
14							
15 16							
17							
18							
19				er an the	an an thair	n Nav	iy.
20							
21				•			
22							
23							
24		- 					
25		-					
26							
27							
28							
				-iv-			
				- I V			

1	
1	Dale Minami
2	Minami, Tomine & Lew 370 Grand Avenue
3	Oakland, California 94610 (415) 893-9100
4	Peter Irons
5	429 Parkwood Lane Leucadia, California 92024
6	(619) 452-3548
7	Attorneys for Petitioner
8	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
9	NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
10	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
11	FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU,)
12	Petitioner,) Crim. No. 27635-W
13	v.) PETITION FOR WRIT OF) ERROR CORAM NOBIS
14	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
15	Respondent.)
16	
17	
18	Fred T. Korematsu ("Petitioner") alleges as follows:
19 20	
20	PARTIES
21 22	A. <u>Petitioner</u>
22 23	Petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU is a citizen of
23 24	the United States and a resident of San Leandro, California.
24 25	B. <u>Respondent</u>
23 26	Respondent is the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
27	
28	

i

JURISDICTION

1

8

9

18

19

20

21

22

 $\mathbf{23}$

 $\mathbf{24}$

25

26

27

28

Jurisdiction is conferred on this Court by 28 U.S.C. Sl651. Included in the powers conferred on federal district courts by this section of the United States Code, known as the All-Writs Act, is the authority to issue writs of error coram nobis and thus to vacate the criminal convictions of defendants who have completed the sentences imposed on them after conviction.

CONVICTION BY THIS COURT OF PETITIONER

10 Petitioner was convicted in this Court on September 11 8, 1942 of one count of violation of Public Law 503, 56 Stat. 12 173. Petitioner was sentenced to a term of five years of 13 probation and imposition of sentence was suspended. Following 14 an order of the United States Supreme Court and subsequent 15 decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth 16 Circuit and the United States Supreme Court, Petitioner com-17 pleted service of his probationary sentence.

-2-

Ι	Ν	Т	R	0	D	U	С	Т	Ί	С	N	J

1

28

2 By this petition for writ of error coram nobis, 3 Petitioner seeks to vacate his conviction in 1942 before this 4 court for violation of Public Law 503. His conviction was 5 upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1944. Petitioner 6 has recently discovered evidence that his prosecution was 7 tainted, both at trial and during the appellate proceedings 8 that followed, by numerous and related acts of governmental 9 misconduct. Both separately and cumulatively, these acts of 10 misconduct constituted fundamental error and resulted in 11 manifest injustice to Petitioner, depriving him of rights 12 guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the 13 United States. Relation of This Petition to Those Filed on 14 Α. Behalf of Gordon Hirabayashi and Minoru Yasui 15 16 This is an extraordinary petition in many ways. 17 First, it seeks to vacate a conviction that led to a historic

18 and widely cited and debated opinion of the Supreme Court. 19 Second, the allegations of governmental misconduct made below . 20 raise the most fundamental questions of the ethical and legal 21 obligations of government officials. Third, the alleged 22misconduct was committed not only before this court but also $\mathbf{23}$ before the United States Supreme Court. Fourth, this petition $\mathbf{24}$ is identical to separate petitions being filed on behalf of 25Gordon Hirabayashi and Minoru Yasui in the federal district $\mathbf{26}$ courts in Seattle, Washington and Portland, Oregon, respective- $\mathbf{27}$ ly. Hirabayashi and Yasui were also convicted in 1942 of

-3-

violation of Public Law 503 and their convictions were upheld by the Supreme Court in 1943.

3 Although this petition is separate from those filed 4 on behalf of Hirabayashi and Yasui, the remainder of this 5 petition refers collectively to all three defendants as 6 "Petitioners." This collective appellation and format requires 7 explanation and justification. Three related factors make such 8 a presentation not only reasonable but essential: (1) the 9 virtual identity of the legal and constitutional issues raised 10 in Petitioners' cases and decided by the Supreme Court; (2) the 11 relevance of the evidence presented and discussed below to each 12 of Petitioners' cases; and (3) the interrelated pattern of the 13 acts of misconduct alleged below and their impact on each of 14 Petitioners' cases. Petitioners will discuss in more detail 15 below the operation of these factors in their cases; the point 16 is made here to advise the court of the distinctive form of 17 this petition.

18

1

2

B. Background of Petition and Relevance of Appendix

19 Petitioners' arrests and convictions arose from 20the decision to incarcerate Japanese Americans during World War 21This decision was initiated early in 1942 by military and II. $\mathbf{22}$ civilian officials of the U.S. War Department and was sub-23sequently ratified by President Roosevelt. The historical $\mathbf{24}$ record makes clear that these officials acted largely in 25response to political and economic pressure fueled by wartime 26hysteria and prejudice against Japanese Americans. As a result 27of this pressure, some 110,000 Japanese Americans were forced 28

-4-

into detention camps for an indefinite period, without the bringing of charges against them.

Adoption of the internment program was achieved over 3 the strenuous opposition of officials of the U.S. Department of 4 5 Justice, including the Attorney General and several of his subordinates. The grounds for this opposition included doubts 6 7 about the necessity for mass evacuation and about the constitu-8 tionality of the detention without charges of American citizens. Although these Justice Department officials ultimately deferred 9 10 to the War Department and the President, the relevance of their 11 objections to the issues raised below requires discussion at 12 some length of the events that preceded the evacuation decision. 13 Petitioners respectfully refer the Court to the Appendix to this petition for presentation of these events. 14

15

16

1

2

C. Summary of Acts of Governmental Misconduct Alleged by Petitioners

In seeking the vacation of their respective con-17 18 victions, Petitioners allege below the commission by government officials of numerous acts of misconduct during the entire 19 20course of their cases. A continuing and cumulative pattern of 21 misconduct, designed to secure Petitioners' convictions and 22judicial approval of the evacuation and incarceration program, $\mathbf{23}$ emerges from these related acts. While the pattern of mis-24 conduct alleged below is complex, when unraveled the acts 25involved can be grouped under four headings. A separate 26allegation that Petitioners' convictions violate current $\mathbf{27}$ constitutional standards, which provide a ground for vacation, 28 is made below under a fifth heading. The following summary of

-5-

1 Petitioners' allegations is included at this point to assist 2 the Court in dealing with this necessarily lengthy and complex 3 petition. 4 POINT ONE: Officials of the War Department Altered and Destroyed Evidence and Withheld 5 Knowledge of This Evidence From the Department of Justice and the Supreme 6 Court. 7 In April 1943, General John L. DeWitt, who headed the 8 Western Defense Command and issued the military orders at issue 9 in Petitioners' cases, submitted an official report to the War 10 Department on the evacuation and incarceration program. 11 Justice Department officials had requested access to this Final 12 Report for use in the government's Supreme Court briefs in 13 Hirabayashi and Yasui. When War Department officials discovered 14 that the report contained statements contradicting representa-15 tions made by the Justice Department to the courts, they 16 altered these statements. They subsequently concealed records 17 of the report's receipt, destroyed records of its preparation, 18 created records that falsely identified a revised version as 19 the only report, and withheld the original version from the 20Justice Department. These acts were committed with knowledge 21 that the contents of this report were material to the cases 22pending before the Supreme Court. 23Officials of the War Department and the POINT TWO: Department of Justice Suppressed Evidence 24 Relative to the Loyalty of Japanese Americans and to the Alleged Commission 25 by Them of Acts of Espionage. 26The government relied in Petitioners' cases on 27 purported evidence of widespread disloyalty among the 28 Japanese Americans and the alleged commission by them of

-6-

1	acts of espionage. Presented to the courts as justifica-
2	tion of the curfew and exclusion orders at issue, these
3	claims were made in the Final Report of General DeWitt.
4	Responsible officials knew that these claims were false.
5	Reports of the Office of Naval Intelligence directly
6	refuted DeWitt's disloyalty claims, while reports of
7	DeWitt's own intelligence staff and of the Federal Bureau
8	of Investigation and the Federal Communications Commission
9	directly refuted DeWitt's espionage claims. Although the
10	Final Report was before the Supreme Court in Petitioners'
11	cases, these exculpatory reports were withheld from the
12	Court despite the protest of government attorneys that
13	such action constituted "suppression of evidence."
14	POINT THREE: Government Officials Failed to Advise
15	the Supreme Court of the Falsity of the Allegations in the Final Report of
16	General DeWitt.
17	When certain Justice Department attorneys learned of
18	the exculpatory evidence discussed in Point Two, infra, they
19	attempted to alert the Supreme Court to its existence and the
20	falsity of the Final Report of General DeWitt. Their effort
21	took the form of a crucial footnote in the government's
22	Korematsu brief to the Court. This footnote explicitly
23	repudiated DeWitt's espionage claims and advised the Court of
24	the existence of countering evidence. Before submission of the
25	brief, War Department officials intervened with the Solicitor
	General and urged removal of the footnote. As a result of this
26	General and diged removal of the roothocc. Ab a result of this
26 27	intervention, the Solicitor General halted printing of the

 \bigcirc

 \bigcirc

-7-

•

Department's satisfaction. The Korematsu brief accordingly 1 2 failed to advise the Court of the falsity of DeWitt's claims 3 and thus misled the Court. 4 POINT FOUR: The Government's Abuse of the Doctrine of Judicial Notice and the Manipulation of Amicus Briefs Constituted a Fraud 5 Upon the Courts. 6 7 1 Justice Department and War Department officials 8 undertook separate but related efforts to present a false 9 and misleading record to the courts in Petitioners' cases. 10 Even before trial of these cases, Justice Department 11 officials decided to utilize the doctrine of judicial notice in 12 presenting "evidence" that the "racial characteristics" of 13 Japanese Americans predisposed them to disloyalty. Despite the 14 rebuff of one trial judge, and knowledge by Justice Department 15 attorneys that countering evidence existed, such tainted 16 "evidence" was included in the Supreme Court briefs in Peti-17 tioners' cases. In addition, War Department officials made available to the attorneys general of the West Coast states the 18 19 Final Report withheld from the Justice Department, and delegated 20a military officer to assist in preparing the amicus briefs $\mathbf{21}$ submitted by these states to the Supreme Court. Justice $\mathbf{22}$ Department attorneys later learned of these acts and concluded $\mathbf{23}$ they were unlawful, but failed to report these acts to the 24 Supreme Court. 252627 $\mathbf{28}$ -8-

1	POINT FIVE: Petitioners Are Also Entitled to
2	Relief On the Ground That Their Con- victions Are Based on Governmental
3	Orders That Violate Current Consti- tutional Standards.
4	The acts of misconduct alleged in the preceding
5	Points provide ample ground for the vacation of Petitioners'
6	convictions. With Petitioners' cases before this Court through
7	the instant petition, the application of current constitutional
8	standards provides an additional ground for vacation. The
9	racial classification involved in the military orders at issue
10	is subject to the "strict scrutiny" standard laid out in
11	subsequent Supreme Court opinions. The government now has the
12	task of proving that such a racial classification is essential
13	to fulfill a compelling governmental interest and that no less
14	restrictive alternative is available. Petitioners argue that
15	application of this standard requires vacation of their con-
16	victions.
17	D. Relevant Statute and Orders at Issue in Petitioners' Cases
18	
19	For the convenience of this Court, the pertinent
20	provisions of the statute and orders at issue in Petitioners'
21	cases are presented below, along with a summary of the structure
22	and operations of the evacuation and incarceration program of $1/$
23	which they formed the legal basis.
24	
25	1/ The statute and orders applicable to each Petitioner are presented in the Supreme Court opinions in their respective
26	case, to which this court is respectfully referred. See Hirabayashi v. United States, 320 U.S. 81 (1943); Yasui v.
27	United States, 320 U.S. 115 (1943); and Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944).
28	
ł	

-9-

1	President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on
2	February 19, 1942. This order was a broad measure which
3	declared in pertinent part:
4	WHEREAS, The successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection
5	against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense
6	premises and national-defense utilities:
7	NOW THEREFORE, By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United
8	States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the
9	Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate,
10	whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desirable,
11	to prescribe military areas from which any or all persons may be excluded,
12	and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall
13	be subject to whatever restriction the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military
14	Commander may impose in his discretion. $2/$
15	On February 20, 1942, Secretary of War Henry L.
16	Stimson exercised the authority granted him in Executive Order
17	9066 by designating Lt. General John L. DeWitt as Military
18	Commander of the area included in the Western Defense Command,
19	which included the eight westernmost states in the continental
20	United States. General DeWitt first implemented this grant of
21	authority by issuing Public Proclamation No. 1 on March 2,
22	1942. This Proclamation established six designated "military
23	areas" within the Western Defense Command. Military Area
24	No. 1 included the western halves of California, Oregon and
25	Washington, and the southern half of Arizona. Military Area
26	
27	2/ 7 Fed. Reg. 1407. Emphasis added.
28	<u>3/ 7 Fed. Reg</u> . 2320.

•

1 No. 2 included the remaining portions of those states, while 2 the other four states within the Western Defense Command were 3 each designated as a military area. In a press release issued 4 on the same date, General DeWitt placed Japanese Americans on 5 notice that "[e]ventually orders will be issued requiring all 6 Japanese including those who are American-born to vacate all of Military Area No. 1." 7 8 On March 21, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Public 9 Law 503. This law was enacted to enforce the military orders 10 authorized by Executive Order 9066 and imposed criminal 11 penalties for their violation. The statute provided in 12 pertinent part: 13 [W]hoever shall enter, remain in, leave, or commit any act in any military zone . . . 14 contrary to the restrictions applicable to any such area or zone . . . shall, if it 15 appears he knew or should have known of the existence and extent of the restrictions or 16 order and that this act was in violation thereof, be guilty of a misdemeanor and 17 upon conviction shall be liable to a fine of not to exceed \$5,000 or to imprisonment 18 for not more than one year, or both, for each offense. 5/ 19 20On March 24, 1942, General DeWitt issued the first 21 military order following enactment of Public Law 503. Public $\mathbf{22}$ Proclamation No. 3 imposed a curfew on German and Italian $\mathbf{23}$ aliens, and all persons of Japanese ancestry. This curfew 24 $\mathbf{25}$ 26Western Defense Command, Press Release No. 3, March 3, 4/ 1942, quoted in Jacobus tenBroek et al., Prejudice, War 27and the Constitution, p. 117. 28 5/ 56 Stat. 173.

-11-

required all designated persons to be in their residences $\frac{6}{}$ between the hours of 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.

3 General DeWitt then instituted the internment phase 4 of the mass evacuation program. Public Proclamation No. 4, 5 issued on March 27, 1942, prohibited all Japanese Americans 6 from leaving Military Area No. 1 after March 29. This "freeze 7 order" was accompanied by the first of a series of Civilian 8 Exclusion Orders that required the Japanese Americans subject 9 to each order to report to a Civilian Control Center for 10 processing. After processing each person was transferred 11 under guard to an Assembly Center. The first Civilian Exclusion 12 Order required the evacuation of all Japanese Americans from 13 Bainbridge Island, Washington. A total of 108 such orders, 14 each of which affected approximately 1000 Japanese Americans, was issued over a period that ended on June 12, 1942. 15

16 Prior to March 27, 1942, the War Department began 17 construction of ten Relocation Centers located in unpopulated 18 areas of California, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and 19 These Relocation Centers were administered by the Arkansas. 20War Relocation Authority, a civilian agency established by 21 President Roosevelt on March 18, 1942 pursuant to Executive 22Order 9102. These centers were guarded by U.S. Army troops and

24 <u>6</u>/ 7 <u>Fed. Reg</u>. 2543.

 $\mathbf{23}$

1

2

To ensure that no Japanese Americans were overlooked by any of these exclusion orders, General DeWitt issued
Public Proclamation No. 7 on June 8, 1942, which read in part: "Should there be any areas remaining in Military Area No. 1 from which Japanese have not been excluded, the exclusion of all Japanese from these areas is provided for in this proclamation." 7 Fed. Reg. 4498. $\begin{vmatrix} 1 \\ each was designated a "military area" over which General DeWitt 2 retained authority.$

Between March and October 31, 1942, the War Department interned a total of 109,347 persons of Japanese ancestry. By the end of this period all Japanese Americans who had resided within the boundaries of Military Areas No. 1 and 2 were confined within the Relocation Centers. Release of the last Japanese Americans held in custody occurred on March 20, 1946, 9 almost four years after the internment program had begun.

10

25

E. History of Petitioners' Cases

11 Minoru Yasui was the first of the three Petitioners 12 arrested for violation of the military orders. Yasui violated 13 the curfew imposed by Public Proclamation No. 3 and was arrested 14 in Portland, Oregon on March 28, 1942. Gordon Hirabayashi 15 violated both the curfew and Civilian Exclusion Order No. 57 16 and was arrrested in Seattle, Washington on May 12, 1942. Fred 17 Korematsu violated Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34 and was 18 arrested in San Leandro, California on May 30, 1942.

19 Charges based on these violations were brought 20 against each Petitioner by indictment or information in the 21 respective United States District Courts in Portland, Seattle 22 and San Francisco. All three Petitioners pled not guilty to 23 the charges against them and each filed a demurrer to the 24 indictment or information. Each demurrer was subsequently

26 8/ 7 Fed. Reg. 2165.

War Relocation Authority, <u>Semi-Annual Report</u>, January 1
 40 June 30, 1946, p. 13; guoted in tenBroek, et al., Note
 13, supra, p. 13.

1 denied after hearing. Fred Korematsu was found guilty on 2 September 8, 1942 and was sentenced to five years probation 3 with imposition of sentence suspended. Gordon Hirabayashi was 4 found guilty on October 20, 1942 on the two counts brought 5 against him and sentenced to ninety days on each count, with 6 sentences to run concurrently. Minoru Yasui was found guilty 7 on November 16, 1942 and was sentenced to one year imprisonment 8 and a fine of \$5,000.

9 On September 11, November 16, and November 20, 1942, 10 Korematsu, Hirabayashi and Yasui each appealed their respective 11 convictions to the United States Court of Appeals for the 12 Ninth Circuit. The Circuit Court heard oral arguments in 13 Hirabayashi's and Yasui's cases on March 27, 1943. Invoking a 14 rarely used procedure, the Circuit Court certified the cases to 15 the United States Supreme Court without opinion. Korematsu's 16 appeal was argued in the Circuit Court on April 18, 1943 and 17 was also certified to the Supreme Court on the limited 18 procedural question of whether a suspended sentence was 19 appealable.

20 The Supreme Court heard oral arguments in all three 21cases on May 10 and 11, 1943. Ruling that an appeal was 22properly taken from the suspended probationary sentence, the $\mathbf{23}$ Supreme Court remanded Korematsu's appeal to the Circuit Court 24 on June 1, 1943. On June 21, 1943, the Supreme Court unanimous-25ly upheld the convictions of Hirabayashi and Yasui. In Yasui's 26case, however, the Court held that the District Judge had erred 27in ruling the curfew order unconstitutional as applied to 28

-14-

1	citizens and in ruling that Yasui had forfeited his citizenship,
2	and remanded the case to the District Court for resentencing.
3	On December 2, 1943, the Circuit Court sustained
4	Korematsu's conviction with an opinion that cited the Supreme
5	Court opinion in <u>Hirabyashi</u> as controlling. Korematsu's
6	petition for certiorari was granted by the Supreme Court on
7	March 27, 1944. The Court heard oral argument in the case on
8	October 11 and 12, 1944. In a six-to-three decision issued on
9	December 18, 1944, the Supreme Court upheld Korematsu's con-
10	viction. The Court ruled on the same day in a unanimous
11	opinion in <u>Ex parte Endo</u> (on an appeal from denial of a habeas
12	corpus petition brought by an interned Japanese American) that
13	Congress had not authorized the continuing detention of a
14	concededly loyal citizen.
15	F. Summary of the Impact of Governmental Misconduct On the Factual and Legal Issues Presented
16	In Petitioners' Cases and Decided by the Supreme Court
17	
18	The government's misconduct was complex in execution
19	and long in duration. To understand the significance of
20	such misconduct requires an explanation of the legal and
21	factual premises upon which the courts, and the Supreme
22	Court in particular, based their decisions in these cases.
23	,
24	
25	
26	
27	
28	
	-15-

į

• •

1	The stated purpose of Executive Order 9066 was to
2	provide "every possible protection against espionage and
3	against sabotage" to national defense facilities. On
4	March 2, 1942, under the authority of Executive Order 9066,
5	General DeWitt issued Public Proclamation No. 1, which did the
6	following:
7 8 9	 Recited that the entire Pacific coast was "subject to espionage and acts of sabotage, thereby requiring the adoption of military measures necessary to establish safeguards against such enemy operations;"
10 11	 Established Military Area No. 1 which in- cluded approximately 90% of the Japanese Americans on the mainland; and
12 13	3. Announced the planned evacuation of the Japanese American population from this area. <u>11</u> /
14	Each of the subsequent military orders affecting Japanese
15	Americans relied upon the findings set forth in Public
16	Proclamation No. 1 for their justification and authority.
17	In upholding the constitutionality of these orders, the
18	Supreme Court relied heavily upon the ostensible purpose of
19	these orders, as set forth in Executive Order 9066 and Public
20	Law 503, and upon the military's purported "findings" of a
21	threat of espionage and sabotage from the West Coast Japanese
22	Americans.
23	From the outset, however, in order to justify the
24 25	incarceration of Japanese Americans, the military and the
26	War Department destroyed, suppressed and manipulated evidence
27	<u>10/ 7 Fed. Reg. 1407.</u>
28	<u>11</u> / 7 <u>Fed</u> . <u>Reg</u> . 2320.

