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Chapter V

PERIOD OF DISORGANIZATION AND REORGANIZATION (April 1942-

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROLE OF THE PACIFIC CITIZEN (Jacl Publication)

Education of Nisei "to their responsibilities as American citizens" through the medium of an English publication is an early objective in the J.A.C.L. movement.

The beginnings of the "Pacific Citizen" newspaper are found in the year before formal organization of the National J.A.C.L. in 1930.

San Francisco, birthplace of the J.A.C.L., also produced the newspaper, "Nikkei Shimin", forerunner of the "Pacific Citizen." Volume 1, Number 1, of the Nikkei Shimin appeared October 15, 1929, as the semi-monthly four-page, slick-paper, all-English, tabloid organ of the Bay City "New American Citizens League".

It was the only all-English publication for Nisei in California at that time. It was subsidized by the organization as a project, but it was the hope of its business manager, Susumu Togasaki, to make it self-sustaining. It carried advertisements and cost subscribers a dollar per year.

From the outset, despite its Japanese-derived name, it is consciously "American" in editorial and news tone. This is reflected in the contest for a permanent name for the organ. "We Want a Name", the editors wrote, because "the words 'Nikkei Shimin' will have to be discarded sooner or later for we do not want to be hyphenated American citizens. The New Americans are going to be the connecting link for Pacific peace as well as be worthy citizens of this great nation."¹

¹ "The Nikkei Shimin v 1 no 3 Friday 11/15/29 p 1 col 2"

Several weeks later, the prize-winning name "Pacific Citizen" was adopted for the publication.

While self-consciously "American" in the emphasis the newspaper makes at this early period on urging Nisei to register and vote, in the absence of Japanese language from its columns, in the occasional poo-pooing of Issei attitudes which conflicted with Nisei (especially in the controversial issue of holding social dances), there is ~~no~~ ~~doubt-as-to-the~~ evidence of the existing concept that a good Japanese education in the language schools was just as important as a thorough American public school education to insure "our future as American Citizens."

The reasoning seems simple, as revealed in early issues. The Nisei must be prepared for their role as builders of a great bridge of understanding across the Pacific. Knowledge of both English and Japanese will be minimum equipment.

2 Pacific Citizen

From the individual standpoint too, there were greater job opportunities for bi-lingual Nisei. Furthermore, there is a sense of mission to which the Nisei editors of the early Pacific Citizen dedicate themselves in encouraging diligent study of the Japanese language. They interpreted much of the prevalent prejudice against Japanese in California to the general American public ignorance about the Orient and especially the Japanese people.

To offset such unfortunate conditions, the Nisei "should know that our parents' native land has had an intensely cultivated civilization of her own; that her people are possessed of moral fiber as strong as that of any other people; and that her history is replete with stories of noble deeds and achievements. Such knowledge makes us confident of the potentialities of our race; and teaches us to respect not only ourselves, but our parents and all men of our kin, and also urges us all to preserve the best qualities of the Japanese now and forever..."¹²

2 The Nikkei Shimin v 1 no 2 Friday 11/15/29 p 3 col 4
"Our Future as American Citizens", first prize oration
by Tadao Fukushima of Stockton, in contest sponsored by
the Japanese Association of that city.

The first editorial staff of the "Nikkei Shimin" was headed by Iwao Kawakami, with associate editors Saburo Kido, Miya Sannomiya, Henry Takahashi; literary editor Asayo Kuraya; society editor Fumi Yonezu; club editor Kaoru Miura. All were Nisei in their twenties. All made their livelihood within the range of vocational opportunities within the San Francisco Japanese community.

The Nikkei Shimin, and the early Pacific Citizen, are predominantly urban in the character of its news and editorial content. Its circulation was chiefly in San Francisco; during its first year of publication, it nearly reached its goal of 1000 paid subscribers. In a sense, the "Nikkei Shimin" of 1929 both stimulated interest and set the groundwork for the organization of the National Japanese American citizens League at Seattle in 1930.

From its earliest issues, there appears an aggressive spirit of crusading in the Pacific Citizen. Nowhere is this more in evidence than in the newspaper's efforts to build up the organization.

"Join the Citizens League for Your Own Protection" is an early slogan. And the emphasis upon what League leaders termed the need for a representative group to speak for all Japanese Americans is characteristic of the newspaper's crusading efforts.

The idea that the J.A.C.L. movement should become all-embracing and all-powerful within the Japanese population of America is advanced from the beginning. The J.A.C.L. should not go the way of the Japanese Associations which, torn by

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dissensions and conflicts among the Issei, had no "national" organization to represent them.

Looking into the future, the editors wrote in 1931, "shall our leagues follow the same footsteps as the Japanese associations or will they increase their importance with the passage of the years? We are strong advocates of a centralized federation of leagues. To realize this end we believe there should be binding ties and tangible benefits accruing to the membership, thus enhancing its value..."³

³ The Pacific Citizen, v 3 no 26 Sunday 2/15/31 p 2 ¶ col 1
Editorial column

A point of view buried rather remotely at first but finding increasing expression in the Pacific Citizen is the conviction that the ~~Nisei should~~ Issei, as well as Nisei, should regard themselves as permanent residents of America. There is frank recognition of the opinion that the majority of Japanese immigrants came to America for economic gain, that most Issei desired to return to Japan. This Issei attitude is criticized, with moderation. Japanese residents are all urged to follow the pattern of other new immigrants and cease looking back to their native land as a place to which they planned to return.

The Pacific Citizen committed the J.A.C.L. movement to a position of permanent American residence--as contrasted to the sojourner attitude of most Issei organizations--from its inception, the publication editorially claimed at that time.

The ~~position~~ stand taken by the New American Citizens League on dual citizenship of Nisei is illustrative:

"The number of those who are expatriating their Japanese ties is increasing annually which should be the case. We have no business with our Japanese citizenship and the quicker we get rid of it the better for us. We can't serve two masters.

"The number who have expatriated through the Japanese Consulate in San Francisco has reached 3240. As soon as the second generation members find out how simple the whole procedure is, it is certain that more and more will take this step."⁴

⁴ The ~~Pacific Citizen~~ Nikkei Shimin, v 1 no 5 Sunday 12/15/29
p 2 col 1 editorial "Expatriation"

In matters of politics, the Pacific Citizen took considerable pains to editorially maintain what ~~its leaders~~ organization leaders referred to as a "non-partisan" policy. It constantly urged Nisei to exercise their franchise rights, frequently ran stories of Nisei registration and voting strength. In ~~19~~ March, 1931, for instance, President George Togasaki of the San Francisco League is quoted as stating there were 6,000 eligible Nisei voters in California. But the publication,

conforming with organization policy, refrained from openly endorsing candidates for political office. It deviated, in a negative way, from this position in implied opposition to political figures charged with discriminatory anti-Japanese records.

political
In assessing the ideological coloration of the Pacific Citizen during the early thirties, one finds more evidence of leanings to the conservative right than to the left. This contrast is noticeable between the Pacific Citizen of ~~1931~~ 1932 and that of 1944.

