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Shooting of Satoshi Kira

1943

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SHOOTING OF SATOSHI KIRA

1949  
December 1 at 5:20 p. m., a twenty-two year old evacuee, Satoshi Kira of Block 32, passed the sentry at the North Chandler gate and refused to stop at the sentry's command. According to the statement of the sentry, Kira said, "I don't need to pay any attention to any sentry. I am the president." He then continued to walk over the bridge. The sentry warned the boy twice, firing a shot at each warning. The evacuee did not stop. The sentry took aim and shot him in the left side. The bullet broke two ribs and traveled along the bone.<sup>1</sup> Since the boy was brought down 165 yards from the gate it is assumed that he ran a considerable distance during the time the soldier fired the two warning shots. The shot was fired from a sub-machine gun, which is reported to have a maximum range of 65 yards. Officially, there were no witnesses, although the sentry's relief was approaching.

The injured evacuee was brought to the Butte Hospital and walked in with the help of two soldiers.<sup>2</sup> He was given immediate treatment.

The bullet was extracted and the hospital reported to Wolter that no vital spot had been hit and that the boy was in no immediate danger. Mr. Wolter did not hear of the incident until a half hour later when he was notified by the hospital authorities. Wolter's first move was to telephone Mr. Bennett and Internal Security. He found that neither had been notified.

Mr. Bennett was ill, so Wolter, acting for Bennett, went to the M. P. Post to determine what had happened. The sergeant on duty refused to make a statement. A lieutenant entered and began typing a report. After waiting half an hour, Wolter said, "Lieutenant, probably you

<sup>1</sup>The doctor who removed the bullet described the wound as superficial.

<sup>2</sup>According to one of the colored nurses, "the soldier made the boy walk into the hospital." According to a Caucasian informant, the soldier also made the remark, "Well, here's a Jap I shot. Now I'll go out and get some more." Both of these statements are quite unconfirmed.

are typing just what we want to know; can you tell us what has happened?"<sup>2 1</sup>

The lieutenant gave him an outline of the story. At this moment Captain Morse, the commanding officer of the company stationed at Rivers, entered. Gruffly, he asked Wolter what he wanted. Wolter said, "We just came to find out what happened."

Morse: "I am responsible to the <sup>Ninth</sup> Service Command, I don't report to the WRA."<sup>2</sup>

Wolter: "We understand that, we only wish to know what happened."

Morse: "I don't report to the WRA."

Wolter: "If you feel that way about it, there is nothing more to be said."

Captain Morse then ordered the sentries to be double, and sent one jeep to patrol Canal and one to patrol Butte. Each jeep was equipped with a machine gun and 1,000 rounds of ammunition. As far as I have been able to determine, these jeeps limited their activities to patrolling the hospital.<sup>3</sup> Wolter saw that he could do nothing, and returned to the hospital. Here he found two M.P.s outside of the operating room. He asked for an explanation of their presence and they told him they were waiting for the slug. After consulting with Graves, Wolter refused to give them the slug and ordered them to leave.

At 9:30 p. m. Wolter heard that the jeeps were inside the camps. Having Bennett's authority to act, he set out in his car to tell them that they must confine their patrol to the outside of the camp. By chance, Gordon Brown was with Mr. Wolter when this news came; accompanied him, and was able to give me an almost verbatim account of Wolter's

conversation with Morse. Wolter met the jeep in Butte at the Internal

<sup>1</sup> Brown has this conversation directly from Mr. Wolter and assures me it is as accurate as he can make it. Later I got Wolter's own version.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Morse is not responsible to the Ninth Service Command, but to M. P. Headquarters.

<sup>3</sup> In the two days following the shooting I talked to over thirty evacuees. None of them knew that the jeeps had been in the camps; several of the Caucasians, however, saw them.

Security Post. He left his car and spoke to the soldiers. They told him they were following Captain Morse's orders. Wolter and Brown set out for Canal to see Captain Morse. They met him on the way. Wolter asked him to confine his patrols to the outside of the Camp. Captain Morse became violent. In Mr. Wolter's words, he acted like a raving maniac. He replied that he was acting in compliance with the orders of the Ninth Service Command and would report to them that he was derided the use of the roads by WRA. He went on to Butte, followed by a jeep. Wolter and Brown followed. Wolter was not able to pursue the matter further, because at that moment, 9:50, p. m., he and Brown caught sight of a large fire in the farm area east of Butte Camp, north of the Canal Butte Road. Brown and Wolter were the first arrivals at the fire except for the watchman and a jeep load of soldiers. Brown turned in the alarm personally and told me he was quite thrilled, since it was the first time in his life that he had been first at a big fire.<sup>1</sup>

Later, Captain Morse complied with Wolter's demand and took his men out of the camp. He also cited Wolter to his superior officer, charging him with interfering with the military in the performance of their duty.

Several Caucasians have told me that planes flew over the camp all night.<sup>2</sup> This was also supposed to have happened at the time of

<sup>1</sup>At dinner the night of December 2, Mr. Cross of the Agricultural Division told me that the soldiers on the jeep had kept their machine guns turned on the crowd and, "would certainly have been glad to let them have it the first wrong move they made." Cross and several other diners appeared to be strongly in accord with this attitude. Brown tells me that he did not notice any guns turned on the spectators at the fire, but since he did not stay long it is possible that this occurred after he left. Cross hinted that the fire was an act of sabotage. Mrs. Luty, sitting next to him said, "I have no doubt about it. I am sure it was sabotage." I said to Cross that if he had even the slightest evidence of sabotage, I would be very glad to put it in my report. Mr. Cross became embarrassed and finally said that there was nothing he could put his fingers on, "but he had his suspicions."

<sup>2</sup>On the morning of December 7, I observed 6 planes maneuvering over the camp.

the serious mess difficulty in September.

On the morning of December 2 the camp was full of rumors. Mrs. Fleming of the reports office said that rumors were flying around that the evacuee was dying. I did not hear this particular rumor myself. Nakamura of the News-Courier advised that the paper carry a complete account as soon as possible to prevent the spread of false reports. This was done that afternoon when the following account was released. Mr. Wolter gave Mr. Bennett the material and Bennett dictated it. It is correct in every detail.

#### TRAGEDY FOLLOWS GILAN'S ATTEMPT TO GAIN FREEDOM

Satoshi Elmer Kira, age 22 of block 32, was shot and wounded ~~at~~ 5:30 yesterday evening by a military police when he walked past a sentry post at the Chandler entrance despite orders to halt and two warning shots.

The wound is not serious and he is resting easily this morning, stated Hugo Wolter, community management head.

According to information received here, Kira, when ordered to stop, stated, "I do not have to stop. I am President." He continued to walk past the sentry. The sentry fired two warning shots which did not stop Kira. The sentry then shot him in the left side, the bullet grazing his ribs and lodging in a muscle. The bullet has been removed. Medically, the wound was described as a clean, superficial one.

Relatives attributed Kira's failure to halt when ordered to an intense desire for freedom. They said that Kira, who is a third generation American, had felt the evacuation keenly, and resented bitterly the fact of his detention in Rivers. Because in his resentment he had answered *the* loyalty questions negatively, he had not been able to resettle despite many attempts to do so lately, he continued.

For several days prior to the shooting, Kira had been extremely nervous, requiring considerable attention, they said. Hospital attendants

to read the newspaper account. The publication of the facts had a definitely calming effect.

On the afternoon of the 1st Wolter, speaking for Bennett, had already given a clear and objective account of the incident to the Tucson and Phoenix papers. Both these papers published short announcements on a back page.

