

NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING

NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

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with all members in attendance. Henceforth meetings will be held Tuesday night every week. The southern California branch of the Military Virtue Society will on July 20, beginning at noon in the Koyasan Hall, Los Angeles, hold its yearly military virtue festival and military (fencing) exercises with groups from places as follows competing: Brawley, El Centro, Central School of Los Angeles, Uptown School of Los Angeles, Keystone, Gamita, Redondo Beach, Baldwin, Hawthorne, El Monte, San Bernardino, Riverside, Coachella, Pasadena, Sawtelle, Santa Monica, Alpine, Huntington Beach, Oceanside, San Diego, and Chula Vista, in all numbering 26 groups. A heated contest is anticipated."

The manner in which the Military Virtue Society is closely integrated with other Japanese organizations, both business and social, is well illustrated by the postal addresses of some of its branches. For example, in Alvarado, Alameda County, post office box 215 is the address of the following:

- (1) Headquarters, Military Virtue Society of North America.
- (2) Kinyai Kumia Finance Association.
- (3) Japanese-American News correspondent.
- (4) New World Sun correspondent.
- (5) Hochi Shimbun correspondent.
- (6) Alvarado Japanese School.
- (7) Takichi Nakamura (president), Military Virtue Society of North America.

In Sebastopol, post-office box 57 is the address of the following:

- (1) Military Virtue Society of North America.
- (2) Japanese Sunday school.
- (3) Hiroshima Prefectural Society.
- (4) Sabura baseball team.

In Suisun, post-office box 252 is the address of:

- (1) Military Virtue Society of North America.
- (2) Mint Grill.
- (3) Suisun Fishing Club.

In Auburn, post-office box 57 is the address of:

- (1) Military Virtue Society of North America.
- (2) Japanese School.
- (3) Young Men's Buddhist Association.
- (4) Young Women's Buddhist Association.
- (5) Buddhist Church.

In Lindsay, 157 Mount Vernon Avenue is the address of:

- (1) Military Virtue Society of North America.
- (2) Japanese School.
- (3) Lindsay Women's Association.

The locations of the regional headquarters of the Military Virtue Society of North America are:

Southern California area: 230 Terminal Island.
 Seattle branch: 503 Main Street.
 Fresno area: 832 F Street.
 Sacramento area: 1300 Fourth Street.

✓
KIBEI

Another Japanese organizational activity which is worth noting is the Kibei Shimin movement. The Kibei Shimin movement was sponsored by Japanese Association of America and had as its policy the encouragement of the return to America from Japan of American-born Japanese. At the time the movement commenced it was ascertained that there were around 50,000 American-born Japanese in Japan. The Japanese Association of America sent representatives to Japan to confer with prefectural officials on the problems of financing and transportation, and a policy of publicity to induce these Japanese to return to America. The Japanese Association of America also arranged with the steamship companies for special rates for groups of 10 or more returning to America and requested all Japanese associations to secure employment for returning American-born Japanese. In addition, they printed leaflets and sponsored lectures throughout Japan to urge American-born Japanese to return to this country. That this campaign was successful in securing the return of a large number of American-born Japanese is apparent.

Newspaper items such as the following are typical:

"MAY, 1936. Tatsuki Sahada, president of the Woodland Japanese Association, returned to America with several American-born Japanese whose return he sponsored, and reported on his efforts on behalf of the Kibei movement."

Though born in America, most of the Japanese who have returned to this country as a result of the Kibei movement are unable to speak English. These American-born Japanese, educated in Japan, and who have returned to this country instilled with loyalty to the Emperor and with Japanese patriotic fervor, have formed an organization of their own known as the Kibei Shimin which is evidently of considerable size. On February 24, 1941, a San Francisco Japanese newspaper carried the following item, which gives some idea of the extent of the Kibei movement:

"The convention committee of the Kibei Shimin, together with representatives of the Japanese organizations backing them, met at the Japanese Association Hall in San Francisco to discuss plans for the convention. It was decided to have a contest for a 50-word slogan for the convention for which prizes would be given. Slogans should be mailed to the Kibei Shimin convention, 1623 Webster Street, San Francisco."

That Japanese in California are thoroughly conscious of and interested in their relationship to military figures in Japan is illustrated by the following item:

[The Japanese-American News]

"San Francisco, August 14, 1941.—Admiral Neimi, commander and chief of our squadron dispatched to the South Pacific, and upon whose shoulders rests the full power of the Japanese Navy and pressure in the South Pacific, has relatives in Fowler we heard. After seeking and looking for them it was disclosed that in the area lived a farmer by name of Akira Soraoka. We heard from his wife, 'He is our younger cousin, not our brother. Three years ago Neimi was attached to the party of Prince Chichibu and attended the crowning of the former King George VI of England, and on his way through the United States back to Japan we saw him in Fresno, and later received from the admiral's elder sister Mineko detailed letters about our birthplace and about the admiral. Seich is a good man and we did not think he would go to the front. However, having been entrusted with great national responsibility, we pray from a distance that he will live completely free from accident.'"

There are also Japanese organizations devoted to the worship of particular persons. For example, the Meiji Kai, which is devoted to the worship of Emperor Meiji. Also the Togo Kai, devoted to the worship of Admiral Togo and holding observances, particularly on the 10th day of August, in commemoration of the Battle of the Japan Sea. This society has headquarters in Japan and branches throughout the United States; in San Francisco the Togo Society being at 1860 Buchanan Street; in Sacramento at 1309½ Fourth Street. At the same address in Sacramento is also located the Japanese Association of Sacramento, the Sacramento Produce Association, and the Sacramento Sewing School. The personnel of the Togo Kai is thought to be composed mainly of former naval officers and reserve officers.

Another important Japanese organization existing in California is the Japanese Tourist Bureau, which, at the suggestion of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, changed its name to the East Asia Travel Agency. This organization is a subsidiary of the board of tourist industries operating under the Japanese Ministry of Communications. It maintained agencies in a number of cities in the United States, usually in connection with Japanese transportation companies. It published a series of pamphlets in English on Japan, Japanese art, culture, etc., and made available motion-picture films through the Japanese consulate on Japan. It also sponsored broadcasts in English from Japan for the benefit of American-born Japanese.