-16-

۰.

1 so as to create an appearance of a military threat from 2 allegedly disloyal elements within the Japanese American 3 population. Ultimately, attorneys for the Justice Department 4 became aware of such evidence, but capitulated to the War 5 Department's and military's tactics, and suppressed and dis-6 torted the "evidence" they chose to place before the Supreme 7 Court in petitioners' cases. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court 8 accepted the government's factual picture of a purported 9 military threat as a true and complete representation of the 10 basis of the military orders and explicitly based its decisions 11 upholding the constitutionality of these orders upon the 12 military's ostensible apprehension of a danger of espionage and 13 sabotage from the Japanese Americans. 14 Explaining its inquiry into the constitutionality of 15 the military orders at issue in Hirabayashi and Yasui, the 16 Supreme Court stated: 17 [O] ur inquiry must be whether in the light of all the facts and circumstances, 18 there was any substantial basis for the conclusion, in which Congress and military 19 commander united, that the curfew as applied was a protective measure necessary 20to meet the threat of sabotage and espionage which would substantially affect the war 21 effort and which might resaonably be expected to aid a threatened enemy invasion. 12/ 2223Observing that "racial discriminations are in most circumstances $\mathbf{24}$ irrelevant and therefore prohibited," the Court explained 25the fundamental legal and moral context in which it made its 26inquiry: 2728 12/ Hirabayashi v. United States, supra, 320 U.S. at 95.

Distinctions between citizens solely because of .1 their ancestry are by their very nature odious to a free people whose institutions are founded 2 upon the doctrine of equality. For that reason, legislative classification or discrimination 3 based on race alone has often been held to be a denial of equal protection. Yick Wo v. Hopkins, 4 118 U.S. 356 ...; Yu Cong Eng v. Trinidad, 271 U.S. 500 ...; Hill v. Texas, 316 U.S. 400.... 5 We may assume that these considerations would be controlling here were it not for the fact that 6 the danger of espionage and sabotage, in time of war and of threatened invasion, calls upon the 7 military authorities to scrutinize every relevant fact bearing on the loyalty of populations in the 8 danger areas. 13/ 9 In Korematsu, the Court similarly explained at the very outset 10 of its opinion that: 11 [A]11 legal restrictions which curtail the civil 12 rights of a single racial group are immediately suspect. That is not to say that all such 13 restrictions are unconstitutional. It is to say that courts must subject them to the most rigid 14 scrutiny. Pressing public necessity may sometimes justify the existence of such restric-15 tions; racial antagonism never can. 14/ 16 Under this standard, the military orders establishing the 17 curfew and ordering the removal of the Japanese Americans from 18 the West Coast required for their justification: 19 20Nothing short of apprehension by the proper military authorities of the gravest imminent 21 danger to the public safety . . . 15/ 22Notwithstanding this language, the Court in both 23 Hirabayashi and Korematsu accepted without question, but 24 clearly not without misgivings, the "facts" presented to 25 $\mathbf{26}$ 13/ Id. at 100. Korematsu v. United States, supra, 323 U.S. at 216. $\mathbf{27}$ 14/ $\mathbf{28}$ 15/ Id. at 218.

it by the government in support of the constitutionality of 1 16/ 2 Upholding the factual basis of the the military orders. 3 orders at issue in Hirabayashi, the Court concluded: 4 [W]e cannot reject as unfounded the judgment of the military authorities and that of Congress 5 that there were disloyal members of [the Japanese American] population, whose number and strength 6 could not be precisely and quickly ascertained. We cannot say that the war-making branches of the 7 government did not have ground for believing that in a critical hour such persons could not readily 8 be isolated and separately dealt with, and constituted a menace to the national defense and safety. 9 which demanded that prompt and adequate measures be taken to guard against it. 17/ 10 11 Again, in the specific context of its response to the argument 12 that Public Law 503 effected an unconstitutional delegation of 13 powers, the Court in Hirabayashi declared: 14 [T]he findings of danger from espionage and sabotage, and of the necessity of the curfew 15 order to protect against them, have been duly made.... 16 17 16/ Notwithstanding the Supreme Court's conclusion that racial classifications are "odious to a free people," are 18 "immediately suspect" and should be subject to the "most rigid scrutiny," by failing to apply these principles in 19 reviewing the constitutionality of the military orders promulgated by DeWitt, the Court abdicated its responsibi-20lities to petitioners and to the Constitution. In this respect, entirely independent of the manifest injustices 21 put at issue by the instant petition, Petitioners respectfully submit that the Court's original decisions in 22Korematsu, Hirabayashi and Yasui were themselves fundamentally in error. Indeed, by their consistent reliance $\mathbf{23}$ upon the principles of strict scrutiny first articulated in Korematsu and Hirabayashi, subsequent decisions of the $\mathbf{24}$ Supreme Court have made clear that the Court erred in Petitioners' cases in failing to apply in fact the most_ 25rigid scrutiny of the invidious racial classifications established by the military orders. See, e.g., Bolling v. 26Sharpe, 347 U.S. 497, 499 (1954); McLaughlin v. Florida, 379 U.S. 184, 192 (1964); Loving v. Virginia, 388 U.S. 1, 2711 (1967). $\mathbf{28}$ Hirabayashi v. United States, supra, 320 U.S. at 99. 17/

1 The military commander's appraisal of facts ..., and the inferences which he drew from those 2 facts, involved the exercise of his informed judgment. ... [T] hose facts ... support [his] 3 judgment, that the danger of espionage and sabotage to our military resources was 4 imminent.... 18/ 5 Finally, in Korematsu, the Court reaffirmed its prior analysis 6 and conclusion in Hirabayashi and added: 7 Like curfew, exclusion of those of Japanese origin was deemed necessary because of the 8 presence of an unascertained number of disloyal members of the group, most of whom were 9 no doubt loyal to this country. It was because we could not reject the finding of the 10 military authorities that it was impossible to bring about an immediate segregation of the 11 disloyal from the loyal that we sustained the validity of the curfew order as applying to the whole group. In the instant case, tem-12 porary exclusion of the entire group was 13 rested by the military on the same ground. 19/ 14 As the Court's choice of language in these passages 15 makes evident, the Court upheld the constitutionality of the 16 military orders at issue in both Hirabayashi and Korematsu 17 on "findings" of facts by General DeWitt. The "facts" upon 18 which the Court relied, however, were not facts at all. 19 Composed of half-truths and outright lies, the "facts" presented 20to the Court resulted from a deliberate and knowing attempt by 21 the the highest ranking military and civilian officials in the 22United States government to destroy, suppress and withhold 23 highly credible evidence that no such threat from Japanese 24 Americans as posited by DeWitt ever existed. In place of such 25evidence, these officials fabricated a factual record composed 26 2718/ Id. at 103-104. $\mathbf{28}$ Korematsu v. United States, supra, 323 U.S. at 218-219. 19/

1 of other "evidence," some of which had been discredited as 2 early as January 1942, and argued that the military orders 3 leading to the incarceration of the Japanese American people 4 were justified by such fabrications.

 $\mathbf{5}$ Had the true facts been presented to the Supreme 6 Court, the Court could not have concluded even that "[w]e 7 cannot reject as unfounded the judgment of the military authori-8 ties," or that "[w]e cannot say that the War-making branches of 9 the government did not have ground for believing" in the threat 10 ostensibly posed by Japanese Americans. As Petitioners will show, that the military had no such ground was known, not only 11 to DeWitt, but to the Navy, the FBI, the FCC, the War Department 12 13 and the Department of Justice, and should have been divulged to 14 the Court. As the destruction, suppression and fabrication of evidence was critically material to petitioners' constitutional 15 challenges, petitioners' respective convictions must be vacated. 16

17

18

19

 $\mathbf{20}$

21

 $\mathbf{22}$

23

24

25

26

27

28

-21-

1	STATEMENT OF THE CASE	
2		
3	POINT ONE	
4	OFFICIALS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT ALTERED AND DESTROYED	
5	EVIDENCE AND WITHHELD KNOWLEDGE OF THIS EVIDENCE FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AND THE SUPREME COURT	
6	As noted above, General DeWitt's Final Report on	
7	the evacuation of Japanese Americans is of central signi-	
8	ficance to the allegations of governmental misconduct made	
9	in this petition. This official report was prepared to justify	
10	the evacuation decision and contained the "disloyalty" and	
11	"espionage" claims on which DeWitt purported to base his	
12	recommendation for mass evacuation. Until now, it has been	
13	believed that there was only one "Final Report." Petitioners	
14	have discovered the existence of a prior version which had	
15	been printed and formally transmitted to the War Department.	
16	This initial version contained statements known	
17	by War Department officials to be material to the loyality	
18	issue raised before the Supreme Court in <u>Hirabayashi</u> and <u>Yasui</u> .	
19	Moreover, War Department officials knew that statements in the	
20	initial version contradicted representations already made to	
21	the Courts by the Department of Justice and undermined the	
22	credibility of General DeWitt. In order to "clean up" the	
23	Report, War Department officials willfully altered these state-	
24	ments to conceal the contradictions. In addition, War Department	
25	officials destroyed records and altered and concealed other	
26	records to withhold from the Justice Department and the Supreme	
27	Court any evidence that an original version of the Report had	
28	existed and had been formally submitted to the War Department.	
	-22-	

The Justice Department Requested Evidence 1 Α. From the War Department For Use in the Government's Briefs in Hirabayashi and Yasui 2 On April 5, 1943, after certification by the Court of 3 Appeals, the Supreme Court ordered up the entire records in the 4 Hirabayashi and Yasui cases. Argument was set for the week of 5 Edward J. Ennis, Director of the Alien Enemy 6 May 10, 1943. Control Unit of the Department of Justice, undertook supervision 7 of the preparation of briefs in both cases. 8 To prepare the briefs, Ennis formally requested 9 the War Department "to supply any published material in the 10 War Department's possession on the military situation on the 11 West Coast at the time of the evacuation to be used in the 12 Hirabayashi brief in the Supreme Court. Ennis also reported 13 to Solicitor General Fahy with respect to this request on April 14 19, 1943: 15 16 17 1/ Ennis intended to address the major issues of the curfew and evacuation in the Hirabayashi brief, since Hirabayashi had been convicted of violating both the curfew order and 18 the evacuation order applicable to him. Given the fact 19 that Yasui had been convicted only of curfew violation, and that the District Judge had held that Yasui had forfeited his United States citizenship, a holding with 20 which the United States disagreed, Ennis proposed submitting a "short brief" in the Yasui case "discussing 21 the special question of the defendant's citizenship" and $\mathbf{22}$ referring the Supreme Court to the Hirabayashi brief for discussion of the curfew issue. Memorandum, Edward J. Ennis to Solicitor General Fahy, April 19, 1943, Folder 3, 23 Box 37, Charles Fahy Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York [cited hereafter as Fahy Papers]. 24 See Exhibit A. 25 Memorandum, Edward J. Ennis to Herbert Wechsler, September 2/ 26 30, 1944, Folder 3, Box 37, Fahy Papers. This memorandum was written in connection with the preparation of the 27 Government's brief to the Supreme Court in the Korematsu See Exhibit B. case. $\mathbf{28}$

1 In this connection the War Department has today received a printed report from 2 General DeWitt about the Japanese evacuation and is now determining whether it is to be 3 released so that it may be used in connection with these cases. The War Department has been requested to furnish any published 4 materials which may be helpful. 3/ 5 6 Ennis made this request for the purpose of "assisting the 7 Court . . . in the presentation of the factual material" 8 relating to the curfew and evacuation issues raised in the 9 Hirabayashi and Yasui cases. The relevance of material in 10 the possession of the War Department, as the agency respon-11 sible for the mass evacuation program and for the military 12 orders that precede and accompanied this program, is obvious. 13 Β. War Department Officials Altered the Final 14 Report To Conceal Contradictions With Representations Made to the Courts By the 15 Department of Justice 16 Ennis had requested a copy of the Final Report 17 which had been formally transmitted to the War Department 18 by General DeWitt on April 15, 1943. Ten copies of the Report 19 had been printed and bound, and six of these copies had been 20sent to the War Department. Two of these copies went to 21 Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy. In a transmittal 22 letter to McCloy dated April 15, 1943, DeWitt noted that 23 the Report had been shipped Air Express because it was needed 24 for the preparation of the Government's Supreme Court briefs: 25These are going forward via Air Express because I am advised that there is an 26urgent need of the material contained therein for use in the preparation of the 27 28 Note 1, supra. 3/

-24-

1 2	Federal Government's briefs in the cases now pending before the Supreme Court of the United States challenging the con- stitutionality of the entire program. <u>4</u> /
3 4	In reviewing the initial version of the Final
5	Report, McCloy discovered a statement by General DeWitt that
6	prompted him to direct that the Report be altered and with-
7	held from the Justice Department. The objectionable state-
8	ment appeared in Chapter II, entitled "Need for Military
9	Control and For Evacuation." This chapter included both
10	the "military necessity" and disloyalty" claims made by DeWitt
11	in support of the evacuation. The significant paragraph
12	is quoted below in full:
13	Because of the ties of race, the intense feeling of filial piety and the strong bonds
14	of common tradition, culture and customs, this population [Japanese Americans] presented a
15	tightly-knit racial group. It included in excess of 115,000 persons deployed along
16	the Pacific Coast. Whether by design or accident, virtually always their communities
17 18	were adjacent to very vital shore installa- tions, war plants, etc. While it was believed that some were loyal, it was known
10	that many were not. It was impossible to establish the identity of the loyal and
20	the disloyal with any degree of safety. It was not that there was insufficient time in
21	which to make such a determination; it was simply a matter of facing the realities
22	that a positive determination could not be made, that an exact separation of the
23	"sheep from the goats" was unfeasible. 5/
24	4/ Letter, General DeWitt to McCloy, April 15, 1943, File
25	319.1, Section I, Records of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, Civil Affairs Division, Record Group 338,
26	National Archives and Record Service [NARS], Washington, D.C. <u>See</u> Exhibit C.
27 28	5/ Final Report, Japanese Evacuation From the West Coast, 1942, [initial version], p. 9, ibid. Emphasis added. See Exhibit D.
	25-

1 The underscored portion of this paragraph is signi-2 ficant for several reasons. First, DeWitt's assertion that 3 is was "impossible" to separate the loyal and the disloyal 4 among the Japanese Americans contradicted DeWitt's own prior 5 statement of the subject. On December 26, 1941, at a time 6 of greater military uncertainity and potential danger of 7 Japanese attack on the West Coast, DeWitt had opposed mass 8 evacuation with the statement that "I think we can weed the disloyal out of the loyal and lock them up if necessary." 9 10 DeWitt offered no evidence in the Final Report to explain 11 his change in opinion. What he did offer were simply supposi-12 tions that the "racial characteristics" of Japanese Americans 13 predisposed them to disloyalty.

14 Second, officials of the War Department and Depart-15 ment of Justice -- including McCloy and Attorney General 16 Biddle -- had known since early 1942 that reports from respon-17 sible intelligence agencies flatly contradicted DeWitt's 18 claim that it was impossible to separate the loyal from the 19 disloyal. Evidence of this knowledge and the reports on 20 which it was based is detailed in the following section of 21 this petition.

Third, the statement that considerations of time had not been a factor in the mass evacuation decision contradicted the position consistently taken by the Department of

25

 <u>6</u>/ Transcript of telephone conversation, General DeWitt and General Allen W. Gullion, Provost Marshal General, United States Army, December 26, 1941, File 311.3 (Telephone conversations, DeWitt, 1942-43), Record Group 338, Records of the Western Defense Command, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

Justice before the courts. Counsel for Hirabayashi and Yasui 1 argued at length in their briefs to the Supreme Court that 2 3 the prior experience of the British government in conducting individual loyalty hearings for enemy aliens demonstrated 4 5 the feasibility of this less restrictive alternative to mass 6 evacuation. DeWitt's elimination of the time factor from 7 the evacuation equation was directly and critically relevant to 8 this central question. 9 McCloy had not expected to receive the Final Report in printed and bound form before he had an opportunity to 10 11 review it. He communicated his surprise to Colonel Karl Bendetsen in a telephone conversation on April 19, 1943:

> The arrangement that I understood was that you were going to submit a galley that you could go over and we could work on that and make any suggestions [T]he letter of transmittal is already printed and signed -- completed -- done That is what disturbes me. The -- pat. whole thing disturbs me -- frankly." 7/

12

13

14

15

16

17

23

 $\mathbf{24}$

25

26

27

28

18 At the end of this conversation McCloy ordered 19 Colonel Bendetsen to report to Washington for consultation $\mathbf{20}$ on the Final Report. Bendetsen subsequently reported to 21 General DeWitt on May 3, 1943, that McCloy objected: 22. . . to that portion of Chapter II which

said in effect that it is absolutely impossible to determine the loyalty of Japanese no matter how much time was taken in the process. He said that he had no objection to saying that time was of the essence and that in view of the military situation and the fact that there was no known means of

Transcript of telephone conversation, Colonel Bendetsen 7/ and McCloy, April 19, 1943, note 4, supra. See Exhibit Ε.

1 making such a determination with any degree of safety the evacuation was necessary. 8/ $\mathbf{2}$ 3 McCloy then instructed Captain John M. Hall of his staff to 4 revise the paragraph from the Final Report quoted above. Hall 5 revised the last two sentences of this paragraph to read as 6 follows: 7 To complicate the situation, no ready means existed for determining the loyal and the 8 disloyal with any degree of safety. It was necessary to face the realitites -- a 9 positive determination could not be made. 9/ 10 Hall's revision produced more than a semantic change. 11 It resulted in the complete alteration of DeWitt's original 12 statement and its meaning. DeWitt obviously claimed that it was 13 "impossible" to segregate the Japanese Americans on the basis 14 of loyalty because he assumed that their "racial characteristics" 15 predisposed them to disloyalty. Hall's unsupported statement 16 that "no ready means existed" by which loyalty could be deter-17 mined shifted the argument to the guestion of practicality and 18 concealed the racist underpinning of DeWitt's equally unsuppor-19 More important, Hall's revision concealed from the ted claim. 20 Justice Department DeWitt's express admission that the time 21 required to pursue the less restrictive alternative of $\mathbf{22}$ 23Memorandum, Colonel Bendetsen to General DeWitt, May 3, 8/ 1943, Note 4, supra. Emphasis in original. See Exhibit 24 F. 25 Memorandum, "Suggested changes by Capt. Hall in "Final 9/ Japanese Evacuation from West Coast - 1942'", Report: $\mathbf{26}$ [no recipient or date noted], ibid. See Exhibit G. This alteration appeared in the published version of the Final 27Report, Japanese Evacuation From the West Coast, 1942, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943. 28 [Hereinafter cited as DeWitt, Final Report.]

1 segregation by loyalty had not been a factor in the mass 2 evacuation decision.