Later in the afternoon of the 2nd I heard that the hospital had announced that the boy was out of all danger. On December 3, he was considered on the way to recovery. After his admission to the hospital he has been watched by two members of the Internal Security. Their presence appeared to aggravate the boy's mental instability, and Graves asked that they might be moved to a place where their presence would not be noticed by the patient. According to rumors circulating among the Caucasians and the evacuees the boy was still stating that he is the President or that he is the Project Director. On December 3 either Bennett or Wolter telegraphed to Washington to make its decision regarding the boy's leave clearance as soon possible.

On the morning of December 2 Mr. Wolter called Mrs. Luty into his office to consult her on the matter of Kira's leave clearance. Mrs. Luty is at present engaged on the work of ordering and preparing all the testimony taken at these hearings. Sometimes she serves as hearing stenographer, as she did at Kira's hearing. Mrs. Luty told a group of Caucasians that at this interview Wolter had remarked that he thought it would be well, if Washington could be persuaded to give him immediate clearance. He also advocated that the boy be told that he had clearance at once in order to relieve his anxiety and remove this obstacle to his recovery of mental health. Mrs. Luty did not repeat her reply to Wolter but to the Caucasian group present when she told of this interview, she stated that she thoroughly disapproved of Wolter's suggestion. "What will happen if Washington

stated that Kira's statements have been incoherent after hospitalization.

Kira's leave clearance is on the approved list on the project. Final clearance from Washington is being awaited.

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From two of Brown's informants and from Mr. Hikida I heard that the incidence of rumors was greatly reduced as soon as the evacuees were able

refuses the clearance and the boy finds out about it? Besides the boy does not deserve clearance," she continued. "He is erratic and is not loyal to the United States. He thinks only of himself and just wants to get out of camp so he can study art." I remarked that according to WRA intentions the boy must either be given clearance or be sent to Tule Lake. Did she think he ought to go to Tule? "No," she said. "But he shouldn't be let out. He should be institutionalized. Besides WRA is just going to have to keep a great many people in the camps anyway."

The night of December 2 Captain Morse arrested the evacuee employees of the Agricultural division: the night plowmen and the night irrigators. According to Brown he flourished his revolver as he made the latter arrest. I heard that the arrest was made because the men were outside project boundaries without a pass. The evacuees were so frightened that they refused to go out and work the night of the third of December.<sup>1</sup>

Wolter remarked to Brown that Morse's action was a result of Bennett's appeasing attitude toward Morse at their conference following the shooting. Said Wolter, "Apparently Bennett appeased once too often." After the arrest of the agricultural crews Bennett telegraphed to the Headquarters of the Military Police asking for a military investigation of the captain's actions. The inspector, a major, arrived promptly on the morning of the 4th of December.

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<sup>1</sup>This situation is full of irony. The Caucasian members of the Agricultural division are the project's most outspoken critics of the Japanese. "The only good Jap is a dead Jap; if you ask me, they ought all to be sent to Tule; why study Japanese, it'll soon be a dead language," are remarks which I have overheard and which characterize their attitude. However, they are conscientious and do their best to get their work done. In the past months they have had great difficulty getting evacuee workers. Their anger at having their insufficient crews frightened into uselessness must be extreme.

GIANS ASKED TO STAY WITHIN CAMP

The Butte and Canal Community Councils issued warnings this week that residents must not proceed beyond the project fence without consent from the proper authorities.

Residents were further warned that they must stay within the fence around the immediate community areas from sunset to sunrise.

Out-of-bounds regulations regarding which the Councils gave warning are being enforced by the military police by orders of the Western Defense Com.

The only evacuee reaction I observed was, "How come we have to stay in camp? We haven't done anything."

CAPTAIN MORSE

I have never met Captain Morse but have seen him only two or three times at the P. X. Brown remarks on him as follows:

"He is a straight stick of a man parading himself on a soldierly bearing, which is remarkably good, considering his age,<sup>1</sup> on always being correctly dressed and always being correctly armed. He is touchy about his status and hates and distrusts the evacuees. This hate he seems to have communicated to his company as reports say that previous commanders did not share his hate, and there was never the same extreme feeling under them as under the present commander."

I have no doubt that Dr. Brown is better acquainted with Captain Morse than I am, but I believe Spenser's reports show that neither officers nor men of the military police have ever an attitude other than hate and distrust toward the evacuees. Still, Morse may be particularly anti-evacuees. A few of the soldiers are known as "nice guys" to the evacuees since they will occasionally close their eyes to a little beer brought into the camp. I have never heard of an understanding or tolerant view toward the evacuees on the part of any of the officers. Some soldiers, I know, have, in the past, closed their eyes good naturedly on evacuees fishing outside camp bounds. From conversations at a few dates between female school teachers and some of these soldiers in which I was a participant,<sup>1</sup> I was thoroughly impressed with the fact that these soldiers had no use for the evacuees.

According to Brown, (naturally I can get no such statement from Wolter) Bennett attempted to appease Morse after the captain had <sup>be</sup>brought the armed soldiers with jeeps into the camp, ignor<sup>ing</sup> the agreement between the army and WRA. When Morse arrested the agricultural workers on the night following the shooting, Bennett repented his policy and telegraphed the Headquarters

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<sup>1</sup>This was when I first came to camp and didn't know any better.

of Military Police for an investigation. At the interview with the investigating Major Turner, Morse is reported to have stated he will fight the WRA and "spill a lot of dirt." He is said to have made slandering remarks on the morals of the WRA female staff members.

The Administration appears convinced that the soldiers' attempt to create "incidents" with the evacuees are a reflection of their commanding officers' attitude.

#### POSITION OF THE SENTRY

From Wolter and Bennett I gather that the sentry was quite within his rights and was obeying orders. Previous orders had been to shoot in the legs. This had been revised to "shoot to kill". It is true that the sentry's relief was in sight and it is possible that the evacuee might have been apprehended without the use of firearms; but according to the report of the army, orders were carefully obeyed--the evacuee was warned and no technical issue can be taken with the sentry.

It is interesting to note that the soldiers are reported to have been concerned over the fact that the boy might die. They are glad he is recovering

CASE HISTORY OF SATOSHI EIMER KIRA

Satoshi Kira is a third generation Japanese-American. His mother was born in the United States and his father in Hawaii. Up till the early part of November 1943, he lived with his parents and one sister. On November 11, his father, a film technician, relocated to Cleveland, intending to send for his family. Unsatisfactory housing conditions made this impossible.

Kira had been born prematurely. According to DR. Hata, who treated the gunshot wound and diagnosed his mental condition, his childhood had been quite normal. In Grammar School he had been considered an excellent student, but had become "just good" in High School. He attended Los Angeles Junior College and majored in commercial art.

At this center he had few friends. He participated in no group activities except, as he stated at his hearing, singing in a choir. Kira is said to be very handsome, but exceedingly thin and frail. "You could pick him up in your hand," said Mr. Fukushima. He is very neat. Mrs. Luty noted at the hearing that "that not one hair was out of place and he looked as if he had manicured his own nails."<sup>1</sup>

Up to August 1943 Kira had been employed as an artist on the staff of the News-Courier. At his hearing he stated that he had given up his position because "he was waiting for the proper kind of job." According to Reverend Yamazaki, who knew him fairly well, he had stopped work because of ill health and because he wished to devote all of his time to an effort to present a true artistic account of camp life. His best friend relocated some time ago. According to the Reverend, Kira was an extreme introvert. Yamazaki had lived across the street from him in Los Angeles for years, but

<sup>1</sup> From my observation at other leave hearings I am inclined to think the boy, as seems to be customary, carefully prepared to look his best for the ordeal. Evacuees always dress in their best. The women, in particular, wear dresses and apply cosmetics which would look extremely out of place for ordinary camp wear.