Editorial quotations in the earlier issues unmistakably are anti-Communist. Labor unions are generally suspect in the few instances where they figure in news stories. Rugged individualism and Capitalism are idealized. Private enterprise, in the form of small businesses, is encouraged. To become a millionaire is a one of the ~~most~~ most worthy, is not worthiest, aspirations of life.

In this latter connection, an interesting quotation appears editorially:

"I do not know how wicked American millionaires are, but as I travel about and see the results of their generosity in the form of hospitals, churches public libraries, universities, parks, recreation grounds, art museums and theaters, I wonder what on earth we would do without them.--William Lyon Phelps." 5

⁵ The Pacific Citizen v 3 no 26 Sunday 2/15/31 p 2 col 1
Editorial quotation

On the front page of the same issue, moreover, are printed the names of 21 of the largest American philanthropies from the then \$147,000,000 Rockefeller Foundation, through the Carnegie, Rosenwald, and Falk foundations, an aggregate, ~~an-agg~~ the editors wrote in acknowledging they were made dizzy by the sum of, \$690,000,000.

This early J.A.C.L. leadership's tendency to idealize the American economic system of the twenties and to pattern itself to the political implementation of that system is again in contrast to the Nisei thinking which crystallized in the late thirties in the shape of numerically small anti-JACL groups. Symbolic of this opposition group were the Young Democrats both of Northern and Southern California, whose attitudes toward the American millionaires' philanthropies were more inclined to ~~be~~ the view that such expenditures, far from being evidence of generosity springing from a beneficent economic system, were expenditures in "conscience money" for all the dishonesty and evils indulged in by possessors of wealth in the process of their accumulating it.

While the Pacific Citizen of the early period leaves the reader with the impression that, despite its non-partisan stand, it seeks to identify itself with the Republican Party, this aspect of its character is secondary to its role as interpreter, for the Nisei, of: (1) Anti-Japanese movements and discriminatory legislation and activities ~~in~~ on the west coast and (2) Japan-America relations as they affect Nisei and what Nisei can do to ~~in~~ help in the general cause of better understanding.

~~are~~
What the J.A.C.L. regards as its major legislative achievements of its history ~~are~~ are all recorded faithfully and in detail in the Pacific Citizen.

In 1931 when President Hoover signed the amendment to the Cable Act, making it possible for Nisei women to regain and retain their American citizenship despite marriage to Issei men, Managing Editor Earl Tanbara wrote:

"The Cable Act Amendment has finally passed, a joyful news and surprising one, too, because it was expected that nothing would be done until the December session... Now, our girls can marry the man of their choice, whether the prospective bridegroom was born in Japan or in America. They can travel outside this state without fear of being denied admittance to their native land, even if they marry aliens ineligible to citizenship. They can build a happy home here and own the house, too. What a blessing this would be. With this added sense of security, they can raise the children to become good American citizens." 6

6 The Pacific Citizen v 3 no 28 Sunday 3/15/31 p 2 col 1
Leading editorial

Flushed with this unexpected success, the publication three months later sounds the call for initiating campaigns for repealing the discriminatory ~~clause~~ clause in the Immigration Law of 1924 and for securing American citizenship for Issei veterans of the first World War. Regarding the latter, it editorialized:

"The People of the State of California as well as other parts of the Pacific Coast are coming to have a better understanding of the Japanese. Under these circumstances, we believe this would be an appropriate time to take up this matter. Canada has rewarded the Japanese who served in her army ~~w~~ by giving them citizenship. It is not too late for our country to give full recognition to these veterans for the services they had rendered in our country's hour of need." 7

7 The Pacific Citizen v 3 no 33 Monday 6/1/31 p 2 col 1
Editorial

Four years later, this editorial suggestion culminated in the second successful lobbying achievement undertaken by the J.A.C.L. ~~In June, 1935,~~ In June, 1935, President Roosevelt signed the Oriental Veterans Citizenship Act.

The editorial support for repeal of the Exclusion Act never developed into any form of political action, but it reappears from time to time in answer to "anti-Japanese contentions" of such organizations as the California Joint Immigration Committee and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

In 1934, the Pacific Citizen gives prominent space to the successful campaign of San Francisco Congresswoman Florence P. Kahn

to defeat the discriminatory Kramer⁸ amendment to HR3763, known as the Dickstein⁹ bill. The part played by the J.A.C.L. and the Pacific Citizen in this legislation is a minor one, but the publication effectively utilized it to rally popular Nisei support for the organization. The

⁸ Congressman Charles Kramer, from Los Angeles, California

⁹ Congressman Samuel Dickstein, from New York

Dickstein bill provided that ~~American~~ the children of ~~American born~~ ~~Women~~ born abroad of American citizen mothers would retain their U.S. citizenship. The Kramer amendment was aimed at excluding Orientals.

Observed the then editor of the Pacific Citizen, James Y. Sakamoto:

"The fight waged by Mrs. Kahn was more than a victory for her and her colleagues and to the American citizens of Oriental ancestry. It was a strong expression of loyalty to the fundamental ~~principles~~ principles of our democratic institutions." ¹⁰

¹⁰ The Pacific Citizen, no. v 6 no 72 5/1/34 p 2 col 1
Editorial

This readiness to define Americanism is characteristic of the Pacific Citizen throughout its publication; in this trait, it reflected the leadership of the J.A.C.L.

Throughout its history, there is little evidence anywhere of attempts within the Japanese community to question this role. The Pacific Citizen came to be regarded as the fountain head of Americanism education among the Nisei. The J.A.C.L. was not only a civic body, it was also patriotic, representing the highest ideals of American democracy. The impact of this role played by the Pacific Citizen on the English editors of the Japanese daily newspapers, going hand-in-hand with the participation by those editors in local J.A.C.L. chapter activities, was considerable.

Outside the Japanese Community, however, the role of the Pacific Citizen as interpreter of American ideals found less unquestioned acceptance. The California Joint Immigration Committee, mentioned frequently in its columns, from an early date expressed resentment and criticism of the practise on the part of Japanese Americans to define Americanism, ~~as they interpreted it.~~

Again in 1936 when the J.A.C.L., represented by Tamotsu Murayama, secured "recognition of citizenship" for Nisei travelling to Japan, facilitating their re-entry into the United States without passport inspection delays, the Pacific Citizen assumes the role of marshalling support for the effort and utilizing its success to promote the organization. In the same year, speaking for the Japanese community generally, it editorially attacks the campaign by the National Grange to deprive ~~disparaging~~ ~~born-of~~ ~~aliens~~ ~~ineligible~~ ~~to~~ ~~citizenship~~ ~~from~~ ~~their~~ ~~of~~ ~~their~~ Nisei of their American citizenship.

