

Report to Mayor Bowron by Alfred Cohn on several phases of the investigation into Japanese matters.

These reports in each instance reflect the viewpoint of ^{certain} Japanese of American birth who possess great intelligence or a greater degree of loyalty to the United States than the majority of Japanese of American birth.

Much of this material, especially the section dealing with the political situation, is reasonable conjecture for which proof is not obtainable. The situation, as you know, is very complex and it is next to impossible to see the picture in its entirety. It strikes me that the whole situation is dependent chiefly on future economic conditions and if we can get together on an economic program designed to take care of the Japanese agriculturists we will go a long way toward solving the problem.

All aspects of the Japanese situation, economic, social and political, are inter-related and it is difficult to draw any definite line of demarcation.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE AND THEIR MORALE TODAY

Since the outbreak of war between Japan and these United States, the economic structure of the Japanese community has been verging on a total collapse. This has a direct effect upon shattering the morale of the people.

At the outbreak of hostilities, the entire Japanese community was shocked, Issei as well as Nisei were indignant at Japan's treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor. Together these groups faced the trying situation with a calm confidence in the high quality of American leadership.

From the general public, too, there was a spirit of democratic tolerance. It was recognized that the Japanese in America were on the whole culturally and psychologically far apart from those of their race in Japan. Thus the local Japanese morale was good, despite the economic shutdown immediately following Dec. 7th.

Succeeding events shook this morale, however, with the result that today the morale of the Japanese public is badly shaken. Rumors of mass evacuation disturb the people. The Issei are so completely rattled that many of them welcome the thought of the security internment affords them.

They have no leadership among their own people. Their Issei leaders have nearly all been interned or jailed and the leadership of the Japanese community has fallen upon the shoulders of the Nisei. But the Nisei leaders are confused and panicky, proper leadership is sadly lacking. Many of them have not earned the public trust and their efforts to restore community morale has not been encouraging.

So the Nisei as a whole are shaken. They see the economic structure of the Japanese community crumbling. They are young, with an average age of 21, and due to their heritage suffer racial restrictions. Today nearly 25 percent of them are unemployed. A complete shutdown of all sources of income confronts them. The spectre of starvation for themselves and their families haunts their dreams. They walk like people mentally exhausted. The majority of them are loyal Americans and they want to do the right thing to aid America win the war. Naturally their morale is being lowered as their livelihoods are taken away. Hungry people are liable to commit acts which in their normal minds would be unthinkable.

They hold a deep faith in their country and in Democracy so they look to their Government for help and advice.

The Kibei, American-born Nisei educated in Japan, voice the fears of the Issei and the bewilderment of the Nisei. They are culturally attuned to Japan, yet by choice returned to America determined to be good Americans because they are satisfied that America offers most in the way of economic and political advantages.

These people are a lonely group. They find it difficult to become assimilated into either the Issei or Nisei groups. Most of them are as complete strangers to their own kin due to the long separation from them.

All these classes offer varying problems.

These problems must be solved, and solved now, for when conditions become so aggravated that they become unbearable, they people will surely be fit subjects for fifth-column propaganda and therefore potential sources of subversive acts.

Since the evacuation of farmers, fishermen, and other groups of

aliens from the 27 defense areas which is scheduled for Feb. 24th, 1942, and the majority of small truck farmers supplying the local produce markets are located in areas adjacent to defense projects and plants, it can readily be seen that a serious dislocation in the local economic structure of the Japanese community will occur.

By this is meant that several of the main sources of income for the Japanese community will be shut off and the economic structure will be on the verge of a complete breakdown.

Also evacuation of the Japanese farmers from the defense areas will create a serious vacuum in the industry. The immediate loss of their crops is certain to affect the fresh vegetable markets of eleven western states. This is a serious condition affecting the program of civilian defense toward winning the war for America.

It cannot be too strongly stressed here that the problem of evacuation and / or internment of the Issei as a group or as individuals must necessarily deal with the welfare of the Nisei as the two groups are closely related economically. Also many of the Nisei are still minors in their teens and are dependent for support and guidance upon their Issei parents. Evacuation and / or internment of the Issei, therefore, necessarily must mean the evacuation and / or internment of these younger Nisei.

Further, the problem of what to do with these people is one that will tax the intelligence of the Government and civic leaders and the resources of America, or at least the local counties.

Since it is believed that the Federal Government has declared that the problem of caring for these people would fall on the counties in which they reside, and the majority of these countries are already overtaxed in caring for indigents now on their relief rolls, the

problem of caring for - properly housing and feeding these people is one that should merit nation-wide attention.

Suggested, therefore, is a Congressional investigation into the problem by some group familiar with housing and immigration problems such as the Toland Committee.

Should the problem be worked out through some colonization plan, the problem of finding some means of livelihood for the people will arise with the emphasis placed upon training the Nisei for tasks contributing to the nation's welfare, and utilizing the technical skills and training of a large number of Nisei already prepared for highly specialized work.