Kira had never spoken to him. I was shown one of Kira's charcoal sketches of the interior of Yamazaki's church. His talent is obvious.

At the time of military registration Kira answered "No-No." The evidence indicates that he did this as a protest against his treatment during evacuation and against the injustice done to the Japanese citizens who were confined in camps when the German and Italian citizens were left free. He never at any time indicated the slightest sentiment of loyalty to Japan. He was never connected with any of the pressure groups of Gila; such activities, would, in any case, be contrary to his temperament.

He exhibited no signs of mental illness until after his leave clearance which took place on September 14. After the hearing he returned home, lay down on his bed and complained of being tired both mentally and physically. According to his family, he repeatedly said that the questions had been too severe and that the hearing had taken too much time.

At his hearing he made a very poor impression on Mr. Terry, the chairman, and on Mrs. Dwyer the stenographer. He made no attempt to hide his feelings, argued with Mr. Terry on the justness of evacuation, and in Mr. Terry's opinion appeared to be loyal ~~to~~ neither to the United States nor to Japan. He wished to change his answer because he considered that by permitting relocation the United States was making amends for the mistake of evacuation and he desired to study art.

His attitude caused Terry to recommend that he be denied clearance (which meant segregation). Both Terry and Mrs. Dwyer, I am informed by Mrs. Dwyer, were of the opinion that under no circumstances should he be given leave. Mr. Bennett read the docket carefully, disagreed, and recommended clearance, with reservations. At the time of the shooting, word of Washington's final decision is still being awaited.

The first week in November Kira's father noticed that he was acting peculiarly. After his father had left camp Kira told his sister that he

was going to kill his father and mother. His sister said, "Oh, forget about it." When his father relocated he is also reported to have boarded the bus, either in an attempt to accompany him or to see him off. But he was put off because he did not have a pass.

His symptoms of mental derangement grew more pronounced. He began to have visions at night and became obsessed with the idea that some persons were attempting to kill him. He said he was president of the United States and was receiving a salary of \$2009000.00 a week. He also said he was Project Director and that he had an I. Q. of 700. After the shooting his sister examined his notebook and found that on November 11 he had written that he was President of the United States.

On November 30 Kira's mother was called before a committee headed by Graves. She was questioned and stated that she would not leave camp without her son. The boy discovered or sensed that this interview had taken place and became violently suspicious. He may have feared that his mother and sister intended to join his father, leaving him in camp alone. His actions became increasingly eccentric. According to reliable reports he began to clean and sort his belongings. When he had finished his own he began on those of his mother and sister. Camp gossip is unanimous that he beat his mother and sister, and that he threw away some sugar insisting that it was poisoned. (One variant of the story states that he said there was arsenic in the sugar, another strychnine.) As he grew increasingly violent his mother and sister slept at a friend's home while a male friend stayed with Kira.,

On December 1 he went to the Beauty Parlor where his mother is employed as receptionist and created a disturbance. His mother took him home. When they reached home, the boy attacked his mother violently, pulled her hair, knocked her down and began to strangle her. She screamed and friends rescued her. Early that afternoon he left the house, leaving a card on which he had printed "L. A." (Los Angeles had been his home before

evacuation.) He was not heard of again until shot by the sentry at 5:20 that evening. He was brought to the Butte hospital and walked in with the assistance of the soldiers.

On the operating table, Dr. Hata spoke to the boy quietly, drew him out, and got him to tell his story. "I'll tell you everything, Dr. Hata," he said. He told of how he had been convinced that a magnet was dragging him out of camp. He had heard the soldier tell him to stop, but the power of the magnet was too strong. According to Dr. Hata, the shock of the injury caused a temporary complete recovery, ~~the~~ which persisted for about twenty-four hours. He said he knew he was not the President of the United States and that he no longer felt a magnet pulling him out of camp. Gradually his symptoms reappeared and on the day after the shooting he stated that he believed his I. Q. had gone down to 500.

The wound was superficial, had broken two ribs and had followed the course of the bone. It healed rapidly and by December 10 Kira was considered sufficiently strong to be removed to the State Mental Hospital in Phoenix.

Hata diagnosed the case as early dementia praecox and said that in his opinion the boy has over a fifty-fifty chance of recovery providing he is not brought back to the project. Hata agreed that the hearing Kira had undergone in September may well have been the deciding factor in bringing about his illness. "It may have tipped the balance," he said.

NOTES ON MEETING OF THE BUTTE COMMUNITY COUNCIL DECEMBER 6

I made very attempt to get verbatim notes, but the members spoke more rapidly than usual. Frequently I was forced to content myself with brief paraphrases of the speaker's remarks.

Bennett and Brown were present.

Miyake: Since Mr. Bennett is so busy in the project office I will not follow parliamentary procedure and have him explain right away about the hostility at Chandler Road. Mr. Kira is not serious. He will be back today or tomorrow. There are some questions among us as to technical points. There is nothing we can do in connection with the M.P.'s. But I feel that the council has something here which should be presented to the Project Director or to Washington. Lets have a fair discussion as to what could be done.

Bennett: Well, as to a report. I've heard this chap Kira approached the military policeman on guard at 5:20 and stated he was going out. The sentry said he couldn't go without a pass. He said he didn't need a pass, he was the president. The guard ordered him to halt. He shot into the air two times and then he shot him. He used a sub-machine gun and hit him at 165 yards. Mr. Smart of the F. B. I told me it was only an accident that he hit him. This is a short range bullet.

When Captain Morse and his superior officer were over here I questioned him about the man being shot so high. I asked about the army instructions and they said there was no instruction except to shoot to kill. They they told me he was shot by accident at that range. In the opinion of Major Turner who is Captain Morse's superior officer, this soldier did all he could do. The sentry has no alternative except to shoot. Then he is required to go through a court martial. In a case like this, the court martial would be perfunctary.

And that's the only story I know about it.

When the boy came out from under the operation he was still reported to be mentally unbalanced. The day before he had attacked his mother and sister.

The major told me, "If this had happened to one of the staff it would have been the same situation - no matter who it was."

Miyake: I think it's ~~very~~ obvious that I'm very concerned with this person. If you permit I'd like to have Verlin ~~take~~ the chair. Mr. Bennett, has the guard been instructed to shoot without firing a blank shot?

Bennett: They always fire a warning shot.

Miyake: Is there any possibility of public relation work with the M. P. company? We evacuees are here under abnormal conditions. As the days go on we may have to face some more of these kind of cases.

Bennett: I don't think that the average military police commander has any interest in ~~dealing~~ dealing with the Japanese other than keeping them in.

A soldier of the United States is trained and trained to hate the enemy. They hate us. (As Mr. Bennett made these remarks a complete silence came over the council room.) They made derogatory remarks about the WRA staff. I know that in the present situation it would be impossible for anyone of Japanese descent to work out any relationship with the military police group.

Miyake: Mr. Kira, he answered "No" to the questionnaire? He had his hearing in September but no word came from Washington.

Bennett: Kira had a long hearing from Mr. Terry. Terry wrote a notation on the bottom that he was doubtful about the boy. I read the docket carefully and recommended leave clearance and told Terry I had reversed his decision. Subsequently I reread the docket - after the shooting - now due to the mental blowup I can see why Terry questioned him. It's one of the few cases on Terry's committee that I reversed Terry's opinion.