3 The impact of this alteration of the Final Report on Petitioners' cases is undeniable. Barred by McCloy from 4 5 access to the original version of the Report, the Justice 6 Deprtment erroneously asserted to the Supreme Court in 7 Hirabayashi and Yasui that lack of sufficient time for a 8 loyalty determination had necessitated the adoption of the 9 program of mass evacuation. The Hirabayashi brief, incor-10 porated by reference on this point in the Yasui brief, included 11 this assertion: "Many months, or perhaps years, would be required for such [loyalty] investigations and hearings." 12 13 In view of DeWitt's original statement on this question, the 14 consequence of this assertion was to mislead the Court on this 15 crucial issue.

16 The Supreme Court's reliance on this misleading and 17 erroneous assertion is evident. The Court upheld the curfew 18 order at issue in both Hirabayashi and Yasui on the ground that 19 DeWitt had determined that the Japanese American population 20included "disloyal members . . . whose number and strength 21 could not be precisely and quickly ascertained" and that such $\mathbf{22}$ persons could not readily be isolated and separately dealt with" by any means other than the curfew. 23Later, in 24 Korematsu, the Court upheld the exclusion order at issue (and 25 2610/ Hirabayashi v. United States, 320 U.S. 81 (1943), Brief

for the United States, pp. 62-65. 11/ Hirabayashi v. United States, supra, 320 U.S. 81, 99.

28

1 the mass evacuation program as well) with quotation of this same excerpt from Hirabayashi 2

3 The altered version of the Final Report was presented to the Supreme Court in Korematsu after its public 4 $\mathbf{5}$ release in 1944. Justice Murphy's dissent in Korematsu 6 provides a clear indication that the outcome of Petitioners' 7 cases might have differed had the Court not been misled on 8 this issue. "No adequate reason is given for the failure 9 to treat these Japanese Americans on an individual basis 10 by holding investigations and hearings to separate the loyal from the disloyal," Justice Murphy wrote in reference to the 11 Final Report. Rather, "it is asserted that the loyalties of 12 this group 'were unknown and time was of the essence'." $\frac{13}{}$ 13 14 This interior guotation from the Final Report reflected, of 15 course, the alteration of the original version directed by 16 McCloy. Had the Court been aware of DeWitt's initial statement, 17 other members of the Court might well have shared Justice 18 Murphy's doubts.

19

20

21 2223

War Department Officials Destroyed Records of с. the Original Version of the Final Report and Concealed Records of Its Existence From the Department of Justice

After the alteration of the Final Report to eliminate General DeWitt's damaging statements, War Department officials 24 destroyed records of the receipt of the initial version sent to 25the War Department and records used in its preparation. On May $\mathbf{26}$ 27 12/ Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214, 218 (1943).

28 Id. at 241 (Murphy, J., dissenting). 13/

1 9, 1943, Colonel Bendetsen transmitted to General James Barnett, $\mathbf{2}$ Assistant Chief of Staff of the Western Defense Command, the 3 following order from DeWitt: 4 Take action to call in all copies previously sent to WD [War Department] less enclosures $\mathbf{5}$ and to have WD destroy all records of receipt of report as when final revision is 6 forwarded letter of transmittal will be redated. 14/ 7 8 Two days later, on May 11, DeWitt sent a telegram to 9 the Army Chief of Staff requesting return of the six printed 10 copies of the Final Report that had been sent to the War 11 Department on April 15. DeWitt also requested that "your 12 record [of] receipt of same be cancelled for reason rewritten 13 report in process. 14 War Department records were subsequently altered 15 to conceal the receipt of the initial version of the Final 16 Report. On June 7, 1943, Captain Hall returned to Colonel 17 Bendetsen the original and copy of General DeWitt's letter 18 of transmittal dated April 15. "War Department records have 19 been adjusted accordingly," Hall reported to Bendetsen. 20The final step in the destruction of records took 21place on June 29, 1943. On that day, the following document 222324 14/ Telegram, Colonel Bendetsen to General Barnett, May 9, 1943, File 319.1, Note 4, supra. See Exhibit H. 25Telegram, General DeWitt to Chief of Staff, United 15/ 26 States Army, May 11, 1943, ibid. See Exhibit I. 2716/ Letter, Captain Hall to Colonel Bendetsen, June 7, 1943, ibid. See Exhibit J. $\mathbf{28}$

1 was submitted to Bendetsen's office by Warrant Officer Theodore
2 E. Smith:

3

4

 $\mathbf{5}$

 $\mathbf{26}$

I certify that this date I witnessed the destruction by burning of the galley proofs, galley pages, drafts and memorandums of the original report of the Japanese Evacuation. <u>17</u>/

6 While these records were being destroyed, the altered 7 version of the Final Report was printed and, on June 5, 1943, 8 submitted to the War Department by General DeWitt. This 9 date has a particular significance to the Hirabayashi and Yasui 10 Although arguments in these cases before the Supreme cases. 11 Court had taken place several weeks earlier, the Court's 12opinions were not issued until June 21, 1943. The Justice 13 Department's request to the War Department for material relevant 14 to these cases had been made in April and was still outstanding. 15 Notwithstanding this request, and their knowledge that the 16 Final Report had been officially requested, War Department 17 officials did not release the Report until January 1944.

18 Justice Department officials gained access to the 19 altered version of the Final Report only after its release 20to the press. The purge of War Department records gave them 21 no hint that any other version of the Report had ever existed. $\mathbf{22}$ Not until the recent discovery by Petitioners of a copy of 23the original version in the files of the Western Defense 24 Command, and of the records relating to its alteration, did 25 this shocking episode come to light. The deliberate alter-

- 27 <u>17</u>/ Memorandum, Warrant Officer Junior Grade Theodore E. Smith, June 29, 1943, <u>Ibid</u>. <u>See</u> Exhibit K.
- 28 18/ DeWitt, Final Report, p. vii.

	$\left(\begin{array}{c} \end{array} \right)$			
-				
1	ation and destruction			
2	in Petitioners' cases		adversely to	them by the
3	Supreme Court speaks	for itself.		
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16			•	
17				
18				t e e stigteringen e
19				
20				
21				
22				
23				
24				
25				-
26				
27				
28				•
			• · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
		-33-		

1	POINT TWO
2	OFFICIALS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT AND THE
3	DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE SUPPRESSED EVIDENCE RELATIVE TO THE LOYALTY OF JAPANESE
4	AMERICANS AND TO THE ALLEGED COMMISSION BY THEM OF ACTS OF ESPIONAGE
5	The alteration of the original version of the Final
6	Report, and the destruction of records of its preparation,
7	were directly related to the suppression of authoritative
8	intelligence reports showing that the "evidence" upon which
9	General DeWitt relied to support his assertions of a threat
10	from Japanese Americans was false. These reports conclu-
11	sively refuted both the disloyalty and espionage allegations
12	made in the Final Report in support of mass evacuation.
13	Officials of the War Department and the Department
14	of Justice were aware since early 1942 of reports that dealt
15	with the disloyalty and espionage issues. These reports
16	had been submitted by the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI),
17	the Military Intelligence Division of DeWitt's command (MID),
18	the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Federal
19	Communications Commission (FCC). Collectively, these reports
20	refuted every allegation made in the Final Report. However,
21	none of this exculpatory evidence was presented to the courts
22	which considered Petitioners' cases. Instead, over the ob-
23	jections of the attorneys responsible for the briefs in these
24	cases, the Justice Department knowingly presented to the courts
25	the false factual picture created by DeWitt and the War Depart-
26	ment in support of the incarceration program.
27	
28	
-	-34-

A. The Disloyalty and Espionage Allegations Made in the Final Report

3 Allegations that Japanese Americans constituted 4 a disloyal element among the West Coast population, and that 5 members of this group had committed acts of espionage, provided 6 the twin foundations of DeWitt's justification of mass eva-7 cuation in the Final Report. DeWitt's actions could in fact be 8 justified only on an asserted link between these separate 9 allegations. Acts of espionage were in the province of military 10 and civilian intelligence and law enforcement agencies. The mass evacuation and incarceration of all Japanese Americans 11 12 depended on an assertion of widespread disloyalty among this 13 group, and upon the related assertion that they were predisposed 14 to sympathy to Japan and would commit acts of espionage to 15 further Japanese war aims.

16 General DeWitt made such an explicit linkage between 17 disloyalty and espionage in his Final Report. He expressed 18 it in the following terms:

19 In his estimate of the situation, the Commanding General found a tightly-20knit, unassimilated racial group, substantial numbers of whom were engaged in 21 pro-Japanese activities. . . . He had no alternative but to conclude that the 22Japanese [Americans] constituted a potentially dangerous element from the $\mathbf{23}$ viewpoint of military necessity -- that military necessity required their immediate evacuation to the interior. . . . 24 There were hundreds of reports nightly of 25 signal lights visible from the coast, and of intercepts of unidentified radio $\mathbf{26}$ transmissions. . . . The problem required immediate solution. 27

1

2

1	It called for the application of measures
2	not then in being. $\underline{1}$
3	Long before he submitted the Final Report to the War
4	Department, DeWitt had expressed his belief that Japanese
5	Americans were disloyal as a group in statements that literally
6	reeked of racism. On January 4, 1942, more than a month before
7	he recommended mass evacuation, DeWitt made the following
8	statement to an official of the Department of Justice:
9	I have little confidence that the enemy aliens are law-abiding or loyal in any
10	sense of the word. Some of them, yes; many, no. Particularly the Japanese.
11	I have no confidence in their loyalty whatsoever. I am speaking now of the
12	native-born Japanese 2/
13	The Final Report included a revealing expression
14	of DeWitt's belief that the "racial characteristics" of Japanese
15	Americans predisposed them to disloyalty. DeWitt included
16	in the Report the text of the "Final Recommendation" he sub-
17	mitted to the Secretary of War on February 14, 1942. The
18	following statement appeared in this document:
19	In the war in which we are now engaged racial affinities are not severed by
20	migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and
21	third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States
22	citizenship, have become 'Americanized',
23	
24	<u>1</u> / Final Report: Japanese Evacuation From the West Coast, <u>1942</u> , Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943
25	[hereafter cited as DeWitt, Final Report], pp. 8-9.
26	<u>2</u> / Transcript, Conference in Office of General DeWitt, January 4, 1942, File 014.31, Box 7, Record Group 338
27	[Records of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army], National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.
28	Emphasis added. See Exhibit L.
	-36-

1 the racial strains are undiluted. . It, therefore, follows that along the 2 vital Pacific coast over 112,000 potential enemies, of Japanese extraction, are at 3 large today. 3/ 4 DeWitt's final public statement about the loyalty 5 of Japanese Americans came shortly before his transfer from 6 the Western Defense Command in June 1943. Testifying before a 7 congressional committee on April 13, 1943, that "it makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not." 8 9 These statements do more than document the consistency 10 of DeWitt's hostility toward Japanese Americans as a racial 11 group. His expression of "no confidence" in the loyalty of 12 Japanese Americans led to the fabrication of "evidence" that 13 members of this group had committed acts of espionage. The 14 espionage allegations in the Final Report thus provide a 15 classic example of the self-fulfilling prophecy in operation. 16 The Final Report shows the consequence of DeWitt's 17 linkage of disloyalty and espionage. DeWitt included in 18 his "Final Recommendation" for mass evacuation the following 19 prediction that Japanese Americans would engage in acts of 20 espionage: 21 DeWitt, Final Report, p. 3. Emphasis added. 3/ $\mathbf{22}$ Quoted in San Francisco Chronicle, April 14, 1943. 4/ The 23 printed text of General DeWitt testimony does not contain the first statement quoted above. That testimony, as $\mathbf{24}$ printed, read in relevant part: "I don't want any of them [persons of Japanese ancestry] here. They are a $\mathbf{25}$ dangerous element. There is no way to determine their The danger of the Japanese was, and is now -loyalty.... 26if they are permitted to come back -- espionage and sabotage. It makes no difference whether he is an American 27 citizen, he is still a Japanese.... " Hearings, House Naval Affairs Subcommittee to Investigate Congested Areas, 78th 28 Cong., 1st Sess., Part 3, pp. 739-740.

-37-

1	Hostile naval and air raids will be
2	assisted by enemy agents signaling from the coastline and the vicinity
3	thereof; and by supplying and otherwise assisting enemy vessels and by sabotage. 5/
4	and by saborage. <u>5</u> /
5	Having predicted in the "Final Recommendation"
6	that Japanese Americans would commit espionage, DeWitt was
7	forced by the logic of his prophecy to include "evidence"
8	of espionage in the Final Report. DeWitt made two separate
9	allegations of espionage activities in his Report. One dealt
10	with radio communications from the mainland to Japanese
11	submarines off the coast; the other with the transmission
12	of visual signals to offshore Japanese vessels.
13	DeWitt first stated that his recommendation of
14	mass evacuation was:
15	in part based upon the interception of unauthorized radio communications
16	which had been identified as emanating from certain areas along the coast.
17	Of further concern to him was the fact that for a period of several weeks
18	following December 7th [1941], sub- stantially every ship leaving a West
19	Coast port was attacked by an enemy submarine. This seemed conclusively
20	to point to the existence of hostile shore-to-ship (submarine) communication. 6/
21	
22	The second espionage allegation in the Final Report
23	came in a section that charged the Department of Justice with
24	having "impeded" the search for "arms, cameras and other
25	contraband" in the possession of Japanese Americans by insisting
26	
27	5/ DeWitt, Final Report, p. 33. Emphasis added.
28	<u>6/ Id</u> . at 4. Emphasis added.

÷

that premises occupied by citizens could be searched only with 1 2 the warrant required by the Fourth Amendment. DeWitt accom-3 panied this criticism with the following statement: 4 There were hundreds of reports nightly of signal lights visible from the coast $\mathbf{5}$ Signaling was often observed at premises which could not be entered without 6 a warrant because of mixed [i.e., alien and citizen] occupancy. 7/ 7 8 It should be noted that these related allegations 9 of disloyalty and espionage were the only "evidence" offered 10 by General DeWitt to support the mass evacuation and incar-11 ceration of Japanese Americans. These allegations in the Final 12 Report were presented to the Supreme Court in Petitioners' 13 cases as the basis of the "military necessity" argument in 14 support of the military orders at issue. It also deserves 15 notice that DeWitt did not directly charge that any of the 16 alleged acts of espionage had been committed by Japanese Americans. Presumably because no person -- of Japanese ancestry 17 18 or otherwise -- was charged with espionage on the West Coast, 19 DeWitt resorted to implication rather than accusation. 20 Β. Officials of the War Department and the Department of Justice Suppressed the Report of the 21 Office of Naval Intelligence on the Loyalty of Japanese Americans 2223 Preparation and Contents of the ONI Report 1. $\mathbf{24}$ The responsibility of the Office of Naval Intelligence 25(ONI) for the investigation of the Japanese American population 26 on the West Coast originated in June 1939. At that time, in 27 28 7/ Id. at 8.

-39-

response to increasing tension between the United States and 1 2 Japan, President Roosevelt ordered a reorganization of the 3 government's intelligence activities on the West Coast. The "Delimitation Agreement" of June 4, 1940 further coordinated 4 5 the operations of civilian and military intelligence agencies 6 and specifically assigned primary responsibility for investiga-7 tion of the Japanese American population on the West Coast to the ONI. 8

9 Among the most significant of the intelligence 10 reports suppressed by government officials in Petitioner's 11 cases was the ONI report on its investigation of the Japanese Americans submitted to the Chief of Naval Operations on 12 13 January 26, 1942. Entitled "Report on Japanese Question," 14 this document discussed in detail the question of the loyalty 15 of Japanese Americans on the West Coast. It had been prepared 16 by Lieutenant Commander Kenneth D. Ringle, the official most knowledgeable about Japanese Americans among the personnel of 17 18 all federal intelligence agencies both before and during the 19 war.

- 218/United States Navy, Office of Naval Intelligence, "United
States Naval Administration in World War II," n.d., pp.2266-69.See Exhibit M.
- 23 9/ Ibid.

 $\mathbf{20}$

 Memorandum, "Japanese Question, Report on," Lieutenant Commander K. D. Ringle to Chief of Naval Operations, January 26, 1942, File BIO/ND 11BF37/A8-5, Records of the United States Navy. See Exhibit N. Note the following statement of Ringle's background and experience: "(a) Three years of study of the Japanese language and the Japanese people as a naval language student attached to

28 [FOOTNOTE 10/ CONTINUED ON FOLLOWING PAGE]

1 Pursuant to his duties on the intelligence staff 2 of the Eleventh Naval District, with headquarters in Los 3 Angeles, Commander Ringle assumed primary responsibility for 4 the investigation of the loyalty of Japanese Americans. 5 He maintained close contact with Japanese Americans and with 6 officials in other intelligence agencies. His periodic 7 reports, in particular that of January 26, 1942, thus consti-8 tuted the most expert and definitive intelligence on the 9 loyalty guestion. 10 In his report of January 26, 1942, Commander Ringle 11 concluded that the vast majority of Japanese Americans were 12 loyal to the United States and presented little danger to 13 military security. He admitted that a small number among the 14 entire Japanese American population represented a potential 15 military danger, noting that: 16 . there are among the Japanese, both alien and United States citizens, 17 certain individuals, either deliberately placed by the Japanese government or 18 actuated by a fanatical loyalty to that country, who would act as 19 saboteurs or agents. This number is estimated to be less than three 20percent of the total, or about 3500 in the entire United States. 11/ 21 22 $\mathbf{23}$ [FOOTNOTE 10/ CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE] 24 the United States Embassy in Tokyo from 1928 to 1931. (b) One year's duty as Assistant District Intelligence Officer, $\mathbf{25}$ Fourteenth Naval District (Hawaii) from July 1936 to July 1937. (c) Duty as Assistant District in charge of Naval 26intelligence matters in Los Angeles and vicinity from July 1940 to the present time." Pp. 3-4. 2711/ Id. at 2. 28

-41-

1 Commander Ringle added to this estimate the signifi-2 cant statement that the identities of the potentially disloyal 3 were easily discoverable: 4 . . . of the persons mentioned . . . above, the most dangerous are either 5 already in custodial detention or are members of such organizations as the Black 6 Dragon Society, the Kaigun Kyokai (Navy League), or the Haimusha Kai (Military 7 Service Men's League), or affiliated groups. The membership of these groups is 8 already fairly well known to the Naval Intelligence service or the Federal Bureau 9 of Investigation. . . 12/ 10 On the basis of these informed estimates and his 11 personal knowledge of the Japanese Americans, Commander 12 Ringle came to the following conclusion: 13 That, in short, the entire 'Japanese Problem' has been magnified out of its 14 true proportion, largely because of the physical characteristics of the people; 15 that it is no more serious than the problems of the German, Italian, and 16 Communistic portions of the United States population, and, finally that it should be 17 handled on the basis of the individual, regardless of citizenship, and not on a 18 racial basis. 13/ 19 Most importantly, in accordance with the existing 20 "Delimitation Agreement" between the federal intelligence 21 agencies, Commander Ringle's report was available to both 22the Federal Bureau of Investigation and to General DeWitt $\mathbf{23}$ through the staff of the Military Intelligence Division 24 (MID) of the Western Defense Command. 252627 12/ Ibid. 28 13/ Id. at 3.

1 2. The Government's Knowledge of the ONI Report 2 3 It is significant that the ONI Report came to the 4 personal attention of both Attorney General Biddle and Assistant 5 Secretary of War McCloy before General DeWitt issued the curfew 6 and exclusion orders applicable to Petitioners. Biddle trans-7 mitted the report to McCloy on March 9, 1942, with a letter 8 that read: "You will be interested in the enclosed confidential 9 report of the Office of Naval Intelligence with respect to the Japanese situation on the West Coast." 10 McCloy responded on 11 March 21, 1942, with a letter that included the following: 12 I spent some time on the West Coast, returning yesterday, and while out there 13 I talked at some length with Commander Ringle and other officials of the Office of 14 Naval Intelligence, 12th Naval District. I was greatly impressed with Commander 15 Ringle's knowledge of the Japanese problem along the coast. 15/ 16 17 Additionally, the substance and conclusions of the 18 ONI Report came to the attention of officials of the Department 19 of Justice during preparation of the Government's brief to the 20Supreme Court in the Hirabayashi case. Subsequent to his 21 preparation of the report of January 26, 1942, Commander Ringle $\mathbf{22}$ prepared, at the request of officials of the War Relocation. $\mathbf{23}$ 24 $\mathbf{25}$ Biddle to McCloy, March 9, 1942, File ASW014.311 [Eastern 14/ Defense Command, Exclusion Order Reports], Entry 47, Box 26 6, Record Group 107, Records of the Assistant Secretary of War, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, 27 D.C. See Exhibit O. $\mathbf{28}$ 15/ McCloy to Biddle, March 21, 1942, See Exhibit P.