By this method, the nation should be able to do justice to a people who have proved their citizenship qualifications and at the same time help them to continue to contribute to America's program for winning this war.

have been jingoistic and inflammatory, carrying definitely pro-axis articles. They praised Hitler as a great leader and have followed his campaigns with gleeful relish. At times they have been openly critical of American institutions and ideals. The English sections at the outset of the China War and up till the last year or so have been vacillating, sometimes favorable to Japan and Germany. They have manfully attempted straddling the fence as they feared the displeasure of the issei if they took a definite pro-American stand. However, in the last several years, at least since the beginning of the national emergency, they made their choice and came out in patriotic colors. The entire tone and tenor of the English sections have definitely changed for the better. Since the war they have become even more patriotic, reflecting the same degree of change as occurred in all American papers.

If the responsibility for the opinions held by isseis can be laid to a single door it would undoubtedly rest on the doorstep of Mr. Sei Fujii, editor and publisher of the Kashi Mainichi (not interned due to illness, but under strict surveillance). Mr. Fujii was originally quite a hero in the eyes of the Japanese due to his legal efforts on behalf of the Japanese farmers. He started his papers about ten years ago, specializing in the oriental brand of yellow journalism. In order to win popularity in the rural districts he resorted to all types of campaigns. When the Sino Japanese clash began, he immediately began to beat the war drums. He was the one to first suggest and initiate the war fund campaign (collecting money to aid the Japanese war fund) against the advice of Consul Hori. He subsequently launched a vitriolic attack on the consul and was partly responsible for Hori being moved to another post. Of all the Japanese papers, the Kashi Mainichi has been the most inflammatory, the most viciously un-American. It is the paper which has had the most emotional appeal to the lower class farming elements.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF JAPANESE VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS IN AMERICA

There are Japanese papers to be found in practically every large coast town with a Japanese population, Seattle, Tacoma, San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, etc. These papers are all similar in nature, with slightly varying editorial policies, depending upon the individual owner. An exposition of the Los Angeles Japanese papers should state the case for all of these dailies on the coast.

There are three Japanese vernacular dailies published in Los Angeles, besides a few weeklies of minor importance. They are, in the order of their importance:

THE RAFU SHIMPO (L. A. JAPANESE DAILY NEWS) 104 N. Los Angeles St.

JAPAN CALIFORNIA DAILY NEWS (KASHYU MAINICHI) 339 E. 2nd St.

SANGYO NIPPO DAILY, 327 Jackson St.

All of these papers are bi-lingual, having both Japanese and English sections. The main portion of the papers, however, has been devoted to the Japanese reading public since they are the ones that cannot be reached by the American papers. They, also, are the ones controlling the wealth of the Japanese community. In the last several years, with the growing maturity of the nisei group and their developing economic independence, the English sections have been growing in size.

One of these three newspapers reaches every Japanese family in Southern California. In fact, there is hardly a family or a person of Japanese extraction who does not subscribe or have access to some Japanese daily. The Rafu Shimpo may be found as far south as the Mexican border and as far north as Guadalupe. The other two papers are somewhat more limited in the area that they cover. Therefore, these periodicals are one of the most important mediums in molding opinion among the Japanese.

Reasons for Existence

These vernacular papers were a necessity to the Japanese population as most issei can only read Japanese. This condition, of course, is due to the extreme language difficulties they encountered in trying to master English. It is much more difficult for a Japanese to learn English than it is for a Spaniard or an Italian to do so, since these languages all have the same latin root. Then too, the Japanese had to work harder for a living, consequently had less time to cultivate their English. They could not mix with Caucasian groups and thereby pick up a knowledge of the language. In many ways they were handicapped in their attempt to learn English and so most of them were discouraged almost from the very beginning, although a few have attained mastery due to association with American groups, etc. These Japanese language papers are therefore the only medium through which up-to-the-minute news can reach the Japanese. If these papers are discontinued, there would be a complete black-out of news as far as the isseis are concerned. It would prove very jolting for a morale which is already beginning to crack.

Trend and Content of Papers prior to War

The major portion of the news carried in the Japanese sections of these papers is of Japanese origin, namely the Domei releases. Consequently, the Japanese people for four or five years have been glutted with pro-axis propaganda, and being simple people of little education they have been greatly influenced by militaristic ideology. It is an interesting phenomenon that most of these people have completely separated their political interest in Japanese conquests and their practical interests of their everyday existence.

It has been one of the distinguishing features of all of these papers that the English sections and the Japanese sections presented entirely divergent views. Up to the beginning of the war the Japanese sections

have been jingoistic and inflammatory, carrying definitely pro-axis articles. They praised Hitler as a great leader and have followed his campaigns with gleeful relish. At times they have been openly critical of American institutions and ideals. The English sections at the outset of the China War and up till the last year or so have been vacillating, sometimes favorable to Japan and Germany. They have manfully attempted straddling the fence as they feared the displeasure of the issei if they took a definite pro-American stand. However, in the last several years, at least since the beginning of the national emergency, they made their choice and came out in patriotic colors. The entire tone and tenor of the English sections have definitely changed for the better. Since the war they have become even more patriotic, reflecting the same degree of change as occurred in all American papers.