Miyake: I understand he was sort of hysterical about evacuation.

Bennett: Well, we've wired Washington to let his docket through. But I question

whether he'll ever be left out of camp. Anyway, according to the doctors he's definitely a dementia praecox case and it has been coming on for many years.

Miyake: How long does it take for a report from Washinton to come back?

Bennett: I don't know. They're just swamped back there.

Miyake: I'm afraid more of these cases may come up. After their hearings some may not be able to take it.

Bennett: But on the other hand I'd say that anybody who is that near the border line, he'll be safer in here. His background dates back to five or six years of age. But not terribly serious. This is the first time he went violent. I understand he threw everything out of the house. He claimed all the boxes were full of arsenic.

Miyake: Information I got from his parents and close friends is a little different.  
(whispering broke out near the door) If Washington would facilitate this report....

Bennett: That's all been taken care of. It was done last Friday. However, we all should recognize the fact that we can't monkey around with the army ~~personnel~~ personalities don't enter into the carrying out of orders.

Miyake: I heard his state of mind came that way because of evacuation. This fellow was constantly worrying. From September to December is a long time.

Bennett: There's a lot of detail to these clearings. The whole works is gummed up on the Tule Lake situation (more whispering in the rear of the room). For your own information I might tell you we have had only ten per cent refusals. We only pass on security to the safety of the United States. We don't pass on loyalty. Even though I personally doubt peoples' loyalty I don't think these people are going to go out and blow up a bridge or commit sabotage. So I pass them. The intent of the whole program is to be liberal. Because a man has a stop against him doesn't mean he's denied leave clearance.

Miyake: Some of the boys and girls that has gone through the hearings - I think they're following the same instructions (the committee members) but some of the questions are so severe it makes it hard for them to answer.

Bennett: Yes. That shows up in the dockets. But some people aren't very cooperative and when any boy or girl refuses to answer the questions his position becomes much worse. Usually when leave clearance is denied, there's a pretty bad history behind it. Generally when leave clearance is denied it's because the man or girl has indicated a desire to go to Japan or to Tule Lake, or has a bad record in camp. (Here Bennett attempted to leave.)

Fukushima: I would like to ask Mr. Chairman whoever he is - (to Bennett) I am prepared to say something so you had better stay till I get through.

This particular boy happened to live in my block, just one room away. So I have been approached by several groups of persons what's to be done about this. I was going to introduce a resolution here. First, here is just a few points about Elmer Kira: This boy was anyway born very prematurely. He was very delicate. Really his physical features were more delicate than his mental. Really, you could pick him up in your hand.

Nobody knows, not even I who sees him every day, that he was deranged. I used to see him in mess hall and washroom, daily. He was deranged for something, but except for intimate family nobody in public knew what he was.

After this incident had happened, a social worker living in my block got together with his sister and went through his notebook. There it was written: "I am president of the United States." That was November 11. At another time he had said to his parents. "Is Mr. Bennett still Project Director? I'm supposed to be Project Director." (Laughter)

He was very violent for some time. Because of that, his mother and sister, I don't know how many nights, left the house and slept at a friend's quarters. And a male friend stayed with him.

On December 1 his mother is working at the Beauty Parlor. This boy went to the beauty parlor and acted so his mother took him home/ where he started violent physical action toward his mother. He pulled her hair, knocked her down and started strangling. She screamed, etc. Afterwards he wandered ~~away~~ out. I don't know where. He just lost everything out of his head and tried to break out.

He was very much brooding on the leave clearance matter. Repeatedly, he said, it takes too much time. And he was very much worried. Also he was kicking very much about the severeness of the questioning.

m There are a few points of fact. They are true regarding this boy.

Also, I have approached from few groups, who not knowing about derangement of boy, was extremely sympathetic about boy being shot. So I told them, "I knew this boy for one year and I didn't know anything wrong about him myself. So no person could recognize he is haywire and particularly the MP. on duty. Naturally, he didn't know he was haywire. So I told these groups I don't see any ground to make protest because of this.

But there are a couple of grounds I'd like to have considered regarding the treatment of this deranged person.

Is there anyway to treat such person? All evacuees are threatened (by a situation like this) and they are actually without arms. And the M. P.'s have firearms. Just because we don't have firearms it will not be necessary to/ use firearms even though army regulations order them to shoot.

'Nother ground is that because there is so much possibility to produce haywire person because environment in camp is so, my idea is to appeal to some authority regarding treatment. I don't know just what person want to decide what, but on the basis of these two reasons I intend to introduce this resolution. It's not in very high class English.

Be it resolved: Whereas incident have had occurred on December 1, where M. P. actually fired a shot and wounded Elmer Satoshi Kira who was and still is in a mentally deranged state, and whereas noone in this camp is armed with any weapon or with any death-dealing weapon since declaration of war, and whereas there is strong possibility to produce an abnormally deranged person, be it resolved that the Butte Community Council on December 6 proposes to adopt the folling resolution to appeal to the proper authority to have the M. P.s refrain from the free use of firearms; and because of the undue delay of leave clearance cases which causes great suspense and often mental derangement, the Community Council asks the WRA to accelerate the leave clearance.

Bennett: There's no objection to such a resolution. I think it might bring results and speed up leave clearance, but it could have no bearing on the army.

I'll tell you what I've done. I've asked Mr. Cozzens to have the Military Police withdrawn from all activities within the project area. After this shooting the Military Police have become very technical. They even picks'd up the night irrigators and everybody else. Anyway, I wrote to San Francisco and arranged to get the Ninth Service Command to let the Internal Security guard the entire camp and withdraw the Military Police patrols to the outside. I think that is something that has outworn its usefulness.

When we get this the community will have to build up its own morale and be especially careful not to go to these boundaries after dark. A lot of those soldiers would like to shoot somebody.

Soldiers only live to obey an order. I don't think you could get the orders of the sentries changed. All we can do is put as much distance between the soldiers and outselves as possible.

I don't believe that the sentry was too eager to shoot, because this fellow was 165 yards away. But there's no objection to such a resolution.

47.  
DECEMBER 3, 1943 evening

Interview with anonymous minister

Kira was an introvert, quiet; he was not working because he's off the staff of the Gila News-Courier. He told me he was using his spare time looking at situations in the center and trying to put it on paper (with his drawing). I'm in complete sympathy with him. I wanted to know if he could get the feeling of this center from that Butte over there. I also wanted him to get the feeling of my church. I wanted to put the picture in a magazine with a poem. He drew me a picture. But then he said to me, "I've never been to a service" So he asked if he could come. And he immediately interpreted the communion. He caught it. I was very pleased.<sup>1</sup> I wanted to put it in a magazine with a poem by Miss Inouye in which she said, "The church, it is a barrack." The poem and the picture matched very well.

Then, of course, I find myself just a busy parson. Really, here in camp I have been engaged in one case after another which required pastoral care.

I used to see Satoshi every morning. He lived in my own block. He seemed to be lonely because his two friends, his last friend, had gone out. Then his father had gone out. He had only his mother and his sister here now. His father had decided that he would resettle first. Being a retoucher, he found a fine job. At the hearing board he had said, "I am only going if my son is cleared." They said, "Yes, your boy gave a sincere and honest answer in his request for change from "No" to "Yes". But, he'll have to wait for Washington's approval. The father had written back that the situation was all right as far as employment was concerned, but that housing was acute and he could not call his family out.