One of these persons thus sponsored was Kazumaro (Buddy) Uno, an American-born Japanese formerly on the staff of the New World Sun newspaper. He was employed by the Japanese Tourist Bureau to travel to Japan, China, Korea, and Manchukuo, and returned to the United States where he was given office space in the office of the consulate general in San Francisco, from which headquarters he made trips over the entire west coast making speeches to groups of American-born Japanese.

JAPANESE DUAL CITIZENSHIP

And in that connection, in order that the committee may realize the seriousness of the problem that we have, as has been testified to, there are in the neighborhood of 100,000 Japanese in the State of California, a large number of whom are in possession of dual citizenship, under a law of December 1, 1924, that Japan passed called the New Nationality Law.

Under that law Japanese born in the United States after that date automatically lost Japanese citizenship unless within 14 days they were registered at the Japanese consulate. The law further provided that those who registered, as well as those born here before December 1924, could renounce Japanese citizenship by declaration at the Japanese consulate after reaching their twentieth year.

The records that we have accumulated during the years (see Exhibit E) show that the Japanese so born do not repatriate themselves by renouncing their Japanese citizenship other than to the extent of about one-third, the remainder retaining their citizenship. In fact, there are many who are citizens of the United States who have returned to Japan, to be educated in the Japanese schools, and for all intents and purposes, and practically speaking, are Japanese. Some have been, of course, impressed into service in the Japanese Army, United States citizens who are fighting the country of which they are also citizens.

POSITION OF KIBEI SHIMIN

Likewise, through the years there have been what are known as Kibei Shimin, meaning those who are the sons or daughters of a United States citizen, one who was born in the United States of Japanese forebears who have returned to Japan. There are instances where, if the parent was a United States citizen, even if they were born in Japan, they would be entitled, under our immigration laws, to be considered as a citizen of the United States, provided before reaching the age of 18 they have come here, probably at the age of 14, to be educated and continue forth and declare themselves a United States citizen.

In this group there are many thousands. The exact number we are not in a position to say. But we do know, according to the Japan foreign office announcement, that there were about 50,000 of these Kibei Shimin. Many thousands of them returned to the State of California and to Hawaii and there they became a part of and partially responsible for the conditions that existed at the time that the 1924 Exclusion Act was passed. Those particular individuals, being foreign in ideas and background and purposes and so forth, have created a very bad situation so far as the native-born American-Japanese citizen is concerned, who was born here and educated here, because by their actions and conduct they have indicated their lack of loyalty to this country. There may be Japanese who are loyal to this country, yet there is no way of proving that loyalty.

Admiral Yates Sterling, retired admiral of the United States Navy, in an article in the Liberty magazine of June 17, 1919, in speaking about Hawaii, doubted whether there were any Japanese whose loyalty could be counted upon in the event of an emergency.

many people who are valuable citizens, who have established themselves in communities.

We should minimize the losses of life and property and investments, to the extent that we can, and those are all factors that can be considered in connection with this proposal.

I merely call that to your attention and suggest it to you for the consideration of your committee.

In concluding, then, I would ask again that we be given the opportunity to submit a prepared statement or exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

DIFFICULT TO ESTABLISH LOYALTY OF JAPANESE

Mr. FOUKE. Calling attention to the fact that in view of the long record over some 30 years of time we are satisfied that it is very doubtful to be able to establish the loyalty of any person who came from the Empire of Japan, whether the descendent of one who came here or not, and that we also have a general problem of dealing with all alien enemies.

Our committee is concerned only with the Asiatic group, as such, and with the Mexican problem.

It is with that in mind that we recommend that the committee recommend to Congress the establishment of combat zones, the evacuation of all persons, aliens or citizens alike, from such zones, and under the supervision of the authorities that are constituted and at the expense of those authorities make provision for the removal of those people as expeditiously and as efficiently as possible.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I want to say this to you, I have heard a good many talkers in Congress, but I think you match right up with them. You don't seem to have much trouble at all—effortless. I just want to give you that compliment. I don't think we have anyone there that can beat you.

Mr. FOUKE. Thank you very much, sir.

Are there any questions?

(The following exhibits were submitted for the record. Exhibits A and B, which are very similar in content, were both submitted for the record.)

EXHIBIT A.—THE STORY OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

JAPAN DEMANDS WHAT MAY NOT BE CONCEDED

(V. S. McClatchy, executive secretary, California Joint Immigration Committee) ¹

Japan has made demand that the United States repeal that part of the law of 1924 which excludes aliens ineligible to American citizenship and then open the gates to Japanese immigration (and necessarily to all other Asiatic immigration as well).

Widely publicized notice of the contemplated demand was given before the Japanese Diet, March 23, 1937, assertedly based on information (which had no foundation in fact) that public opinion in the United States on the subject had changed, and that a bill to comply with Japan's desires had been introduced in Congress.² Previous thereto, on March 10, Ken Sato, a prominent journalist of

¹ Article published in the Labor Clarion, San Francisco, September 3, 1937.

² The "information" apparently was furnished by Seijiro Yoshizawa, counselor to the Japanese Embassy at Washington, who was called to Tokyo to act as spokesman for the Foreign Office there. In an interview in the San Francisco Japanese-American News, February 5, 1937, he referred to an assumed change in American opinion on the subject and to an immigration bill by Kvale, H. R. 3798, as proposing quota for Japan. That bill, however, contained no reference to Japanese immigration.

Japan, stated in Honolulu that he was on the way to the mainland on a "mission" to inform "American editors, Congressmen, and the President" that this concession was necessary to insure friendly relations between the two countries. That mission was fulfilled in a number of cities, commencing on the Pacific coast in early April and winding up later in New York and Washington.³

Japan's demand, therefore, is sufficiently explicit. What shall the answer be? The exclusion provision of 1924 was the only plan of the five then or since proposed (three thereof favored by Japan) which, without discrimination and without surrender of national sovereignty or congressional prerogative, would effectively shut out the only element of Asiatic immigration then still pouring in contrary to law or agreement.⁴ That law and its basic principle, once abandoned, may never be recalled.