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The largest and most influential paper in Los Angeles is the Rafu Shimpo whose publisher, H. Komai, and editor S. Suzuki, are now interned in Montana. This paper was forced through moral pressure by the Kashu Mainichi to actively support the war fund campaigns, the patriotic savings (aikoku chokin) and other pro-Japan activities. We believe that it was against the best practical judgment of the editoris and publisher that this support was given. However, the Kashu Mainichi took the attitude that any one or any paper who would not actively support such campaigns were unpatriotic to Japan. This forced the Rafu Shimpo to fall in line as they found themselves in danger of losing their circulation.

Nevertheless, the Rafu Shimpo has always been the most conservative and temperate of all the local papers. All or most of the staff are competent, intelligent men with fairly good insight into the situation. Of course, this paper as well as all the others have been featuring Domei news principally, therefore its somewhat beligerent tone.

The smallest Japanese daily is the Sangyo Nippo which is subsidized by the large farmers of this district. It features farm news principally, giving daily market quotations, etc. It has, however, been almost as bad as the Kashu Mainichi in its treatment of front page news. Its editor is Ko Murai who has been recently picked up. One of the members of its staff, Mr. Shinichi Kato has also been jailed. Kato was one of the men who returned to Japan last November to attend the 2600 anniversary celebration of the Japanese Empire. At this time he made a shortwave broadcast directed at the Japanese in America asking them to actively support the war effort of Japan. He also stated that the nisei should participate also.

The Sangyo Nippo has been a negligible element due to its small and limited circulation but since the war it is gaining rapid favor because of its policy of printing war news, whereas all the other papers, especially

the Rafu Shimpo, evidence a tendency to tone down war news.

The financial set-up of these Japanese papers is interesting indeed. Of the three papers the Rafu Shimpo is the only one that is supported solely by subscriptions and advertising. The Kashu Mainichi finds it necessary now and then to solicit money from Booster Clubs. These Clubs are scattered around the agricultural centers of Southern California; the most influential one being found in Gardena. This districts where these "Kamai" (popular abbreviated name for Kashu Mainich) booster clubs are located have been particularly pro-Japanese. The Sangyo Nippo has been subsidized by the farmers groups but it has gone considerably in debt and has constantly been on the verge of collapse.

The truth is that three independent Japanese newspapers are too many for the small public that they serve. The total circulation is limited to the number of Japanese in the district. So there is a continuous circulation war. If one paper becomes pro-Japanese, the others must follow suit in order to retain their circulations.

As far as we can determine there has been no actual dictating of policy by Japanese propaganda agents or the consulate. There was considerable moral coercion there can be no doubt. However, much of the pro-axis sentiments developed as a natural sequence after the instigation of certain groups.

The newspaper propaganda worked both ways. First the papers fanned up pro-axis sentiment at the outbreak of the Sino Japanese war. The Japanese community (especially in Little Tokyo proper where the greatest congestion of Japanese occurs) took up the song and forced the papers to

become more and more definite in their stand for Japan. This was considered quite right and proper at that time. They felt that they should support Japan morally and financially whenever possible. However, at all times they remained grateful for America's bounty.

With the worsening of relations between the United States and Japan we feel that some of the papers might have realized the necessity of changing their attitude but by this time they had done their work too well, and it was practically impossible to undo it without incurring the displeasure of their readers and advertisers. There was some toning down but not sufficiently. After the freezing order and during the interim when war clouds began to gather they began to sober up and, editorially, hoped for improved relations. No one realized that it would actually come to hostilities. Had they realized the gravity of the situation we feel that they would have piped another tune.

Content and Condition of Papers after the War

On the evening of December 7 the Rafu Shimpo printed a small war bulletin followed by several others on the next day. Then they missed one full edition but soon reappeared with news censored by mutual consent by the temporary newspaper committee of the Anti-Axis Committee. However, after a short period, this practice was no longer deemed necessary and was discontinued. Now all these papers are printing news according to their own discretion. The Kashu Mainichi was closed for several weeks after the war but was reopened and is operating today.

Of course, the English sections of these papers which are run by nisei are beyond reproach as far as their editorial policy or treatment of the news is concerned. These English sections are limited in space.

At most they have but two pages daily, some of which is filled with advertising. Matters of editorial nature are covered in the enlarged Sunday editions. Very little world news is printed. Local news takes up most space. At the present time, several full columns of the Rafu Shimpō are used in listing the names of people contributing to the Bomber Fund. Editorials are seldom to be seen, although they were frequent at the beginning of the war. It seems to be the policy of the English sections to refrain from printing discouraging news, fearing the collapse of nisei morale. On the other hand, this seems to have lulled many nisei into a feeling of false security which inhibits quick actions in matters of importance.