On November 30 the mother was called to the leave clearance committee, to Mr. Graves' office. She was asked many questions. After the hearing she was asked if she wanted to ask them anything. She said, "Yes, my boy has

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<sup>1</sup>Here I was shown a charcoal sketch still attached to the board and leaning against the wall. It was well done, showed power and unusual talent.

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approval to leave locally speaking but he is waiting for Washington clearance. If my boy does not leave I can never leave!"

On December 1 the boy found out his mother had gone to the leave clearance office for a hearing. From December 1 the boy was suspicious of the mother. He said, "Your're hiding something from me." Of course the mother at that time didn't understand that possibly the boy might have felt that he was going to be left behind when she and his sister left camp. She just thought her son had strangely changed.

He became rather violent toward his mother at times. He began cleaning house, sorting his things. His sister tried to stop him, when he started cleaning her things. There was conflict. His mother realized he was under great emotional strain, for what reason they still didn't know.

What happened was.....I was engaged in this Christmas present business: all over the country people are sending presents to the ten relocation centers. The ministers want to see that every child has received a present.

I came home at six o'clock, that was December 1. My wife told me, "Where was I. Here you are running around and pastoral work is at your door. A person who never came to your door came." I knew it was serious. The Kira family was concerned. There was something wrong. "You better go to the family."

So I went to the family. But two friends came and told me the story--that the boy had become violent. At two o'clock he had left home and just a few minutes ago his sister had received a note from the hospital that the boy had been hospitalized. This being supper time, I phoned the hospital receptionist. She told me that the boy had been hospitalized and was in the operating room.

I thought perhaps the boy had done something violent, or that he had had an accident. I went to the family and <sup>s</sup>hard the story. The mother and sister had left home and gone to a friend's. (evidently before the boy left) In the meantime the boy had left a note on which was written "L. A." Los Angeles is the boy's home.

On the way to the hospital, I found out the events of the last three days and felt I alone should see Satoshi. I went into the operating room. He had just come out. Wolter and Graves passed by. (We lived across the street from each other in Los Angeles. He was such an introvert he never even said "Hello.")

I found out then that actually he had been shot by the M.P. I came back then and told them.

They are now working to get an opinion from Washington and keep the boy peaceful. It was through overwork and overthinking.

He is not violent. For the last two months he has been working on a picture of the carpenters working on the new school. Most of the time he was looking, thinking and watching each movement, trying to get the exact truth of the history that is passing by.

In his letter asking for a change from "no-no" to "yes-yes", he said that if America can see the mistake it has made and make a correction. And he saw the correction coming: relocation.

Why was he so honest? Because he was an artist. He could not make one stroke without being honest.

There have been cases where a boy walked past that gate. This is not a camp with prisoners of war. We also have women and children here. This isn't a prison either. When a boy gets sick and he begins to walk out of the center, he has no ear to listen or orders. I wish I could show you how this boy walks. He walks very slowly and precisely. (Here my informant demonstrated the boy's walk.)

He is not a tough young boy. He's very weak and frail. You could stop him with a tap. He is of that nature.

In the past I have heard from Dr. Sleath that they have had other such cases. Then they sent a car following the boy and when the boy was exhausted they would pick him up and say, "Can't I take you back?" They they would invest-

igate and find treatment.

I realize army orders must be army orders. But why can't they see the boy is sick?" This wasn't dark yet. It was 5:30.

I wasn't there but I would like to answer for that. Why was there such a difference? Is the nature of the M.P. different than before?

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Now I know you won't believe this. But on November 23 when the father left, the boy told his sister, "The M. P. shot me, when I was out there to get scrap lumber with Tsuk. (Tsuk was his best friend.) Then two days before this happened on November 29, he also said he had been shot.

Brown's Notes, December 2, 1943.

Tek<sup>1</sup> Tek knows slightly the family of the victim, as they live in the adjacent block.

Boy was 22, Satoshi Kira, Block 32. Had been artist on News-Courier staff but resigned some months ago because of ill-health. Had been living much to himself. His best and only friend had relocated in June. His father relocated on November 11. Father had planned to relocate on Nov. 4 but stayed in for a funeral. Boy had got on bus on Nov. 4 (date of planned relocation of father) but had been put off because no pass.

Boy "NO-NO" on questionnaire. Had applied for leave clearance and been heard but not yet taken off stop list.

3 P. M.

This morning I managed to see Oguchi<sup>2</sup> for a few minutes and discussed what had happened and suggested he find what rumors were afloat (Tek already on trail)

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<sup>1</sup>"Tek" is Brown's Nisei informant, an intelligent and capable young man

<sup>2</sup>Oguchi is Brown's Issie informant, an honest but very naive old gentleman.

This afternoon he reported back having interviewed 12 people. Results as follows:

3 people expressed violent reactions.

1 (Rev. Tsuda) expressed lengthy but balanced opinions.

8 people had heard of news but were not specifically concerned.

3 people expressing violent reactions.

(1) Mother of victim: she was in tears and said she would rather not say anything.

(2) A friend (female) of mother said sentry should have seen boy was crazy and tried to stop him without firearms.

(3) Another person blamed the sentry for firing at all.

(4) Rev. Tsuda says (a) rules should be explained to people

(b) if sentry had orders to fire, he is not to blame, but orders should be changed.

Oguchi says, "If people find out that victim said, 'I am the President' before he was shot, what will they think.

DECEMBER 4, 1943 evening

At dinner I sat at the same table with Miss Blankenship, an elementary teacher notoriously unsympathetic to the evacuees. I took advantage of this opportunity to pump her on her attitude toward the shooting. I was rewarded by a fantastic account of the arrival of the inspecting major. Miss Blankenship is on friendly terms with the soldiers and visits the post frequently to eat lunch there.

I opened the conversation by remarking that the evacuees felt that the sentry should not have shot the boy when he was obviously deranged. "What did they expect him to do?" asked Miss Blankenship. She then remarked that the soldiers had been very worried that the boy might die.

A colonel and a second lieutenant had arrived, a full colonel, not a lieutenant colonel; he was strutting around like a real big shot.

The reason that Morse had arrested the evacuee farmers last night was because he had to show this big colonel that he was on duty. Besides the evacuees were outside the camp limits with passes.

This utterly fantastic account, in which the only item of truth is the arrival of the officer should be compared to Brown's account of the real reason for the major's arrival.<sup>1</sup>

December 6, 1943 - SHOOTING

Sat at the table with Luty again tonight. Over the coffee I mentioned that I had been allowed to read the transcript of the hearing of Kira. Luty wanted to know where it was, she had been trying to get a hold of it for days.

I remarked that I disagreed with her on one point: that the transcript seemed to show that the boy was quite lucid in his arguments and not at all erratic. "Oh, but you didn't see him?" said Mrs. Luty. "He was ready to jump over the desk at any minute and take Mr. Terry by the throat. He brought up the Oregon curfew cases and it turned out he didn't know anything about them. Besides he was very loquacious." "I noticed," said I, "that Mr. Terry seemed to talk about three times as much as the boy." "Mr. Terry always dose," said Mrs. Luty. "The boy was very, very argumentative."

"Don't you think he was encouraged to argument?" I asked. "Yes, indeed," said Luty. Then for the fourth times she repeated Mr. Terry's remark that Akira "was certainly off the beam."

Driving home with the Montgomery sisters, I apologized for turning the dining table ~~yo~~ into an opportunity to collect Caucasian attitudes. The pro-evacuee sisters assured me they understood but warned me about having admitted that I was allowed to read the transcript since it might

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<sup>1</sup>See page

get the kind member of the Administration who helped me into trouble.

