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Points of view represented at the famous Kibei meeting of August 8, 1942, from FBI report on the meeting.

A public meeting attended by 500-600 Kibei, Nisei and Issei, ostensibly called to object to WRA ruling excluding Kibei from permission to leave centers for work outside the military areas, with WRA permission to hold meeting in Japanese.

JOE KURIHARA: An American citizen of Hawaiian birth. ^{47 ym ad} Called an aggressive leader and "one of the few Japanese in the Center who would openly tell Administration leaders what he really felt." Pre-evacuation residence Los Angeles. Was a Certified Public Accountant, but worked as a commercial radio operator on a Japanese or Italian fishing boat out of San Diego and San Pedro, California. Lists occupation as navigator.

Fought in the first World War and member of American Legion. Very resentful and bitter about evacuation. Known on center as an agitator, trouble-maker, and pro-Japanese. Had been reported to FBI by an anonymous inu as definitely un-American and as influencing young persons to believe in an-American principles. Stated that he openly boasted that he would break down anything to be constructed at Manzanar which would help the Government in its present war effort. K. reported as saying "Although I expect to be jailed for my activities before long, my mind is made up, and I will carry out my program at all costs."

Had been a heckler at Manzanar Citizens Federation meetings, especially coming into conflict with Tokie Slocum, during which he said that the Government had more or less taken away their citizenship rights and "we are all termed as plain Japs." Constatly insisted that the Japanese in the United States were not Americans, had no citizenship rights and so could not form a Citizens League. Typical statements: "I don't think that this is a democracy." "I'm definitely opposed to the policy of this Government."

One FBI "Source" ^{said} that he understood K. had began ^y a citizens' league somewhere in 1921 which only lasted half a year. Didn't believe K. opposed to the citizens' league as such, but was mainly opposed to the leadership of the Los Angeles Citizens' League. Very embittered for being placed in an evacuation center. K. influential in Center since many of the Kibei and Issei followed him. Apparently K. took advantage of every meeting in the Center to make his statements decrying the lack of citizenship rights in the United States.

K. used to write articles for Rafu Shimpō, in English, praising the United States, before evacuation. One FBI "Source" stated that K. a strong-minded person and that he seemed to have the following of a group of L.A. hoodlums known as the Dunbar gang. Under his and other s leadership, this gang "has been threatening all persons who had pro-American leanings with physical violence..(although) this group consists of young boys who are neither pro-Japanese nor pro-American, but who have always been of the hoodlum type and like to threaten people."

At meetings Slocum and K. would represent the opposite points of view. On such occasions apparently Slocum spoke for the benefits of American citizenship, and K. claimed there were no benefits for those of Japanese ancestry.

At the Kibei meeting K. stated to the audience: "I was born in Hawaii. I have never been in Japan but in my veins flows Japanese blood, the blood of Yamato

Damashii. We citizens have been denied our citizenship rights. We have no United States citizenship. We are 100 % Japanese....In addition to the above, if the FBI or Army take me into custody, I will remain Japanese. I don't get scared. Look at those Japanese in Japan who are making great sacrifices. Let's follow suit."

HIROSHI HIRAI: Forty year old Issei, lived in Los Angeles before evacuation. Occupation listed as house boy, waiter, stage technician, actor. Bitter about disciplinary action the Project Director has taken against him. Many residents considered him a little mentally unbalanced. Convicted in July for threatening various members of the administration with physical injury. Interested in dramatics in the center.

One FBI Source stated that H. was an "agitator and disrupter", but admitted that he had not heard him agitate against the United States but merely against the Camp Administration. Others stated that he had criticized Roosevelt (the FBI reports "however") Other sources agreed that he talked anti-administration and not anti-American.

Had been a Block Leader but was forced to resign because of his incapacities. One source felt he was a leader only to the young and naive who liked to listen to his dramatic stories.

At the Kibei meeting H spoke on "Internal Improvement at Manzanar", including points on the center hospital, schools, food, wages, housing conditions, self-government, and the camouflage net project. Dissatisfied with all of them. Not enough doctors and dentists, the promised school buildings not built, low cost of food, low wages, too much housing congestion, he didn't like the Project Director, nor the present block leaders: "We have people now in control who are unable to say anything and are just taking orders from the administration. This is our camp and the Japanese people should decide for themselves how this camp should be governed. We should not listen to those prejudiced whites."

Unlike K., H.'s statements were frequently false. (i.e. waiting 8 days to see a doctor).

In conclusion to his speech H. said that the Administration had no sympathy for the Japanese, that the Project Director was a dictator like Stalin, that he was a Japanese-girl-chaser. The crowd demonstrated their approval of the main points made in H.'s speech.

BEN KISHI: 23 year ~~year~~ old ex-L.A. resident. Formerly employed as truck driver; hobby Judo; wife a Terminal Island cannery worker. Kibei. FBI sources of information stated that K. not a Kibei leader in LA and not considered by most a leader within the center. Chiefly known as yell leader for the Kibei soft ball team and as leader of a sit-down strike in Block 28 when he defended a small group of Kibei when they claimed the Housing Department showed favoritism in allowing certain persons and their friends to move to a choice section in the center. He was easily "led by others when encouraged and flattered."

K.'s chief concern seemed to be to battle for the rights of the Kibei that they might not be discriminated against, and for this reason he had a pretty fair following among the Kibei. One source said that K. never said anything pro-Japanese. Another source said that K. was not very popular before evacuation, that he seldom had steady work, and that he frequently borrowed money from his friends.