JAPAN'S RECORD IN IMMIGRATION

Immigration quota, if granted to Japan, will be regarded only as a proof of our weakness and an incentive for further demands. She has said, through various spokesmen, that quota will not satisfy; that she must have "racial equality"; and "racial equality" in this matter means ultimately entrance for as many immigrants from Japan as may be admitted from Canada or any first-class nation of Europe. The experience of the world with Japanese immigration in the past offers ample material to support a prompt decision by the United States in this matter; and a brief outline of that experience is presented herewith.

Up to 1885 Japan forbade any emigration of her people. In 1891 she commenced to send out emigrants for settlement in favorable lands, and by 1900, with the aid of emigrant associations and government appropriations, was shipping them in thousands.⁵ Australia and the west coast of the United States took alarm at the menace offered by the entrance of such unassimilable elements of immigration. Australia, refusing Japan's plea for a "gentlemen's agreement," promptly enacted an exclusion law which Japan protested as discriminating and insulting, but finally accepted and has since found no bar to friendly relations.⁶ Australia's Japanese population steadily decreased and in 1920 was only 5,261.⁷

THE TWO GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENTS

The United States unwisely acceded to Japan's request that the agreed exclusion of Japanese from the United States mainland, and, with certain reservations, from Hawaii, should be accomplished by Japan's control of visas. The first agreement, made in August 1900, remained in effect until July 1, 1908, when it was supplanted by the second agreement, made in 1907 by President Theodore Roosevelt. Warned by the flood of immigration which poured in in violation of the terms of the first agreement,⁸ the agreement of 1907 was carefully safeguarded so that if Japan failed to (a) exclude Japanese laborers and (b) prevent increase of Japanese population in continental United States, the agreement would be replaced by an exclusion law.⁹ In addition, the President, under congressional authority, forbade entrance into continental United States of Japanese or other ineligible coming under Japan's visa through Hawaii or any foreign country; and in 1911 the Senate refused to approve the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Japan until the Japanese ambassador, in a footnote thereto, guaranteed on behalf of his government that the terms of the agreement as to exclusion of Japanese laborers would be maintained.¹⁰

Notwithstanding all those precautions, the terms of the agreement, after Roosevelt's incumbency, were steadily and openly violated in entrance of laborers

³ Honolulu Advertiser, March 10, 1937; also interview in New York Herald Tribune, May 6, 1937. See also C. J. I. C. Docs. 492, 495.

⁴ Quota or Exclusion for Japanese Immigrants?, Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, December 20, 1932, p. 314, footnote 10.

⁵ According to U. S. Census Japanese population in continental United States was, in 1880, 148; 1890, 2,039; 1900, 24,326; 1910, 72,157; 1920, 111,010. The actual population in 1920 was approximately 150,000—in California 100,000 in other States 50,000. See Senate Committee Hearing, March 1924, pp. 20, 25, 164-165; also McClatchy Brief, 1921, secs. 68-83.

⁶ Racial Discrimination in the Attitude of Australia Towards the Japanese, Cyril Wynne, Widener Library, Harvard University; also Queensland Parliamentary Papers, A-5, 1899, and A-56, 1901.

⁷ Japanese Yearbook, 1923, p. 45, 46.

⁸ Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese American Crises, Bailey, p. 2.

⁹ See President Theodore Roosevelt's telegram to California Legislature, February 9, 1909; also his autobiography, pp. 411-414; and correspondence with William Kent and others—explained in Senate Immigration Committee Hearing, March 1924, pp. 12-16.

¹⁰ Senate Immigration Committee Hearing, March 1924, p. 16; also statement of Y. Uchida, February 24, 1911, at p. 245 of Percentage Plan or Restriction of Immigration, House Immigration Committee Hearing, 1919.

and of picture and kankodan brides, who served the double purpose of field laborers and mothers.¹¹ It developed that the agreement could not be enforced under our laws.¹² Protests from the Pacific coast were unheeded by the Federal Government, and certain States sought to protect themselves and their citizens by passage of alien land laws.

JAPAN'S POLICY FORCES CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

In California the Japanese established a state within a State wherein every Japanese, whether alien or American citizen, was forced, through registration in a minor association, subject to control of the Japanese Association of America (which in turn acted under direction of the consulate general of Japan) to obey the orders of Japan in peace and in war.¹³

In 1915 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, hoping to secure thereby Japan's aid in evangelizing that country, promised to obtain for her nationals immigration and naturalization privileges in the United States; inaugurated a Nation-wide campaign therefor; had two bills introduced in Congress for the purpose in 1919 and actively championed those bills in committee hearings.¹⁴

In 1920 the Japanese population of the United States, including Hawaii, had become over three times as great as that of all other countries of the world, outside of Asia, combined.^{15a}

An aroused Nation demanded abrogation of the "gentlemen's agreement" and exclusion of Japanese by law. Hearings were held before the congressional committees in 1919 and the following years, and in 1924 Congress included in the immigration restriction act the provision excluding all aliens ineligible to citizenship. In the final hearing before the Senate Immigration Committee in March of that year the cause of Japan was presented by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America under direction of Sidney Gulick, while the case for general exclusion of all ineligible was presented on behalf of the California Joint Immigration Committee, under authority of its then four sustaining California State bodies—American Legion, Federation of Labor, Grange, and Native Sons of the Golden West—by ex-United States Senator J. D. Phelan, State Attorney General U. S. Webb, and V. S. McClatchy. Enforcement of that law stopped further entrance of Japanese for permanent settlement, and in consequence the Japanese births in California alone dropped from 5,010 in 1923 to 1,448 in 1936.