In my opinion this conversation with Mrs. Luty is an interesting example of an individual judging two people by quite different standards.

~~The reason that Morse had arrested~~

Discussion is still going on. I think last Friday or Saturday I two, three people who expressed very sensible opinion. They stated that although this matter not the cause of protest or complaint to any, but as regard to two-three points the subject should be made clear to people here as well as to WRA. One of the points they mentioned was that people here are not prisoners of war. They have just been brought over here because of evacuation - a military necessity. Still, just because of stepping out of boundary, which is not immediate danger, still, M.P. has to take such action. Another thing, this boy is definitely, can be considered as mentally unbalanced. They might have noticed this at the gate. He was unarmed. Still the MP. without taking some other alternative to stop him shot him. Some action should be taken to agree what is out of bounds. People begin to think very much about it.

Of course in this boy's case the order was given by the M. P. to stop and he didn't follow.

Another point, in which I also agree, Mrs. Kira was very much upset on this ~~particular~~ particular point, not so much about shooting her son, the fact that he was so much mentally upset as a result of very lengthly hard-pressed hearing. She said to me, a boy of 21,22 years of age, a hearing of that kind, especially when the boy has certain disturbances of wrong treatment by the general American citizens, was quite a mental hardship. ~~Another~~ Another person mentioned the same thing to me. In these hearings instead of trying to press upon the individual, they should take more sympathetic attitude.

And among the evacuees there is quite a lot of talk too. Most likely this is a rumor, but they are saying that because of the boy's hearing they (the Administration) are trying to put this case as a suicide motive.

I heard this morning from Mr. Kono (an influential block manager of Canal) that one of the men in Canal was given a warning shot as he was

he was coming into the boundary line. He was inside the boundary line and the M.P. made a mistake.

This talk of the incidents among the evacuees and especially among the bachelors<sup>1</sup> is now showing a resentful attitude.. Well, they are usually more dissatisfied in everything, everything the WRA and government does. Everytime you heard a resentful comment about this incident it comes from the bachelors.

Another thing - I haven't seen Mr. Kira and Mrs. Kira, she's very nervous now. She was crying when I saw her. I think she feels certain sense of responsibility having son commit an incident of that kind. She never said about the M.P.'s action shooting her son, but she was very much resentful about that hearing.

(At the close of this interview I questioned Mr. Hikida on a point which I had previously discussed with Brown and about which I was very curious. I had expressed the opinion that had the evacuees exhibited any overt sign of resentment it would have been directed toward the administration and not toward the military. I put the question to Hikida and he stated that he believed that they would have acted against the administration.)

## EVACUEE REACTIONS TO THE SHOOTING

I spent December 1 and 2 paying calls on evacuee friends and acquaintances. Since I had returned from Salt Lake City my visits had adequate justification and the atmosphere was better attuned to confidence than if I had called only to elicit information. Armed with gifts ~~of~~ of candy and purchases I had been delegated to make, I received a gratifying amount of data.

My first and most powerful impression was that while the shooting had caused considerable unrest and a great deal of discussion, the atmosphere was predominantly quiet. In most cases the evacuees did not bring up the subject. Sometimes they mentioned the incident after considerable desultory conversation with the hidden or frankly expressed intent of pumping me for information. ~~In most cases~~ Usually I had to introduce the subject when an opening was presented. No evacuee appeared excited. Two had not heard of the shooting. Although the soldiers were criticized, they were not denounced. The only threatening statement I heard came from the pro-Japanese Mrs. M.

The most frequently expressed evacuee opinion was that the soldier did wrong to shoot an unarmed boy. This sentiment was voiced whenever I discussed the incident at any length. It was also brought up in the Community Council meeting by Mr. Fukushima. When I met my block manager Thursday morning he asked if I had heard of the incident. Since we are on friendly terms, I asked how the people were taking it. "They're saying he oughtn't to have shot him because he was unarmed," he replied. That evening Mrs. Kondo expressed the same sentiment.

Friday morning Mrs. M. was most emphatic on the point. Her voice took on the harsh, tight tone it habitually assumed when she is emotionally moved. "The people say that if the boy had attacked the soldier it would have been all right to shoot him. But just for running away, he had no right in the world. The boy was unarmed. The soldier had absolutely no right to shoot an unarmed boy."

Friday afternoon, <sup>Mr.</sup> Hikida confirmed the wide prevalence of this sentiment when he said with no prompting on my part, "From immediate contacts in mess and other places, the first thing that comes to their minds seems to be, "Wasn't there any other alternative that could be employed rather than shooting?... and shooting at the very center of the body? He was unarmed." "

Said Reverend Yamazaki: "There have been (other) cases where a boy walked past that gate. We also have women and children here. This isn't a prison either. When a boy gets sick and he begins to walk out of the center, he has no ear to listen to orders.....In the past I have heard from DR. Sleath that they have had other such cases. Then they sent a car following the boy and when the boy was exhausted they would pick him up and say, "Can't I take you back?" Then they would investigate and find treatment."

"I realize army orders must be army orders. But why can't they see the boy is sick?"

A friend of the boy's mother, a woman, said/ that the sentry should have seen that the boy was crazy and tried to stop him without firearms. On Monday morning a girl in the beauty shop made the same remark.

At the council meeting Mr. Fukushima, the vice-chairman said: "Here are all evacuees threatened (by such danger as this) and actually without arms. And the M. P.'s have firearms. And just because we don't have firearms it will not be necessary to use firearms even though army regulations order them to shoot."

Gordon Brown remarks on the curious lack of logic expressed in this conception and on the ideal of sportsmanship it shows. I present it only as the most outstanding evacuee attitude. All agreed that the sentry should somehow have stopped the boy without shooting him.

The fact that the boy was thought to be deranged was also mentioned at

almost every interview. Sometimes I was asked for more detail on the subject. "Is it true that the boy is cracked?" "Did he really say he was president of the United States?" At other interviews evacuees stated that the boy had been acting queerly and implied that the soldier ought to have been able to see that he was not right in his head and that he was not responsible. Fukushima stated that he was approached by several groups who held this point of view.

At first, says Hikida, the people thought that the soldier had shot without warning. But after the newspaper account was published they felt better about it. Incidentally, I have heard no evacuee criticize the newspaper account, or hint that it was not the truth. It appears to have had a powerful calming effect.

Several people, among them the steady Mr. Kondo, ~~an~~ an evacuee Episcopalian priest, Reverend Yamasaki, and a friend of the boy's mother stated that the soldier ought to have been able to tell that the boy meant no harm. To walk quietly out of the project gate was not the action of a violent or dangerous person.<sup>1</sup>

The evacuee attitude toward the soldier who shot the boy and toward the soldiers in general was on the whole critical but not bitter. The longest discussion I heard on the soldiers took place at the Kondo's home. Here they were called ignorant and were accused of being illiterate.<sup>2</sup> They were said to have been sent to this post and not overseas because they are physically or mentally unfit for active service. Some of them can't even shoot.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Kondo remarked that the sentry really had to shoot, since he may not leave his post for any reason. Reverend Tsuda also stated, according to Brown's informant, that if the sentry had orders to fire he is not

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<sup>2</sup> I have heard identical statements from  $\phi$  half a dozen Caucasians since my arrival on the project.

to be blamed." But the order should be changed.

Even the virago Mrs. M. did not express hate for the soldiers. On the contrary, she accused them of hating the Japanese. "They hate us. Oh, how they hate us. And for what? They are just ignorant." She did not mention the ~~and the~~ physical disabilities which the soldiers are supposed to have.