K. was the one who called the Kibei meeting, with WRA permission to hold it in the Japanese language. Was chairman at the meeting.

Various a.p. seemed to believe K. not responsible for what happened at the meeting, that he called it in good faith and that the meeting got out of his control.

K. good friend of Hirai.

K. was the main defendant in the first case tried by the judicial committee at the center. It appeared from the trial proceedings that K, a would-be leader among the Kibei, had noted that one Kibei had kept several girls out late at night and felt that this Kibei needed discipline and so he and four others proceeded to physically chastise him. Was found guilty along with the other four and suspended sentence was placed upon them.

As chairman, K opened meeting by having everyone pray for a moment for world peace. Then passed around a petition asking that internal security officers not be removed from office because "these two chiefs have always worked for the common good of the Japanese residents in this center." Otherwise just introduced the speakers.

K. later wrote re the meeting: "We are citizens of America. All Kibei Nisei have the power of citizenry. Up to the present time the great majority of the Kibei Nisei have been and are showing their loyalty. Almost all the Kibei Nisei were taken back to Japan when they didn't know how to make distinctions in the controversies, but when they did come to understand, separating themselves from father and mother, or brothers and sisters the came back to their own country, the land of their birth. Infatuated with their mother country, they came back. However, unfortunately, we didn't understand English very well. However when you look at the thing inside and out, the Kibei Nisei are always discriminated against, and I wonder why this distinction? Can it be said that because one speaks English one is loyal to America, or because one speaks Japanese one is disloyal? How can such a thing determine whether one can say loyal or disloyal?"

After K. had received permission to have the Kibei meeting, circumventing the Block Leaders by directly asking the administration, Mr. I. asked K if they had any great complaints to make. Mr. I was secretary to the Block Leaders' Council and described as a Kibei leader. He tried to get K not to have this meeting. He felt that such a meeting sponsored by a single group like the Kibei would only tend to antagonize the Nisei who had adopted the attitude of cooperation with the Kibei with respect to their citizenship rights and to emphasize the distinction between the three classes. K. told Mr. I that they wanted to get speeches requesting an improvement in camp conditions and to protest the discriminatory attitude of the War Relocation Authority against the Kibei as exemplified in Order no. 22. K. said that some of the Kibei feel they are being treated as aliens, particularly because they cannot voluntarily leave the camp under Order No. 22. He said that the Kibei were of the opinion that if they were good enough to serve the Army as translators and interpreters, they were good enough to secure other jobs outside of the military areas in the same manner as the Nisei. Mr. I told K. that a protest against discrimination might be all right, but that it was poor policy for such a protest to be made by the Kibei alone because of the possible condemnation of the Kibei by American citizens outside the centers. I. asked K to consider the consequences and explained to him that the Nisei were sympathetic with them at the present time and that any protest should come from the Block Leaders Council and the Manzanar Citizens Federation.

Apparently several older Kibei were of the Itami stripe, those who had returned to the United States ten to fifteen years before the war and who were recog-

nized Kibei leaders before evacuation. The younger ones like K. were more sore about things. One source said that these young Kibei were a minority of the Kibei. He said that they do not speak English and look to the older Kibei for advice but that recently they felt the older Kibei had become weak-kneed and were beginning to lose their trust in them.

MASAKI TANAKA: 25 year old Kibei. "...known as a person of low morals...arrested by the internal police for stealing lumber...on this occasion some of the Kibei sympathizers stormed the Police Station in defense of him."

At the Kibei meeting T. urged the audience to "use their citizenship for own benefit after war and not to be loyal citizens now." Hmm. Maybe. But the only other place he is mentioned in the report at all is when he is quoted as saying: "Within the camp, we don't need to say anything about a Citizens' League or anything. Issei, Nisei, without making any distinction, we ought to work for peace. But if it is necessary to have a Citizens' League, they ought to put it into practice after they leave the camp. Inside the camp, whether you say citizens or whatever you say, rather than that, you better work on present matters."

SHIGETOSHI TATEISHI: 35 year old Kibei, from West Los Angeles. Landscape gardener. Block Leader.

FBI summary says Tateishi said U.S. citizenship no good; ~~but~~ only other mention says T. "stated that he was ~~an~~ American citizen but unable to use his citizenship; that therefore it was necessary to depend upon the Issei for leadership; and therefore, he was in favor of holding the meetings in Japanese." (Not at Kibei meeting) Some FBI sources said that he desired to make himself appear loyal.

KARL YONEDA: Formerly representative of the Doho Newspaper in San Francisco; known as a communist. Employed as a longshoreman in San Fran and active in the CIO Longshoreman's Union. Like most of the Japanese Communists, he has been out-spokenly against the militarist regime in Japan, and in favor of the present American form of war effort.

Block Leader. Kibei. When introduced at meeting booed by crowd. One FBI source said that the only place where Y.'s speech could be heard was when he mentioned, "I agree in more than one way with the remarks of the former speakers in how you must feel. I too am of Japanese ancestry, and although an American citizen, I have been placed within the enclosure of this camp, but being bitter and just talking about it won't get us anyplace." When Y began to say that in spite of segregation and hardships, the Japanese must still participate in the country's war effort, the heckling was so loud that it was impossible to hear all that he said, although he tried in vain to say something for approximately five minutes. He was applauded by some however.