JAPAN'S ACTIVITIES SINCE 1924

In other countries outside of Asia which failed to take precautionary measures the Japanese population rapidly increased after 1920, until in 1934 their combined Japanese population was nearly as great as that contained in the United States, which was 304,670.¹⁵

South American countries, notably Brazil and Peru, awoke to the danger in 1934, and have since sought by exclusion and restriction to guard against it.¹⁶

Since 1924 Japan has sought steadily—without success, however—to induce a change in American public opinions as to the exclusion law. An elaborate campaign for that purpose from 1930 to 1934 in the three Pacific Coast States provoked letters to President Franklin D. Roosevelt in January 1934 from the 35 congressional representatives from those States declaring themselves, on behalf of their respective constituencies, unalterably opposed to any modification of the existing law. In January 1933 the members of the Commonwealth Club of California, after reading the report of a year's investigation by its immigration section, voted by large majorities against any form of immigration quota for Japan.¹⁷ Since January

¹¹ Statement of House Immigration Committee March 24, 1924, in Report No. 350, "The purpose of the agreement * * * as explained by Roosevelt, has not been carried out. * * * The Japanese population of continental United States has very materially increased; * * * thousands of Japanese women have come in as laborers, designated on the manifests and in the reports as such, and have performed the double duty of field laborers and mothers of families averaging five children."

¹² Letter, Secretary of State Hughes to House Immigration Committee, August 16, 1921, in Labor Problems in Hawaii, House Immigration Committee Hearing, 67th Cong., pt. 2, p. 928. Also decision of Judge M. T. Dooling, U. S. District Court, San Francisco, Calif., case of M. Nakao, May 1916.

¹³ Japan's Secret Policy, Senate Doc. No. 55, 1921, p. 63.

¹⁴ "Quota or Exclusion for Japanese Immigrants?" cited, p. 313 and footnote. House Immigration Committee Hearing 1919-20-22: Senate Committee Hearing March 1924; Brief V. S. McClatchy, "Political Activities of the F. C. C. A.," presented to House Immigration Committee, January 6, 1926; "Japanese Conquest of American Opinion," Montaville Flowers, 1917.

^{15a} Japanese Yearbook, 1923, p. 45, 46.

¹⁵ Japanese Census 1934, quoted by San Francisco Japanese American News, April 26, 1937.

¹⁶ Associated Press story, April 26, 1937; editorial Washington Star, April 28, 1937.

¹⁷ C. J. I. C. Doc. No. 312.

1934 there has been no reference to the subject, either on the floor or in committee of either House of Congress.

Japan's efforts did not cease then, however. Within the past 3 years published statistics show that in Hawaii two-thirds of the citizens of Japanese ancestry, and even of those registered as voters, retain Japanese citizenship through choice, and are bound to obey Japan's orders in peace and in war. Similar conditions exist in California, though access to the statistics cannot be had. * * * In Hawaii, now demanding statehood, two-thirds of the population is Asiatic and 40 percent Japanese, while the largest racial group of registered voters is Japanese.¹⁸

In Hawaii and California withdrawal of certain public school books has been forced because they contained misrepresentations, in Japan's interest, of the facts concerning Japanese immigration and current events in Asia.¹⁹ * * * The Japanese American Citizens' League in California has pledged its members to "solidarity"—the use of their position and united strength for the benefit of Japanese generally, alien as well as American citizens. As part of that policy admission of alien Japanese relatives from Japan and naturalization of alien Japanese resident in the United States are now urged. Grant of such privileges would force repeal of the 1924 exclusion provision and abandonment of its basic principle. * * * The Japan Foreign Office has recently urged the return of 50,000 "Kibei Shimin," now in Japan, to California and other Pacific coast States, where their American citizenship can be of most service. The Japanese Association of America is promoting the movement. "Kibei Shimin" are Japanese born in the United States and sent back in early childhood to Japan and there trained through youth to maturity in the duties and loyalty of Japanese citizenship. "Kibei Shimin" are received without question into full membership by the Japanese American Citizens' League.²⁰

WHAT SHALL OUR ANSWER BE?

Apparently Japan believes the time is now ripe for a final decisive drive to force entrance for her emigration into the largest English-speaking nation of the world. Hence the present widely publicized demand for the necessary change in our laws to serve her purpose. Japan's ground for complaint, if she has any in this matter, is not against the exclusion law, which is not discriminatory, but against our century-old naturalization law which, as amended 70 years ago, creates a basic barrier against admission of races other than white and black.

As between Japanese and Caucasian there does not arise, and has not been suggested, any question of racial superiority. Both races are so strong in characteristics that make for racial dominance, but at the same time so dissimilar, that absorption of one by the other is out of the question. The attempt to assimilate the two in the land of either is, as frankly stated by President Theodore Roosevelt, Japan's consistent friend, certain to provoke disaster. Japan, many years ago after determined protest, gracefully conceded the issue in three British dominions. She has permitted herself to be misled here by the counsel of certain American influences, some not disinterested, and others manifestly uninformed as to the facts. The American Nation cannot permit its permanent welfare to be jeopardized by conceding a demand which, aside from its assumption of the right to dictate to a friendly power in a matter of domestic policy, has no foundation in fact or in justice.

EXHIBIT B.—THE STORY OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

THE RECORDS IN A VEXED QUESTION

The immigration question created serious disturbances in Japan's relations with Australia and with the United States, respectively, at the opening of the present century.

In one case the misunderstanding disappeared after a few years without injury to either nation. In the other it increased, and in time assumed grave proportions.

The reason? In both cases there was friendly agreement as to the wisdom of exclusion and difference only as to the method for insuring it. In one case,

¹⁸ C. J. I. C. Doc. No. 451; statistics in letter Governor Poindexter to C. J. I. C. February 15, 1936; Honolulu Advertiser, August 10, 1935.

¹⁹ C. J. I. C. Docs. Nos. 458-9, 476, 501.

²⁰ Osaka Mainichi, March 19, 1937, C. J. I. C. Doc. No. 506.

reasons given for lack of expatriation, but how much property in Japan did coolie immigrants leave behind?

Japanese consuls and visiting dignitaries play a large part in the life of the Nisei, who are constantly being advised by them to be "good Americans." Even Matsuoka, educated in the United States but hating it, has advised this.

The influence of the Japanese language schools may be responsible for many of the troubles of the Nisei. There are 248 of these alien-controlled schools in California, teaching about 18,000 children the culture and emperor worship of Japan daily after public-school hours. In 1939 these schools cost the Japanese \$398,000. Textbooks printed in Japan, superseding those approved by the California State Board of Education, and teaching patriotism to Japan and emperor worship, were used in these schools until the Japanese learned the fact was known, when they were stacked away and the approved books again used. This occurred on February 14, 1941. An attempt was made by the California Joint Immigration Committee to have the recent California Legislature enact a law prohibiting the teaching in language schools of allegiance to a foreign government, but the Japanese lobby, much in evidence, was apparently successful in having the bill killed.