She and her fellow evacuees, I am convinced, bear far more ill will toward Mr. Bennett than toward any member of the military. Had the group of which she is a member made any trouble, I hazard the guess that their anger would have been directed toward the Administration and not toward the soldiers. I have discussed this matter only with Mr. Kikida and he agrees with me. Gordon Brown is less sure, but he has no contact at all with this group.

My Caucasian friends criticised the soldiers with greater severity and with a far more emotional bias than any of my evacuee informants. One teacher was afraid the soldiers might get drunk, invade the camp and begin a massacre. Caucasian attitudes will be described in more detail later.

Two evacuees expressed sympathy with the sentry. A Nisei told my secretary, "I don't blame the soldier for shooting, if the evacuee didn't stop when he told him to. He's probably been itching to try that gun out for months." When I repeated this remark to an evacuee Christian minister (a Nisei) he burst into a roar of sympathetic laughter. "I can sympathize," said he. "I guess those fellows really get the urge to use their guns." Laughter also followed a similar statement by Mr. Bennett at the council meeting.

By good fortune I was able to get an expression from that submerged part of the community which, heretofore, might have been expected to agitate and channel the activities of their fellow evacuees into some overt expression of resentment. Though, of course, I am not in a position to make a conclusive statement, it is my opinion that this group is very small, and is, at present, almost impotent. Nevertheless,

Mrs. M.'s proud statement should not be ignored. "There are some people around; I'm not mentioning any names, who wanted to shot them (the administration). They wanted to go and make trouble. But I told them, 'Don't you do it. You wouldn't have a chance. They're just looking for a chance to mow you down.' I told them that they have to be patient. Their chance will come."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Hikida said that he had no idea that there were any people in camp who might make trouble. Yet he told Mr. Wolter that if there were five or six people in camp who wished to agitate, they would be restrained by their friends.

On the whole, the incident was received very quietly by the evacuees. Many expressed only curiosity, and one did not know about it until told by Brown's investigator. Another did not know till she read about it in the newspaper. Roughly, half of the people to whom I talked expressed sentiments which were not very different from those which might be expected from members of a small Caucasian community under the same circumstances. (I have experienced an incident in which a boy was shot by a policeman, when I

<sup>1</sup>The implications in Mrs. M's statements are very significant. Her resentment over the fact that the administration will not allow her children to be taught Japanese; even though Caucasians are studying the language, is indicative of the leaning toward things Japanese, which "X" has pointed out. She was most sympathetic in her statement that the evacuees had been driven from America by their unfair treatment and were becoming more Japanese every day.

Some of this may be wishful thinking. However, two Wisci, one a minister, have in the past few weeks expressed the opinion, gained, a believe from a newspaper article: "They have tried to break up little Tokyo and all they've succeeded in doing is making ten more little Tokyo's that are more Japanese than ever." One made the remark to me and on to Gordon Brown. Some time ago a school teacher remarked to me that when she arrived here last fall, three or four of her class of 25 first graders could speak no English. This fall, eight of her class of 16 can speak no English. These are only straws of evidence on a phenomenon which is very difficult for me to evaluate.

I wish I could portray in words the tone of fanatical determination which suffused Mrs. M's voice when she drew herself up, stared into space, and said with stiff-lipped scorn, "They think they can break us. But they're wrong. Our minds are getting harder and harder."

lived in a Caucasian Community.) Vengeance was considered only by a few. The most commonly held opinion was that while the soldier was probably doing his duty, he should not have shot down an unarmed boy.

Mr. Hikida's hypotheses as to why the incident did not arouse more rancor are, so far as I can judge, fundamentally correct. Knowledge of the boy's mental condition spread with the story of the shooting. It was rumored that he had beaten his mother and sister. He was a Nisei and able to speak English fluently.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the boy was not fatally injured and is according to latest reports, recovering, was also pertinent. Hikida also stresses the absence of any pressure group in the center. If the G. Y. P. A. or other pressure organizations were still functioning he says "I certainly think some public opinion would have been shown."

In one sense the community reacted to this occurrence in a manner which is entirely compatible with the principles which govern a democratic community. Groups of evacuees consulted influential and respected members of the community on the best method of taking action to prevent another occurrence. The two principle opinions brought forward were that some measures should be taken to bring about better relations between evacuees and the military police, and that WRA should be made conscious of the need to speed up leave clearances. Not only respected councilmen like Mr. Miyake (not respected by everyone) and Mr. Fukushima, were consulted, but also individuals like Mr. Hikida, who held no public office.<sup>2</sup> The council rose to the occasion and made the wishes of the people known to the Administration

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<sup>1</sup> On inconclusive evidence I am inclined to hazard the guess that the victim was one of those who answered "No-No" through motives of injured pride and idealism and not because he was a member or came under the influence of a pro-Japanese group. Had he been a Kibei or Issei with no command of English, or had he been a member of a former pressure group, the reaction would have been more violent. (Former part of guess later proved correct.)

<sup>2</sup> See the account of the council meeting, p. , the verbatim notes, p. and Hikida's remarks of December 9.

in no uncertain terms. Whether it is possible for the Administration to follow their suggestions, remains to be seen.

A week after the shooting considerable discussion was still going on among the evacuees. Sentiment had swung from emphasis on the shooting of an unarmed boy to a conviction that something must be done about the severity of segregation hearings. The evacuees, it was pointed out, had been brought here through military necessity and were not prisoners of war. Resentment was directed more against the WRA for slowness and excessive severity ~~than~~ in hearings than toward the soldiers. The evacuees appeared to have a pretty clear conception of the soldier's position in regard to obeying orders. Some people, however, still felt that the soldier should have noticed the boy's mental unbalance at the gate. Fukushima describes at some length how they reasoned with groups of evacuees on this point.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Kira was reported to be very upset and extremely resentful because of the strictness of the hearing which her son had undergone. Hikida described her as telling him that the hearing had constituted "a mental hardship." People felt, said he, that the committee should take a more sympathetic attitude. Mrs. Kira is also reported to have been ashamed and to feel responsibility to the community because of her son's deed, an interesting manifestation of community responsibility.

Hikida also stressed that most resentment was being expressed by the older bachelor group whom he said, were the WRA's most severe critics and always inclined to criticise the actions of the Administration on principle.

A rumor, the extent of which I was not able to judge, was current in camp that the authorities were attempting to make the boy's shooting appear to be suicide. Surprisingly enough, very few rumors were stimulated by the reports from Casual Camp, that soldiers had fired warning shots or shouted offensive remarks at evacuees.

On the evening of December 9 Mr. Kondo strengthened my evidence that

was crystallizing around the severity of the hearing. A lengthy argument took place in my presence, in which one evacuee held that the M. P.'s were not so bad, at least they had not always been so bad as this incident made them appear, and Mr. Kondo held that they had always been strict "and wouldn't answer you when you spoke to them."

The only evacuee remark I heard on the announcement in the paper that residents must not proceed beyond the project fence without the consent of the proper authorities and that they must stay within the confines of the fence from sunset to sunrise was: "Why do they want us to stay in bounds. We haven't done anything?"

#### Caucasian Reactions

Since the interests of the study lie more with the evacuees than with the Caucasian appointed staff, I spent much more time and energy collecting data among the Japanese. Unfortunately, since matters moved so fast, this renders my knowledge of Caucasian reactions quite incomplete. What I did observe led me to conclude that overt signs of emotional disturbance over the shooting were far stronger among the Caucasians than among the evacuees. Every Caucasian to whom I spoke in the days immediately following the shooting, was excited to some degree. Many were nervous and some were afraid. Most of my friends pounced on me as soon as they caught sight of me and began to pour out what they knew of the affair. To them it was one of the most exciting, or thrilling occurrences of their stay in camp.