JAMES ODA: Not a scheduled speaker. Said, amidst heckling, "I am proud to be an American of Japanese origin. We should unite together and show the American people that we are just as good Americans as they are." Oda later told the Administration that he believed the real leaders behind the group were Issei and that they were encouraging the Kibei to make such demonstrations. He further said that it was his opinion that these Issei were those who were trying to impress the Camp Administration of their loyalty to the U.S. but who as a matter of fact are not loyal.

TOKIE SLOCUM: Left in the middle of meeting, with people shouting after him.

BILL KITO: Block Leader. Scheduled speaker on American Democracy and the Duties of the Nisei. He pointed to the importance of the Manzanar Citizens Federation in improving camp conditions, and stressed that Isseis would be protected and that Nisei should not completely disregard them but should work with them.

FBI source described K. as a neutral fence sitter who was for peace between the Nisei and Issei, and had never made any anti-American statements.

K. sorry he had spoken since the meeting got out of hand.

HASHIMOTO: Also a fence sitter. Former policeman. Judo. FBI source said: "he was a quiet fellow who seldom expressed his opinion and therefore he would not say anything against the Government of the United States or engage in any activities which would make him sympathetic to or with Japan. He stated, however, that he was not fluent in the English language, and was pretty definitely a Kibei and from these factors, would follow the usual Kibei group and would be sympathetic with Japan." Huh.

TOGO TANAKA:

Excerpts from letter of 12-19-42 to STK:

"I feel quite keenly about the situation at Manzanar because I am convinced that the same underlying situation exists in all the centers and that the fundamental causes can be eliminated by WRA policy. I sincerely hope conditions can be corrected with a minimum of injustice for all concerned. I pray that no innocent person will ever suffer on my account. It was no secret among my friends -- and possibly enemies -- that I had been called in by Mr. McCormick, agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, on his visits to Manzanar.

"Several times it was to return material taken from me when, as editor of the Los Angeles Japanese Daily News, I had been taken into temporary custody shortly after war's outbreak. Once it was to sign a receipt for return of material belonging to my former publisher. On the other occasions it was for conversations in which I consistently expressed the opinion that, under the circumstances, anything that might contribute to unrest and agitation within confined quarters of a relocation center might be avoided. I considered and said that FBI investigations did just that thing, although I am quite sure it was none of my business; but my opinion had been asked."

"I have always believed in my clear-cut duty as an American; but I abhor witch-hunting, having been a victim of it in the past. I dislike intensely the connotation of the term 'informer' or 'stoolpigeon' as any of us would. Yet there is not a single act that I have performed which, if given the opportunity, I would not do again..."

"Since last July, my life had been threatened on repeated occasion. It was not until several months later that I finally turned to a project administrator for advice. I came to you because I felt that time was pressing, and the blow-off near. In the meantime I had left the names of the only three persons who had come on several occasions to my barrack to threaten me directly -- with the federal agency which I felt would act in the event I should be caught napping.

"It is a rather hideous feeling to have to endure two long months of sleeping virtually with one eye open, always on guard in the dark, and all the while keeping a serene appearance in order not to disturb the wife and baby.

"Some of my close friends tried to prevail upon me to resign my documentary work as far back as August. They insisted that it was that work which placed me on the death list. After lengthy conversations with the apparent leaders of the group out to 'get' me, I became firmly convinced that nothing on earth which I might do could change that situation. They were determined to eliminate me, not for what I did or did not do, but for what I am..."

The collection of persons in direct opposition to the self-consciously pro-American group or groups described above can be identified as a group principally because of that opposition and because of a disillusionment with American democracy. The attitudes represented within this group vary and include different aspects of the orientations described.

Undoubtedly better documentation or closer scrutiny of this collection of persons would identify groups within it (perhaps a "Dramatics clique", boys gangs, the Blood Brothers, Kibei groups). The data available however does not justify breaking the "opposition" down into such groups with any certainty. People and the points of views they represented and the support these points of views (and personalities) received from the center residents can be documented, largely from records of the famous Kibei meeting of August 8, where they were all combined and demonstrated for the first time.

Prominent people in the "opposition" were:

Joe Kurihara
Harry Ueno (and his Kitchen Workers Union)
Ben Kishi
Raymond Hirai
Bob Matsuda (and his Dunbar gang?)
Sam Tateishi

Documentation follows:

1. Togo Tanaka and Joe Masaoka report on Kibei Meeting
2. Kibei meeting, FBI report
3. Ben Kishi, Opler reports

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TOM:IMAI:nc

Project Report No. 72.

Manzanar internal police force. 28, married, formerly of San Fernando, flower grower. Served as President of the San Fernando JACL. At Manzanar served on the Consumer Cooperative Education Committee, the Commission for Self-govt. Beaten up over stopping liquor coming in with Terminal Island returning seasonal workers.

Embree Report, September, 1942

In Manzanar there appear to be strong conflicts between pro and anti-axis groups of Nisei. The anti-Japanese group goes even so far as to dislike anything Japanese -- even a show like a shibai or a musical instrument like the samisen. Frequently the pro and anti-Japanese attitudes are tied up with pro- and anti-project administration attitudes. When the administration blunders, the pro-Americans are put on a spot. Similarly if an active young Nisei is too aggressively 100 percent project administration, he is likely to be taken aside and given a beating.