~~Referred~~

In the successive reappearances of the anti-alien commercial fishing bills in the California State legislature throughout the latter thirties, and in the similar introduction of amendments to the alien land law and other restrictive measures against Japanese residents generally,

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The Pacific Citizen essays the part of a central sounding board for organized political resistance to legislation unfavorable to Issei as well as Nisei.

In this role, it enjoys wholehearted moral support of the Issei as well as Nisei leadership.

Frequent quotations of the Pacific Citizen during the thirties may be found in the Japanese language sections of all the west coast dailies¹¹ as well as in the English sections. The Pacific Citizen, especially during the four year period, 1934-38, under the editorial direction of James Y. Sakamoto of Seattle, commands a position of leadership in setting the pace ~~for~~ and pattern for Japanese community thinking about meeting discriminatory American practises. The jACL formula for solving the problem becomes fairly clear: Americanization.

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- ¹¹ San Francisco: The Nichi-Bei (Japanese American)
The Hoku-Bei Asahi which later became the Shin-Sekai
Asahi (New World-Sun) in 193
- Los Angeles: The Rafu Shimpō (L.A. Japanese Daily News)
Kashu Mainichi (Japan-California Daily News)
Sangyo Nippo (Industrial Daily)
- Seattle: Tairūku Nippo (~~Seattle Times~~) Great Northern Daily)
Hokubei Jiji (Seattle Times)
-

There is an almost characteristic simplification of the solution editorially proposed by the Pacific Citizen. The thesis is advanced that prejudice and discrimination stem from ignorance of American people generally of the Nisei as being American. Therefore, the Nisei must show the public that it is American. ~~They~~ They can best accomplish this by behaving as patriotic, loyal citizens. There creeps into this pattern of reasoning the implication, more or less pronounced at different times, that Issei Japanese influences are not very desirable, or at least not paraded publicly. The dilemma in which the Pacific Citizen is occasionally snarled is the situation whereby it discovers itself to be an institution of the world dominated by these very influences it is compelled to disavow in the larger world around it.

In the fifteen years since its first publication, the Pacific Citizen falls under the editorial guidance and leadership of the ^{northern} three chief geographical areas of pre-war Japanese population: Central California, ~~the~~ the Pacific Northwest, and Southern California, in that chronological order. But it revolves principally around San Francisco; and this ~~coincides~~ coincides with the singular fact that ^{northern} National J.A.C.L. leadership has been consistently dominated by Central California Nisei.

The Pacific Citizen has had five editors: Iwao Kawakami, Earl Tanbara, James Sakamoto, Evelyn Kirimura, Larry Tajiri. Curiously enough, the single personality whose influence and views give the publication continuity and consistency of purpose, remains submerged in the background--Saburo Kido. Despite changes in journalistic style, despite ~~fluctuating~~ fluctuating circulation, despite ~~changes in~~ shifts in editors, the Pacific Citizen remains ^{almost} unchanged throughout all its history with respect to: (1) Its ceaseless campaigning against discri-

minatory practises as they affect resident Japanese, especially Nisei, and (2) Its similarly ceaseless campaigning to build up the J.A.C.L. organization as the all-embracing, all-powerful organization among all Japanese in the United States.

There are changes in the techniques, as evidenced in the evolution of slogans. The appeal of the early thirties, "Join the J.A.C.L. For Your Protection", becomes "Security through Unity" of the late thirties, indicating the concept of unifying all Nisei through the organization. ~~Security through Unity~~ This latter slogan ~~is~~ is supplanted in the early forties by the motto, "To Become Better Americans in a Greater America", de-emphasizing the intra-community appeal and stressing the aspect of public relations with the larger American community.

Whatever may have been its influence in the Japanese community at large, the Pacific Citizen exercised a central influence in shaping the thinking of J.A.C.L. participants. It provided an instrument for solidarity within the structure of J.A.C.L. membership. Especially in the period after outbreak of war and the evacuation months when nearly complete disorganization faced the J.A.C.L., the Pacific Citizen stands out as the chief instrument of the organization's survival. And in the reorganizing and emergence of the group in the resettlement period, it plays a major role.

An apparent difference between the pre-war Pacific Citizen and the publication of 1944 is the more recent emphasis upon the role of spokesman for a minority reporting and interpreting the problems of this minority to the American people at large. The pre-war Pacific Citizen is definitely written and edited for a Nisei reading audience. The 1944 Pacific Citizen displays a highly developed awareness of a non-Nisei reading public.

The history of the Pacific Citizen is not one of uninterrupted publication; there are lapses, and there are ~~occasions~~ occasions on which support of the organ is regarded as an unjustifiable burden. Its ups and downs are similarly the chronicle of J.A.C.L. fortunes.

In attitudes indicating political ideology, ~~the~~ with respect to American domestic issues, the Pacific Citizen has traveled the road from the conservative right to the liberal left.

Two factors seem largely responsible, changing circumstances under which it published (i.e., a war situation) and editorship. Which factor exercised greater influence seems debatable. But by a stroke of irony perhaps, one of the outstanding critics of early J.A.C.L. political conservatism, in the ~~critical~~ critical period of disorganization assumes leadership in the publication of the organ. ~~Larry Tajiri may best be described as~~ Larry Tajiri's record as a Nisei newspaper editor, first with the Kashu Mainichi of Los Angeles, subsequently with the Nichi-Bei of San Francisco, is one of consistent liberalism, with variations from the middle-of-the road to definite left. ~~There is an identification of his intellectual~~

From an early period he demonstrates an intellectual identity with ~~the economic underprivileged~~ what he sometimes has referred to as the economic underprivileged. He indicates sharp differences in the latter thirties with J.A.C.L. expressed attitudes of animosity toward

labor unions; he wields a heavy cudgel against the bedrock Republicanism of Nisei J.A.C.L. leaders throughout this period. His whole outlook on the problems of the Nisei minority at an early stage in his career becomes geared to the larger problem of all racial minorities in America, and he apparently identifies himself personally with movements outside the restricted sphere of the Japanese community.

It is possible that the circumstances of war created the situation whereby only an individual of Tajiri's background and leanings could have ~~assumed~~ assumed editorship of a publication with the Pacific Citizen's record of performance and managed its survival.

But it is clearly evident that the Pacific Citizen of 1944 has become friendly to organized labor, ~~and is friendly to~~ ~~what~~ what reactionary influences term left-wing American political influences; there are signs of definite non-hostility by the Pacific Citizen to the Socialist Party, ~~and while Communism finds little discussion~~. Certainly there is no red-baiting in the columns of the Pacific Citizen of 1944, while there is ample evidence of it ~~in~~ throughout the thirties.