This Japanese lobby was able to defeat a measure in the 1939 California Legislature to curb espionage activities of Japanese fishermen in southern California. The F. B. I. questioned the source of the large sum of money spent in that fight. The activities of these fishermen have been too persistently exposed to be mere fiction.

Walter Tsukamoto, former national president of the Japanese American Citizens League, a Sacramento attorney and United States Army Reserve officer, is the guiding spirit of the Japanese lobby in the State legislature. In 1940 he received an award from the Japanese Young People's Society of Chicago as "the Nisei of the year" for his activities in helping to defeat the aforementioned fishing bill.

The Nisei are urged by their leaders to be active in American politics and to use their bloc of 25,600 California votes for the benefit of the Japanese, alien as well as native born. They are even urged to join with the Negroes to make a sizable bloc which may swing an election, or break down the laws which Americans have enacted for their own protection and welfare. They have been very active recently in entertaining publicly newspapermen and politicians, getting the latter to bestow their trophies and laud them for their "Americanism"—25,600 is a large number of votes.

Study trips to Japan for young Nisei are financed by the Japanese Government. One such party leaves early in July. A 3-months trip costs \$190. This goes on each year, and the returning children frequently engage in lecture tours to spread the word about the wonders of Japan among their fellows. Entrance examinations in Japanese universities are eased for Nisei wishing to study there, and money for the purpose is loaned to them by the Japanese Government. Some are trained to propagandize in this country.

Many American-born children are sent to Japan in early childhood for education, and when they return are practically alien Japanese, frequently speaking no English. There were about 50,000 of these Kibei Shimin in Japan until recently, when the passage of the 1940 American nationality law, presuming expatriation of those who have been in the country of their parents for more than 6 months was passed. To avoid losing their American citizenship under this law many of them are scurrying back before the deadline in the middle of July. After that time they will be in grave danger of losing it.

The California Joint Immigration Committee is maintained primarily to protect the exclusion measure against repeal or modification and notify the public in regard thereto. It contends that these unfortunate and highly undesirable conditions are proof of the unassimilability of the Japanese and the necessity of their exclusion as permanent residents. All Japanese, both here and in Japan, are constantly agitating for immigration quota, claiming that the number that could enter thereunder (185 annually) would be negligible. But added to that basic quota would be all those coming in under nonquota classification—visitors, students, ministers, diplomats, businessmen, and particularly alien wives for American-born Japanese (much desired). These wives would become the mothers of large, unassimilable families, and so the Japanese problem would be aggravated and perpetuated. Quota would also necessarily be extended to all other oriental countries, bringing the annual immigration from the Orient to well over 1,000. The basic principle of exclusion of those ineligible to citizenship

must not be destroyed or weakened, either by grant of quota or by grant of naturalization to the colored races of Asia.

DOROTHY KALTENBACH, *Secretary,*
California Joint Immigration Committee,
San Francisco, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. No. Thank you very much. We have another witness.

Mr. Strobel.

TESTIMONY OF H. L. STROBEL, FARMER, MONTEREY COUNTY, CALIF.

The CHAIRMAN. State your name and capacity, please.

Mr. STROBEL. H. L. Strobel, farmer from Monterey County.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Strobel, in which capacity do you appear? Do you represent the Associated Farmers?

Mr. STROBEL. Not in this particular instance, sir. I think I represent the vegetable interests in Monterey County more than any other particular group.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Strobel.

Mr. STROBEL. Mr. Chairman: I think that a great deal has been said here today regarding the participation of the Japanese in the production of fruits and vegetables. I am primarily interested in dispelling some of the misinformation that has apparently gone throughout the Nation.

Much has been said, that if the Japanese were removed from the California area or from their farming occupations in California, it might result in a serious shortage of necessary vegetables for the rest of the Nation. I think that I can make a statement to the contrary without fear of being contradicted.

I believe that the American farmers, or the farmers of California, are entirely capable, and with the land now occupied by Japanese, will produce in just as large a quantity the vegetables that have been formerly produced by the Japanese in our farming areas. I think the rest of the Nation need have no fear as to the amount of vegetables that will come from California. There will be no appreciable lessening of the flow to the eastern markets and to those canning and processing agencies which have formerly carried on their operations with some Japanese production.

OPPOSES UNDIRECTED RESETTLEMENT OF JAPANESE

I might say that many of us have been concerned with the Japanese problem. I think, without taking anything else into consideration, that we must realize that we are at war now and that there is a very serious problem, as has been stressed by speaker after speaker here, in maintaining the status of the Japanese as it is at the present time, where they have freedom of access throughout our entire State and are not confined, you might say, to the areas of the State of California. They are free to roam around more or less. It is impossible to maintain any vigilance over all of their activities and their actions and many of them are constantly moving from one place to another.

(The following statement was submitted subsequent to the hearing:)

STATEMENT BY HENRY TANI, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, SAN FRANCISCO CHAPTER, JAPANESE-AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

THE JAPANESE IN SAN FRANCISCO

THE PEOPLE

In any consideration of the Japanese people on the Pacific coast there is the necessity of understanding the various classifications into which these Japanese people fall.

THE ISSEI—FIRST GENERATION

There is, first, the real immigrant Japanese group which made its main appearance in the United States from 1890 to 1920. Immigration figures will reveal the extent of this movement more accurately. The important observation to be made at this time is the fact that with the Immigration Act of 1924 the flow of Japanese immigration was effectively blocked.

This will naturally show that every single alien Japanese (with the exception of a few merchants and ministers) in this country at this time have been resident of the United States for 18 years at the least. It also follows that of this group that is remaining in this country at this time practically all consider themselves permanent residents.

One speaks of this first group as the first-generation Japanese. The common term used to describe this group is the "Issei" (pronounced "iss-say," meaning "first generation"). Our laws deny naturalization rights to these aliens, who otherwise might have become good American citizens. Only in passing might it be mentioned that, by and large, the Issei have been law-abiding and respectful citizens, and that they had contributed largely to the economic wealth of their neighborhood.