JAMES ODA: (I guess)

(Manzanar report 203, Opler)

Perhaps the Kibei as a whole were just a little bit more pro-Japan before the war than the Nisei. For instance, for a while there was a Kibei branch of the JACL. This branch wanted to put on a Japanese play. J.O., a very liberal and pro-American Kibei, objected. This was a year before the war began but there was tension between the two countries already. His point was that while there was nothing wrong with the play, the public might not understand and besides it was the purpose of the branch to help the Kibei toward Americanization and not to brush up on old Japanese traditions. This led to a controversy and J.O. was kicked out of the branch. Then the whole organization became alarmed and felt that the distinction between Kibei and other Nisei might lead to division and situations of this kind. The Kibei branch was dissolved and one common membership retained so that the Kibei could be more quickly assimilated....

(At the Kibei meeting) J.O. got up and took the position that in spite of everything, the place of the Kibei was with America, the land of their birth, and if they would positively identify themselves with America they would be understood and accepted in time. He said that America's democratic tradition would give them more of a chance in the long run than Japan's militaristic government and class society. He was allowed to finish but you could see that the crowd was not with him.

(Nisei woman speaking)

FRED TAYAMA:

Delegate to JAOL Conference at Salt Lake City. Had been an officer and the most prominent figure in the Los Angeles Chapter of the JAOL. When Issei became enemy aliens and were thrust into the background, he became spokesman for the Nisei group which constantly was called into consultation with government officials on Japanese problems. During the time when it appeared that Nisei would be permitted to stay on the West Coast and aliens only would be removed, he helped form a corporation which purchased a large Issei business concern, it was said. Thus the Issei suspected him of trying to aid enterprising Nisei to supplant them in the economy of the Japanese communities.

When evacuation became a certainty, he urged that it be accepted in good spirit and as the contribution of those of Japanese ancestry to the winning of the war. Therefore, in the disillusionment of early Center life, he was arraigned by the evacuees for "selling them out." By those who were choked with the dust and heat of the first Manzanar spring and summer, he was charged with having picked out the site for the center. Actually he had been brought to see it after it had been selected, mostly to help stem terrifying rumors about Manzanar which were circulating in Los Angeles. He was accused of taking advantage of the panic of the Issei by forming a company to fill out, at a high price, necessary forms which government agencies were handling for nothing. At Manzanar he was generally thought to be a tool of the Administration, and by many he was deemed an informer. In the early days, when evacuees occasionally were allowed to leave the center in the company of Caucasian officials, he was one of those so honored. Rumors circulated freely about the sugar, canned foods and fine furniture with which his home was filled, and of the special privileges accorded him by the Administration. It was assumed that the sugar said to be in his home was a portion of the amount the kitchen workers claimed had mysteriously disappeared.

This man had dabbled in politics in Los Angeles, and it was inevitable that he should follow a similar pattern of activity in Manzanar. He was connected with the Manzanar Work Corps. He was a leading spirit in the attempt to form a Manzanar Citizens Federation and his association with the movement was one of the reasons why it was proclaimed a disguise for the discredited Los Angeles Chapter of the JAOL.

(M.O. Report.)

Feeling against Tayama especially on part of cooks went back to pre-evacuation days when he had a restaurant chain in L.A. and was supposedly hard on his help. Struck, etc. (Manz conf files - Adams?)

Another Tom?

M.O. Report.

Some of the leaders of the Federation were political "liberals" who had been identified with left wing labor movements on the coast. They were much less concerned over evacuation than over a possible victory by the Axis. They were impatient over quibbling about wage scales or talk about working conditions. In order to make their own convictions seem real, they needed proof that the Japanese in America were contributing to the war effort. They hoped that Manzanar would become a center for other defense industries and so they supported this first project of its kind (Net Factory) with a fanatical zeal which brought a reaction from those who did not share their political convictions or their selflessness.

Manzanar Citizens Federation and Opposition

Morris Opler government report.

One of the serious cleavages was that which grew up between the members of the newly formed Manzanar Citizens Federation and a large bloc of Nisei, Kibei and Issei. Their opponents felt that the MCF sponsors were simply the leaders of the JACL seeking power and prestige under a new cloak. Those who felt that the JACL leadership had winked at evacuation because they thought that only the Issei would be affected and that citizens would gain economic strength thereby were outraged. Nisei who had had their patriotism dampened by evacuation were cynical over the Federation's petition for a second front and for the drafting of Japanese-Americans. Among the Citizens Federation leaders were persons who had boasted that they had demonstrated their patriotism by reporting subversive activities within the Japanese community. This brought down upon them the intense hatred of every family whose head had been interned. Moreover it was charged that the Federation heads were cordial toward policies which would embarrass the Issei and Kibei and direct power into their own hands, such as a ban upon the use of the Japanese language and the limitation of voting or office-holding privileges to citizens only.

Naturally this division and these opposing views found expression in the Block Leaders Council. On Aug 3 when the Executive Committee of the Council met, there was a heated discussion of the second front petition and of the restrictions which were being put upon the relocation of Kibei. Exception was taken to an administrative bulletin which called for : "Nisei and Kibei workers" for a particular project. This was taken as evidence that the Administration was making a distinction between Kibei and Nisei and was driving these two groups of citizens apart and into opposition.