In the editorial position with regard to Japan and the Far Eastern situation, the Pacific Citizen's pendulum swings from the extreme of close identity with the interests of Japan and her "mission" in Manchuria in 1931 to the middle position of neutrality in the Sino-Japanese conflict starting in 1937 to the extreme position of attacking "rapacious Japan" from Pearl Harbor on.

In view of the ~~historic~~ origins of the J.A.C.L. as a movement and the character of its development, this evolution in the Pacific Citizen's international political ideology appears to follow a logical course.

There are some aspects of the dual personality in the early Pacific Citizen. It is aggressively American. Yet it emphasizes Japanese ~~and~~ virtues. Hence: Pacific Citizen. Its greatest fear and bugaboo from the beginning is the catastrophe that finally overtakes it: war between America and Japan.

It seems to be the inferred claim of the Pacific Citizen, however, that the J.A.C.L., through its instrumentality, psychologically prepared its Nisei followers for the worst. The aggressive Americanism program, characterized by what its critics often termed "superficial flag waving" ¹², was intended, according to the interpretation today of ~~its~~ its National President ¹³ to "give anchorage and a sense of belonging to America" to the Nisei.

12 This criticism, occasionally reported in the Pacific Citizen, stemmed from not only some Nisei themselves, but from Issei and Caucasians.

13 Notes of personal interview of Saburo Kido by Togo Tanaka, 12/1/44 Salt Lake City J.A.C.L. headquarters

Evidence of the success of its efforts is offered in current issues of the newspaper reporting on the performances of Nisei soldiers in the United States Army on both European and Pacific battlefronts. Evidence of the shortcomings of these efforts, from one point of view finding expression in the Pacific Citizen, may be found in the situation

at Tule Lake.

There appears to be another significant difference between the Pacific Citizen of the thirties and the present publication.

The Pacific Citizen of 1944 is ~~described~~ theoretically committed to the task of working itself out of existence.

It conceives its responsibility as being the task of helping solve the problem of the Japanese American minority in the United States. It seeks a solution, in the mind of its editor, through the processes of integrating members of this minority into American life to the extent that it loses its minority complexes, even identity. When this goal will be reached is a question on which there is even occasional editorial speculation. But ~~to~~ it apparently is not in immediate sight.

In this attitude, however, the Pacific Citizen has assumed the character of a movement rather than the ~~organ~~ house organ of a ~~fraternal order~~ self-perpetuating fraternal order.

It is the conviction of Pacific Citizen editor Tajiri that the Nisei can and must follow the pattern of second and third generation ~~European immigrant~~ Americans of European immigrant extraction, that they must not follow the pattern of the Chinese Nisei. These latter, he states, "have lost their fight; they've gone back to Chinatown; they are concentrated in certain economic enterprises; they are dominated more by the older Issei Chinese and strongly identify their lives and interests with China rather than the United States. They have an organization, the Chinese Citizens Alliance with headquarters in San Francisco, but this has been a reactionary organization. The Japanese American Nisei are successfully resisting segregation; they are being much more easily integrated into the Caucasian community."¹⁴

¹⁴ Notes of personal interview with Larry Tajiri by Togo Tanaka
Salt Lake City J.A.C.L. headquarters 12/2/44

much evidence
There is no doubt that the Pacific Citizen plays a far more influential role among the Japanese population outside relocation centers today than it did in pre-war years. For one thing, it is there are far fewer competitors in its field. Whereas in the period when it was a monthly

The Pacific Citizen finds consistent justification for its existence as the ~~organ~~ organ of what was originally a segregated organization by public announcement that it seeks to work itself out of existence through solution of the ~~problem~~ Japanese-American problem and by bringing about the fundamental change in the membership participation of J.A.C.L. whereby citizens of European ancestry have been made eligible to join.

There is evidence that the Pacific Citizen plays a far more influential role among the Japanese population outside relocation centers today than it did in the Japanese community on the west coast. It is today one of three publications in the field, appears weekly instead of monthly, is found acceptable ~~even among those who have refused to~~ or read by those Nisei who have maintained distance from the J.A.C.L. as an organization.

There is likewise evidence that its impact upon federal government policy relating ~~to~~ to evacuation and resettlement is a ~~real~~ factor not altogether unimportant. That it has the ability to successfully defeat outspoken antagonists in the field of Japanese-English publications is demonstrated in the experiences of the Rocky Shimpo, published triweekly at Denver, Colorado. ~~When~~ The English ~~is~~ editor of ~~this~~ the Rocky Shimpo, a James Omura, ~~is~~ bitterly assailed both the J.A.C.L. and Pacific Citizen in 1943. In 1944 the ~~paper is~~ Rocky Shimpo is edited by a Nisei whose policies are in almost diametric contrast with his predecessor, as far as the J.A.C.L. and Pacific Citizen are concerned.

In the marshalling of support among Caucasian individuals and groups, it claims a record of unparalleled success in J.A.C.L. history. Through its uninterrupted circulation through the period of evacuation and resettlement, the Pacific Citizen maintains that it became the rallying point around which influential people throughout the country shaped their thinking and sympathies. This ~~culmination~~ culminated in the financial and moral support from friends everywhere. Symbolic of groups which have ~~been~~ had their activities influenced by the Pacific Citizen, it is pointed out, are the Friends of the American Way, the social action group formed in Pasadena to work for restoration of evacuee rights on the west coast.

The role of the Pacific Citizen in this organization's program was described by William Carr of the Friends of the American Way at the National J.A.C.L. Conference held in Salt Lake City in December of 1944.

"Our part time secretary reads the Pacific Citizen, and on the basis of articles found in each issue, our seventy members send out letters to different people. These letters are either pats or raps, pats on the back for good people, raps ~~is~~ on the head for those who are prejudiced or bigoted. We feel strongly that the Pacific Citizen should get as much national recognition as possible.¹⁵

¹⁵ Tanaka notes of J.A.C.L. National Conference Meeting 12/2/44 at Japanese Christian Church, Salt Lake City

Pacific Citizen in the Relocation Centers:

Determined attempts by National J.A.C.L. headquarters to build up Pacific Citizen circulation within the relocation centers in the summer of 1942 met with various reactions in the different centers. From the outset, Rohwer, Granada and Rivers responded more favorably than other camps. The effort failed most notably at Manzanar where both paid subscriptions and canteen sales have been the least of all centers, remains so today. In December, 1944, each week 36 copies of Pacific Citizen ~~is~~ ^{were} sent to Tule Lake, but only six ~~are~~ ^{were} sent to Manzanar.¹⁶

¹⁶ Of the 36 Tule Lake subscriptions, 5 go to Administrative personnel, the remainder to evacuees. Larry Tajiri interview by Togo Tanaka 12/4/44 Salt Lake City

Total circulation ~~is~~ inside centers has fluctuated from a peak of 2500 in late 1942 to a constant average around 1800 for 1943. Notable decreases occurred, according to the records, after registration and reinstatement of Selective Service. Canteen sales of the Pacific Citizen at Tule Lake were

12 - Pacific Citizen

was 1943
in February 1943.
discontinued during registration; smashed windows resulted from protest demonstrations over their sales.