-43-

1 Authority (WRA), an expanded 57-page report entitled "The 2 Japanese Question in the United States." This report 3 discussed in detail such questions as dual citizenship, the 4 Shinto religion, the education in Japan of the American-born 5 "Kibei" group, and the basic loyalty of Japanese Americans. 6 On each of these questions, Commander Ringle presented authori-7 tative data that contradicted or substantially qualified the 8 allegations made in the Final Report of General DeWitt. In 9 effect, the report prepared by Commander Ringle for the War 10 Relocation Agency controverted every piece of "evidence" 11 submitted to the Supreme Court on the loyalty issue by the 12 Department of Justice in Petitioners' cases.

13 The ONI Report of January 26, 1942, along with 14 excerpts from the report submitted to the WRA on June 15, 15 1942, was subsequently published in summary form in the 16 October, 1942 issue of Harpers Magazine. This article was 17 anonymously published under the title "The Japanese in America, 18 The Problem and Solution," under the pseudonym "An Intelligence 19 Officer." In April, 1943, this article came to the attention 20of Edward J. Ennis of the Department of Justice, who was then 21 responsible for preparation of the Government's brief to the $\mathbf{22}$ Supreme Court in the Hirabayashi case. Ennis subsequently $\mathbf{23}$ identified Commander Ringle as the author of the magazine

- 25 16/ Memorandum, "The Japanese Question in the United States," Lt. Commander K. D. Ringle, June 15, 1942, "Commander Ringle File." Box 573, Record Group 210, Records of the War Relocation Authority, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.
 - <u>17/ Harpers Magazine</u>, Vol. 185, No. 1109 (October 1942), p. 489.

24

28

1	article and obtained copies of the reports on which it was
2	based.
3	3. The Government's Suppression of the ONI Report
4	
5	On April 30, 1943, Ennis informed Solicitor General
6	Fahy of his knowledge of the ONI Report and its contents.
7	Given the importance of the memorandum from Ennis to Fahy, it
8	is quoted below at length:
9	I have repeatedly been told that the Army, before the war, agreed
10	in writing to permit the Navy to conduct
11	its Japanese intelligence work for it. I think it follows, therefore, that to a very considerable extent the Army is bound
12	by the opinion of the Naval officers in Japanese matters. Thus, had we known
13	that the Navy thought that 90 percent
14	of the evacuation was unnecessary, we could strongly have urged upon General DeWitt
15	that he could not base a military judgment to the contrary upon Intelligence reports,
16	as he now claims to do.
17	Lt. Com. Ringle's full memorandum is somewhat more complete than the version
18	published in Harpers and I think you will be interested in reading it [I]t is
19	my opinion that this is the most reasonable and objective discussion of the security
20	problem presented by the presence of the Japanese minority. In view of the
21	inherent reasonableness of this memorandum and in view of the fact that we now know
22	that it represents the view of the In- telligence agency having the most direct
23	responsibility for investigating the Japanese from the security viewpoint, I
24	feel that we should be extremely careful in taking any position on the facts more
25	hostile to the Japanese than the position of Lt. Com. Ringle Furthermore, in
26	
27	18/ Memorandum, Ennis to Solicitor General, April 30, 1943,
28	File 146-42-20, #8, Records of the Department of Justice. See Exhibit Q.

• ••`; 1

1 . .

1	view of the fact that the Department of
2	Justice is now representing the Army in the Supreme Court of the United States
3	and is arguing that a partial, selective evacuation was impracticable, we must
4	consider most carefully what our obligation
	to the Court is in view of the fact that the responsible Intelligence agency regarded
5	a selective evacuation as not only suffi- cient but preferable. It is my opinion
6	that certainly one of the most difficult
7	questions in the whole case is raised by the fact that the Army did not evacuate
8	people after any hearing or on any in- dividual determination of dangerousness,
9	but evacuated the entire racial group •••• Thus, in one of the crucial points
	of the case the Government is forced to
10	argue that individual, selective evacuation would have been impracticable and insuffi-
11	cient when we have positive knowledge that the only Intelligence agency responsible
12	for advising General DeWitt gave him advice
13	directly to the contrary.
14	In view of this fact, I think we should consider very carefully whether we do not
15	have a duty to advise the Court of the existence of the Ringle memorandum and of
	the fact that this represents the view of
16	the Office of Naval Intelligence. It occurs to me that any other course of
17	conduct might approximate the suppression of evidence. 19/
18	
19	Despite this clear warning of the Government's duty
20	to the Supreme Court, the Solicitor General ignored Ennis'
21	memorandum. Although the Attorney General, the Assistant
22	Secretary of War, and the Solicitor General each had personal
23	knowledge of the existence and contents of the ONI Report, and
24	knew that it controverted statements made to the Court on the
25	loyalty issue, the Government's briefs to the Supreme Court in
26	
27	
28	<u>19/ Ibid.</u>

-46-

Hirabayashi and Yasui contained no mention whatsoever of the 1 $\mathbf{2}$ ONI Report. 3 The Impact of Suppression of the ONI 4. Report on Petitioners' Cases 4 5 Suppression of the ONI report had a direct and The 6 adverse impact on the outcome of Petitioners' cases. report made clear that allegedly disloyal members of the 7 Japanese American population could easily have been identified 8 and segregated. As a less restrictive alternative to the mass -9 evacuation and incarceration of the entire group, this would 10 have been an admittedly preferable course. However, in con-11 tradiction of the ONI Report, the Government claimed in its 12 Hirabayashi brief that such an alternative was impossible: 13 14 If those Japanese who might aid the enemy were either known or readily identifiable, the task of segregating them would probably 15 have been comparatively simple. However, the identities of the potentially disloyal 16 were not readily discoverable. 20/ 17 18 The Government thus concluded that mass evacuation was necessary: "Since they [the disloyal] were not easily 19 20identifiable, the only certain way of removing them was to remove the group as a whole. 21 The Government made a similar claim in its Korematsu 22 $\mathbf{23}$ brief: 24 Hirabayashi v. United States, 320 U.S. 81 (1943), Brief 2520/ for the United States, p. 61. 26These arguments were presented by reference to 21/ Ibid. 27the Supreme Court in the Yasui brief. 320 U.S. 115 (1943), Brief for the United States, p. 8. $\mathbf{28}$

1 There was a basis for concluding that some persons of Japanese ancestry, although 2 American citizens, had formed an attachment to, and sympathy and enthusiasm for, Japan. 3 It was also evident that it would be impossible quickly and accurately to dis-4 tinguish these persons from other citizens of Japanese ancestry. 22/ $\mathbf{5}$ 6 The Government's claims on this issue clearly affected 7 the opinions of the Supreme Court. The Court expressed its 8 agreement with these claims in the following statement in its 9 Hirabayashi opinion: 10 Whatever views we may entertain regarding the loyalty to this country of the citizens 11 of Japanese ancestry, we cannot reject as unfounded the judgment . . . that there 12 were disloyal members of that population, whose number and strength could not be 13 precisely and quickly ascertained. We cannot say that the war-making branches of 14 the Government did not have ground for believing that . . . such persons could not 15 readily be isolated and separately dealth with. . . . 23/ 16 17 The Supreme Court also cited this passage in the Korematsu 24/ 18 opinion in upholding the exclusion order at issue. 19 20 21 2223 24 25 22/ Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944), Brief for the United States, p. 12. Footnote omitted. 26 23/ Hirabayashi v. United States, supra, 320 U.S. 81, 99. 27 24/ Korematsu v. United States, supra, 323 U.S. 214, 218. 28

1 The importance of the ONI Report to Petitioners' 2 cases cannot be overstressed. Based on first-hand knowledge 3 and access to all relevant information on the loyalty of Japanese Americans, it explicitly recommended against mass 4 5 evacuation or other restrictive measures directed against 6 Japanese Americans as a group. The ONI Report also directly 7 refuted the unsupported disloyalty allegations made by General 8 DeWitt in his Final Report. The suppression of this crucial 9 document both from the courts and from Petitioners clearly 10 constituted an eqregious act of governmental misconduct. 11 C. Officials of the War Department Suppressed Reports of the Military Intelligence Division That Refuted the Espionage Allega-12 tions in the Final Report 13 Among the most important records that show the 14 15 falsity of the espionage allegations made by General DeWitt in 16 his Final Report are those of DeWitt's own Military Intelligence 17 Division (MID, or G-2). The suppression of these G-2 reports 18 is of particular significance to Petitioners' cases, since they 19 were submitted to DeWitt personally by members of his staff 20before the recommendation for mass evacuation and since they 21directly refuted DeWitt's statements in the Final Report. 22Beginning on January 3, 1942, MID officials submitted $\mathbf{23}$ directly to DeWitt a weekly "G-2 Periodic Report" that included $\mathbf{24}$ assessments of enemy capabilities and intelligence sources. 25These reports were based on radio monitoring, aerial and naval 26 27 $\mathbf{28}$

-49-

1	reconnaissance, and reports from G-2 installations along the
2	West Coast from San Diego to Alaska. The first five of
3	these weekly reports, dated January 3 through January 31, 1942,
4	identically stated:
5	The enemy's probable knowledge of our situation has not been gained by observation
6	or reconnaissance but by information learned during peace and the activities of
7	fifth-columnists. 26/
8	Beginning on February 7, 1942, and continuing through
9	May 16, 1942 at which time all of the military orders
10	applicable to Petitioners had been issued these G-2 reports
11	contained a significant revision and uniformly stated:
12	The enemy's probable knowledge of our situation has not been gained by observation
13	or reconnaissance but by information learned during peace by the activities of
14	accredited, diplomatic, military and naval attaches and their agents. 27/
15	
16	As noted above, DeWitt cited in his Final Report as a
17	justification for mass evacuation "hundreds of reports nightly
18	of signal lights visible from the coast" and "the nightly
19	observation of visual signal lamps from constantly changing
20	
21	25/ The reports for this period are located in Records of the Western Defense Command, G-2 Section, Weekly Intelligence
22	Reports, 1942-1946, Record Group 338, Boxes 28-29, National Archives and Records Service, Washington National Records
23	Center, Suitland, Maryland. Those reports submitted through February 28, 1942, were signed by Colonel D. A.
24	Stroh; those submitted through March 21, 1942, by Colonel J. H. Harrington; and those submitted through May 16, 1942
25	by Colonel John Weckerling.
26	<u>26</u> / G-2 Periodic Report, No. 3, January 31, 1942. <u>Id</u> . Emphasis added. <u>See</u> Exhibit R.
27 28	27/ G-2 Periodic Report, No. 20, May 16, 1942, Id. Emphasis added. See Exhibit S.
	-50-

1	28/ locations"• The obvious implication of these statements
2	was that Japanese Americans had been signaling to Japanese
3	submarines off the coast. However, an Air Force intelligence
4	report submitted to DeWitt on February 26, 1942 stated:
5	Numerous flares, signal lights, and uniden-
6	tified naval surface craft have been reported, but not included in this report
7	because of: (1) The unreliability of source, or
8	
9	(2) Improbability of information, or
10	(3) Negative investigation reports have included more reasonable or
11	more probable natural causes for reported phenomena. 29/
12	Although DeWitt's own intelligence staff could find
-13	no evidence of espionage by Japanese Americans, DeWitt included
14	such allegations in his Final Report and suppressed the G-2
15	reports that refuted his allegations. Suppression of the
16	reports that eliminated prior references to "fifth-column"
17	activities had a direct impact on Petitioner's cases. The
18	Government's briefs to the Supreme Court stressed the "fifth-
19	column" threat allegedly posed by Japanese Americans, and the
20	Court specifically noted in <u>Hirabayashi</u> "the menace of the
21	'fifth column'" in the context of the Court's expression of
22	"grave concern" about the loyalty of Japanese Americans.
23	
24	
25	28/ DeWitt, Final Report, p. 8.
26 27	29/ 4th Air Force Periodic Intelligence Report, February 26, 1942, note 25, <u>supra</u> .
28	30/ Hirabayashi v. United States, supra, 320 U.S. at 96.

-51-

1 Suppression of the exculpatory evidence contained in the G-2 2 reports thus constituted an act of governmental misconduct. 3 D. Officials of the War Department and the Department of Justice Suppressed Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the 4 Federal Communications Commission That 5 Refuted the Espionage Allegations in the Final Report 6 1. Initial Reports of the FBI and FCC 7 on Espionage 8 Well before the outbreak of war between the United 9 States and Japan, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and 10 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) were actively 11 engaged in the investigation of espionage activities on the 12 West Coast and elsewhere in the country. After the Japanese 13 attack on Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war on Japan, 14 officials of both agencies worked closely with General DeWitt 15 and his intelligence staff in this field. Reports of the FBI 16 and FCC were available to DeWitt before his recommendation of 17 the mass evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans 18 that refuted the espionage allegations made in the Final 19 Report. In addition, Justice Department officials failed to 20bring these reports to the attention of the courts or Peti-21 tioners despite their exculpatory nature and their obvious $\mathbf{22}$ relevance to Petitioners' cases. $\mathbf{23}$ The FBI played a direct role in the investigation of

espionage. Pursuant to a secret directive issued by President Roosevelt in 1939, the FBI was assigned to investigate cases of "actual or strongly presumptive espionage or sabotage" within the United States. Accordingly, prior to and during the war the FBI conducted investigations of alleged acts of espionage 1 or sabotage by Japanese Americans both on its own initiative 2 and at the request of military intelligence agencies and state 3 and local police.

4 In March 1941, the FBI participated in the "surrep-5 titious entry" of the Japanese consulate in Los Angeles, an 6 undertaking of the Office of Naval Intelligence under the 7 leadership of Lt. Commander Ringle. Based on the lists of 8 Japanese agents and sympathizers obtained in this raid and 9 records seized during the subsequent arrest of Japanese agent 10 Tachibana, the Japanese espionage network on the West Coast was dismantled in June 1941. 11 The names of those discovered to 12 be Japanese sympathizers or spies were added to the Justice 13 Department's "ABC" list of dangerous aliens. Some 1,370 14 Japanese aliens on the "ABC" list were arrested within five 15 days of the Pearl Harbor attack.

16 FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover ordered a follow-up 17 investigation of possible Japanese American espionage after the 18 consular break-in. On November 8, 1941, Nat J.L. Pieper, 19 Special Agent in Charge of the San Francisco FBI office, 20 reported to Heaven that.

20 reported to Hoover that:

21 . . . practical results of espionage investigations of Japanese have been meager . . [T]he reason for lack of practical results is that although surveillances, spot checks, and a thorough and logical investigation of individuals reported to be engaged in espionage activi-

26 <u>31</u>/ Note 8, <u>supra</u>.

27 32/ See Appendix, infra, note 7.

28 33/ Ibid.

 $\mathbf{25}$

1	ties has been conducted, no evidence has			
2	been obtained indicating that any have been guilty of violating any federal statutes for which prosecution would lie. 34/			
3	for which prosecution would fie. <u>54</u> /			
4	In the period that followed the outbreak of war,			
5	the FBI continued to investigate all reports of espionage and			
6	sabotage. A number of these reports were transmitted to the			
7	FBI by Army personnel under the command of General DeWitt.			
8	Included were reports that Japanese Americans had committed			
9	acts of sabotage against the electric power lines and had lit			
10	"arrows of fire" designed to point Japanese airplanes toward			
11	military targets. Hoover discussed these reports in a December			
12	17, 1941, memorandum to senior members of his staff. Reporting			
13	on a telephone conversation with Pieper, Hoover noted that:			
14	there was no sense in the Army losing their heads as they did in the Bonneville			
15	Dam Affair, where the power lines were sabotaged by cattle scratching their backs			
16 17	on the wires, or the 'arrows of fire' near Seattle, which was only a farmer burning brush as he had done for years. <u>35</u> /			
18	At no time in the period that preceded completion of			
19	the mass evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans did			
20	FBI reports substantiate any of the claims later made by			
21	General DeWitt in his Final Report of acts of espionage or			
22	sabotage.			
23				
24	34/ Memorandum, Special Agent in Charge N.J.L. Pieper to J.			
25	Edgar Hoover, November 8, 1941, File 100-71-1, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. See "Memorandum on			
26	Pearl Harbor Attack and Bureau's Activities Before and After." <u>Id</u> .			
27	35/ Memorandum J. Edgar Hoover to Mr. Tolson, Mr. Tamm,			
28	and Mr. Ladd, December 17, 1941, File 100-97-1-67, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. See Exhibit T.			
	-54-			

1 The Federal Communications Commission was responsible 2 for all radio monitoring in the United States before and 3 during the war. Shortly after Pearl Harbor General DeWitt 4 requested that the FCC supplement existing stationary monitoring 5 facilities with mobile direction-finding intercept units to 6 detect shore-to-ship radio transmissions. Subsequently, on 7 January 9, 1942, DeWitt and his staff met with George E. 8 Sterling, Chief of the FCC's Radio Intelligence Division. 9 Sterling informed DeWitt at this meeting that the FCC's round-10 the-clock surveillance of the entire radio communications spectrum would detect any illicit radio transmitters. 11 12 Following a discussion at this meeting of the FCC's 13 capabilities and expertise, DeWitt established the Radio 14 Intelligence Center (RIC) under the direction of the FCC. RIC 15 operated as the central clearance agency on matters relating to 16 radio intelligence and communications. Both the Army and Navy 17 maintained direct telephone communications with RIC and had 18 liaison personnel at the Center. 19 Sterling came away from the meeting with DeWitt on $\mathbf{20}$ January 9, 1942 with an impression that DeWitt and his staff $\mathbf{21}$ were incompetent in the radio intelligence field. He expressed $\mathbf{22}$ this attitude in a candid and scathing memorandum dated January $\mathbf{23}$ 9: 24 Memorandum, "Conference With General DeWitt at San 36/ 25Francisco, Friday January 9th [1942], Files of the Radio Intelligence Division, Record Group 173, Records of the 26Federal Communications Commission, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. See Exhibit U. 27 Memorandum, Fly to Biddle, April 4, 1944, Box 37, Folder 37/ 28 3, Fahy Papers, FDRL. See Exhibit V.

1	The General launched into quite a discourse
2	on the Japanese and other foreign language programs, <u>radio transmitters operated by</u>
3	enemy agents in California sending messages to ships at sea, and a general discussion of
4	the enemy aliens and all Japanese in the area followed.
5	Since Gen'l DeWitt seemed concerned and, in
6	fact, <u>seemed to believe that the woods</u> were full of Japs with transmitters, I
7	proceeded to tell him and his staff the organization [of the FCC radio monitoring
8	program]. I know it virtually astounded the General's staff officers
9	Frankly, I have never seen an organization
10	that was so hopeless to cope with radio intelligence requirements The per-
	sonnel is unskilled and untrained. Most are
11	privates who can read only ten words a minute. They know nothing about signal
12	identification, wave propagation and other technical subjects, so essential to radio
13	intelligence procedure. They take bearings with loop equipment on Japanese stations in
14	Tokio and report to their commanding
15	officers that they have fixes on Jap agents operating transmitters on the West Coast.
16	These officers, knowing no better, pass it on to the General and he takes their word
17	for it. It's pathetic to say the least
18	Furthermore, Army reports Navy stations as being Japs and vice versa Whenever
19	a station cannot be identified they call F.C.C. Consequently, it is easy to under-
20	stand the hundreds of calls that have been
20	made to the F.C.C. office in S.F. They look to the F.C.C. as an authority on all
	matters pertaining to radio communications other than their own. $38/$
22	
23	Despite Sterling's assurance that the FCC had detected
24	no illicit radio transmissions, and the constant communication
25	of his staff with RIC personnel, DeWitt continued to accuse
26	Japanese Americans of radio espionage. DeWitt's charges were
27	
28	38/ Note 36, supra. Emphasis added.