THE YAMAZAKI DOCUMENT (Manzanar Confidential Files)

The Manzanar Citizens Federation Committee on Relocation describe Yamazaki as follows: "We believe and can prove that there are many Japanese aliens whose loyalty to this ~~country~~ is unquestionable. There are two categories among them - one group is the so-called 'Yobi-yose' - they came to this country as small children and have gone to American schools and their ideology is based upon the democratic way of life. We will cite the case of Tom Yamazaki, Block Leader #11. He came to this country at an early age, is a graduate of the University of California, is the father of two children and has worked as a newspaperman. Their family life and way of thinking is typical average American in any community. There are many of them. Another group are those who came here as immigrants and are convinced that American democracy is superior to Japanese feudalism and have publicly denounced the Japanese-military-clique. We find such people among church members, readers of the 'Doho' weekly newspaper formerly published in Los Angeles, and others."

Yamasaki's "personal and confidential report."

"I am...seriously concerned with the entire program of relocation and its relationship to the pursuit of the present war effort of the United States. The two things must be considered together; that is, in the establishment of a relocation program. I, for one, believe that such a program should fit into the general war program. This, of course, means that not only the immediate problem of evacuating the Japanese nationals and nisei as a military measure must be completed in the shortest time, but that in the establishment of relocation centers, every effort be made to make use of earnest, loyal American citizens in these centers to contribute toward the war effort, to educate the nisei toward better Americanism, to explain the issues of the war carefully and thoroughly to confused nisei, so that they will not, in a moment of bitterness turn for consolation to a Japanese victory."

"To state frankly and generally from the start, Manzanar is rife with anti-American sentiment. It is seeping into every strata of Manzanar life. At first the people talked in whispers, criticizing the American government, ridiculing the American conduct of the war. They still remembered the early days of the war, when an expression of anti-American sentiment was the fastest route to an internment camp. They still remembered the FBI raids on the coast Japanese communities. But today, in the relative freedom of this center, under a liberal policy of the administration, open condemnation of the American war policy is being carried on without fear of reprisal. Abuses are heaped upon individuals who defend this country's policies, bodily harm and mob action are threatened those who denounce the anti-American elements. The bulk of nisei, fundamentally loyal Americans, are vacillating and bewildered. This is the picture of Manzanar today."

"The issei's stand in this war, with few exceptions, has been that of passive non-resistance. They have faithfully conformed to all government regulations concerning aliens of enemy nationality during wartime. They have shown, as in Manzanar, willingness to work and to cooperate with the administration. Whatever grievances they may have, they have never expressed them openly to the administration. Therefore, it is very difficult for the administrators of this camp to determine the attitude and reactions of its issei population. But deep down in the heart of every issei is the desire that Japan be victorious in this

war. They follow avidly and agree with all the militarist propaganda about such matters as 'Asia for the Asiatics,' 'Japan's Manifest Destiny in the Orient,' They have cheered the Japanese victories over the British, American and Dutch in Malaya, Burma, the Philippines and the East Indies. Some of them are still keeping this sentiment to themselves, while more vocal members of the issei group are openly predicting and hoping for a Japanese victory."

"...Nisei are openly taunted when they express pro-American sympathies. The general line of argument used by issei and many kibei toward nisei is that as a group the nisei's citizenship is worthless, otherwise they would not be in a camp today. The following are some examples:

'Look at your citizenship. Is it helping you any in this camp? The American government has put you in concentration camp and is treating you just like they are treating enemy aliens. There is no difference in the food, the shelter and the treatment that we enemy aliens receive and what you get. In the eyes of the government and the American public we are all plain Japs. Whenever it's convenient for the government they say you are citizens and make you go to work on the camouflage nets at sixteen dollars a month while American citizens outside get more than a dollar an hour for the same kind of defense work.' or

'Don't think of yourself as an American. When you do, you are just kidding yourself. We all are Japanese and should stick together as Japanese. When this war is over there'll be plenty of opportunity in Malaya, East Indies and Australia where you'll be able to live like kings.'

'You nisei have no guts. If they treated me like they are treating you citizens, I'd throw the citizenship papers right back in their faces.'

'If you are under the impression that you are citizens just try to walk out of the camp past the sentry line. If the sentries don't shoot you, I'll believe you are citizens.'

"The nisei who openly expresses his hopes for an American victory and even one who preaches loyalty to this country is denounced and called a 'spy' and 'traitor!'. Any pro-American nisei is ridiculed here, so much so that even though a great many nisei are for this country, they keep this opinion to themselves. It is a sad mockery that here in America pro-American expressions are boo'd and cowed. At the last kibei meeting, a police escort was needed to protect two pro-American kibei - Karl Yoneda and James Oda - from mob violence. Police protection is being given Tokio Slocum, veteran of the last war and outspoken patriot, because his very life is endangered. We are approaching a stage when it means bodily harm for anyone to speak in favor of this nation. A Japanese-American who was one of the first to go to work on the camouflage net project and father of six children is now ostracized by his neighbors since he began to work. Net workers are ridiculed and sometimes threatened."

"So far the administration has not given any recognition to those whose loyalty is with this country. We have in Manzanar today among the ten thousand people the gradation of attachment to this country ranging from an absolute zero to one hundred percent. They are looked upon and treated without any distinction. Those who are loyal are wondering today whether their loyalty means anything to the administration or to the government. Of course, I realize that the question of loyalty is a hard one to determine. You cannot simply pigeon-hole one person as loyal and another as disloyal. But you certainly can see that any American citizen who gets up in a public meeting and declares that his citizenship isn't

worth a damn and hopes that the government will take it away from him is not exactly loyal to this nation."