Like the J.A.C.L. which it represents, the Pacific Citizen has derived its chief support outside the relocation centers. Of its peak circulation of 7,000 in December, 1944, approximately 1,800 were relocation center subscribers, 1,500 Caucasian subscribers in all parts of the country, and the remainder Nisei.

While the outlook for increasing circulation has been limited by wartime government paper restrictions, the relocation centers ~~are no longer regarded by editor Tajiri as in December, 1944, as~~ *were* potential.

~~The Pacific Citizen, editorially speaking, ceased to~~
Pacific Citizen as a Weekly Newspaper

The original function of the Pacific Citizen as the official organ of the National Japanese American Citizens League has become completely submerged by 1944 beneath the newly acquired character of a newspaper for general Nisei circulation. ~~It~~

~~Even National President Saburo Kido's column~~

In 1944, for the first time in its history, it ~~will~~ became a financially self-sustaining publication, operating on a budget of approximately \$16,000. ~~Through-19-~~ In the previous year, it had been subsidized by the National J.A.C.L. to the extent of a \$3,000 deficit.

Its editorial policy has been left to the wisdom and discretion of its editor without regular or direct ~~guidance-from-~~ regulation from any J.A.C.L. Board.

Less than a tenth of its column space on an average ^{is} ~~is~~ devoted to J.A.C.L. organizational matters. Even the writings of National President Saburo Kido are edited and printed in the form of a contributed column.

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C h a p t e r VI.

THE ROLE OF THE PACIFIC CITIZEN (Jacl Publication)

Education of Nisei "to their responsibilities as American citizens" through the medium of an English publication is an early objective in the J.A.C.L. movement.

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1. "The Nikkei Shimin v 1 no 3 Friday 11/15/29 p 1 col 2

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While self-consciously "American" in the emphasis the newspaper makes at this early period on urging Nisei to register and vote, in the absence of Japanese language from its columns, in the occasional poo-pooing of Issei attitudes which conflicted with Nisei (especially in the controversial issue of holding social dances), there is evidence of the existing concept that a good Japanese education in the language schools was just as important as a thorough American public school education to insure "our future as American Citizens."

The reasoning seems simple, as revealed in early issues. The Nisei must be prepared for their role as builders of a great bridge of understanding across the Pacific. Knowledge of both English and Japanese will be minimum equipment. From the individual standpoint too, there were greater job opportunities for bi-lingual Nisei. Furthermore, there is a sense of mission to which the Nisei editors of the early Pacific Citizen dedicate themselves in encouraging diligent study of the Japanese language. They interpreted much of the prevalent prejudice against Japanese in California to the general American public ignorance about the Orient and especially the Japanese people.

To offset such unfortunate conditions, the Nisei "should know that our parents' native land has had an intensely cultivated civilization of her own; that her people are possessed of moral fiber as strong as that of any other people; and that her history is replete with stories of noble deeds and

achievements. Such knowledge makes us confident of the potentialities of our race; and teaches us to respect not only ourselves, but our parents and all men of our kin, and also urges us all to preserve the best qualities of the Japanese now and forever...."¹²

¹². The Nikkei Shimin v 1 no 2 Friday 11/15/29 p 3 col 4 "Our Future as American Citizens", first prize oration by Tadao Fukushima of Stockton, in contest sponsored by the Japanese Association of that city.

The first editorial staff of the "Nikkei Shimin" was headed by Iwao Kawakami, with associate editors Saburo Kido, Miya Sannomiya, Henry Takahashi; literary editor Asayo Kuraya; society editor Fumi Yonezu; club editor Kaoru Miura. All were Nisei in their twenties. All made their livelihood within the range of vocational opportunities within the San Francisco Japanese community.

The Nikkei Shimin, and the early Pacific Citizen, are predominantly urban in the character of news and editorial content. Its circulation was chiefly in San Francisco; during its first year of publication, it nearly reached its goal of 1000 paid subscribers. In a sense, the "Nikkei Shimin" of 1929 both stimulated interest and set the groundwork for the organization of the National Japanese American Citizens League at Seattle in 1930.

From its earliest issues, there appears an aggressive spirit of crusading in the Pacific Citizen. Nowhere is this more in evidence than in the newspaper's efforts to build up the organization.

"Join the Citizens League for Your Own Protection" is

an early slogan. And the emphasis upon what League leaders termed the need for a representative group to speak for all Japanese Americans is characteristic of the newspaper's crusading efforts.

The idea that the J.A.C.L. movement should become all-embracing and all-powerful within the Japanese population of America is advanced from the beginning. The J.A.C.L. should not go the way of the Japanese Associations which, torn by dissensions and conflicts among the Issei, had no "national" organization to represent them.

Looking into the future, the editors wrote in 1931, "shall our leagues follow the same footsteps as the Japanese associations or will they increase their importance with the passage of years? We are strong advocates of a centralized federation of leagues. To realize this end we believe there should be binding ties and tangible benefits accruing to the membership, thus enhancing its value..."³

3. The Pacific Citizen, v 3 no 26 Sunday 2/15/31 p 2 col 1
Editorial Column

A point of view buried rather remotely at first but finding increasing expression in the Pacific Citizen is the conviction that the Issei, as well as Nisei, should regard themselves as permanent residents of America. There is frank recognition of the opinion that the majority of Japanese immigrants came to America for economic gain, that most Issei desired to return to Japan. This Issei attitude is criticized, with moderation. Japanese residents are all urged to follow

the pattern of other new immigrants and cease looking back to their native land as a place to which they plan to return.

[The Pacific Citizen committed the J.A.C.L. movement to a position of permanent American residence]-as contrasted to the sojourner attitude of most Issei organizations]-~~from its incep-~~tion, The publication editorially claimed at that time.

The stand taken by the New American Citizens League on dual citizenship of Nisei is illustrative:

"The number of those who are expatriating their Japanese ties is increasing annually which should be the case. We have no business with our Japanese citizenship and the quicker we get rid of it the better for us. We can't serve two masters.