1 accepted as fact at the highest levels of command. On January $\mathbf{2}$ 25, 1942, only 15 days after DeWitt's meeting with Sterling, 3 Secretary of War Stimson urged Attorney General Biddle to 4 accept DeWitt's first written evacuation proposal on the basis 5 of these unfounded charges: 6 In recent conferences with General DeWitt, he has expressed great apprehension because 7 of the presence on the West Coast of many thousand alien enemies. As late as 8 yesterday, 24 January, he stated over the telephone that shore-to-ship and ship-to-9 shore radio communications, undoubtedly coordinated by intelligent enemy control 10 were continually operating The alarming and dangerous situation just 11 described, in my opinion, calls for immediate and stringent action. 39/ 12 13 Although the FBI and FCC found no evidence of Japanese 14 American involvement in espionage or sabotage, DeWitt deli-15 berately included in his Final Report the discredited allega-16 tions of shore-to-ship signaling and radio transmissions. 17 These allegations formed the core of the "military necessity" argument for the mass evacuation and incarceration of Japanese 18 19 Americans. DeWitt included no mention in the Final Report of 20the FBI and FCC investigations and findings of which he had 21 knowledge. 2223 24 2526 39/ Stinson To Biddle, January 25, 1942, Record Group 107, Records, the Assistant Secretary of War, National Archives 27 and Records Service, Washington, D.C. Quoted in R. Daniels, The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans $\mathbf{28}$ (J.B. Lippincott Co. 1975) pp. 23-24.

2. FBI and FCC Refutations of DeWitt's Espionage Allegations

3 As noted above, War Department officials withheld 4 release of the Final Report until January 1944. The falsity of 5 DeWitt's espionage allegations was thus concealed from the 6 Justice Department during consideration of the Hirabayashi and 7 Yasui cases by the Supreme Court. Justice Department officials 8 learned of the Report's release on January 20, 1944, through an 9 article in the Washington Post headlined "Japs Attack All Ships 10 Leaving Coast." Attorney General Biddle shortly thereafter 11 requested reports from the FBI and FCC on the veracity of 12 DeWitt's charges. This action was prompted by Edward J. Ennis 13 and John L. Burling of the Alien Enemy Control Unit, who were 14 then responsible for preparation of the Government's brief to 15 the Supreme Court in the Korematsu case.

1

2

23

24

 $\mathbf{25}$

26

27

28

16 FBI Director Hoover submitted a detailed report to
17 the Attorney General on February 7, 1944, entitled "Reported
18 Bombing and Shelling of the West Coast." In his cover memo19 randum to this report, Hoover summarized the FBI's findings:
20 Certain statements were made in the report
21 indicating that immediately after the
22 attack on Pearl Harbor there was a possible
23 connection between the sinking of United

connection between the sinking of United States ships by Japanese submarines and alleged Japanese espionage activity on the West Coast. It was also indicated that there had been shore-to-ship signaling, either by radio or lights, at this time.

As indicated in the attached memorandum, there is no information in the possession of this Bureau as the result of investigations conducted relative to submarine attacks and espionage activity on the West Coast which would indicate that attacks made on ships or shores in the area

	0	
1		ly after Pearl Harbor have been
2 3	ashore or shore-to-	d with any espionage activity that there has been any illicit ship signaling, either by radio or
	lights. 4	itional comment on DeWitt's allegations of
4		
5		ling, Hoover stated:
6	investiga	plaint in this regard has been ted, but in no case has any
7	substant	on been obtained which would ate the allegations that there
8 9		illicit signaling from shore-to- the beginning of the war. $41/$
10	Preceding	the Attorney General's request for an
11	FCC report on DeWit	t's charges, John L. Burling met on February
12	23, 1944, with Geor	ge E. Sterling, Chief of the Radio In-
13	telligence Division	of the FCC. Burling's report to Ennis of
14	this meeting stated	the following:
15		ling read to me reports transmitted
16	with Gene	eral DeWitt's radio intelligence
17	Army men	, in which it was explained to the that their fixing operations were
18	reported	orly conducted His men also to the Army in every case in which referred a complaint to them, and
19	thus the	Army had notice that every complaint
20		<u>inded. 42</u> /
21		
22		Edgar Hoover to the Attorney General,
23	Box 37, Fahy	944, Folder - Japanese Relocation Cases III, Papers Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde
24	date indicate	ereafter cited as Fahy Papers, FDRL]. The is that of receipt of the memorandum by the
25		Attorney General. See Exhibit W.
26	<u>41/ Ibid</u> .	
27	146-13-7-2-0,	nis, February 23, 1944, Section 23, File Records of the Department of Justice.
28	Emphasis adde	d. <u>See</u> Exhibit X.

i

1 On February 26, 1944, Attorney General Biddle re-2 quested a report from FCC Commissioner James L. Fly. In 3 response to a request from Fly for material to assist in the 4 FCC report, Sterling submitted a detailed memorandum dated 5 March 25, 1944 on the activities of the Radio Intelligence 6 Center established at DeWitt's order and its coordination with 7 DeWitt's intelligence staff. This memorandum covered the 8 period from December 1, 1941 to July 1, 1942 and concluded: 9 During this entire period of operation, no illegal radio stations were found within 10 the confines of the Evacuated Area of the Western Defense Command. 43/ 11 12 Most significantly, in a report to Biddle dated 13 April 4, 1944, Commissioner Fly brought Sterling's January 9, 14 1942 memorandum to the attention of the Attorney General. This 15 report similarly concluded: 16 There were no radio signals reported to the Commission which could not be identified, 17 or which were unlawful. Like the Department of Justice, the Commission knows of no 18 evidence of any illicit radio signaling in this area during the period in question. 44/ 19 20Although Biddle had received the reports from Hoover 21 and Fly six months before it submitted its brief to the Supreme 22Court in Korematsu, the government's briefs make no mention $\mathbf{23}$ whatsoever of the findings of the FBI and the FCC; nor was the 24 existence of these reports ever disclosed to Korematsu's 2526 Memorandum to the Chief Engineer, March 25, 1944, note 36, 43/ supra. See Exhibit Y. $\mathbf{27}$ Fly to Biddle, April 4, 1944, Folder 3, Box 37, Fahy 44/ $\mathbf{28}$ Papers, FDRL. See Exhibit V.

1 As will be discussed below, the veracity of the attornevs. 2 Final Report was allowed to go unchallenged before the Supreme 3 Court although the Justice Department had in its possession 4 authoritative evidence that the allegations against the Japanese 5Americans set forth in DeWitt's Report were patently false. 6 Indeed, the FBI and FCC reports were suppressed even though 7 Ennis had written to Biddle as early as February 26, 1944, the 8 same day that Biddle had requested the FCC report, apprising 9 him that: 10 [The Final Report] stands as practically the only record of causes for the evacuation 11 and unless corrected will continue to do Its practical importance is indicated so. 12 by the fact that already it is being cited in the briefs in the Korematsu case in the 13 Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the evacuation. 45/ 14 15 Thus, the suppression of the FBI and FCC findings 16 that began with the Hirabayashi and Yasui cases was again 17 perpetrated on the Court in Korematsu. 18 The suppression of the ONI Report, the G-2 reports, 19 and the findings and reports of the FBI and FCC constituted 20egregious governmental misconduct which prejudiced Petitioners 21 and subverted the entire course of the judicial process in $\mathbf{22}$ their cases. 23 24 25 $\mathbf{26}$ Memorandum, Edward Ennis to Attorney General Biddle, 45/ February 26, 1944, Box 37, Folder 3, Charles Fahy Papers, 27 Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. See Exhibit Z. 28

1	POINT THREE	
2	GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FAILED TO ADVISE	
3	THE SUPREME COURT OF THE FALSITY OF THE ALLEGATIONS IN THE FINAL REPORT OF GENERAL DEWITT	
4	As shown above, officials of the War Department	
5	and Department of Justice had personal knowledge that the	
6	allegations of disloyalty and espionage in the Final Report of	
7	General DeWitt were false. Reports submitted to these officials	
8	by responsible intelligence agencies provided a conclusive	
9	refutation of these allegations, and discredited the "military	
10	necessity" claim offered by DeWitt in support of the mass	
11	evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans. These	
12	reports contained exculpatory evidence of direct relevance to	
13	the central issues in Petitioners' cases, and their suppression	
14	constituted prejudicial misconduct by governmental officials.	
15	Government attorneys responsible for the Supreme	
16	Court brief in the Korematsu case subsequently attempted to	
17	advise the Court of the falsity of the Final Report. At the	
18	insistence of the War Department, Justice Department officials	
19	disregarded this effort and prevented the Court from learning	
20	of the exculpatory intelligence reports. This failure to	
21	advise the Court of these crucial reports consituted a still	
22	further act of governmental misconduct.	
23		
24		
25		
26		
27		
28		
	-62-	

A. Government Attorneys Attempted To Advise the Supreme Court of the Falsity Of The Final Report

1

2

3 As noted above, the War Department withheld the 4 Final Report from the Justice Department until January 19, $\mathbf{5}$ 1944, when it was released to the press. Justice Department 6 officials then conducted an independent investigation of the 7 Report's espionage allegations. After receiving reports from 8 the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Federal Communica-9 tions Commission which directly refuted these allegations, 10 government attorneys responsible for the Supreme Court brief in 11 the pending Korematsu case attempted to advise the Court of 12their existence. Thus, John L. Burling, Assistant Director of 13 the Alien Enemy Control Unit of the Justice Department, 14 inserted the following footnote in the Department's brief to 15 the Supreme Court in Korematsu: 16 The Final Report of General DeWitt (which is dated June 5, 1943, but which was not 17 made public until January, 1944) is relied on in this brief for statistics and other 18 details concerning the actual evacuation and the events that took place subsequent 19 thereto. The recital of the circumstances justifying the evacuation as a 20matter of military necessity, however, is in several respects, particularly with 21 reference to the use of illegal radio transmitters and to shore-to-ship signaling 22by persons of Japanese ancestry, in conflict with information in possession of the $\mathbf{23}$ Department of Justice. In view of the contrariety of the reports on this matter $\mathbf{24}$ we do not ask the Court to take judicial 2526 27 $\mathbf{28}$ 1/ See Point One, supra. -63-

1 notice of the recitals of those facts contained in the Report. 2/ 2 3 The insertion of this significant footnote was 4 designed to advise the Supreme Court that the Justice Depart-5 ment possessed evidence which refuted the espionage allegations 6 in the Final Report. Burling explained the importance of this 7 footnote in a memorandum to Assistant Attorney General Herbert 8 Wechsler, who directed the War Division of the Department: 9 You will recall that General DeWitt's 10 report makes flat statements concerning radio transmitters and ship-to-shore 11 signalling which are categorically denied by the FBI and the Federal Communications 12 There is no doubt that these Commission. statements are intentional falsehoods... 3/ 13 14 The proposed footnote was set in print and circulated 15 with the brief to War Department and Justice Department offi-16 cials for final approval. Burling anticipated that the War 17 Department would object to this repudiation of the asserted 18 justification for General DeWitt's military orders. He appealed 19 to Wechsler for support: 20I assume that the War Department will object to the footnote and I think that we 21 should resist any further tampering with it with all our force. 4/ 2223 24 Memorandum, John L. Burling to Assistant Attorney General 2/ Herbert Wechsler, September 11, 1944, File 146-42-7, 25 Records of the Department of Justice. Emphasis added. -See Exhibit AA. 26Ibid. Emphasis added. <u>3</u>/ 274/ Ibid. 28

1	The Korematsu brief was due in printed form at the Supreme
2	Court on October 5, 1944. During the last week of September,
3	a printed copy was sent to Assistant Secretary of War John J.
4	McCloy for his comments.
5	B. At the Insistence of the War Department, Justice Department Officials Altered the Burling
6	Footnote and Thus Failed to Advise the Supreme Court of the Falsity of the Final Report
7	
8	Shortly after they received the Korematsu brief,
9	War Department officials undertook a shocking campaign designed
10	to remove the footnote drafted by Burling. In a report to
11	his superior, Edward J. Ennis, dated October 2, 1944, Burling
12	described the War Department's campaign of intervention and
13	manipulation:
14	Although the War Department was furnished with a first draft of the brief last
15	April and although it had a copy of the page proof for about a week, the War
16	Department did not react to the brief until the morning of September 30 when Captain
17	[Adrian S.] Fisher [of the staff of Assistant Secretary of War McCloy] called
18	you and suggested a change. It became necessary for you to suggest the possibility
19	to Captain Fisher that the brief had gone for final printing and, presumably,
20	as a result of this, Mr. McCloy called the Solicitor General and particularly
21	referred to the footnote. Presumably at Mr. McCloy's request, the Solicitor
22	General had the printing stopped at about noon. 5/
23	
24	When he learned that Solicitor General Fahy had
25	stopped the printing of the government's brief at the insistence
26	
27	5/ Memorandum, John L. Burling to Edward Ennis, October 2, 1944, ibid. Emphasis added. See Exhibit BB.
28	2, 1944, INTU. Barphasis added. Dee Banibit Bb.

۰.

1 of McCloy, Ennis immediately prepared a memorandum to Assistant 2 Attorney General Wechsler "strongly recommending that the 3 footnote be kept in its existing form." Among the "various 4 exhibits illustrating the falsity of the DeWitt report" that $\mathbf{5}$ Ennis attached to this memorandum were the FBI and FCC reports 6 previously submitted to the Attorney General. Wechsler in turn 7 forwarded Ennis's memorandum and the appended documents to 8 Solicitor General Fahv 9 Ennis urged in this memorandum that the disputed 10 footnote was necessary to advise the Supreme Court that the 11 Justice Department knew DeWitt's espionage allegations to 12 be untrue. He stated that alteration or removal of the footnote 13 would amount to a breach of the Department's ethical respon-14 sibilities and an abuse of the judicial notice doctrine: 15 This Department has an ethical obligation to the Court to refrain from citing it [the 16 Final Report] as a source of which the Court may properly take judicial notice if the Department 17 knows that important statements in the source are untrue and if it knows as to other statements 18 that there is such contrariety of information that judicial notice is improper. 7/ 19 20Ennis added that the Justice Department had an 21 additional obligation to the Japanese Americans falsely 22accused by DeWitt of espionage activities: 23The general tenor of the report is not only that there was a reason to be apprehensive, but also $\mathbf{24}$ to the effect that overt acts of treason were being committed. Since this is not so it is 2526 6/ Memorandum, Edward Ennis to Herbert Wechsler, September 30, 1944, Folder 3, Box 37, Fahy Papers, See Exhibit 27Β. 28 7/ Ibid.

1 highly unfair to this racial minority that these lies, put out in an official publica-2 tion, go uncorrected. This is the only opportunity which this Department has to 3 correct them. 8/ 4 Despite this clear warning of the duty owed to the 5 Supreme Court by the Department of Justice, neither Wechsler 6 nor Fahy answered the memorandum submitted by Ennis. According 7 to Burling, Fahy met with Captain Fisher at the request of 8 Assistant Secretary McCloy on Saturday evening, September 30, 9 Burling later reported to Ennis that at this meeting: 1944. 10 Captain Fisher took the position that he would not defend the accuracy of 11 the report but that the Government would deal with sufficient honesty with the 12[Supreme Court] if it would merely refrain from reciting the report without 13 affirmatively flagging our criticism thereof. 9/ 14 15 At the conclusion of the September 30 meeting, 16 Solicitor General Fahy directed Wechsler to reach a compromise 17 on the disputed footnote by Monday, October 2. Accordingly, 18 Wechsler drafted the following two alternatives as a substitute 19 for the original footnote: 20 "We have specifically recited in 1. this brief the facts relating to the 21 justification for the evacuation, of which we ask the court to take judicial 22notice; and we rely upon the Final Report only to the extent that it $\mathbf{23}$ relates to such facts." 24 2. "We do not ask the court to notice judicially such particular details 25recited in the report as justification 26278/ Ibid. 28 9/ Note 5, supra.

for the evacuation as the use of illegal radio transmitters and shore-to-ship signaling by persons of Japenese ancestry, which conflict with information derived from other sources." 10/

5 Wechsler read the alternative drafts to Captain 6 Fisher by telephone on the morning of October 2. In this 7 conversation, Wechsler explained that the first alternative was designed to "drop out any reference to matters in con-8 troversy" and that it had been phrased in "the gentlest con-9 ceivable wav." After this conversation, Fisher called 10 Burling at the Justice Department and told him that "although 11 12 the War Department did not agree to either alternative, nevertheless the first would be preferable." 13

14 The War Department's victory in persuading the 15 Justice Department to alter the Burling footnote kept the Supreme Court from learning of vitally important exculpatory 16 17 evidence which undermined the factual justification for DeWitt's military orders. The consequence of the government's 18 19 failure to expose the falsity of the Final Report is apparent 20in the Supreme Court's opinion in Korematsu, for, in upholding 21the constitutionality of the exclusion order at issue, the 22

- 24 10/ Memorandum, Captain Fisher to McCloy, October 2, 1944, File 014.311, Western Defense Command Exclusion Orders (Korematsu), Box 9, Record Group 107, National Archives. See Exhibit CC.
- 27 11/ Transcript of telephone conversation, Fisher and Wechster, October 2, 1944, ibid. See Exhibit DD.
- 28 12/ Note 10, supra.

1

2

3

4

 $\mathbf{23}$

	$\bigcirc \qquad \qquad$
1	Court found that it "has a definite and close relationship to
2	the prevention of espionage and sabotage."
3	The inherent incredibility of the Final Report
4	was evident to Justice Jackson, who expressed skepticism in
5	his dissenting opinion in Korematsu:
6 7	How does the Court know that these orders have a reasonable basis in necessity? No evidence whatever has been taken
8	by this or any other court. There is a sharp controversy as to the credibility
9	of the DeWitt report. So the Court, having no real evidence before it, has
10	no choice but to accept General DeWitt's own unsworn, self-serving statement,
11	untested by any cross-examination, that what he did was reasonable. 14/
12	Evidence on the credibility of DeWitt's allegations
13	existed at the time of Petitioner's trials and subsequent
14	appeals. The failure of the government to advise the Court
15	of this evidence constituted misconduct that both violated
16	ethical standards of conduct and subverted the judicial
17	process.
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	
26 97	
27 28	13/ Korematsu v. United States, supra, 323 U.S. 214, 218.
20	14/ Id. at 245.
	-69-

1	POINT FOUR
2	THE GOVERNMENT'S ABUSE OF THE DOCTRINE
3	OF JUDICIAL NOTICE AND THE MANIPULATION OF AMICUS BRIEFS CONSTITUTED A FRAUD
4	UPON THE COURTS
5	Petitioners' cases proceeded from trial through
6	decision by the Supreme Court on a record intentionally
7	fashioned to assure their convictions. The acts of altera-
8	tion, destruction and suppression of evidence alleged in the
9	instant petition separately constituted misconduct that deprived
10	Petitioners of their constitutional rights. The cumulative
11	effect of these acts of misconduct was calculated to induce the
12	courts to rely on false and misleading statements.
13	In addition, the government's abuse of the doctrine
14	of judicial notice and its manipulation of amicus briefs were
15	intentionally designed to place an equally false and misleading
16	record before the courts. The acts of misconduct alleged above
17	deprived Petitioners and the courts of a full and accurate
18	factual record; those alleged below show that the records
19	actually submitted to the courts by the government were tainted
20	and presumptively affected the outcome of Petitioners' cases.
21	The acts alleged below thus constitued a fraud upon the courts.
22	A. The Government Abused the Doctrine of Judicial Notice During the Course of
23	Petitioners' Cases
24	During the entire course of Petitioners' cases,
25	the government's attempt to demonstrate the alleged "disloy-
26	alty" of Japanese Americans involved abuse of the doctrine
27	of judicial notice. The effort to show that the "racial
28	characteristics" of Japanese Americans predisposed them to

-70-.