The Rafu Shimpō Japanese section is the best of the Japanese sections. The criticism aimed at this paper by the Japanese reading public is that it does not contain enough or hardly any actual war news. It is natural for the Japanese to want this news.

Today the Japanese section of the Rafu Shimpō is very subdued. It prints some war news taken from A.P. and U.P. dispatches, translation of regulations pertaining to alien status and local news of the Japanese community. There is very little editorializing done through the columns which are not particularly encouraging in nature. Some columns, in discussing the possibility of evacuation, say that if such an eventuality should occur the Japanese should accept it gracefully, etc., etc. The paper stresses the fact that Japanese aliens owe fealty to the country of their residence and that they should remain law-abiding and cooperative, carrying on in a normal manner. Day by day, the pro-American tone of the paper increases, especially since the meeting held Jan. 19 in the City Hall, which was called by the Hollywood Writers Mobilization. At this meeting, members of the Anti-Axis Committee, the Nisei Writers' Group who were working in conjunction with the Hollywood Writers under

Mayor Bowron, and members of the staff of the Rafu Shimpo were present. The editor of the Rafu Shimpo, Togo Tanaka, was asked whether or not the Japanese section was constructively pro-American and whether it carried any editorials of this nature. Tanaka was quite emphatic in stressing the pro-American stand of the paper and asserted that many editorials of this type were carried, which was not quite according to the facts of the case. Since that time, however, they have been careful. Although few editorials have appeared, articles of the type that would be inflammatory or would give vicarious satisfaction to fascist minded Japanese have practically disappeared.

Due to the peculiarities of the Japanese language it is possible to write articles which, upon literal translation, would seem perfectly innocuous but, by inference, would be misleading, if not actually pro-Japanese. This type of writing is utilized by the Kashi Mainichi yet. A statement of the American or Allied victories would be prefaced by "it seems" or "it is believed" or similar phrases designed to cast doubt upon the verity of the reports.

The Kashi Mainichi Japanese section now under the leadership of Akira Itami, leader of the Kibei division of the Japanese American Citizens League, is more vigorous in handling of news. By inference they have been printing the type of news which their readers want. Itami, under the influence of Sei Fujii, has been one of the most disruptive and pro-axis forces among the kibe group. Translation of all articles written by this man would prove illuminating.

It has been the policy of the Japanese section of the Sangyo Nippo to print the most important war bulletins. These articles are translations of U.P. and A.P. releases.

The financial condition of both the Kashi Mainichi and the Sangyo Nippo has been particularly precarious since the war. With increasing unemployment among the Japanese and the closing down of business houses, etc., which will certainly affect their subscription, it is a foregone conclusion that the two smaller papers will eventually close down. The Rafu Shimpo is the only paper which has much chance of surviving, financially. As yet, all papers are continuing operations.

After the war, the papers transferred legal ownership into nisei hands. The Rafu Shimpo was transferred to Togo Tanaka, editor of the English section and Akira Komai, son of the publisher who had been interned.

The Sangyo Nippo transferred ownership to George Watanabe, editor of its English section, a few days before the publisher, Ko Murai, was finally apprehended.

A thorough study of the newspapers would be advisable. The strategy of propagandizing issei and kibe should be discussed with an effective pro-American propaganda campaign instituted immediately. We feel that the majority of the disloyal or neutral issei element could be definitely neutralized or made positively loyal by correct educational methods. That such measures have not been taken before is regrettable as issei morale seems to be cracking under economic pressure.

It is well to remember ~~that~~ in discussing any pro-American propaganda directed at the backward **Japanese**, the amount of axis-propaganda that they have been fed through the abovementioned papers as well as through other channels. The process must be a slow one. It is impossible to swing overnight from one ideology to another.

A great number of things have been responsible for the attitude assumed by the issei. In the first place, they have great language handicaps. It is very difficult for a Japanese to learn English. They could not read the English papers. They could only read Japanese; consequently, they fell more and more under the sway of fascist propagandists.

Due to their racial distinctness they have been subjected to more discriminatory actions than other immigrant groups and therefore have an unconscious emotional resentment which made them easy prey for the race superiority doctrine preached by the Japanese and German propagandists. Denial of American citizenship, land ownership restrictions, residential restrictions, etc. have no doubt been a sore point, although they have seldom articulated such feelings.

It must always be kept in mind, however, that they came to this country by choice. They were dissatisfied with conditions in Japan and hoped to better themselves in this country. They have always realized that even the poorest life here is probably better than they could eke out in Japan and are consciously grateful for the largess of America. This is a potent factor in winning over the neutral or emotionally disloyal groups of issei and kibei. A great deal of this work could be done through the medium of the Japanese language newspapers. The Japanese newspapers are still the most important propaganda medium in the Japanese community.