"The number who have expatriated through the Japanese Consulate in San Francisco has reached 3240. As soon as the second generation members find out how simple the whole procedure is, it is certain that more and more will take this step."⁴

4. The Nikkei Shimin, v 1 no 5 Sunday 12/15/29 p 2 col 1 editorial "Expatriation"

In matters of politics, the Pacific Citizen took considerable pains to maintain editorially what organization leaders referred to as a "non-partisan" policy. It constantly urged Nisei to exercise their franchise rights, frequently ran stories of Nisei registration and voting strength. In March, 1931, for instance, President George Togasaki of the San Francisco League is quoted as stating there were 6,000 eligible Nisei voters in California. But the publication, conforming with organization policy, refrained from openly endorsing candidates for political office. It deviated, in a negative way, from this position in implied opposition to political figures charged with discriminatory anti-Japanese records.

In assessing the political ideological coloration of the Pacific Citizen during the early thirties, one finds more evidence of leanings to the conservative right than to the left. This contrast is noticeable between the Pacific Citizen of 1932 and that of 1944.

Editorial quotations in the earlier issues unmistakably are anti-Communistic. Labor unions are generally suspect in the few instances where they figure in news stories. Rugged individualism and Capitalism are idealized. Private enterprise, in the form of small businesses, is encouraged. To become a millionaire is one of the most worthy, if not worthiest, aspirations of life.

In this latter connection, an interesting quotation appears editorially:

"I do not know how wicked American millionaires are, but as I travel about and see the results of their generosity in the form of hospitals, churches, public libraries, universities, parks, recreation grounds, art museums and theaters, I wonder what on earth we would do without them.--William Lyon Phelps."⁵

5. The Pacific Citizen v 3 no 26 Sunday 2/15/31 p 2 col 1 Editorial quotation.

On the front page of the same issue, moreover, are printed the names of 21 of the largest American philanthropies from the then \$147,000,000 Rockefeller Foundation, through the Carnegie, Rosenwald, and Falk foundations, an aggregate, the editors wrote in acknowledging they were made dizzy by the sum of, \$690,000,000.

This early J.A.C.L. leadership's tendency to idealize the American economic system of the twenties and to pattern

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itself to the political implementation of that system is again in contrast to the Nisei thinking which crystallized in the late thirties in the shape of numerically small anti-JACL groups. Symbolic of this opposition group were the Young Democrats both of Northern and Southern California, whose attitudes toward the American millionaires' philanthropies were more inclined to the view that such expenditures, far from being evidence of generosity springing from a beneficent economic system, were expenditures in "conscience money" for all the dishonesty and evils indulged in by possessors of wealth in the process of their accumulating it.

While the Pacific Citizen of the early period leaves the reader with the impression that, despite its non-partisan stand, it seeks to identify itself with the Republican Party, this aspect of its character is secondary to its role as interpreter, for the Nisei, of: (1) Anti-Japanese movements and discriminatory legislation and activities on the west coast and (2) Japan-America relations as they affect Nisei and what Nisei can do to help in the general cause of better understanding.

What the J.A.C.L. regards as its major legislative achievements of its history are all recorded faithfully and in detail in the Pacific Citizen.

In 1931 when President Hoover signed the amendment to the Cable Act, making it possible for Nisei women to regain and retain their American citizenship despite marriage to Issei men, Managing Editor Earl Tanbara wrote:

"The Cable Act Amendment has finally passed, a joyful news and surprising one, too, because it was expected that nothing would be done until the December session... Now, our girls can marry the man of their choice, whether the prospective bridegroom was born in Japan or in America. They can travel outside this state without fear of being denied admittance to their native land, even if they marry aliens ineligible to citizenship. They can build a happy home here and own the house, too. What a blessing this would be. With this added sense of security, they can raise the children to become good American citizens."⁶

6. The Pacific Citizen v 3 no 28 Sunday 3/15/31 p 2 col 1
Leading editorial

Flushed with this unexpected success, the publication three months later sounds the call for initiating campaigns for repealing the discriminatory clause in the Immigration Law of 1924 and for securing American citizenship for Issei veterans of the first World War. Regarding the latter, it editorialized:

"The People of the State of California as well as other parts of the Pacific Coast are coming to have a better understanding of the Japanese. Under these circumstances, we believe this would be an appropriate time to take up this matter. Canada has rewarded the Japanese who served in her army by giving them citizenship. It is not too late for our country to give full recognition to these veterans for the services they had rendered in our country's hour of need."⁷

7. The Pacific Citizen v 3 no 33 Monday 6/1/31 p 2 col 1
Editorial

Four years later, this editorial suggestion culminated in the second successful lobbying achievement undertaken by the J.A.C.L. In June, 1935, President Roosevelt signed the Oriental Veterans Citizenship Act.

The editorial support for repeal of the Exclusion Act never developed into any form of political action, but it

reappears from time to time in answer to "anti-Japanese contentions" of such organizations as the California Joint Immigration Committee and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

In 1934, the Pacific Citizen gives prominent space to the successful campaign of San Francisco Congresswoman Florence P. Kahn to defeat the discriminatory Kramer⁸ amendment to HR3763,

8. Congressman Charles Kramer, from Los Angeles, California
9. Congressman Samuel Dickstein, from New York

known as the Dickstein⁹ bill. The part played by the J.A.C.L. and the Pacific Citizen in this legislation is a minor one, but the publication effectively utilized it to rally popular Nisei support for the organization. The Dickstein bill provided that the children born abroad of American citizen mothers would retain their U.S. citizenship. The Kramer amendment was aimed at excluding Orientals.

Observed the then editor of the Pacific Citizen, James Y. Sakamoto:

"The fight waged by Mrs. Kahn was more than a victory for her and her colleagues and to the American citizens of Oriental ancestry. It was a strong expression of loyalty to the fundamental principles of our democratic institutions."¹⁰

10. The Pacific Citizen v 6 no 72 5/1/34 p 2 col 1. Editorial

This readiness to define Americanism is characteristic of the Pacific Citizen throughout its publication; in this trait, it reflected the leadership of the J.A.C.L.

Throughout its history, there is little evidence anywhere of attempts within the Japanese community to question this role. The Pacific Citizen came to be regarded as the fountain head of

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Americanism education among the Nisei. The J.A.C.L. was not only a civic body, it was also patriotic, representing the highest ideals of American democracy. The impact of this role played by the Pacific Citizen on the English editors of the Japanese daily newspapers, going hand-in-hand with the participation by those editors in local J.A.C.L. chapter activities, was considerable.

Outside the Japanese community, however, the role of the Pacific Citizen as interpreter of American ideals found less unquestioned acceptance. The California Joint Immigration Committee, mentioned frequently in ~~its~~ its columns, from an early date expresses resentment and criticism of the practise on the part of Japanese Americans to define Americanism.

Again in 1936 ~~with~~ when the J.A.C.L., represented by Tamotsu Murayama, secured "recognition of citizenship" for Nisei travelling to Japan, facilitating their re-entry into the United States without passport inspection delays, the Pacific Citizen assumes the role of marshalling support for the effort and utilizing its success to promote the organization. In the same year, speaking for the Japanese community generally, it editorially attacks the campaign by the National Grange to deprive Nisei of their American citizenship.