•

•

1 disloyalty, and to the commission of espionage and sabotage, 2 began, in fact, before any of the Petitioners were tried. 3 Minoru Yasui was the first of Petitioners to be 4 tried. On May 29, 1942, the month before Yasui's trial took $\mathbf{5}$ place, the U.S. Attorney for Oregon requested the advice of 6 Maurice Walk, Assistant Solicitor of the War Relocation 7 Authority: 8 Insofar as the rules of evidence permit, I wish to introduce evidence to support 9 the proclamation of the Western Defense Command ... affecting the Japanese by 10 reason of their racial characteristics and belief which stamp and distinguish 11 them from other nationalities. 1/ 12 Walk responded on June 6, 1942, advising the U.S. 13 Attorney to include in the trial record "facts justifying 14 the exclusion of American citizens of Japanese descent from 15 the declared military zones." He stated that, given the 16 unavailability of evidence necessary to prove the disloyalty 17 of Japanese Americans, reliance on judicial notice was necessary 18 to establish the military's belief in collective disloyalty as 19 evidentiary fact: 20In my judgment, we have got to recognize that the facts relied on to vindicate the 21 legality of this differential treatment are not susceptible of proof by the ordi-22nary types of evidence. We shall probably, therefore, be compelled to rely greatly 23on the doctrine of judicial notice. 2/ 24 251/ Letter, Carl C. Donaugh to Maurice Walk, May 29, 1942, Box 337, Record Group 210 [Records of the War Relocation 26 Authority], National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. Emphasis added. 27 Letter, Maurice Walk to Carl C. Donaugh, June 6, 1942. 2/ $\mathbf{28}$ Id. See Exhibit EE.

.71-

The source and purpose of this advice on trial strategy is significant. As Assistant Solicitor of the WRA, Walk had no direct responsibility for the prosecution of Petitioners. However, the WRA administered the "relocation centers" in which Japanese Americans were incarcerated, and WRA officials anticipated legal challenges to their power to detain those being held in the centers. Walk's advice in the <u>Yasui</u> case was designed to utilize that trial as a "dry run" of a strategy based on the doctrine of judicial notice, for later application to expected challenges to incarceration. Walk made clear that the success of this strategy in the <u>Yasui</u> case would establish the "military necessity" foundation for subsequent exclusion and detention cases:

> It is of great importance to us, in planning the strategy of a case which will necessarily involve the validity of the detention of Japanese Americans as well as their exclusion from military areas, to know just how far we are likely to go with the doctrine of judicial notice. For this reason ... I hope that you will find it possible to urge the foregoing consideration upon the Court in the approaching trial of Minoru Yasui. 3/

In a lengthy memorandum to the U.S. Attorney in Oregon, Walk listed eleven "propositions" relating to the alleged existence and danger of a "fifth column" of Japanese Americans. These propositions reflected nothing more than supposition and racial stereotypes about Japanese Americans. The following excerpts from Walk's memorandum exemplify this bias:

3/ Ibid. Emphasis added.

2

3

1

6

7

8

9

0

1

 $\mathbf{2}$

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

0

1

 $\mathbf{2}$

3

4

5

6

7

8

-72-

1	There is a Japanese fifth column in this
2	country of undisclosed and undetermined dimensions. It is composed of American
3	citizens of Japanese descent, and will be used as an instrument of espionage
4	and sabotage. A fifth column exists by virtue of successfully pretending loyalty
5	to the country of citizenship and success- fully concealing all evidence of its
6	activities from the constituted authori- ties.
7	A great majority of American citizens of
8	Japanese descent are loyal to this country; but it is impossible during this period
9	of emergency to make a particular in- vestigation of the loyalty of each person
10	in the Japanese community. Such an invest- igation would be hampered in any case by
11	the difficulties which the Caucasian exper- iences with Oriental psychology. 4/
12	Walk further advised that, under the doctrine of
13	judicial notice, evidence should be introduced that dealt with
14	those Japanese Americans educated in Japan, those who adhered
15	to the Shinto religion and those who had "dual nationality" as
16	a result of Japan's citizenship laws. Each of these state-
17	ments of "fact" assumed the consequent disloyalty of Japanese
18	Americans. Walk concluded by urging that the U.S. Attorney
19	employ the judical notice doctrine in the Yasui trial to
20	place these "propositions" on the record.
21	
22	4/ Ibid. Emphasis added.
23	5/ Ibid. For example, the reference to the "indeterminable" number of adherents of Shinto concluded: "It is impossible
24	to predict how such persons would act if any army of the Emperor of Japan were landed upon our shores." The final
25	three "propositions" were predicated on the assumpton that public hostility toward Japanese Americans would justify
26	their detention. The Government's brief to the Supreme Court in Hirabayashi pressed this "preventive detention"
27	argument, notwithstanding that it had no factual or constitutional support. Brief for the United States, pp.
28	31-32.

•

1 In response to this advice, the U.S. Attorney 2 attempted to introduce "evidence" of racial characteristics 3 of Japanese Americans in the Yasui trial. The government 4 first sought to present this evidence through the testimony 5 of an unidentified "expert witness." The U.S. Attorney 6 informed the court of: 7 ... the availability of a man who is familiar, by reason of long residence 8 and contact, with the Orient, and in particular the Japanese people ... who is 9 available to testify as to ... the Japanese as a race of people and their 10 ideals and culture and their type of loyalty ... under which circumstances such as the present condition of war 11 between Japan and the United States. 6/ 12 13 Walk's strategy received an initial setback in 14 the Yasui trial. Counsel for Yasui responded to the U.S. 15 Attorney's attempt to place the "expert witness" on the 16 stand with a statement that he would "object to any testimony 17 or dissertation by some man as to his conclusions as to what 18 some of the Japanese [Americans] might do under certain The trial judge informed the U.S. Attorney 19 circumstances." 2021 226/ The transcript of the Yasui trial is found in Yasui v. United States, 320 U.S. 115 (1943), Brief for the United 23States and Record. Record, pp. 206-207. Emphasis The Government also offered the testimony of an added. 24 official of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union at the Yasui trial in order to show that hostility toward Japanese 25Americans "threatened to affect the very war production effort," and that "their own safety demands that there be a certain type ... of restriction" such as the curfew at 26The District Judge sustained an objection to this issue. 27testimony. Record, pp. 201-207. 28 7/ Id. at 207.

-74-

1 that "I have no interest in this matter at all," and the 2 profered witness was withdrawn. 3 Although government attorneys retreated from 4 this approach in the subsequent Hirabayashi and Korematsu 5 trials, the judicial notice strategy was refined for use in 6 the appellate proceedings in Petitioners' cases. This 7 strategy was outlined in a memorandum prepared by Nanette 8 Dembitz of the Alien Enemy Control Unit of the Department of 9 Justice. Entitled "Method of Presenting Facts Relevant to 10 the Constitutionality of Japanese Evacuation Progam," this 11 memorandum urged the following approach: 12 It appears that facts as to the following matters should be presented to the Court: 13 The number of persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, in the United 14 States; ... the lack of assimilation of such persons in the population as a whole; 15 the existence of methods by which the loyalty of such persons to Japan might 16 have been encouraged, such as the activities of Japanese Consuls, the return of 17 such persons to Japan for education, the dual citizenship of American citizens, 18 and activities of Shinto priests; the engagement of such persons in espionage 19 and sabotage 9/ $\mathbf{20}$ After a canvass of existing precedent on this 21 question, Dembitz offered the following advice: 22As to the facts in point with respect to the Japanese program, it appears that 23 all of them could be established to the Court's satisfaction without the $\mathbf{24}$ 258/ Id at 208. 26Memorandum, Nanette Dembitz to John L. Burling, August 11, 9/ 271942, File 31.090, Box 332, Record Group 210, National Archives. See Exhibit FF (only pp. 1-6 and 17-18 attached). 28Emphasis added.

introduction of evidence and that even 1 the citation of documentary authority 2 would not be necessary with respect to many of them; however, it is obvious that as much documentary authority as is avail-3 able should be used. It would also appear that the facts could be sufficiently esta-4 blished, without the use of evidence, so $\mathbf{5}$ that the Court would refuse an offer of evidence to contradict these facts. 10/ 6 7 Justice Department attorneys adopted the approach 8 suggested by Dembitz in preparation of the briefs submitted 9 to the Supreme Court in Petitioners' cases. The "racial 10 characteristics" argument was presented most extensively in 11 the government's Hirabayashi brief, with the "evidence" presented in that brief incorporated by reference in the 12 13 Yasui and Korematsu briefs as well. 14 The government sought judicial notice of 15 "evidence" that allegedly proved the disloyalty of Japanese 16 Americans and their consequent predisposition to commit acts 17 of espionage and sabotage. However, government officials 18 had knowledge of contrary evidence on each of these issues. 19 The report of the Office of Naval Intelligence, submitted by $\mathbf{20}$ Lieutenant Commander Ringle in January 1942, refuted the 21 "disloyalty" claims made by General DeWitt and subsequently 22repeated in the government's briefs to the Supreme Court. 23Officials of the War and Justice Departments knew of the ONI $\mathbf{24}$ 25Emphasis added. It should be noted that 10/ Id. at 17. this memorandum followed by a month the refusal by Judge Fee at the trial of Minoru Yasui to hear direct evidence 26 on the disloyalty issue, on the ground of irrelevance.

- 27 28
- 11/ See these briefs generally.

report as early as March 1942. In March 1944, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Federal Communications Commission reported to the Justice Department that DeWitt's espionage allegations were false. Nonetheless, the government continued to press the doctrine of judicial notice on the courts so as to introduce "facts" which were either false or contradicted by evidence in the government's possession.

8 The Supreme Court's reliance on the "disloyalty" 9 evidence presented under the judicial notice doctrine is 10 evident in its opinions in Petitioners' cases, as illustrated 11 in the following excerpt from <u>Hirabayashi</u>:

12

13

14

15

16

Whatever views we may entertain regarding the loyalty to this country of the citizens of Japanese ancestry, we cannot reject as unfounded the judgment of the military authorities and of Congress that there were disloyal members of that population, whose number and strength could not be precisely and quickly ascertained. 12/

17 An examination of the records presented in these 18 cases clearly reveals the government's abuse of judicial 19 Nanette Dembitz, who recommended that the government notice. 20rely on this doctrine and who signed the government's brief in 21 Hirabayashi, subsequently recanted her position and she $\mathbf{22}$ authoritatively discussed the abuse of the judicial notice 23doctrine in Hirabayashi and subsequent decisions. In an 24 article published June 1945 in the Columbia Law Review, 25entitled "Racial Discrimination and the Military Judgment: 26The Supreme Court's Korematsu and Endo Decisions," Dembitz 27 $\mathbf{28}$ 12/ Hirabayashi v. United States, 320 U.S. 81, 99 (1943).

-77-

1	examined virtually every piece of "evidence" submitted to	
2	the Supreme Court in each of Petitioners' cases. She asserted	
3	that the doctrine of judicial notice is not applicable if	
4	"there is a bona fide dispute about the existence of the fact"	
5	at issue. She cited countering evidence of many of the "facts"	
6	presented to the Supreme Court and criticized the use of the	
7	doctrine to admit racial stereotype and public prejudices as	
8	evidentiary fact.	
9	Dembitz concluded that the "facts" placed on	
10	record by the government were not facts susceptible to	
11	judicial notice:	
12	A "reasonable" man <u>could not and would</u> not have come to a positive conclusion,	
13	on the basis of the available documentary data, that most of the supposed influences	
14	toward disloyalty did not in fact exist; <u>a belief in their existence could not be</u> <u>said to rest on "reasonable or substantial</u> <u>grounds</u> " insofar as the phrase connotes that <u>a fact is established by a preponderance of</u> evidence after weighing of an adequate amount	
15		
16		
17	of data on both sides. $14/$	
18		
19	13/ 45 Col. L. Rev. 175, 185, n. 9. Ms. Dembitz quoted the statement in <u>Hirabayashi</u> that governmental authorities	
20	"have constitutional power to appraise the danger [posed by Japanese Americans] in the light of facts of public	
21	notoriety." She then noted that "the opinion itself shows that the danger was appraised not in the light of 'facts'	
22	reasonably established by consideration of an adequate amount of data but of widely held suspicions, such as much	
23	may be possessed by every group of society with respect to every other group. A typical instance is the statement,	
24 25	frequently and positively made, that the persons of Japanese ancestry have close filial ties and are thus	
25 26	easily dominated by their parents, as contrasted with the findings by reputable sociologists that the second-genera-	
20 27	tion generally strive to disassociate themselves from the ways of their parents even more than in the usual immigrant families."	
28	14/ Id. at 185-186. Emphasis added.	

•

-78-

In view of the government's knowledge of contrary evidence on the central "disloyalty" issue, the long-range strategy initiated before Petitioners' trials and pursued during the entire course of their cases constituted an abuse of the doctrine of judicial notice and resulted in a fraud upon the courts.

B. The War Department Manipulated the Amicus Briefs of the West Coast States and Unlawfully Submitted "Evidence" Withheld From the Department of Justice

8

9

 $\mathbf{24}$

As noted above, in April 1943, the Justice Department had requested the Final Report of General DeWitt to assist in preparation of the Supreme Court brief in the <u>Hirabayashi</u> case. Because of their concern about certain statements in the Final Report on the "military necessity" issue, however, War Department officials withheld the Final Report from the Justice Department until January 1944.

 25 15/ Letter, Attorney General Robert Kenny to Colonel Joel Watson, May 1, 1943, Hirabayashi File, Record Group 153 [Records of the Judge Advocate General's Office], Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland. Attorney General Kenny wrote as follows: "... I greatly appreciate the assistance being rendered this office by

28 [FOOTNOTE 15/ CONTINUED ON FOLLOWING PAGE]

1 Wenig was then a member of the Judge Advocate's staff of the 2 Western Defense Command. Wenig prepared an amicus brief which 3 included lengthy excerpts, without attribution, from the 4 initial version of the Final Report. Most of these excerpts 5 presented a "racial characteristics" argument designed to 6 persuade the Court that Japanese Americans were inherently 7 disloval. The following excerpt from the amicus brief illus-8 trates the central point of this argument: 9 The Japanese of the Pacific Coast area on the whole have remained a group apart and inscrutable 10 to their neighbors. They represent an unassimilated, homogeneous element which in varying 11 degrees is closely related through ties of race, language, religion, custom and ideology to 12the Japanese Empire. 16/ 13 [FOOTNOTE 15/ CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE] 14 Lieutenant [sic] Herbert E. Wenig, whom General DeWitt has 15 designated to provide liaison with this office." It is additionally significant that the War Department also 16 collaborated with the West Coast states in the preparation in 1944 of an amicus brief to the Supreme Court in the 17 Korematsu case. The Judge Advocate General noted this collaboration in a letter to the Deputy Chief of Staff of 18 "This letter will confirm the Western Defense Command: understanding just had with you and approved by General 19 Emmons [who succeeded General DeWitt in September, 1943] that the Judge Advocate section collaborate fully, but 20informally, with the Attorneys General of the states mentioned in the preparation of a joint brief to be fled 21 by them as amici curiae in the above mentioned case." Judge Advocate General to Deputy Chief of Staff, March 31, 221944, Korematsu File. Ibid. $\mathbf{23}$ 16/ Brief of the States of California, Oregon and Washington as Amici Curiae, p. 11. Emphasis added. Compare the 24 following statement in the Final Report: "Here was a relatively homogeneous, unassimilated element bearing 25a close relationship through ties of race, religion, language, custom, and indoctrination to the enemy." 26DeWitt, Final Report, p. 15. The extent of reliance in the brief of the West Coast States on the Final Report is 27substantial. Statements on pp. 10, 11, 14-20, 22-23, and 25-26 of the West Coast brief are taken directly from the 28 latter source.

-80-

1 The amicus brief concluded that these "racial characteristics" 2 created a reasonable suspicion that Japanese Americans would 3 engage in espionage and sabotage: 4 The facts just reviewed indicate that because of the racial, cultural, reli-5 gious and ideological ties and sympathies with Japan and the various 6 causes which have kept the Japanese apart, there would be a sufficient 7 number that could be used as a fifth column in assisting in sabotage or 8 espionage or giving aid in the event of an attempted attack. 17/ 9 10 In a highly misleading manner, the amicus brief also 11 presented to the Supreme Court the espionage allegations made 12 in the Final Report. After reciting three alleged incidents of 13 Japanese attack on the West Coast in 1942, the brief drew the 14 following conclusion: 15 There was an increasing indication that the enemy had knowledge of our patrols 16 and naval dispositions, for ships leaving west coast ports were being intercepted 17 and attacked regularly by enemy submarines. 18/ 18 17/ Id. at 26. 19 18/ Id. at 10. The statement quoted above misleadingly 20compressed into one charge two allegations made against Japanese Americans in the Final Report, which read as 21 "In summary, the Commanding General was confollows: fronted with the Pearl Harbor experience, which involved a positive enemy knowledge of our patrols, naval disposi-22tions, etc., on the morning of December 7th; [and] with 23the fact that ships leaving West Coast ports were being intercepted regularly by enemy submarines . . $\mathbf{24}$ DeWitt, Final Report, p. 18. Emphasis added. Notwithstanding the obvious suspicion of General DeWitt that 25Japanese Americans had aided in both the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and subsequent submarine attacks on 26shipping, he did not directly link the two episodes. In stating as a fact that such a linkage existed, the states' 27amicus brief misled the Supreme Court. See discussion of War Department involvement in the preparation of this $\mathbf{28}$ brief under Point Three, infra.

The amicus brief assured the Supreme Court that the "facts" presented to the Court were deserving of judicial notice:

> ... the Court may take notice of many of the facts to be stated because they are generally notorious and are ... matters of public concern upon which the Court may inform itself by reference to documentary evidence of any other reliable source. 19/

8 These "generally notorious" facts were, in truth, 9 no more than the unsupported allegations of an interested 10 party. By making the Final Report available to the West Coast 11 states, and delegating Captain Wenig to assist in preparing the 12 amicus brief, General DeWitt sought to perpetrate a fraud upon 13 the courts. By concealing the Final Report from the Department 14 of Justice, while assuring its introduction through friendly 15 amici, DeWitt manipulated the judicial process and in fact 16 committed a fraud upon the Court. Significantly, when the 17 Justice Department belatedly learned of DeWitt's actions after 18 Supreme Court decision of Hirabayashi, it properly condemned 19 his unlawful behavior:

> It is also to be noted that parts of the [Final Report] which, in April 1942 [sic] could not be shown to the Department of Justice in connection with the <u>Hirabayashi</u> case in the Supreme Court, were printed in the brief amici curiae of the States of California, Oregon and Washington. In fact the Western Defense Command <u>evaded</u> the statutory requirement that this Department represent the Government in this litigation by preparing the erron-

28 19/ Id. at 8.

4

5

6

7

20

21

22

23

 $\mathbf{24}$

25

26

27

1 2	eous and intemperate brief which the States filed. 20/		
3	In upholding the constitutionality of the military		
4	orders under which petitioners were prosecuted and convicted,		
5	the Supreme Court relied upon the very "facts" purportedly		
6	demonstrating the disloyalty of the Japanese Americans that the		
7	states' amicus brief, with the aid of General DeWitt, presented		
8	to the Court. That the government possessed other evidence		
9	refuting the charges asserted in the amicus brief, renders		
10	DeWitt's manipulation of the judicial process that much more		
11	egregious. The false factual picture presented to the Court by		
12	means of the government's abuse of judicial notice and manipu-		
13	lation of the states' amicus brief led the Court in <u>Hirabayashi</u>		
14	to conclude that the military orders at issue:		
15	were defense measures for the avowed purpose of safeguarding the military area		
16 17	in question, at a time of threatened air raids and invasion by the Japanese forces, from the danger of espionage and sabotage. 21/		
18	Such a deliberate manipulation of the judicial process consti-		
19	tuted a fraud upon the Court.		
20	·		
21			
22			
23			
24			
25			
26	20/ Memorandum, Edward J. Ennis to Herbert Wechsler, September		
27	30, 1944, Folder 3, Box 37, Fahy Papers. Emphasis added. See Exhibit B.		
28	21/ Hirabayashi v. United States, supra, 320 U.S. at 94-95.		
	-83-		

.

1	POINT FIVE
2	PETITIONERS ARE ALSO ENTITLED TO RELIEF
3	ON THE GROUND THAT THEIR CONVICTIONS ARE BASED ON GOVERNMENTAL ORDERS THAT
4	VIOLATE CURRENT CONSTITUTIONAL STANDARDS
5	Petitioners further allege that their convictions
6	are based on governmental orders that violate current substan-
7	tive constitutional standards. Nearly forty years ago, the
8	Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the govern-
9	ment's decision to impose a curfew on and then to evacuate all
10	Japanese Americans living on the West Coast. In doing so,
11	however, the Court did not in fact apply the same type of
12	"strict scrutiny" of suspect classifications that would be
13	applied today. The Court deferred to the government's unproven
14	assertions that a grave danger of espionage and sabotage
15	existed, that Japanese Americans should be regarded as po-
16	tential saboteurs, and that an appropriate method of combatting
17	this perceived danger was first to impose a curfew on all
18	persons of Japanese ancestry and then to evacuate and detain
19	this entire racial group.