"My own little girl, seven years old, was stopped the other day on her way from school by an issei. The issei asked her pointblank, 'Little girl, who's going to win this war?' 'Of course, the United States,' she replied. 'Who told you?' 'My mother said so.' Then the issei became angry and told her to go back and tell her mother that 'Japan is going to win this war.' This Manzanar may be part of America, but I certainly would not like to bring up my own children, who are American citizens, in this kind of atmosphere."

"...The nisei are accepting this war as a racial war, rather than that of the democratic forces of the world against fascist aggression, simply because their own treatment has been on a racial line so far. You cannot convince them otherwise. Those of us who understand the issues, the danger of a fascist victory to our American way of life, are becoming more and more in the minority."

"...The nisei members of the council are for the most part pro-Japan. Karl Yoneda and myself are the only ones who hold pro-democratic convictions and are working in the council to support the government war efforts."

"For the sake of internal unity, it may be convenient to treat both citizens and aliens alike in Manzanar. The block leaders as an institution have done well enough in assisting the administration in the management of the center. This report does not mean to deny the merit of the present council. It does state, however, that the spirit of Little Tokyo is being perpetuated, i.e. Japanism, issei-nisei conflict and compromise, the tendency to belittle the ability of nisei in the administration of camp welfare, etc."

"...I stood up and recommend that the paper (Manzanar Free Press) be printed and devote more space to international and domestic news to inform the nisei of what is taking place outside and to impress upon them the sacrifices being made by the American people outside to win this war. I further suggested that the paper be used to serve as an educational medium for the nisei. Immediately one member, a kibe, stood up and replied that the people do not trust the American reports on the war because the news is biased in favor of the allies. Another member stood up and replied that it was not necessary to educate the nisei through the Free Press, the nisei can get all the education they want by buying the Los Angeles Times and Examiner at the canteen."

"Recently when a group of loyal citizens here circulated petitions for the opening of a second front in Europe and to offer their services to this country for front line duties, the petition was opposed, in private, by practically all the block leaders, although none expressed their opposition in public."

"If it is the policy of the War Relocation Authority to maintain harmony within the camp at all cost, to avoid any conflict between the attitudes of citizens and aliens, to regard all as simply inmates of the relocation center and nothing more, the present set-up is satisfactory. The pro-Japan elements are predominant in camp and nisei are slowly but surely turning into race-conscious Japanese. A compromise can be worked out between the issei and nisei on the basis that they are all Japanese."

"But if it is the avowed policy of the WRA to instill faith in the American way of life, institutions, and war aims on the part of the nisei, and if the authority wishes to see good Americans come out of the relocation centers, some drastic steps must be taken to correct the present situation. Certainly in war time no compromise can be made on loyalty."

"I will say that the issei are doing good work in maintaining harmony within the camp. For example, when the carpenters went on strike about a month ago over a wage grievance, it took an issei block leader to go over and "talk" to the boys and send them back to work. They are cooperative to the point of being obsequious, and therefore, are very useful to the administrators of this camp. This, however, does not alter the fact that the issei are fundamentally accepting their lot with good grace and praying for the day when their country is victorious."

"I need not dwell too much upon the question of kibeï in the relocation center. You are well aware that a large segment of the kibeï population is more avidly and intensely nationalistic than the issei. Having been accused as 'potentially the most dangerous element among the Japanese population' the kibeï as a group is resenting this discrimination. But even the kibeï themselves cannot deny that many of them who have been educated in Japan after the Manchurian incident, when the Japanese government adopted an intense, fascistic training for its youth, have returned to this country, carrying with them the rabid pro-Japan training, and are American citizens in name only....At the kibeï mass meeting...words were expressed which can only be regarded as treasonable in the time of war..."

After putting the Kibeï and Issei in their place, Mr. Y. points out that of course there are exceptions, Karl Yoneda being a loyal Kibeï and Mr. Y. himself a loyal Issei. Then he proposes that pro-Axis propaganda be investigated in Manzanar, that renunciation of citizenship be made possible, and that segregation take place.

Project Report 55. Yamazaki, translator on the Manzanar Free Press: formerly resident of L.A. where he worked as assistant English Editor of the Japan-California Daily News, and of San Francisco where he was employed as a salesman of household appliance goods. Married, two children. Born in Japan, speaks and reads and writes both English and Japanese with equal proficiency.

Excerpts from Y.'s talk before the Manzanar faculty on the history of the Japanese in the United States:

"For the Japanese who were already resident here, the years from 1924 through 1931 are marked as an era of Americanization, generally. There was no more immigration. Men had their families here. The Japanese were finding a place in society, maybe not an enviable one, but nevertheless a place. The Japanese were consciously beginning to assimilate into American life.

"All this time the Japanese in this country were maintaining a very close contact with Japan, with their relatives and friends there...

"This was a period of the growth of Japanese democracy, of liberal government in Japan, of a general acceptance of the western spirit of democracy.

"This was reflected in the United States among residents here. Good evidence is found in the Japanese language newspapers. The labor movement, for instance, was treated with a degree of open mindedness and tolerance impossible to detect in latter years.

"In 1931, a vitally significant event occurred, changing the tide and trend of immigrant Japanese development. This was the year of the Manchurian incident, when the Japanese military, breaking the bonds of liberal government, invaded Manchuria. This was the start of the aggression that was to eventually lead to Pearl Harbor.