Under the propaganda program instituted by the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization under Civilian Defense, a propaganda guidance bureau might be set up to watch the tone of the Japanese papers and to give guidance in selecting educational material. There are a number of Japanese who have always been pro-American but who have been afraid to speak out due

to social censure. These loyal Japanese could be utilized in such a campaign. Some of them could translate English articles for Japanese consumption.

This type of bureau or committee is necessary if the Japanese papers are allowed to continue their existence. Although pressure from official sources would radically improve the papers there would still be a dearth of constructively democratic ideas unless such ideas are supplied to the staffs of the papers by capable persons.

Possible internment or evacuation of issei and possibly nisei is being debated at this time, with evacuation of aliens from vital defense sectors an announced actuality. Evacuation means that these Japanese will still be at large. These Japanese will be undergoing a severe mental and emotional shock with uncertainty the dark spectre that continually haunts them. They will be easy prey for fifth column agitation. A desperate and hungry man is always a dangerous man. Therefore, the need for an immediate campaign to reassure these Japanese who remain at large, and even in the event of complete internment, a bureau to provide information, educational material, guidance to papers, will exist. Such a bureau should be a part of a larger office set up especially to deal with the rapidly developing crisis in the Japanese community.

A GENERAL EXPLANATION OF THE KIBEI GROUP

A kibeï nisei, usually called kibeï, represent the group of young Japanese who were born in this country but who were sent back to Japan for their education. As a result, they think as Japanese and at the same time possess American citizenship and the privileges attending this status. The word "kibeï" literally means "returned to America."

There are no figures that give the actual percentage of the kibeï population but it is generally conceded that approximately ten percent of the Japanese-American citizens fall into the kibeï category. They are generally considered the most dangerous element since they are the only ones in the entire Japanese community that have come in actual contact with present day fascist Japan. However, it must be remembered that most of them returned to this country by actual choice. Those who were really dissatisfied have subsequently returned.

Reasons for the Increase of Kibeis

Since 1929 the number of kibeï niseis in America has steadily increased. This was due to the following reasons: 1. It became increasingly difficult for the issei to maintain their children in Japan due to economic difficulties following the stock market crash. 2. The niseis who were sent to Japan for their education began to graduate from middle schools and high schools. 3. Those nisei sent back to Japan with the intent of remaining permanently elected to return to this country, realizing that America offered more opportunities. 4. Many issei began to send for their children

when the prolonged separation became unbearable. 5. Most niseis who were sent to Japan lived with their relatives and when the strain of living with relatives became too acute they implored their parents to send for them. 7. Some isseis who returned to Japan with their children, upon finding that life was too hard in Japan, sent their children back to this country to live.

Process of Americanization

After returning to the United States, most kibeis realized the need for Americanization and undertook immediately to learn English. Although they had studied English in Japan, instructors there were very poor and the kibeis' English as a rule was unintelligible. In the larger coast cities there were a number of Americanization classes in various high schools and junior high schools to which these kibeis went.

The object of these classes was to teach immigrant groups practical English. The results were not particularly successful for the kibeis since they were thrown together with other kibeis they ended up by speaking Japanese, which, after all, was their native tongue. Most of the kibeis in these classes were over 18 years of age and found attending school with younger children rather irksome. Also many were forced to help the family finances and consequently left school. All in all, the process of Americanization was slow and incomplete. More kibeis have never really mastered the English language. It is necessary at this time to stress again the extreme disparity between the two languages and the difficulty for a Japanese to learn English.

A great number of Kibei did succeed in becoming Americanized enough to win admittance into nisei groups where their Americanization was hastened. As a whole, however, the kibeis still remained a distinct

group, neither issei nor nisei.

Psychologically and emotionally the kibeis are unstable compared to the rest of the Japanese groups. First, they underwent the traumatic experience of leaving their parents at an early age to go to another country to live with total strangers. Then after they had become accustomed to one environment they were thrust into their first environment. During their separation from their parents they had idealized their fathers and mothers and upon returning to this country they found that their parents' cultural level was considerably below the Japanese average.

Of course, the long separation had severed the bond existing between parent and child and so the kibeis was always maladjusted to his environment. As a result, there was continual frustration which resolved itself into resentment of his environment.

Classification of Kibeis

The kibeis group can be roughly classified into two groups. First, the kibeis who returned to this country prior to the Manchurian Incident. These kibeis were educated and lived in a Japan which was undergoing an upsurge of liberalism. Most of these kibeis are good Americans, regardless of the fact that they do not speak English. They believe in democratic ideals and deplored Japan's growing militarism. The second group of kibeis are the one who returned after the Manchurian Incident. These kibeis were given a full dose of fascist propaganda. They lived under war conditions and were inculcated with war enthusiasm. Nevertheless, it must be remembered, that even they preferred to return to this country.

This group of kibeis is essentially pro-Japan and a

vigorous educational program should be directed at them.

The most dangerous of the kibeis group are those who have returned in the last two years. These kibeis have lived for some time under strict war conditions, almost total war. They were steeled to the brutalities and hardships of war. They saw their brothers and friends all sent to the front.