20In racial discrimination cases decided after Korematsu, the Court demanded far more from the government to 21 22justify the use of a racial classification that burdened or 23stigmatized a racial minority. The government now has the 24 exceedingly difficult task of proving that it is essential to use such a classification to fulfill a compelling governmental 2526interest and that no less restrictive alternative is available. 27The Court has consistently held, in cases decided after $\mathbf{28}$ Korematsu, that the government has failed to meet this highly

-84-

1	demanding burden of proof. Moreover, the Court has stated that	
2	the government's burden is particularly great when the Court is	
3	reviewing a criminal conviction based on a racial classification.	
4	Judged by today's standards, the government plainly	
5	did not offer sufficient proof to justify the racial classifica-	
6	tion challenged in Petitioners' cases. Thus, Petitioners'	
7	convictions violate their right to equal protection, as applied	
8	through the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment. A	
9	petition in the nature of a writ of error coram nobis is the	
10	appropriate means of remedying this fundamental constitutional	
11	defect in Petitioners' convictions.	
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18 19		
19 20		
20		
22		
23		
24		
25		
26		
27		
28		

-85-

1PRAYER FOR RELIEF2Petitioners respectfully submit that it would be3impossible to find any other instance in American history of4such a long standing, pervasive and unlawful governmental5scheme designed to mislead and defraud the courts and the6nation. By the misconduct set forth in detail above, the7United States deprived petitioners of their rights to fair8judicial proceedings guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the9United States Constitution. Although successful to date, thi10fundamental and egregious denial of civil liberties cannot be11permitted to stand uncorrected.12WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU13respectfully prays:141. That judgment of conviction be vacated;	
impossible to find any other instance in American history of such a long standing, pervasive and unlawful governmental scheme designed to mislead and defraud the courts and the nation. By the misconduct set forth in detail above, the United States deprived petitioners of their rights to fair judicial proceedings guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Although successful to date, thi fundamental and egregious denial of civil liberties cannot be permitted to stand uncorrected. WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU respectfully prays:	
4 such a long standing, pervasive and unlawful governmental scheme designed to mislead and defraud the courts and the nation. By the misconduct set forth in detail above, the United States deprived petitioners of their rights to fair judicial proceedings guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Although successful to date, thi fundamental and egregious denial of civil liberties cannot be permitted to stand uncorrected. WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU respectfully prays:	
5 scheme designed to mislead and defraud the courts and the nation. By the misconduct set forth in detail above, the United States deprived petitioners of their rights to fair judicial proceedings guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Although successful to date, thi fundamental and egregious denial of civil liberties cannot be permitted to stand uncorrected. WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU respectfully prays:	
 6 nation. By the misconduct set forth in detail above, the 7 United States deprived petitioners of their rights to fair 8 judicial proceedings guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the 9 United States Constitution. Although successful to date, thi 10 fundamental and egregious denial of civil liberties cannot be 11 permitted to stand uncorrected. 12 WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU 13 respectfully prays: 	
7 United States deprived petitioners of their rights to fair 3 judicial proceedings guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the 9 United States Constitution. Although successful to date, thi 10 fundamental and egregious denial of civil liberties cannot be 11 permitted to stand uncorrected. 12 WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU 13 respectfully prays:	
3 judicial proceedings guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the 9 United States Constitution. Although successful to date, thi 10 fundamental and egregious denial of civil liberties cannot be 11 permitted to stand uncorrected. 12 WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU 13 respectfully prays:	
9 United States Constitution. Although successful to date, thi 10 fundamental and egregious denial of civil liberties cannot be 11 permitted to stand uncorrected. 12 WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU 13 respectfully prays:	
10 fundamental and egregious denial of civil liberties cannot be 11 permitted to stand uncorrected. 12 WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU 13 respectfully prays:	
<pre>11 permitted to stand uncorrected. 12 WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU 13 respectfully prays:</pre>	3
12 WHEREFORE, petitioner FRED TOYOSABURO KOREMATSU 13 respectfully prays:	
13 respectfully prays:	
14 1. That judgment of conviction be vacated;	
15 2. That the military orders under which he was	
16 convicted be declared unconstitutional;	
17 3. That his indictment be dismissed;	
18 4. For costs of suit and reasonable attorneys'	
19 fees;	
20 5. For such other relief as may be just and prope	: .
21 Dated: January, 1983	
22 Respectfully submitted,	
23	
24 By	
25 Peter Irons	
26	
27 By Dale Minami	Mana tan
28 Minami, Tomine & Lew	
-86-	

APPENDIX

 $\mathbf{2}$ Petitioners have presented above those facts that 3 relate to the issuance of Executive Order 9066 and enactment of 4 Public Law 503, and the promulgation of the military orders 5 applicable to Japanese Americans on the West Coast. Petitioners 6 consider it necessary as well to recount in this Appendix those 7 significant events that preceded and led to the adoption of 8 these measures. Such a recounting will enable the Court to 9 place in proper context the origins of the internment program 10 and the allegations of governmental misconduct made throughout 11 this Petition. In particular, the steps taken before the Pearl 12 Harbor attack to combat espionage and sabotage, the political 13 pressures that culminated in the internment program, and the 14 concomitant debate among government officials over the necessity 15 for and constitutionality of this program, are of central 16 importance to this Petition.

17 18

1

A. Steps Taken By the Government Before the Pearl Harbor Attack to Combat Espionage and Sabotage

19 It is relevant to claims advanced by the Government 20during Petitioners' cases to recount the steps taken before 21 the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor to protect the West $\mathbf{22}$ Coast area against potential espionage and sabotage. Predicated 23on apprehensions of an eventual state of war between Japan and $\mathbf{24}$ the United States, planning in this regard began in June, 1939 $\mathbf{25}$ with a secret directive issued by President Roosevelt. The 26President ordered that "the investigation of all espionage, 27counter-espionage and sabotage matters be controlled and $\mathbf{28}$ handled" jointly by the Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI],

-87-

the Military Intelligence Division of the Army [MID], and the $\frac{1}{2}$ Office of Naval Intelligence of the Navy [ONI].

3 A year later, on June 4, 1940, the President's 4 order that such intelligence operations be "coordinated" by 5 these three agencies was modified by a "Delimitation Agree-6 ment" that assigned to the FBI control over cases of "actual 7 or strongly presumptive espionage or sabotage, including the 8 names of individuals definitely known to be connected with 9 subversive activities." Significantly, this agreement delegated 10 to ONI primary responsibility for the collection and dissemina-11 tion of intelligence relating to the Japanese American popula-12 tion, presumably because of the proximity of segments of this 13 population to naval installations along the West Coast.

14 Within the United States Department of Justice, 15 responsibility for prewar planning for the treatment of 16 potential "alien enemies" was delegated to the Special Defense 17 Personnel of this Unit compiled extensive lists of Unit. 18 "subversive" and "dangerous" aliens of German, Italian and 19 Japanese citizenship. In collated form, these lists were 20informally known as the "ABC" list, so called from the listing 21 22 $\mathbf{23}$ 24 2526United States Navy, Office of Intelligence, "United 1/ States Naval Administration in World War II," n.d., pp. 2766-69. See Exhibit M.

2/ Ibid.

 $\mathbf{28}$

1

2

of three categories of aliens in descending order of potential 1 2 By mid-1941, some six months before the Pearl Harbor danger. 3 attack, the "ABC" list included the names of more than 2,000 aliens of Japanese descent. 4 This group included virtually 5 the entire leadership of the West Coast population of Japanese 6 Americans, the vast majority of them aliens by virtue of 7 restrictive Federal legislation.

8 The FBI and military intelligence agencies submitted 9 to the Special Defense Unit the names of Japanese Americans 10 considered potentially dangerous for inclusion on the "ABC" 11 list. Some of these names were taken from public sources such 12 as the publications of Japanese American organizations and 13 newspapers such as the Rafu Shimpo in Los Angeles. A more

Those listed in category "A" were the "known dangerous" 3/ 15 aliens, which included among the Japanese American population "fishermen, produce distributors, Shinto and 16 Buddhist priests, influential businessmen, and members of the Japanese Consulate." Those in category "B" were considered "potentially dangerous" but had not been 17 thoroughly investigated, while those in category "C" 18 had not been connected to Japanese intelligence activities but "were watched because of their pro-Japanese inclina-19 tions and propagandist activities." This last group included Japanese language instructors, martial arts 20instructors, travel agents, and newspaper editors. Office of Naval Intelligence, "Japanese Organizations and 21Societies Engaged in Propaganda, Espionage and Cultural Work," ONI File A8-5/EF37, ONI Records, National 22Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

- 23 4/ <u>Ibid. See also</u> Custodial Detention Files, File 100-2-60-3, Sections 180-190, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The "ABC" list was formally known as the Custodial Detention Index.
- 26 5/ The Immigration Act of 1924 excluded Japanese from admission into the United States. 43 Stat. 161. Federal law, also enacted in 1924, denied to the Japanese citizenship by naturalization. 8 U.S.C. §703 (1924).
- 28 <u>6</u>/ Note 3, <u>supra</u>.

14

1 significant source of names was the list of Japanese sym-2 pathizers and espionage agents seized in March, 1941 during 3 an illegal break-in and burglary of the Japanese consulate 4 in Los Angeles. This break-in was planned and executed by 5 Lieutenant Commander Kenneth D. Ringle of ONI, with the aid of 6 This intelligence operation effectively dismantled a the FBI. 7 Japanese espionage network on the West Coast and led in June, 8 1941, to the arrest of Itaru Tachibana, a Japanese naval 9 officer posing as an English language student. Along with the 10 records photographed by Government agents during the consular 11 break-in, and those seized when Tachibana was arrested, were 12 lists of agents who had gathered intelligence on behalf of the 13 Japanese government in the form of maps, lists of Army and Navy 14 installations, data on defense factories, and the locations of 15 power lines and dams. 16 Β. Steps Taken After the Pearl Harbor Attack to Deal With Japanese Americans Considered 17 Dangerous 18 The significance to Petitioners' cases of the 19 consular break-in and the arrest of Tachibana lies in sub-20sequent conclusions by the FBI about their impact on Japanese 21 intelligence operations. As noted above in Point Two, FBI $\mathbf{22}$ officials concluded that the break-in and arrests had ended any 23 24 $\mathbf{25}$ This account is based on Kenneth D. Ringle, Jr., "What 7/ Did You Do Before the War, Dad?", The Washington Post Magazine, December 6, 1981, p. 54. Petitioners believe 26that FBI records of the consular break-in are located 27 in File 65-13888, Records of the FBI. These records have been requested by Kenneth D. Ringle, Jr., but have 28 not been released by the FBI.

1 substantial threat of espionage and sabotage on the West Coast 2 by Japanese Americans. The available records of the FBI and 3 military intelligence agencies disclose no evidence of espionage 4 or sabotage in the period that followed Pearl Harbor. In fact, 5 these records affirmatively disclaim the commission of such 6 acts on the West Coast.

7 It is relevant as well to note that the Department 8 of Justice moved, immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack, 9 to arrest all those aliens of Japanese descent included in 10 the "ABC" list. During the night of December 7-8, 1941, FBI 11 and military agents, assisted by local police, arrested 736 12 alien Japanese on the West Coast. Within four days, the number of Japanese arrested reached 1,370. By the end of 13 14 the "ABC" roundup in February, 1942, a total of 2,192 alien 15 Japanese on the mainland had been arrested and interned for 16 some period of time.

Following these arrests, the Attorney General directed that the Department of Justice establish a network of Alien Enemy Hearing Boards across the country. Most of the 92 hearing boards included one or more lawyers as members. Aliens who had been arrested and interned were afforded informal hearings at which, Biddle noted, "any

 24 8/ Memorandum, J. Edgar Hoover to Mr. Tolson, Mr. Tamm, and Mr. Ladd, December 17, 1941, File 100-97-1-67, Records of the FBI. See Exhibit T.

26 9/ These records are discussed under Point Two, supra.

23

 27 10/ Department of Justice, Press Releases, December 8 and 13, 1941, February 16, 1942; <u>quoted in</u> Jacobus tenBroek, et al., Prejudice, War and the Constitution, p. 101.

1	'fair' evidence could be admitted" that bore on the loyalty
2	of the alien. Close to two-thirds of those initially detained
3	were subsequently released outright or on parole by the hearing
4	boards on a finding that they posed no danger to the United
5	States. However, most of the Japanese Americans released
6	after such a finding were then placed in Relocation Centers on
7	the order of General DeWitt. Those Japanese Americans released
8	from internment by the Department of Justice were placed in
9	custody by the War Department on the basis of orders issued
10	without hearings and predicated on an assumption that the
11	"racial characteristics" of Japanese Americans as a group
12	predisposed them to disloyalty and the commission of espionage
13	and sabotage.
14	C. Political Pressures for the Evacuation of
15	Japanese Americans
16	The public record discloses no evidence of any
17	substantial public hostility toward Japanese Americans in
18	the weeks that followed the Pearl Harbor attack. Similarly,
19	the official record discloses no suggestions within the Govern-
20	ment for restrictive measures against Japanese Americans as a
21	
22	11/ Francis Biddle, In Brief Authority, pp. 208-209.
23	$\frac{12}{}$ "Agitation for a mass evacuation of the Japanese did
24	not reach significant dimensions until more than a month after the outbreak of war." Stetson Conn, et al., <u>United</u>
25	States Army in World War II: The Western Hemisphere: Guarding the United States and Its Outposts, p. 120. This
26	volume, issued by the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, in 1964, is part of the
27	official history of the armed services during World War II. The Court is directed to Chapter V, "Japanese
28	Evacuation From the West Coast," for an authoritative discussion of the origins of the mass evacuation program.
-	-92-

 \bigcirc

()

1 group for close to two months after Pearl Harbor. In fact, 2 General DeWitt initially expressed opposition to a proposal 3 that the Army institute the internment of all Japanese Americans 4 in California. He expressed this opposition in a telephone 5 conversation on December 26, 1941 with Major General Allen W. 6 Gullion, Provost Marshal General of the Army. Gullion passed 7 on to General DeWitt a recommendation for internment made by 8 the Washington, D.C. representative of the Los Angeles Chamber 9 of Commerce. General DeWitt responded to this recommendation 10 as follows: 11 I thought that thing out to my satisfaction . . . if we go ahead and arrest the 12 93,000 Japanese [in California], native born and foreign born, we are going to have 13 an awful job on our hands are are very liable to alienate the loyal Japanese from 14 disloyal . . . I'm very doubtful that it would be common sense procedure to try and 15 intern or to intern 117,000 Japanese in this theater . . . I don't think it's a 16 sensible thing to do.... An American citizen, after all, is an American citizen. 17 And while they all may not be loyal, I think we can weed the disloyal out of the 18 loyal and lock them up if necessary. 13/ 19 During the month that followed this expression 20by General DeWitt of opposition to the evacuation or intern-21 ment of Japanese Americans, public pressures for such moves 22remained relatively limited. However, the situation 2313/ Telephone conversation, General DeWitt with General 24 Gullion, December 26, 1941, File 311.3, Records of the Western Defense Command, Civil Affairs Division; quoted 25in id., p. 118. 26Note 12, supra. See also tenBroek, et al., Note 10, 14/ supra, pp. 73-80. This study is the product of the 27University of California Japanese American Evacuation and 28 [FOOTNOTE 14/ CONTINUED ON FOLLOWING PAGE]

1 changed dramatically following the release to the press on 2 January 25, 1942, of the so-called "Roberts Report" on the 3 Pearl Harbor attack. This report was issued by a commission 4 appointed by President Roosevelt and chaired by Associate 5 Justice Owen J. Roberts of the United States Supreme Court. 6 In addition to finding that the Army and Navy commanders in 7 Hawaii had been negligent in preparing for a possible Japanese 8 attack, the report included the following statement: 9 There were, prior to December 7, 1941, Japanese spies on the island of Oahu. Sone were Japan-10 ese consular agents and others were persons having no open relations with the Japanese 11 foreign service. These spies collected, and through various channels, transmitted, informa-12 tion to the Japanese Empire respecting the military and naval establishments and disposi-13 tions on the island. 15/ 14 Although unsupported by any cited evidence, the 15 implied assertion that Japanese Americans had performed espio-16 nage activities on behalf of Japan was widely put in explicit 17 terms by the West Coast press. Public concern about the 18 "danger" posed by Japanese Americans quickly turned into a 19 campaign of pressure on both military and civilian officials 20 [FOOTNOTE 14/ CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE] 21 Resettlement Study, an academic project begun in February, 221942 and supported by funding from the University of California, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Columbia $\mathbf{23}$ Foundation. Although not an official government project, this comprehensive study received the cooperation of the $\mathbf{24}$ Research Branch of the Civil Affairs Division, Western Defense Command. Id., p. xiii. 2515/ Congressional Record, Vol. 88, Part 8, p. A261. 26 16/ "The publication of the report of the Roberts Commission $\mathbf{27}$. . . On 25 January had a large and immediate effect both on public opinion and on government action." tenBroek, 28 et al., Note 10, supra, p. 121.

-94-

1 for the mass evacuation of Japanese Americans from the West 17/ 2 Coast. DeWitt's exposure to this pressure is evident from 3 his report of a January 27 meeting with Governor Culbert 4 Olson of California. In a telephone conversation of January $\mathbf{5}$ 29 with Major Karl R. Bendetsen of the Provost Marshal General's 6 office, DeWitt made the following statement: 7 There's a tremendous volume of public opinion now developing against the Japanese 8 of all classes, that is aliens and non-aliens, to get them off the land, and in Southern 9 California . . . they are bringing pressure on the government to move all the Japanese out. As a 10 matter of fact, it's not being instigated or developed by people who are not thinking but 11 by the best people of California. Since the publication of the Roberts Report they felt 12 that they were living in the midst of a lot of enemies. They don't trust the Japanese, 13 none of them. 18/ 14 In addition to pressure for mass evacuation from 15 state officials such as Governor Olson, military officials 16 were subjected to pressure from members of the West Coast 17 Congressional delegation. On January 30, 1942, Major Bendetsen 18 represented Provost Marshal Gullion at a meeting in Washington 19 with members of this delegation, at which he was presented with 20a six-point proposal for action against Japanese Americans in 21 the form of a recommendation to President Roosevelt. This 22proposal included two significant elements: 23(1)A designation by the War Department of critical areas throughout the country and $\mathbf{24}$ territorial possessions. 2526Id., pp. 81-96. 17/ 27Telephone conversation, General DeWitt with Major 18/ Bendetsen, January 28, 1942; guoted in Conn, et al., 28 Note 12, supra.

1	(2) Immediate evacuation of all such critical		
2	areas of all enemy aliens and their families, including children under 21		
3	whether aliens or not. 19/		
4.	In a telephone conversation with Major Bendetsen		
5	on January 31, General DeWitt indicated his agreement with		
6	the recommendation of the West Coast Congressional delegation.		
7	DeWitt expressed his support for the mass evacuation of		
8	Japanese Americans as a protection against possible acts of		
9	sabotage: "The only positive answer to that question is		
10	evacuation of all enemy aliens on the West Coast, and their		
11	resettlement or internment and the positive control [of such		
12	a program] military or otherwise." General DeWitt made		
13	clear his endorsement of the mass evacuation of all American		
14	citizens of Japanese ancestry: "All Japanese, irrespective		
15	of citizenship."		
16	One fact of great significance emerges from this		
17	record: Between the month from the end of December, 1941 to		
18	the end of January, 1942, General DeWitt changed his posi-		
19	tion on mass evacuation from that of opposition as not "a		
20	19/ Memorandum, Major Bendetsen to General Gullion, January		
21	31, 1942, File PMG 384.4, Records of the Western Defense Command. According to Conn, et al., "The Congressional		
22	recommendations were a verbatim copy of a draft submitted by a representative of the Los Angeles Chamber of Com-		
23	merce." Note 12, <u>supra</u> , p. 123, n. 27. Major Bendetsen interpreted this recommendation, in reporting to General		
24	Gullion on January 31, 1942, as "calling for the immediate evacuation of all Japanese from the Pacific coastal		
25	strip including Japanese citizens [sic] of the age of 21 and under " Id, p. 123.		
26	20/ Telephone conversation, General DeWitt with Major Bendet-		
27	sen, January 31, 1942, Records of the Provost Marshal General, National Archives and Records Service, Washington,		
28	D.C.		