In the successive reappearances of the anti-alien commercial fishing bills in the California State legislature throughout the latter thirties, and in the similar introduction of amendments to the alien land law, and other restrictive measures against Japanese residents generally, the Pacific Citizen essays the part of a central sounding board for organized political resistance to

legislation unfavorable to Issei as well as Nisei.

In this role, it enjoys wholehearted moral support of the Issei as well as Nisei leadership.

Frequent quotations of the Pacific Citizen during the thirties may be found in the Japanese language sections of all the west coast dailies¹¹ as well as in the English sections. The Pacific

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11. San Francisco: The Nichi-Bei (Japanese American)
The Hoku-Bei Asahi which later became the
Shin-Sekai Asahi (New World-Sun) in 1933
Los Angeles: The Rafu Shimpo (L.A. Japanese Daily News)
Kashu Mainichi (Japan-California Daily News)

Seattle: Tairuku Nippo (Great Northern Daily)
Hekubei Jiji (Seattle Times)
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Citizen, especially during the four year period, 1934-38, under the editorial direction of James Y. Sakamoto of Seattle, commands a position of leadership in setting the pace and pattern for Japanese community thinking about meeting discriminatory American practises. The J.A.C.L. formula for solving the problem becomes fairly clear: Americanization.

There is an almost characteristic simplification of the solution editorially proposed by the Pacific Citizen. The thesis is advanced that prejudice and discrimination stem from ignorance of American people generally of the Nisei as being American. Therefore, the Nisei must show the public that it is American. They can best accomplish this by behaving as patriotic, loyal citizens. There creeps into this pattern of reasoning the implication, more or less pronounced at different times, that Issei Japanese influences are not very desirable, or at least not paraded publicly. The dilemma in which the Pacific Citizen is occasionally snarled is the situation whereby it discovers itself to be an

institution of the world dominated by these very influences it is compelled to disavow in the larger world around it.

In the fifteen years since its first publication, the Pacific Citizen falls under the editorial guidance and leadership of the three chief geographical areas of pre-war Japanese population: Northern California, the Pacific Northwest, and Southern California, in that chronological order. But it revolves principally around San Francisco; and this coincides with the singular fact that National J.A.C.L. leadership has been consistently dominated by Northern California Nisei.

The Pacific Citizen has had five editors: Iwao Kawakami, Earl Tanbara, James Sakamoto, Evelyn Kirimura, Larry Tajiri. Curiously enough, the single personality whose influence and views give the publication continuity and consistency of purpose, remains submerged in the background--Saburo Kido. Despite changes in journalistic style, despite fluctuating circulation, despite shifts in editors, the Pacific Citizen remains almost unchanged throughout all its history with respect to: (1) its ceaseless campaigning against discriminatory practises as they affect resident Japanese, especially Nisei, and (2) its similarly ceaseless campaigning to build up the J.A.C.L. organization as the all-embracing, all-powerful organization among all Japanese in the United States.

There are changes in the techniques, as evidenced in the evolution of slogans. The appeal of the early thirties, "Join the J.A.C.L. For Your Protection," becomes "Security through Unity" of the late thirties, indicating the concept of unifying all Nisei through the organization. This latter slogan is

supplanted in the early forties by the motto, "To Become Better Americans in a Greater America," de-emphasizing the intra-community appeal and stressing the aspect of public relations with the larger American community.

Whatever may have been its influence in the Japanese community at large, the Pacific Citizen exercised a central influence in shaping the thinking of J.A.C.L. participants. It provided an instrument for solidarity within the structure of J.A.C.L. membership. Especially in the period after outbreak of war and the evacuation months when nearly complete disorganization faced the J.A.C.L., the Pacific Citizen stands out as the chief instrument of the organization's survival. And in the reorganizing and emergence of the group in the resettlement period, it ~~px~~ plays a major role.

An apparent difference between the pre-war Pacific Citizen and the publication of 1944 is the more recent emphasis upon the role of spokesman for a minority reporting and interpreting the problems of this minority to the American people at large. The pre-war Pacific Citizens is definitely written and edited for a Nisei reading audience. The 1944 Pacific Citizen displays a highly developed awareness of a non-Nisei reading public.

The history of the Pacific Citizen is not one of uninterrupted publication; there are lapses, and there are occasions on which support of the organ is regarded as an unjustifiable burden. Its ups and downs are similarly the chronicle of J.A.C.L. fortunes.

In attitudes indicating political ideology, with respect to American domestic issues, the Pacific Citizen has travelled the road from the conservative right to the liberal left.

Two factors seem largely responsible, changing circumstances under which it published (i.e. a war situation) and editorship. Which factor exercised greater influence seems debatable. But by a stroke of irony perhaps, one of the outstanding critics of early J.A.C.L. political conservatism, in the critical period of disorganization assumes leadership in the publication of the organ. Larry Tajiri's record as a Nisei newspaper editor, first with the Kashu Mainichi of Los Angeles, subsequently with the Nichi Bei of San Francisco, is one of consistent liberalism, with variations from the middle-of-the road to definite left.

From an early period he demonstrates an intellectual identity with what he sometimes has referred to as the economic underprivileged. He indicates sharp differences in the latter thirties with J.A.C.L. expressed attitudes of animosity toward labor unions; he wields a heavy cudgel against the bedrock Republicanism of Nisei J.A.C.L. leaders throughout this period. His whole outlook of the problems of the Nisei minority at an early stage in his career becomes geared to the larger problem of all racial minorities in America, and he apparently identifies himself personally with movements outside the restricted sphere of the Japanese community.

It is possible that the circumstances of war created the situation whereby only an individual of Tajiri's background and leanings could have assumed editorship of a publication with the Pacific Citizen's record of performance and managed its survival.

But it is clearly evident that the Pacific Citizen of 1944 has become friendly to organized labor, to what reactionary influences term left-wing American political influences; there are signs of

definite non-hostility by the Pacific Citizen to the Socialist Party. Certainly there is no red-baiting in the columns of the Pacific Citizen of 1944, while there is ample evidence of it throughout the thirties.

In the editorial position with regard to Japan and the Far Eastern situation, the Pacific Citizen's pendulum swings from the extreme of close identity with the interests of Japan and her "mission" in Manchuria in 1931 to the middle position of neutrality in the Sino-Japanese conflict starting in 1937 to the extreme position of attacking "rapacious Japan" from Pearl Harbor on.

In view of the origins of the J.A.C.L. as a movement and the character of its development, this evolution in the Pacific Citizen's international political ideology appears to follow a logical course.

There are some aspects of the dual personality in the early Pacific Citizen. It is aggressively American. Yet it emphasizes Japanese virtues. Hence: Pacific Citizen. Its greatest fear and bugaboo from the beginning is the catastrophe that finally overtakes it: war between ~~Axia~~ America and Japan.