At the time of their return to this country they were questioned by Japanese authorities and it is our belief that some of them might have agreed to engage in espionage work here. The number of kibeis who returned in the recent past is very few compared to other years.

The kibeis as a group are suspected by even the nisei. However, the majority of them are neutral and could be brought around with the correct kind of educational program. We consider it advisable, however, to keep close watch over the kibeis who have returned from Japan in the last two years.

Due to the constant suspicion harrassing them, many loyal kibeis are becoming embittered. Therefore, it is most urgent that an Americanization program be set up immediately.

The Kibeis Organization

The thinking kibeis realized the need for some organization to aid their Americanization program. The first organization of kibeis in Los Angeles was the Nisei Association which was short lived. After the collapse of the Nisei Association a second group was formed which was eventually affiliated with the Japanese American's Citizen's League. The Kibeis Division was to have its own cabinet and conduct its meetings in the Japanese language.

The Kibei Divison and the J.A.C.L. worked in harmony up to 1938. From this period the Kibei Division showed inclinations of independent actions. This, we believe, was due to the influence of certain aggressive kibei who were but recently returned. This small group had worked itself into the leadership of the entire group and were doing their best to discourage and sabotage the liberal elements in the organization.

After checking the dissenting liberal group, the leadership clique became more and more aggressive and drifted farther away from the parent organization. Undemocratic procedure was evident in most of their activities. Shortly before the war, there was open dissention between the Kibei Division and the J.A.C.L.

On the night of December 7th, 1941, the So. District Council of the J.A.C.L. formed the Anti-Axis Committee to cope with war conditions. Various committees and sub-committees were formed but only two kibeiis were included. Neither did the kibei division offer cooperation.

The undemocratic leaders of the Kibei group finally drew up a resolution arbitrarily dissolving the organization. The resolution as a whole is acceptable to its members. However, some members disagree about the dissolution and protested to that effect in a petition. The matter now lies in the hands of the J.A.C.L. and the Kibei Division. A compromise has been reached whereby the division would be retained but the cabinet abolished. Final decision will be handed down sometime this month.

We feel that it is advisable to retain this Kibei Division since it is easier to keep tab on them in case any subversive elements should attempt to brew trouble. It would also be an excellent medium to educate the kibei group if the leadership could be placed in the right hands.

A GENERAL PICTURE OF THE SITUATION CONFRONTING THE WHOLESALE AND RETAIL
PRODUCE MARKETS, THE JAPANESE FARMERS, AND THE PUBLIC

The survey reveals the uncertainty confronting the three groups, their interdependence, and effect of a shutdown of the wholesale group on farmers and general public.

I. THE WHOLESALE PRODUCE MARKETS

There are some 218 produce brokers in the wholesale markets. In the field are the large Commission Houses, who in many cases finance or subsidize the farmers with loans against their crops. These houses sell to Second Jobbers, who sell in small lots to the smaller retail dealers. There are also a few shippers who send carloads to eastern states.

Most Japanese controlled houses are Issei (1st-generation) owned. Only one, K. and C. Produce Co. is unquestionably Nisei owned. As of this writing, Business Investment, Inc., has taken over H. K. Osawa Co., and Highland Produce Co., opened under Nisei ownership under Citizen Produce Co. But all houses apparently have the Federal Government okay and operate under Federal License 68A as before the war.

The State's position is not clear, however, and it is generally rumored that the State License to operate will be revoked on Feb. 3, 1942, with all Japanese houses shut down. Even Nisei owned houses will be affected, it is said. This rumored shutdown followed on the heels of a statement that each house will have to organize under complete Nisei ownership. The Nisei as a whole do not have the necessary capital to buy out all houses at their assessed value, and even should this be miraculously accomplished, the State Department of Agriculture has not

given its final understanding that they will be allowed to continue business.

The problem of the wholesale houses, therefore, falls directly upon the issuance of State licenses to operate.

Local competitors of the Japanese wholesale merchants are reported seeking a complete shutdown of Japanese firms. Among these rumored adverse forces is the might Consolidated in the Terminal Market whose business today is one-third with the Japanese retail dealers and who wants 100 per cent Japanese business. The same firm is even reported stirring up Filipino field workers in Imperial Valley against the Japanese.

Pressure on the State Agricultural Department worked this way, according to an informed source. He said that when Nisei representatives went to Sacramento, Mr. Carey, head of the department, gave the delegates a verbal okay to operate the Japanese houses under Nisei "ownership," that is, in name only as a legal front. Local pressure groups, however, put the Bee on Mr. Woodburn, head of the local division, and he flew to Sacramento to influence Mr. Carey to reverse his original stand.

So today the wholesale produce market situations remains in a precarious state with Feb. 3, looming as an impending day of doom.