BEN KISHI:

(Manzanar report 203, Opler)

Nisei women speaking: When a Nisei who has no experience or interests in Japan to fall back on is disillusioned, he just goes into the dumps and stays there. The Kibei have an alternative though. If things begin to look impossible in America, Japan begins to look good to them again. They begin to recall the slogans and teachings that didn't mean so much to them when they were in Japan. If they are blocked and frustrated and misunderstood in this country they tend to go in the only other direction with which they are familiar.

This is particularly true if they have any kind of strong leadership. They had a leader here who seemed to get them in line. He was B.K. I got to know him because he was interested in the drama. He thought he was a great actor. He was always acting and always dramatizing himself mostly. He was a violent fellow. He was one of the first two to get in trouble here at Manzanar. He got involved in a case of assault.

He and his bunch took the position that the citizens had had their only protection, their citizenship, ignored and that they had no future in America and should only fight for better conditions within the camp.

Therefore there was the difference between this faction and the group who were concerned about the future of the Nisei in this country after the war and who wanted to do everything to prove the value and the patriotism of the Nisei to the people of this country.

Those who belong to the second group tried to form a Citizen's Federation. A good many of B.K.'s group attended the meeting and their attitude was pretty hostile. The first speaker got through without any boos, but by the time the last speaker finished there were some hisses and boos as well as applause....

About a week later B.K. called a Kibei meeting. He said it was to discuss the future of the Kibei, whether it was with America or whether it was in Japan. He invited two very pro-American Kibei to speak and two others who were known to have opposite views. Now that we think back on it we doubt if his motives were to have an impartial discussion. He, himself was going to act as chairman. But he was some chairman! You should have heard his comments. They were speeches for the other side....

(Manzanar Report 167)

B.K. is a very interesting fellow. I knew him well. That is probably one reason why I was not touched. At one time the names of all those whom they were going to "get" were read off. The name of every \$19 employee except myself was on it.... You know that the Japanese are great gamblers. There are those who live by gambling in Japan. Some just make a business of gambling, like any other business. But some Japanese gamblers are different. They have a code; they organize into something like a Chinese Tong or a blood brotherhood. The leader of the group may have some kind of business on the side, like a contracting business. Those who belong to his group will work at it for him, at least for part of a year. He has a place where they can gamble. If they get in minor trouble, the leader can usually get them out of it. There is great loyalty to the leader and the group, even to the extent of committing murder. If a person commits a major crime like this, he will take the penalty himself rather than involve the leader or the group. The leader gets his power over his followers by being generous and helping those

in trouble. If any of his men are broke they know they can always get help from him. Members of the group are supposed to take care of each other. If a person is travelling he can stay with a member of the group any time. The code permits him to stay three days. He mentions the name of the leader and he is taken care of for three days. On the morning of the fourth day he thanks his host and goes on. The important parts of the code is that the gambler who belongs to one of these groups is expected to be generous and brave and helpful to those in trouble. He is always supposed to take the part of the weaker and those who are being persecuted....Part of their code is to do good deeds. If a widow is having a hard time she might find food left by them.

B.K. had belonged to one of these organizations in Japan. He may have been a window cleaner in their place, for all I know. But after he came here he tried to start the same kind of an organization in this country. He carried on this code of generosity. If he had \$10 and anyone wanted it he could have it. Of course K. would turn around and borrow from someone else. And, it is said, he was not afraid of anything. The Kibei, when they come to this country, are timid and unsure of themselves. If any of them were having trouble or were being pushed around K. would look into the matter. He was supposed to be a good fighter too. One time in Los Angeles, according to what I heard, about 20 men came after him. The way I heard it he took on all twenty of them and won out. So people were afraid of him and he got quite a following of these Kibei. Then, at the evacuation, quite a few of them were in here with him. He took care of them here too. If one of them had trouble with a foreman they'd say "Tell K. and he'll go and give him hell." His influence grew. He was looked on by his bunch as one who would stand up to the administration for them. The Kibei especially depended on him to speak for them because most of them were bashful about expressing themselves and they felt they were misunderstood and being pushed around.

But K. and his bunch were just the muscle men of the incident. The real leaders were older men who voiced the grievances of the people.

KARL YONEDA:

Excerpts from letter of 8-13-42 to Mr. Myer.

"As each day goes by it is self-evident that the camp, at Manzanar, is divided into two factions - one for America and the other for the axis. This has become more definite since the 'Kibei' meeting held on August 8th. Threats of bodily harm against outspoken Americans is inscreasing by members of the 'Dunbar Club' and other individuals. It is unbearable to think that people like Tokie Slocum has to be under police protection in this democratic country. On or about August 9th, James Oda, passing by Block 9 was pointed out by a group of San Pedro boys, who said: 'You dirty American, we'll get you some day.' Someone wrote 'Jew's Hall' on the bulletin board at Block leader's office of Karl Yoneda. John Fujita, timekeeper of kitchen 4 and a Kibei, - got in an argument with a Block 4 resident, - saying that 'if anyone had any Japanese blood in them they would not be loyal to this country.' A block resident told his daughter not to associate with Karl Yoneda because he is a 'red', Mr. Roy Nash issued a bulletin describing the 'Kibei meeting' of August 8th as disgraceful - many older people and Kibei resented that word and the bulletin posted at Block 4 leader's office and kitchen 4 were torn down by unknown persons."

Makes exactly the same points and recommendations as in the Yamazaki document: segregation, rehunciation. Points out mistake "In placing citizens and aliens in same camp" and talks of establishing a "Citizens Camp for the loyal citizens and those nationals that pass a hearing board examination." Points out that the average age of Manzanar Nisei is 18, and that they are susceptible to Issei pressure.