THE NISEI—SECOND GENERATION

The offspring of the Issei is the Nisei, (pronounced "nee-say," meaning "second generation"), who are born, reared, and educated in the American culture and are inherently American in all manifest ways, except that there are occasional cultural inclinations showing their Japanese home influence.

It is no exaggeration that by their own admission the Nisei consider themselves far more American than Japanese. Testimonies to the contrary notwithstanding, school teachers, business associates, religious leaders, and those who have come to learn the Nisei in their normal ways of life will add their evidence to this fact. The Nisei is a citizen. He takes his citizenship seriously. He meets his obligation to society by cooperating with the civic authorities. Physically the Nisei conform more to the American standards than do their parents—the result of the vigorous athletic program, the diet, and the relative free expression usual to American growth.

THE KIBEI—THOSE WHO RETURNED

Of the Nisei group, there is within them but yet apart from them another group which is usually referred to as the "Kibei" (pronounced "ki-bay," meaning "those who came back"). Like the Nisei, the Kibei was born in the United States and thus is entitled to citizenship in the United States. Unlike the Nisei, the Kibei receives his education in Japan and is therefore more culturally Japanese.

Of course, the degree to which the Kibei is more Japanese than American depends largely on the number of years and the age during which he was in Japan. Many of them returned to Japan with their family at a young age and returned to America in their late teens. It is unfair to classify the Kibei in one large group and generalize too freely with them since the variation is so largely dependent upon the many factors involved.

These things can be said of them, however: That their English is relatively poor, mainly because they missed the American schooling which their Nisei brothers and sisters got; their mastery of the Japanese language is definitely superior than what little Japanese the local Nisei got in the language schools here; their emotional life is definitely more unstable than for the Nisei, because the Kibei missed the family life which the Nisei had.

THE JAPAN-BORN NISEI

In all fairness to that very little minority within the Japanese community, one must mention the few individuals who were born in Japan and came to this country with their parents in their early childhood. Such individuals missed out in getting their United States citizenship by being born in Japan, but otherwise are Nisei in all other aspects. This group is culturally American, and, though technically they are Issei, they are so only because of their birth in Japan.

POPULATION BREAK-DOWN

According to the 1940 United States census, there were in California a total of 93,717 Japanese, of which 33,569 were aliens and 60,148 were citizens. This makes a ratio of 36 percent alien as opposed to 64 percent citizens. When cast upon the whole State population, which is 6,907,387, there are 135 Japanese for each 10,000 Californians.

For the city of San Francisco, the census figures show 2,276, or 43 percent, aliens as against 3,004, or 57 percent, citizens, making a total of 5,280 Japanese out of the city's population of 634,536. The ratio, therefore, in San Francisco of Japanese to the total population is 83 out of 10,000.

NISEI BREAK-DOWN

According to the Nisei survey conducted by the San Francisco Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League in October 1940, a further break-down of the total Nisei group revealed that 73.5 percent were Nisei, 22.8 percent were Kibei, and 3.7 percent were Japan-born Nisei. This is true of San Francisco only since the metropolitan area reflects the greater Kibei element.

Of all the Nisei who are 18 years of age and over, the concentration by age showed that 61 percent of the total were between the ages of 19 to 25, inclusive, and that 46 percent were between the ages of 20 to 24, inclusive. This substantiates the fact that the average of the Nisei is 21 years old, further proved by the fact that the birth rate of Japanese in California hit its peak in the year 1921. This can also be verified by the high attendance of Nisei students in our universities at this time. For instance, there were 500 at the University of California last fall.

JAPANESE TOWN

That the Japanese people in San Francisco are concentrated in their own Japanese town is proven by the fact that in an area of 24 square blocks 73.3 percent of the total Nisei in San Francisco, according to the Nisei survey, are stated to be living within this area.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

It is interesting to note that the Nisei survey showed the religious affiliations distributed as follows: 42 percent Protestant, 35 percent Buddhist, 7 percent Catholic, 3 percent others, and 13 percent none.

DUAL CITIZENSHIP

It is true that the Nisei themselves are very vague about their dual-citizenship status since they are not well acquainted with the many laws that affect their status. However, 32 percent seem to hold this dual-citizenship status to the best of their knowledge, according to the Nisei survey. This figure includes those who are not certain of their status, and therefore the percentage figure is increased thereby.

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

It is safe to say that, according to the best reliable sources, there is practically no crime or delinquency record involving the Japanese in San Francisco. It is also safe to say that relief cases (pre-war) have been very scarce and practically unknown though there were a few isolated cases now and then.

SELECTIVE SERVICE

The number of selectees in the United States Army from San Francisco has been variously estimated as being between 175 to 200, of which about 20 percent

32%

the present demand for the necessary change in our laws to serve her purpose. Japan's complaint, if she has any in this matter, is not against the exclusion measure, which is not discriminatory, but against our century-old naturalization law, which created a basic barrier against admission of races other than white and black, and against our policy of excluding unassimilable elements from our population. But it would seem that no nation has the right to protest against application to herself of a policy established before mutual contact had taken place. And Japan herself excludes Korean and Chinese laborers, who are of her own color, by Imperial Order No. 352.

As between Japanese and Caucasians there does not arise, and has not been suggested, any question of racial superiority. Both races are so strong in characteristics that make for racial dominance but at the same time so dissimilar that absorption of the one by the other is out of the question. The attempt to assimilate the two in the land of either is, as frankly stated by President Theodore Roosevelt, Japan's consistent friend, certain to provoke disaster. Japan, many years ago, after determined protest, accepted the decision of three British Dominions to exclude her emigrants. She has permitted herself to be misled here by the counsel of certain American influences, some not disinterested and others manifestly misinformed as to the facts, into believing that she may eventually receive the concessions she demands. The American Nation cannot permit its permanent welfare to be jeopardized by conceding a demand which, aside from its assumption of the right to dictate to a friendly power in a matter of domestic policy, has no foundation in fact or in justice. If the exclusion measure, with its basic principle, is ever abandoned it may never be recalled.

EXHIBIT C

The following statement on the Japanese citizenship situation is issued by the California Joint Immigration Committee, composed of representatives of the American Legion, California State Federation of Labor, Native Sons, and California Grange:

The California Joint Immigration Committee recognizes the existence of the following facts and conditions:

That the United States of America is at war with the Empire of Japan.