II. THE EFFECT ON RETAIL PRODUCE MERCHANTS

With all the confusion in the wholesale produce markets, the trend has been toward a cash and carry basis, with retail dealers buying on an "open price" system whereby they secure the produce for the lowest quotation for the day. Both means that a general curtailment in the volume of fresh produce passing from the farms to the consumer is now

taking place with sharply rising prices all along the line.

Due to the uncertainty, many smaller produce dealers have altogether ceased buying daily at the wholesale as they have no assurance that their trips to buy vegetables will be successful as the wholesale houses may be closed. Then there may be no produce as farmers may not have picked their crops and sent them to the wholesale because they were afraid the wholesale markets would be closed and their effort and expense wasted.

The larger markets are moving toward a stand-pat program and not a normal business growth. Markets with a large overhead are paring to the bone to meet a time when fresh produce will be difficult to secure in sufficient quantities to sell enough volume to maintain today's level. Clerks have been laid off. Markets reduced.

While these figures are not accurate, they are a barometer to today's conditions. The Retail Food Clerk's Union, Local 1510, with a Japanese membership drawn from the larger markets, has about 800 to 900 on its list. Fifteen per cent are unemployed today. The union does not take into its fold the Japanese working in the small markets, such as relatives of the owners, etc. Using the foregoing figures, we may say that about 2000 Japanese will be affected by such a drastic step as closing down the Japanese Produce merchants.

It is not clear yet whether the small markets will remain in business should the wholesale houses close completely, or be unable to supply them with fresh produce. We believe that they will be less affected than the larger markets.

III. THE JAPANESE FARMERS

Today the Japanese farm picture is one of confusion. Many

farmers are reported not picking their crops because of the uncertainty in the wholesale market situation. They naturally hesitate to go to the expense of picking and hauling their produce to the markets to find the closed.

Because Nisei are viewed as irresponsible, Japanese farmers do not trust Nisei field men and today 96 per cent of the field men and buyers are Issei. Because of a Federal ruling restricting travel, these field men are handicapped and do not visit the farmers as freely as is necessary. The same travel restriction prevents the farmers from visiting the wholesale markets and thus they are prevented from getting a first-hand knowledge of the markets' conditions.

So between farmers and wholesalers of fresh produce there is a widening gap filled with ugly rumors carried by passing haulmen and irresponsible young Nisei who do not realize the gravity of the situation.

Wild rumors of mass evacuation troubles the farmers. And as a natural result they do not plant for the next season's crop as they deem it foolish to throw away good money planting high-priced seeds and spreading fertilizer now almost worth its weight in gold on a land they may never harvest.

Several cases where families of interned farmers could not get money from the banks to pay for field workers and hauling have resulted in the loss of their crops to the market. And in this connection the tying up of many farmers funds in the Japanese-owned banks will cause further loss to the State as their present crops will be unpicked, and future crops unplanted, due to lack of ready cash to pay for seed, etc.

In looking at the farm situation, it is here stated that the Japanese are mainly small truck farmers for several reasons, (a) there aren't many areas in California suitable for large scale farming, and

(b) it isn't sound business to farm too far away from the market center as distance increases hauling expenses.

The area around Los Angeles mainly is small truck farms. Only in certain sections such as Santa Maria and Guadalupe, San Diego County are there large scale farmers. And these farmers are mainly shippers.

The history of Japanese farming and the Japanese contribution to the State and the United States is one which should not need elaboration. All fair-minded Americans concede that the Japanese made certain sections of Central California productive, as well as Imperial Valley. They can and will farm in places no right-minded American would dream of farming. Japanese can also successfully dry farm due to a sound technical knowledge plus unbelievable amount of painstaking care and labor, with hours from dawn to dusk. This personal care over his crop is the reason for the high quality of his produce.

According to the English editor of the Sangyo Nippo, a farmers' newspaper, the Japanese control 10 per cent of the agricultural land in California and 80 per cent of its fresh produce. Of that figure, 65 per cent is mainly vegetables. This food stuff would be difficult to replace immediately and the Japanese farmers efforts are of paramount importance to a civilian defense program to include food for victory.

The problem is not only local, as California supplies fresh produce to the eleven western states.

Americans and Filipinos figured to take over the planting of such produce as beans, peas, etc., but it is doubted if they could equal the production or quality of the Japanese group. Few

white Americans or Filipinos would put more than eight-hours a day into their farming. Thus the removal of the Japanese farmer from the field of California agriculture would create a tremendous vacuum not easily refilled.

The morale of the farmers has been badly shaken up by all the events of recent date.

The Japanese farmers, like any farmer, distrusts the city slicker and usually distrusts the wholesale merchant who sells on a commission basis. If he distrusts the commission merchant of his own race, it is seen how much he would distrust a commission merchant of another race. The reason why this is so, is that much of the farmers produce is left with the commission house to be sold on a consignment basis. If the house is primarily interested in its own welfare, it can sell out the farmer by dumping the produce on the market at ruinous prices. As the house works on a 13 per cent or 15 per cent commission basis, it still makes money.