1 sensible thing to do" to support of the evacuation of all 2 persons of Japanese ancestry, "irrespective of citizenship." 3 It will be shown below that during this period, and after-4 ward as well, no evidence reached General DeWitt or any 5 other responsible government official that indicated that 6 Japanese Americans posed any danger of espionage or sabotage 7 on the West Coast. In fact, intelligence reports prepared 8 by the FBI and other federal agencies directly refuted all 9 such allegations. The conclusion is inescapable that General 10 DeWitt's endorsement of mass evacuation resulted both from his 11 often-expressed racial hostility toward Japanese Americans and 12 from pressure from state and congressional politicians. 13 The Debate Within the Federal Government Over D. Proposals for the Mass Evacuation of Japanese 14 Americans 15 Officials of both the War Department and the Depart-16 ment of Justice initially opposed the proposals for mass 17 evacuation. The grounds for such opposition included doubts 18 about the military necessity for evacuation and the constitu-19 tionality of an evacuation program that included American 20 This opposition was expressed at a meeting in the citizens. 21 office of Attorney General Biddle on February 1, 1942, attended 22by Assistant Secretary of War McCloy. 23At this meeting, Biddle submitted to McCloy the $\mathbf{24}$ draft of a press release to be signed and issued jointly by 252621/ Also in attendance at this meeting were Provost Marshal General Gullion, Major Bendetsen, FBI Director Hoover, 27 Assistant to the Attorney General James H. Rowe, Jr., and Edward J. Ennis, Director of the Alien Enemy Control 28Unit of the Department of Justice.

1 the Attorney General and Secretary of War Stimson. The 2 initial sections of this press release announced agreement 3 by the two Departments on steps to bar enemy aliens from 4 limited areas that surrounded vital military installations 5 On the West Coast, none of which involved restrictions on 6 citizens. The proposed release concluded with this sentence: 7 The Department of War and the Department of Justice are in agreement that the present 8 military situation does not at this time require the removal of American citizens

of the Japanese race. 22/

10 At McCloy's request, the Attorney General agreed to 11 withhold issuance of the proposed release until General DeWitt 12 could respond to it. Provost Marshal Gullion called DeWitt 13 later that day and read to him the text of the press release. 14 General DeWitt was emphatic in his response to the sentence quoted above: "I wouldn't agree to that." 15 As a consequence 16 of this objection by General DeWitt, this sentence was removed 17 from the press release.

18 Following the meeting on February 1 between the 19 Attorney General and McCloy, Secretary of War Stimson became 20 personally involved in the debate over mass evacuation. On 21 February 3, Stimson met with General Gullion to discuss recom-22mendations from General DeWitt for the designation of "military $\mathbf{23}$ areas" from which Japanese aliens would be excluded by order of 24 the Attorney General. Stimson recorded this conversation in 25his official diary as follows:

27 22/ Telephone conversation, General DeWitt with General Gullion, February 1, 1942. Note 20, supra.

28 23/ Ibid.

26

9

1 General DeWitt . . . is very anxious about the situation and has been clamoring for the 2 evacuation of the Japanese of the area surrounding the intensely important area at 3 San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Puget Sound, where are located some of the 4 most important airplane factories and naval He thinks he has evidence that shipyards. 5 regular communications are going out from Japanese spies in those regions to submarines 6 off the coast assisting in the attacks by the latter which have been made upon practically 7 every ship that has gone out. If we base our evacuations upon the ground of removing enemy 8 aliens, it will not get rid of the Nisei [native-born Japanese American citizens] who 9 are . . . the more dangerous ones. If on the other hand we evacuate everybody including 10 citizens, we must base it as far as I can see upon solely the protection of specified plants. 11 We cannot discriminate among our citizens on the ground of racial origin. We talked the 12 matter over for quite a while and then postponed it in order to hear further from General 13 De Witt who has not yet outlined all of the places that he wishes protected. 24/ 14 15 Two elements of this statement by Stimson require 16 comment. First, General DeWitt had been personally informed, 17 almost a month before this meeting, that reports of communica-18 tions from the coast to Japanese submarines had been investi-19 gated by the Federal Communications Commission and found to be 20Second, Stimson at this point recognized that the baseless. 21 proposed evacuation of American citizens of Japanese ancestry 22had no constitutional basis. $\mathbf{23}$ Notwithstanding the doubt expressed by Stimson, 24 Assistant Secretary of War McCloy undertook to suggest to 25General DeWitt a way around the constitutional barriers to 262724/ Entry of February 3, 1942, Henry L. Stimson Diaries, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut. Emphasis $\mathbf{28}$ added.

1 the evacuation of citizens from the major West Coast cities. 2 In a telephone conversation with General DeWitt on February 3 3, after the meeting between Stimson and General Gullion, 4 McCloy made the following suggestion: 5 Now, my suggestion is that (after we have talked it over with General Gullion and Major 6 Bendetsen) we might call those [cities] military reservations in substance, and 7 exclude everyone -- whites, yellows, blacks, greens -- from that area and then license back 8 into the area those whom we felt there was no danger to be expected from. . . . You see, 9 then we cover ourselves with the legal situation is taken care of [sic] in a way because 10 in spite of the constitution you can eliminate from any military reservation anyone -- any 11 American citizen, as we could exclude everyone and then by a system of permits and licenses 12 permitting those to come back into that area who were necessary to enable that area to 13 function as a living community. Everyone but the Japs --. 25/ 14 15 During this converstation with General DeWitt, 16 McCloy requested that he submit to the War Department a 17 formal reccommendation on the evacuation issue, and dis-18 patched Major Bendetsen (who was shortly promoted to Lieu-19 tenant Colonel) to the West Coast to assist in drafting his 20recommendation. On February 10, 1942, Colonel Bendetsen 21 submitted to General DeWitt a memorandum headed "Evacuation 22of Japanese from the Pacific Coast." This memorandum stated $\mathbf{23}$ that there was "no disagreement in any quarter regarding the 24 necessity for placing all Japanese in the same category" 25regardless of citizenship. This statement was in fact erroneous 26

25/ Telephone conversation, General DeWitt with Mr. McCloy, February 3, 1942. Emphasis added. Note 2, supra.

27

28

1 and misleading as an expression of the views of Secretary 2 Stimson, who had recently stated to General Gullion his doubts 3 about the constitutionality of any mass evacuation of citizens. 4 Colonel Bendetsen then noted that it was "highly improbable 5 that the Secretary will accept the recommendation of the entire 6 evacuation [of Japanese Americans] from the coastal strip." 7 This statement referred to the proposal by General DeWitt that 8 Japanese Americans be evacuated from the entire area that 9 extended some two hundred miles eastward form the coastline. 10 Colonel Bendetsen concluded with the following statement: 11 . . . any recommendation should be predicated on the military necessity involved and this 12 in turn can be developed only after a consideration of all the factors such as loss of 13 vegetable production which may be consequent [from farms operated by Japanese Americans], 14 and other economic dislocations which may ensue. These later factors can be weighed only from 15 the standpoint of the military disadvantages which may be involved. If from the military 16 standpoint, the military disadvantage involved in the loss of vegetable production which may 17 result from a complete evacuation from the Pacific Coast is sufficiently great to outweigh 18 the military advantage, then and only then should the recommendation for evacuation be 19 confined to selected area. 26/ 20The significance of this memorandum emerges in its 21 contrast with the "Final Recommendation" submitted on February $\mathbf{22}$ 14, 1942, by General DeWitt to Secretary Stimson. In balancing 23"military necessity" against the possible "loss of vegetable $\mathbf{24}$ production" from the farms operated by Japanese Americans, 25Colonel Bendetsen demonstrated that the subsequent evacuation $\mathbf{26}$ $\mathbf{27}$ 26/ Memorandum, Colonel Bendetsen to General DeWitt, February 10, 1942, Records of the Western Defense Command. $\mathbf{28}$

1	recommendation was less a purely military decision than a
2	matter of the "economic dislocation" that evacuation might
3	produce.
4	E. The "Final Recommendation" and the Evacuation Decision
5	
6	During the period that preceded receipt by the
7	War Department of the "Final Recommendation" of General
8	DeWitt, debate within the Government over the evacuation
9	issue centered on the "licensing" proposal advanced by Assistant
10	Secretary of War McCloy. Secretary of War Stimson and Attorney
11	General Biddle maintained their constitutional doubts about the
12	evacuation of Japanese American citizens during this period.
13	Stimson met with McCloy on February 10, 1942, to review the
14	interim proposal by General DeWitt that some 88 limited areas
15	along the Coast (containing military installations, defense
16	factories, and public utilities) be evacuated of all enemy
17	aliens and Japanese American citizens. Following this meeting,
18	Stimson recorded the following in his official journal:
19	The second generation Japanese [native-born citizens] can only be evacuated as part of
20	a total evacuation, giving access to the areas only by permits, or by frankly trying
21	to put them out on the ground that their racial characteristics are such that we
22	cannot understand or trust even the citizen Japanese. The latter is the fact but I am
23	afraid it will make a tremendous hole in our constitutional system. 27/
24	
25	On February 12, 1942, Attorney General Biddle ad-
26	dressed a letter to Stimson stating that the Department of
27	27/ Entry of February 10, 1942. Emphasis added. Note 27,
28	supra.

. 1

1 Justice lacked the personnel and facilities to undertake a 2 Biddle added the following to his mass evacuation program. 3 letter: 4 I have no doubt that the Army can legally, at any time, evacuate all persons in a 5 specified territory if such action is deemed essential from a military point of view for 6 the protection and defense of the area. No legal problem arises where Japanese citizens 7 are evacuated; but American citizens of Japanese origin could not, in my opinion, be 8 singled out of an area and evacuated with the other Japanese. However, the result might be accomplished by evacuating all persons in the 9 area and then licensing back those whom the 10 military authorities thought were not objectionable from a military point of view. 28/ 11 12 It should be noted that the "licensing" proposal, 13 as a means for the evacuation of Japanese Americans from 14 limited "military areas" received no further consideration 15 after February 11, 1942. On that date Stimson discussed the 16 evacuation issue with President Roosevelt, on the basis of 17 a memorandum summarizing the "questions to be determined 18 re Japanese exclusion" by the President. This memorandum 19 presented the following questions for decision by the President: 20(1)Is the President willing to authorize us to move Japanese citizens. [American 21 citizens of Japanese descent] as well as aliens form restricted areas? 22Should we undertake withdrawal from the (2) 23entire strip DeWitt originally recommended, which involves a number over 110,000 $\mathbf{24}$ people, if we included both aliens and Japanese citizens? 25 $\mathbf{26}$

 27 <u>28</u>/ Letter, Attorney General Biddle to Secretary of War Stimson, February 2, 1942, Record Group 407, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

	()		
1		ld we undertake the intermediate involving, say, 70,000 which	
2	incl	udes large communities such as Los les, San Diego, and Seattle?	
3		ld we take any lesser step such as	
4 5	the arou	establishment of restricted areas nd airplane plants and critical allations, even though General DeWitt	
5 6	stat larg	es that in several, at least, of the e communities this would be wasteful,	
7	and	lve difficult administrative problems, might be a source of more continuous	
8		tation and trouble than 100 percent drawl from the area? <u>29</u> /	
9	Stimson d	iscussed these questions with the President	
10	over the telephone	on February 11, 1942. No record has been	
11	located of any notation of this discussion by the President,		
12	but Stimson recorded in his official journal of that day that		
13	he "fortunately found that [President Roosevelt] was very		
14	vigorous about it and [he] told me to go along on the line that		
15	I had myself thought the best."		
16	Stimson d	id not record which of the alternative	
17	courses he thought	best. However, later that day McCloy	
18	stated in a telepho	ne conversation with Colonel Bendetsen	
19	that "we have carte	blanche to do whatever we want to do as	
20	far as the Presiden	t's concerned" and that the President had	
21	specifically author	ized the evacuation of citizens, subject 31/	
22	only to the qualifi	cation, "Be as reasonable as you can."	
23	29/ Memorandum, fo	r Record (unsigned), February 11, 1942,	
24		Records of the Assistant Secretary of	
25		ary 11, 1942, Note 27, supra.	
26		ersation, Assistant Secretary McCloy with	
27 28	Colonel Bendet	sen, February 11, 1942, File 311.3 (Tel en, Feb-Mar 42), Records of the Western	

-104-

.

1	Following this conversation, Colonel Bendetsen
2	returned from San Francisco to Washington to meet with War
3	Department officials on the evacuation issue. He brought
4	with him the "Final Recommendation" of General DeWitt in the
5	form of a memorandum to the Secretary of War headed "Evacua-
6	tion of Japanese and other Subversive Persons from the Pacific
7	Coast." Included in this memorandum were allegations about the
8	commission of acts of espionage and sabotage by Japanese
9	Americans and slurs on this group as members of an "enemy
10	race." The knowing falsity of these allegations is discussed
11	<u>32/</u> below. The significance of these statements in the "Final
12	Recommendation" to this Appendix lies in their presentation to
13	Stimson as justification for the mass evacuation of Japanese
14	Americans from the West Coast. General DeWitt put his formal
15	recommendation in the following words:
16	That the Secretary of War procure from the
17	President direction and authority to desig- nate military areas in the combat zone of
18	the Western Theater of Operations (if necessary to include the entire combat zone), from
19	which, in his discretion, he may exclude <u>all</u> Japanese, all alien enemies, and all other
20	persons suspected for any reason by the administering military authorities of being
21	actual or potential saboteurs, espionage agents, or fifth columnists. <u>33</u> /
22	
23	F. Adoption of the "Final Recommendation" and the Issuance of Executive Order 9066
24	The "Final Recommendation" of General DeWitt,
25	backed by verbal authorization from the President to proceed
26	
27	32/ See discussion under Points Two and Three, supra.
28	33/ De Witt, Final Report, p. 36. Emphasis added.
	-105-

•

0

0

1 with the drafting of an evacuation program, became the basis 2 for a crucial series of meetings on February 17 and 18. 3 1942. Secretary Stimson first met on February 17 with Assistant 4 Secretary McCloy, Colonel Bendetsen, Provost Marshal Gullion, 5 and General Mark Clark, the latter representing General George 6 C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the Army. Stimson described the 7 meeting in his official journal as follows: 8 Finally we worked the matter into a situation where we could take immediate steps beyond 9 the ones which I had already authorized General DeWitt on the coast to do. A proposed order 10 for the President was outlined and General Gullion undertook to have it drafted tonight. 11 War Department orders will fill in the application of this Presidential order. These were 12 notified and Gullion is also to draft them. It will involve the tremendous task of moving 13 between fifty and one hundred thousand people from their homes and ultimately locating them 14 in new places away from the coast. 34/ 15 On the same day, February 17, Attorney General 16 Biddle sent a letter to President Roosevelt, objecting to 17 mass evacuation as unnecessary. Biddle put his objections 18 in the following words: 19 For several weeks there have been increasing demand for evacuation of all Japanese, aliens 20and citizens alike, from the West Coast states. A great many of the West Coast people distrust 21 the Japanese, various special interests would welcome their removal from good farm land and 22the elimination of their competition, some of the local California radio and press have 23demanded evacuation, the West Coast Congressional Delegation are asking the same thing $\mathbf{24}$ and finally, Walter Lipman [sic] and Westbrook Pegler [nationally syndicated newspaper colum-25nists] recently have taken up the evacuation cry on the ground that attack on the West Coast 26and widespread sabotage is imminent. My last 2728 34/ Entry of February 17, 1942, Note 27, supra.

1	advice from the War Department is that there
2	is no evidence of imminent attack and from the F.B.I that there is no evidence of planned sabo-
3	tage. 35/
4	Notwithstanding this objection to evacuation,
5	Biddle met on the evening of February 17 with McCloy and
6	General Gullion to draft a proposed Executive Order for
7	submission to the President. Accompanying Biddle at this
8	meeting were James H. Rowe, Jr., Assistant to the Attorney
9	General, and Edward J. Ennis, director of the Alien Enemy
10	Control Unit of the Department of Justice. In his memoirs,
11	Biddle described this meeting as follows:
12	General Gullion had an executive order ready for the President to sign. Rowe and Ennis
13	argued strongly against it. But the decision has been made by the President. It was, he
14	said, a matter of military judgment. I did not think I should oppose it any further. The
15	Department of Justice, as I had made it clear to him from the beginning, was opposed to and
16	would have nothing to do with the evacuation. $36/$
17	The following day, February 18, 1942, Biddle met with Stimson
18	and members of their staffs to go over the proposed Executive
19	Order. In final form, the order was approved and taken to the
20	White House by Rowe for submission to the President. Executive
21	Order 9066 was signed by President Roosevelt on February 19,
22	and its pertinent provisions are cited above in the Statement
23	of Facts.
24	
25	35/ Memorandum, Attorney General Biddle to President Roose- velt, February 17, 1942, Folder - C.F. Hawaii, Confidential
26	File, President's Secreatry's Files, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. Emphasis added.
27	36/ Note 11, supra, p. 219.
28	

-107-

•

•

G. Conclusion

1

2 There can be no doubt that the decision to evacuate 3 and intern the Japanese American population on the West Coast was a direct consequence of two facts: first, General DeWitt's 4 5 capitulation to the pressures exerted by State and federal officials; and second, his belief that the "racial characteris-6 tics" of Japanese Americans predisposed them to disloyalty. 7 Until the end of January 1942, DeWitt expressed opposition to 8 9 mass evacuation and agreement that the Army could "weed the disloyal out of the loyal" among the Japanese Americans. 10 The arrest and internment of those on the "ABC" list convinced the 11 Department of Justice that no significant threat of espionage 12 13 or sabotage remained on the West Coast.

14 However, following the publication of the sensational, 15 but undocumented allegations of spying by Japanese Americans in 16 Hawaii that were made in the "Roberts Report," and the pressures 17 exerted on General DeWitt by Governor Olson and members of the 18 West Coast Congressional delegation, General DeWitt submitted 19 to the War Department a "Final Recommendation" for the eva-20cuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast. 21 This recommendation cited no evidence that Japanese Americans 22 posed a danger of espionage or sabotage.

Responsible officials of both the War Department and the Department of Justice harbored serious doubts about the constitutionality of mass evacuation and restrictive measures directed at Japanese Americans as a group. Notwithstanding these doubts, they finally bowed to the claims of General DeWitt that "military necessity" required mass

-108-

1	evacuation. These officials consequently approved the "Final
2	Recommendation" of General DeWitt and drafted for submission to
3	the President the Executive Order that empowered General DeWitt
4	to issue the military orders at issue in Petitioners' cases and
5	to implement the mass evacuation and internment of the Japanese
6	American population of the West Coast.
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17 18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	
26	
27	
28	
	100
	-109-

1 ATTORNEYS OF RECORD FOR PETITIONER FRED T. KOREMATSU 2 3 Dennis W. Hayashi Donald K. Tamaki 4 Michael J. Wong Asian Law Caucus 5 1322 Webster Street, #210 Oakland, California 94612 6 (415) 835-1474 7 Robert L. Rusky Hanson, Bridgett, Marcus, 8 Vlahos & Stromberg 333 Market Street, 23rd Floor 9 San Francisco, California 94105 (415) 777-3200 10 Peter Irons 11 429 Parkwood Lane Leucadia, California 92024 12 (619) 452-3548 13 Karen N. Kai 746-35th Avenue 14 San Francisco, California 94121 (415) 387-9883 15 Russell Matsumoto 16 Maniwa & Matsumoto 1832 Buchanan Street, Suite 201 17 San Francisco, California 94115 (415) 921-9000 18 Dale Minami 🦯 19 Lorraine K Bannai Minami, Tomine & Lew 20 370 Grand Avenue Oakland, California 94610 21 (415) 893-9100 2223 24 2526 27 28