That the Pacific Coast States are in a combat zone and are now in danger.

That there are Japanese residing in the Pacific Coast States of which approximately 93,717 reside in California, and of this number 33,569 are alien Japanese; that the remainder by reason of birth are citizens of the United States, but of this number 25,177 are also citizens of Japan, and about 25 percent of those born in the United States have relinquished their Japanese citizenship.

That Japanese residents of the Hawaiian Islands furnished information that made possible the success of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

That more than 25,000 United States citizens of Japanese parentage have been educated in schools in Japan, many of whom now reside in the Pacific Coast States; that other United States citizens born in this country of Japanese parents have been educated in Japanese language schools sponsored and supported by the Government of Japan in this country, and that many of these citizens are not loyal to the Government of the United States or its institutions.

That it is true that about 25 percent of the Japanese citizens residing in California have renounced their Japanese citizenship, but experience has demonstrated that such renunciation cannot be accepted as proof of their loyalty to the United States while the two countries are at war.

That though it is recognized that some of the Japanese citizens are entirely loyal to this country and her institutions, it is impossible now with required certainty to separate the loyal from the disloyal. While we recognize the misfortune and hardship that the loyal citizens may suffer, these are conditions which must be borne by the individual rather than that the welfare of the nation be endangered.

That the presence of people in the combat zone whose loyalty is in doubt should not be tolerated, lest the welfare of the nation be imperiled.

That civil rights and liberties of all persons within the United States is recognized and must be protected in all proper ways and at all times, but in time of war, the civil rights and liberties of the individual must yield to the common good.

Pearl Harbor has caused a quickening effort in the production of war material but with Japanese in, around, and within reach of every productive energy, it is idle to cry: "Remember Pearl Harbor."

Neither fear, timidity nor cost should delay action.

Japanese should be removed now!

In recognition of the foregoing facts, It is

Resolved, That the entire Pacific coast to such extent landward as may be required to insure safety should be declared a combat zone; and be it further

Resolved, That the Japanese, including Japanese citizens of the United States, be removed as quickly as possible from said zone; and be it further

Resolved, That where like dangers exist in the interior, other combat zones be established and like removals made therefrom; and be it further

Resolved, That all civil authorities of the State aid Federal authorities to such extent as Federal authorities may request.

JAMES K. FISK, *Chairman*,
H. J. McCLATCHY, *Executive Secretary*.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., February 13, 1942.

EXHIBIT D.—CALIFORNIA JOINT IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

DANGERS CREATED BY JAPANESE DUAL CITIZENSHIP

A serious problem exists, particularly in Hawaii and California, because most of the Japanese born under the American flag and exercising the right of American citizenship still elect to retain Japanese citizenship with its obligations, although they are now free to expatriate. It is charged that many of these dual citizens would use their American citizenship under direction or influence to further the purposes of Japan.

As late as the early 1920's, Japan maintained in California a state within a State in which every Japanese, whether alien or native-born American citizen, was under orders of Japan, in peace and in war. He was forced to belong to a local association subject to the Japanese Association of America and all under control of the consul general of Japan at San Francisco (S. Doc. No. 55, 1921, p. 63; also Japanese Immigration and Colonization, V. S. McClatchy, 1921, secs. 196 to 218).

Publication of the facts and the passage in 1924 of that provision of the Immigration Restriction Act excluding as immigrants all aliens ineligible to American citizenship induced Japan to put into operation on December 1, 1924, a new nationality law. Under that law Japanese born in the United States after the date named automatically lost Japanese citizenship unless within 14 days they were registered at the Japanese consulate. The law further provided that those so registered, as well as those born here before December 1924, could renounce Japanese citizenship by declaration at the Japanese consulate after reaching their twentieth year.

Under that system it was assumed that dual citizenship would disappear if the Japanese themselves really desired to renounce all obligations to Japan as the price for American citizenship. The records prove, however, that various factors, including the insistence of the first generation, the pull of heredity, the Japanese law of family, the teachings of alien Buddhist instructors in the Japanese language schools, and the encouraged study of "Japanese culture," tend to nullify the purpose of the law. In Hawaii, for instance, "the total number of American citizens of Japanese ancestry who had relinquished Japanese citizenship was, as of June 30, 1934, 34,270, approximately 33 percent of those eligible for expatriation." Of that number 28,459 are Japanese born since December 1, 1924, who lost Japanese citizenship automatically at birth under the terms of the law; 5,811 is the total number of those who lost Japanese citizenship by formal declaration at the consulate after reaching the age of 20 years (letter of Gov. Joseph Poindexter to California Joint Immigration Committee, February 15, 1936). In other words, two-thirds of the Hawaiian-born Japanese still retain their Japanese citizenship with all obligations thereof. That situation is attracting special attention because the Territory is now asking for Statehood, and the Japanese who constitute 38 percent of the total population have already passed every other racial group in the number of registered voters.

In California it must be assumed that conditions as to dual citizenship are somewhat similar, although the figures are not available because the consulate general at San Francisco no longer keeps statistics of such matters, as was formerly done (letter Shuh Tomii, consul general of Japan at San Francisco, December 19, 1935).

The following facts in connection with the California situation are of interest: The Japanese American Citizens League, a powerful organization with approximately 50 chapters in the Pacific States, has for its main proclaimed purpose the training of American-born Japanese so that they may properly discharge their obligations as American citizens. The league admits to membership without question, however, all Japanese born under our flag, many if not most of whom, it would seem, still retain Japanese citizenship. It even admits the Kibei Shimin, Japanese born here and sent in early childhood to Japan and there brought up to manhood and womanhood as Japanese citizens. They are, to all intents and purposes when they return here, alien Japanese immigrants who have the privileges of American citizenship. Japanese authorities place the total number of Kibei Shimin at between 40,000 and 50,000 and say they are returning now at the rate of 1,000 per year. The Japanese Association of America is planning to bring back at once to California all the Kibei Shimin still in Japan who will come.