Also we re-mention that the commission houses usually lend the small farmers money to buy seeds, fertilizer, etc., and expect to handle their produce as a matter of course and in good faith the farmers cannot ship these crops to any other merchant should they want to. Thus, the moral obligation is a factor which must be considered in viewing the farm and wholesale picture.

The farmer is obligated to the house that financed him.

The rise in costs of running a farm can be seen from a comparison of seed prices yesterday and today; see appendix No. 1. Tomorrow's prices may be higher still.

This is a factor to be seriously considered when planting of future crops is considered. With all these rumors and open talk of mass evacuation of all Issei inland or possible internment scaring

the daylight out of the Japanese farmers, it is natural that they do not want to invest heavy sums in a land on which they may be evacuated or ousted from.

Also, the smaller farmers are worried over the drafting of their sons into the army, as this reduces the man power on the farms. This is a vital factor to the Japanese farmers, as the labor of their sons often means the difference between operating at a profit and a loss. Farm labor is high and ~~not~~ not too good as the defense works such as airplane factories have taken away much of the former field help.

Rumors also reach the farmers of the actions of certain Nisei political groups committing acts of depredation within the Japanese community against best interest of their own people. Fear of the results of what these self-seeking individuals have done and may do, worry the farmer as well as the townspeople.

The open stand of the Anti-Axis Committee in taking an all-out program of siding with only the Nisei and casting out the helpless Issei to the mercies of an "enemy alien" classification bothers them.

The Issei farmer naturally views the Japanese group as a whole group and not as separate units. So the actions of a group of Nisei who are opportunists and see a good business deal causes the farmers to distrust the Nisei who may be trying to aid them, and gives them a feeling of helplessness.

So a Nisei long familiar with farmers' problems declares that farmers should stand pat and wait to see what goes on. He reasons to this effect:

That a Mr. Quinn, head of the Ninth Market branch of the California Bank was trying to help all Japanese market owners,

principally Issei whom he knows well through long acquaintance, has now washed his hands of this attempt due to the purchase of H. K. Osawa Co. by a Nisei group during his negotiations in behalf of the whole group splitting his efforts due to the apperant showing that Nisei would act without considering the welfare of the Issei. Mr. Osawa, ~~is~~ no doubt, sold out on the opinion (expressed by another Nisei close to the market situation) that half loaf was better than none.

Thus influential help was lost, and with new rulings further restricting the Issei being issued continuously, and actions of powerful groups working to oust Japanese from the market and agricultural fields, he reasons the farmers should stand pat.

This is, however, a negative approach to the farm problem and cannot be allowed to take root in the minds of the farmers. Restoration of their morale is imperative if we do not want a too drastic reduction in vital food produce.

IV. THE EFFECTS OF A SHUTDOWN OF JAPANESE PRODUCE HOUSES IN THE WHOLESALE MARKETS

While the effects of a complete shutdown of the Japanese houses in the wholesale produce markets cannot be gauged accurately, a partial picture can be gained by recalling the effects caused by the shutdown shortly after war broke out.

Men were thrown out of work, retail dealers didn't attempt to buy, farmers didn't bring in their produce, and prices of food stuff went up tremendously, thus affectly the consumer public.

Although no farmer worthy of the name would plow his fields under as rumor says, undoubtedly less and less planting would take place with the ultimate result of an acute shorage in fresh produce.

In the wholesale produce markets as well,

as retail markets many workers would be out of work and thrown on the county relief rolls. Included among the Japanese would be a large number of Mexicans who are hired by Japanese houses.

There are from 700 to 800 men employed in the wholesale produce markets directly under Japanese control. They are employed as salesmen, buyers, swampers, haulers, and clerical help.

These would tax the county to a great extent.

The Chinese Second Jobbers would also be affected as they buy from Japanese commission houses and resell to mainly Japanese retail dealers. They may perhaps be forced to close and become relief problems.

The only unaffected group would be the Japanese employed by Italian houses, such as the Italian Banana who has nearly 100 per cent Nisei help, and Moreno Bros., who hire four or five Japanese.

There is the additional factor which ties in with the State policy, since if under a 100% per cent Nisei ownership the houses are allowed to operate, there would be a natural tendency to hire only Nisei help due to a fear of State interference should they hire Issei. The State today is reported checking into the books of all houses to find out how many Issei are employed.

Most Issei are of middle age or older and if forced out of the wholesale produce business would find it difficult to do work as even day laborers. Thus they would be an immediate relief problem.

It is to be recalled that a shutdown in the wholesale produce markets will affect the farmers and in turn have an effect on the amount of produce grown. This would in turn have a direct effect on the consumer market, not only in California, but also the eleven western states, an area almost half the United States.

In recapitulation, we restate that the key to all these problems would be to settle the status of the wholesale produce markets and restore the morale of the farmers by some statement of policy that would fix the question of possible internment or mass evacuation.

A normal or an increased fresh produce production to win the war for America would be forthcoming.