X "We recognize the military necessity of evacuation of ALL Japanese from the Pacific Coast. We want the Armed Forces to carry on the war program, with less interference, to a successful conclusion. Those 218 who signed the petition to our President are willing to join the Armed Forces and fight for this, their only country - the U.S.A. But that right is denied at present."

Karl Yoneda, longshoremens union, married to white girl of Russian Jewish descent, son named Tom Mooney Jr.

(Fought three years in Burma)

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, Nov. 20, 1945
HE WANTED TO SEE TOKYO SURRENDER--STORY OF A NISEI SOLDIER, HIS HOPES FOR WHAT
WILL HAPPEN TO THE FUTURE JAPAN

Story is about Sgt. Karl Yoneda, who left Manzanar center in December, 1942 as an army volunteer, and who, after six months at Military Intelligence Service Language School at Camp Savage, Minn., left for India as key man on first American psychological warfare team to reach Asiatic theater. He drafted leaflets and edited propaganda newspaper, which were scattered by plane among Japanese troops and Burmese, and made radio appeals for surrender of Japanese forces at Central Burma front.

A CIO International Longshoreman and Warehousman's Union member before the war, Yoneda said, "I hope that when conditions become more settled, democracy will be brought to Japan through a coalition of the social mass, labor and communist parties."

X Photo depicts Yoneda and wife, with note:..."their small son was once called 'a potential dangerous enemy.'" (P. 15, 16 in.)

A3521

KOJI ARIYOSHI:

Excerpts from letter of 12-7-42 to Mr. Myer. (Written from MILS Camp Savage)

"Having been outspoken in Manzanar for the pro-America cause, organizing and leading the Manzanar Citizens Federation (a pro-America organization which found much attacks and opposition from the pro-Axis group), and having circulated the Second Front Petition, I, if anyone, have been threatened and intimidated.

"At the JACL session I described the situation as I saw in Manzanar. I reiterated then my strong conviction that 'hell' will break loose in Manzanar.

"I regret to state that warnings such as mine have not been taken seriously enough by the JACL Leaders at Manzanar who too often underestimated the strength and 'guts' of the Axis followers. It is they who have been physically attacked today.

"More than the JACL Leaders who spoke of the Axis led groups as 'cowards' who will never take up courage to strike, the Caucasian Administrators at Manzanar have laughed off the few troubles and eruptions.

"Mr. Ned Campbell laughed, saying that I and my group are alarmists - this even after the Axis group by their actions showed directed, organized effort to oppose any Americanization programs, self-government, and any WRA program envisaging resettlement and center industry...."

"The Axis movement has been noticeably growing in Manzanar. Inadvertently helping the growth of this movement, the administration at Manzanar made promises after promises and failed to effect them. This antagonized the populace as a whole.

"The camouflage trouble, the shoya factory incident, the block 7 evacuation to make room for school - all these could have been avoided, had it not been for the headstrong, domineering attitude of a certain administrator who has made repeated mistakes.

"The errors have been costly to us, the populace lost confidence in the administration, the average evacuee linked us pro-Americans with inefficient administrators, and our efforts to bring about democratic processes have been stifled. The people lost faith and confidence in the pro-America Leaders and program, and took up the attitude of anti-Administration, anti-Americanism."

"The Axis move has been successful because of (1) the inefficient personnel of the Manzanar administration, and (2) the practical neutral stand the WRA takes on the Issei-Nisei; Pro-Axis:Pro-America issues."

"I do hope that such a program (segregation) is taken up now in earnest to extract the subversive and disloyal; so that, the pro-Axis group will not gain more following but will suffer extermination, and so that, all of the innocents will not suffer mass indictment for disloyalty."

Manz. Incident

Memo from Coverly to Bates
December 8, 1943

regional
Coverly, acting director.

I am returning the copy of Project Report No. 72, dated Nov. 17, 1942, submitted by the Manzanar Project.

It may interest you to know that, while the existence of the Terminal Island gang and the Dunbar gang had been known prior to my arrival at Manzanar, the first emergence of the Blood Brothers occurred during the time I was Acting Project Director.

Immediately upon the discovery of the bulletins which were found on the morning of October 31 (see page six of the report), I called a conference of the Assistant Project Director, the Chief of Internal Security and the Chief of the Division of Community Services. It was decided that the Internal Security Police would begin an immediate investigation to ascertain who were the persons guilty of placing the unauthorized posters about the project. These persons were not to be arrested but were to be observed in an effort to find out more about the organization.

On Thursday, November 5, I turned over the administration of the project to Mr. Solon T. Kimball, but remained in an advisory capacity until the morning of Sunday, November 8. On Friday, November 6, I was advised that the members of the commission on self-government had received letters from the Blood Brothers (see page ~~six~~ six of the report.) I immediately asked Mr. Kimball to call a second conference, which I attended.

At this meeting I pointed out that the receipt of these letters, evidencing the second appearance of Blood Brothers' activity, was quite serious, in my opinion, and that some immediate, forceful and effective action should be taken, lest the personnel be later criticized for having sat on a powder keg while the fuse was burning. Having relinquished administration of the project, I did not try to state just what action should be taken and, as a matter of fact, I do not know what decision was reached.

It would seem, however, that, for the purposes of the record, it might be advisable for ~~the~~ you to make further inquiries.

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