EXHIBIT E.—CALIFORNIA JOINT IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE

(Copy of report prepared at the request of the Dies Committee, House of Representatives, on Japanese problems and propaganda)

The 150,000 Japanese in continental United States form one of the country's most foreign-minded racial groups. The native-born among them are American citizens, but they are dominated by their ineligible alien parents, whose patriotism for Japan and its emperor, whom they worship as a god, is almost fanatical. Because of this domination and their strongly Japanese racial characteristics, these American-born Japanese are not assimilated into the social structure of this country.

Japanese immigrants have never been welcome here because of their aggressiveness, unassimilability, and low living standards. In 1892 the first unsuccessful attempt was made to keep them out of San Francisco, and soon so many coolie laborers were coming that there was much agitation for an exclusion law similar to that barring the Chinese. Congress was unsympathetic, but Japan, fearing the stigma of an exclusion law because 12,000 Japanese came in in 1 year, agreed in 1900 to keep her laborers out of continental United States. This was the first gentlemen's agreement.

In violation of this agreement, from 1901 to 1908, inclusive, 51,689 Japanese, most of whom were or became laborers, entered. California continued to protest, and in 1907 President Theodore Roosevelt, to save Japan's pride, negotiated another gentlemen's agreement, the details of which were secret, although it was announced that Japan had again agreed not to send laborers to continental United States.

This agreement was also violated, and the American courts were powerless to enforce its terms, since it was neither law nor treaty. Between 1909, when it went into effect, and 1924, when the agreement was terminated, the Japanese population of continental United States increased from 76,714 to 131,357. Profite picture brides contributed to this increase, each family averaging five children.

The Japanese quickly acquired land, not being content to work as day laborers, and frequently depleted it. Women and children worked with the men, and this sort of competition helped to drive out the Caucasian population, notably in certain communities in the Sacramento Valley. The Japanese were assertive, antagonistic, and not too honest.

Failing to get relief from Congress, California in 1913 enacted an alien land law, prohibiting aliens ineligible to citizenship from purchasing land or leasing agricultural land. The Japanese circumvented this law in a measure by operating in the names of their American children. The agricultural communities of California seemed overrun with Japanese. Feeling against them ran high, but there was little violence. The other Pacific Coast States had the same problem, in a lesser degree.

In 1924 California and her neighboring States made such a convincing presentation of their Japanese problem to Congress that the exclusion measure, barring aliens ineligible to citizenship as permanent residents, was included in the Immigration Restriction Act. The fight was a hard one, for Japan had enlisted many friends to her cause—church people, idealists, foreign traders, employers of cheap labor, and uninformed Government officials.

Japan protested against the measure, claiming discrimination and hurt national pride. She has even claimed that because we have thus insulted her she is

avenging herself by her present predatory course in Asia and will close the door to us in China unless we open our door. This attitude overlooks the fact that the open door of trade in China is guaranteed by international treaty, while immigration is a purely domestic matter. But Japan brought exclusion on herself by 24 years of evasion of the spirit and letter of two agreements not to send her laborers to the United States.

A number of extensive campaigns to break down the exclusion measure have been inaugurated during the years since 1924, but each has failed. Japan has spent much money on these campaigns, and has even attempted to propagandize in our schools through a textbook giving an erroneous statement of the exclusion problem. This book was written in Hawaii under the joint auspices of the Territorial Board of Education, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and the Japanese Government, and introduced into the schools there. After protest it was rewritten, but because of serious omissions leaves much to be desired as an authentic textbook.

The Japanese have been disliked and distrusted wherever they have migrated. Australia excluded them summarily and even contemptuously in 1900, but because of that firm attitude they have long since ceased to protest. Today there are less than 2,500 Japanese in the Commonwealth. Canada wanted to exclude them but was induced to accept a gentlemen's agreement, which has been violated since its inception, and British Columbia's long protests are now culminating in a demand for deportation of all Japanese. Canada does not grant the franchise to orientals, nor does she accept them for military duty. Several South American countries, notably Brazil and Peru, have had trouble with the Japanese, and even South Africa excludes them.

Although no more are coming in, there are still many alien Japanese in California, living a typically Japanese life and controlling in large measure, by tremendous industry, skill and incredibly low living standards, the fruit, berry, and vegetable industry of the State. This control of much of our food supply is disquieting, as they are distrusted. The Tanaka memorial calls for control of the food supply of desirable localities.

But the main problem now is the second generation Japanese, or Nisei, of whom there are more than 50,000 in California. They apparently want to be part of the social structure but are not welcome because of their too evident racial characteristics. They complain constantly of racial discrimination, but their plight is the direct result of their parents forcing themselves unwanted on this country. They are splendid people in many ways, good students and workers, but they are "Americans with Japanese faces." They cannot find work except among their own kind, and while intermarriage is forbidden in California, they really do not desire it, considering it an insult to the pride and glory of the Yamato race. Even in Hawaii there is little intermarriage between the Japanese and other races, particularly the Caucasian. They must live in segregated districts, which they resent, but are accepted on equal terms into the Army, where most of them seem quite happy.

These conditions, while unfortunate, are the result of the determination of the Caucasians to keep their country and their blood white, and involves no claim of superiority. Our laws against which the Japanese protest were enacted to keep out immigrants who cannot be absorbed into the lifeblood of the country, and who form unassimilated racial blocs. The Founding Fathers of the Republic stipulated that citizenship should be granted only to free white persons. But a grave mistake was made when citizenship was granted to all born here, regardless of fitness or desire for such citizenship. Another grave mistake was the granting of citizenship to the Negroes after the Civil War.

One of the greatest handicaps which the Nisei must fight is the possessive attitude of Japan. Koki Hirota, former foreign minister, said in 1938 that the Japanese in America must be educated as Japanese to retain their Japanese virtues, and that the Migration Association of Japan keeps close connection with them for that purpose. More than 60 percent of their number are citizens of both Japan and the United States because they were registered as Japanese at birth and have not expatriated, although free to do so under Japanese law. Much publicity has been given to expatriation campaigns, and there is much public affirming of allegiance to the United States and much flag waving, but no official expatriation figures are forthcoming or available. American official sources say there is little actual expatriation. Japanese births are still being registered at the consulate. Loss of family standing and inheritance in Japan are the chief