It seems to be the inferred claim of the Pacific Citizen, however, that the J.A.C.L., through its instrumentality, psychologically prepared its Nisei followers for the worst. The aggressive Americanism program, characterized by what its critics often termed "superficial flag waving"¹², was intended, according to the interpretation today of its National President¹³

12. This criticism, occasionally reported in the Pacific Citizen, stemmed from not only some Nisei themselves, but from Issei and Caucasians.

13. Notes of personal interview of Saburo Kido by Togo ~~Ga~~ Tanaka 12/1/44 Salt Lake City J.A.C.L. headquarters.

to "give anchorage and a sense of belonging to America" to the Nisei.

Evidence of the success of its efforts is offered in current issues of the newspaper reporting on the performances of Nisei soldiers in the United States Army on both European and Pacific battlefronts. Evidence of the shortcomings of these efforts, from one point of view finding expression in the Pacific Citizen, may be found in the situation at Tule Lake.

There appears to be another significant difference between the Pacific Citizen of the thirties and the present publication.

The Pacific Citizen of 1944 is theoretically committed to the task of working itself out of existence.

It conceives its responsibility as being the task of helping solve the problem of the Japanese American minority in the United States. It seeks a solution, in the mind of its editor, through the processes of integrating members of this minority into American life to the extent that it loses its minority complexes, even identity. When this goal will be reached is a question on which there is even occasional editorial speculation. But it apparently is not in immediate sight.

In this attitude, however, the Pacific Citizen has assumed the character of a movement rather than the house organ of a self-perpetuating fraternal order.

It is the conviction of Pacific Citizen editor Tajiri that the Nisei can and must follow the pattern of second and third generation Americans of European immigrant extraction, that they must not follow the pattern of the Chinese Nisei. These latter, he states, "have lost their fight; they've gone back to

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Chinatown; they are concentrated in certain economic enterprises; they are dominated more by the older Issei Chinese and strongly identify their lives and interests with China rather than the United States. They have an organization, the Chinese Citizens Alliance with headquarters in San Francisco, but this has been a reactionary organization. The Japanese American Nisei are successfully resisting segregation; they are being much more easily integrated into the Caucasian community."¹⁴

14. Notes of personal interview with Larry Tajiri by Togo Tanaka Salt Lake City J.A.C.L. headquarters 12/2/44

The Pacific Citizen finds consistent justification for its existence as the organ of what was originally a segregated organization by public announcement that it seeks to work itself out of existence through solution of the Japanese-American problem and by bringing about the fundamental change in the membership participation of J.A.C.L. whereby citizens of European ancestry have been made eligible to join.

There is evidence that the Pacific Citizen plays a far more influential role among the Japanese population outside relocation centers today than it did in the Japanese community on the west coast. It is today one of four publications in the field, appears weekly instead of monthly, is found acceptable or read by those Nisei who have maintained distance from the J.A.C.L. as an organization.

There is likewise evidence that its impact upon federal government policy relating to evacuation and resettlement is a factor not altogether unimportant. That it has the ~~xxx~~ ability to successfully defeat outspoken antagonists in the field of

Japanese-English publications is demonstrated in the experiences of the Rocky Shimpo, published tri-weekly at Denver, Colorado. The English editor of the Rocky Shimpo, a James Omura, bitterly assailed both the J.A.C.L. and Pacific Citizen in 1943. In 1944 Rocky Shimpo is edited by a Nisei whose policies are in almost diametric contrast with his predecessor, as far as the J.A.C.L. and Pacific Citizen are concerned.

In the marshalling of support among Caucasian individuals and groups, it claims a record of unparalleled success in J.A.C.L. history. Through its uninterrupted circulation through the period of evacuation and resettlement, the Pacific Citizen maintains that it became the rallying point around which influential people throughout the country shaped their thinking and sympathies. This culminated in the financial and moral support from friends everywhere. Symbolic of groups which have had their activities influenced by the Pacific Citizen, it is pointed out, are the Friends of the American Way, the social action group formed in Pasadena to work for restoration of evacuee rights on the west coast.

The role of the Pacific Citizen in this ~~organ~~ organization's program was described by William Carr of the Friends of the American Way at the National J.A.C.L. Conference held in Salt Lake City in December of 1944.

"Our part time secretary reads the Pacific Citizen, and on the basis of articles found in each issue, our seventy members send out letters to different people. These letters are either pats or raps, pats on the back for good people, raps on the head for those who are prejudiced or bigoted. We feel strongly that the Pacific Citizen should get as much national recognition as possible.¹⁵

15. Tanaka notes of J.A.C.L. National Conference Meeting 12/2/44 at Japanese Christian Church, Salt Lake City.

Pacific Citizen in the Relocation Centers:

Determined attempts by National J.A.C.L. headquarters to build up Pacific Citizen circulation within the relocation centers in the summer of 1942 met with various reactions in the different centers. From the outset, Rohwer, Granada and Rivers responded more favorably than other camps. The effort failed most notably at Manzanar where both paid subscriptions and canteen sales have been the least of all centers, remains so today. In December, 1944, each week 36 copies of Pacific Citizen went to Tule Lake, but only six were sent to Manzanar.¹⁶

16. Of the 36 Tule Lake subscriptions, 5 go to Administrative personnel, the remainder to evacuees. Larry Tajiri interview by Togo Tanaka 12/4/44 Salt Lake City

Total circulation inside centers has fluctuated from a peak of 2500 in late 1942 to a constant average around 1800 for 1943. Notable decreases occurred, according to the records, after registration and reinstatement of Selective Service. Canteen sales of the Pacific Citizen at Tule Lake were discontinued during registration in February 1943; smashed windows resulted from protest demonstrations over their sales.

Like the J.A.C.L. which it represents, the Pacific Citizen has derived its chief support outside the relocation centers. Of its peak circulation of 7,000 in September, 1944, approximately 1,800 were relocation center subscribers, 1,500 Caucasian subscribers in all parts of the country, and the remainder Nisei.

Pacific Citizen as a Weekly Newspaper

The original function of the Pacific Citizen as the official organ of the National Japanese American Citizens League became completely submerged by 1944 beneath the newly acquired character of a newspaper for general Nisei circulation.

In 1944, for the first time in its history, it became a financially self-sustaining publication, operating on a budget of approximately \$16,000. In the previous year, it had been subsidized by the National J.A.C.L. to the extent of a \$3,000 deficit.

Its editorial policy has been left to the wisdom and discretion of its editor without regular or direct regulation from any J.A.C.L. Board.

Less than a tenth of its column space on an average is devoted to J.A.C.L. organizational matters. Even the writings of National President Saburo Kido are edited and printed in the form of a contributed column.