I believe the news spread far more rapidly through the Caucasian barracks than it did among the evacuees. The barracks are within sight of the hospital and some of the Caucasians saw the jeeps patrolling Wednesday night. As I have mentioned before, no evacuee to whom I spoke, knew that the jeeps had entered the camps, although I believe that some of the evacuee doctors and nurses must have seen them.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to discuss the incident with

any of the Caucasians whom I know to be hostile to the evacuees. When I did come in contact with these individuals they seemed reluctant to discuss the incident. Those Caucasians who have sought me out belong to that faction which is extremely pro-evacuee in sentiment. They were violent in their denunciation of the soldiers - far more violent than any of the evacuees. "The soldier forced the wounded boy to walk into the hospital; the soldier may have been drunk." One teacher expressed the fear that a large group of soldiers might get drunk, board their jeeps, descend upon the camp and shoot every evacuee in sight. The victim was defended because he was an artist, because he was not in his right mind, because his passionate desire to relocate had been refused. It is interesting to note that the most common evacuee opinion; that the soldier should have stopped the boy without shooting, was seldom expressed by the Caucasians.

My subjective impression of the staff, gained during meals, is that the group was very nervous and under considerable tension. As an experiment, I remarked at dinner on the night of December 2 that I thought that the soldiers and some of the Caucasian staff were afraid of the evacuees. The results were interesting. Both Mr. Cross and Mrs. Luty became very angry and denied repeatedly that they were afraid.<sup>1</sup> I apologized and said that I had meant nothing by my statement.

Mrs. Luty is vociferous in her defense of Mr. Terry's refusal to give

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cross is a California from Bakersfield, a member of the Agricultural Division. He has repeatedly told me that the Japanese are dangerous, that he cannot understand why I trust them as I do, that he knows Japanese far better than I do and that one of these days he is going to enlighten me and tell me some things which will make me more careful about talking around the camp late in the evening. (I shall attempt to get this interesting verbatim statement from Mr. Cross as soon as opportunity offers itself.)

Mrs. Luty has in my presence frequently accused the evacuees of stealing, stated that you really can't trust them, and confessed that when she gets in a large group of evacuees she feels smothered and must escape.

Kira leave clearance. Her reasons are that the boy was utterly selfish, self-centered, not loyal either to Japan or to the United States, that he is very erratic (denied by Brown,) and that he changed from "no-no" to "yes-yes" only because he wanted to relocate.

Mr. Bennett's attitude toward the military police underwent some change as a result of this incident. Captain Morse's threat to expose WRA "dirt" and the incident in which the soldier shouted insults at evacuee girls may have been significant factors in the change.

Mr. Wolter's unusually revealing statements during my interview indicate that he was very angry over the actions of the military. He remarked after the interview that he was not going to the P.X. not because he was afraid but because he didn't wish to engage in physical combat with Morse with a company of soldiers present. "Not that I'd mind it though, under different circumstances," said he.

#### Synthesis

In general this incident was characterized by remarkable quietness among the evacuees and by somewhat more excitement among the Caucasians. In spite of the rapidity with which rumor is known to spread through the camp, some of the evacuees did not know of the event until they read the newspaper. None knew of the entrance of the armed soldiers, except perhaps some members of the hospital staff. The evacuees as a whole were resentful and critical, especially since the boy was unarmed and had not threatened the soldier. But they were not at all violent or inclined to seek vengeance. On the contrary, it appears that the community council was to some extent at least, used by the evacuees as an instrument to formulate and present to the administration a resolution intended to prevent a recurrence.

In this connection, it should not be forgotten that none of the evacuees, not even the remnants of the pro-japanese pressure groups, was conscious of how narrowly they had escaped military supervision and its dangers.

Caucasian and evacuee attitudes on the competence of the military police were clearly brought out by this incident. In general, the Caucasians expressed their lack of respect more freely than the evacuees.

A week after the shooting, the incident was still the topic of extensive discussion among the evacuees, but among the Caucasians interest had died down almost entirely except among those individuals particularly concerned. Evacuee resentment had shifted somewhat from resentment over the shooting of an unarmed boy to the conviction that something ought to be done about the strictness and the delay in the leave clearance hearings.

The fact that the story of the boy's mental derangement spread with the account of the shooting, the fact that he was a nisei, could speak fluent English and could not have misunderstood the soldier, that he was not fatally injured and that those evacuees willing to make trouble over the incident are small in number and disorganized, all contributed to the orderly acceptance of the incident.

Mr. Bennett (written in pencil)

Approved (written in pencil)

LEAVE CLEARANCE HEARING OF SATOSHI KIRA  
GILA RIVER PROJECT  
RIVERS ARIZONA

Date: September 14, 1943

Time: 3:15 P.M.

Committee: J. H. Terry  
E. H. Goodman  
D. A. Rogers

TERRY:

Q. What is your name?

A. Setoshi Kira.

Q. How old are you?

A. Twenty-one.

Q. What is your address here?

A. 32-11-B.

Q. What were your previous addresses in reverse order?

A. Los Angeles, California.

Q. Where did you live before you lived in Los Angeles?

A. In Seattle, Washington.

Q. Is that where you were born?

A. Yes.

Q. You lived there until you moved to Los Angeles?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you register for selective service?

A. Yes.

Q. Where?

A. At the Assembly Center.

Q. Why had you not registered before that?

A. Because I was not old enough.

Q. What is the name of your father?

A. Hiromu Kira.

Q. What is the name of your mother?

A. Sadayo Kira.

Q. Are they both alive?

A. Yes.

Q. Where do they live?

A. 32-11-B.

Q. How old is your father?

A. He is approximately 45.

Q. And your mother?

A. Forty, I think.

Q. What is your father's occupation?

A. He is a film technician.

Q. What is your mother's occupation?

A. She is a housewife.

Q. What is your father's occupation here?

A. Camp projectionist.

Q. Your mother's?

A. Cashier at the Beauty Shop.

Q. Have they applied for repatriation?

A. No, they haven't.

Q. Your father is a citizen of Japan and your mother a citizen of the United States?

A. My Dad is not technically a citizen of Japan as he was born in Hawaii and was taken to Japan at an early age.

Q. He claims Hawaiian birth?

A. Yes.

Q. Has either parent been interned?

A. No.

Q. What has been your education?

A. I have gone to Junior College almost two years there in Los Angeles.

Q. You have never been outside of the United States?

A. No. I haven't.

Q. You have had three years of Japanese Language School?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you any brothers and sisters?

A. I have a sister.

Q. What is her name?

A. Rui.

Q. And her address?

A. 32-11-B.

Q. How old is she?

A. She is twenty.

Q. What has been her education?

A. She has gone almost half year to Junior College.

Q. Has she ever been outside of the United States?

A. No, she hasn't.

Q. What, if anything, was her employment before evacuation.

A. She was a school girl.

Q. At the present time, is she employed?

A. Yes. She is a teacher at the high School.

Q. What does she teach?

A. Physical Education.

Q. Has she applied for expatriation?

A. No, she hasn't.

Q. Do you have any close relatives in the United States who are interned or who have been interned?

A. No.

Q. Do you have any close relatives in Japan?

A. On my father's side, but I don't call them close.

Q. How are they related?

A. His brothers and his brothers' sons and daughters.

Q. No grandparents?

A. No.

Q. Do you happen to know whether any of them are serving or at any time were serving in the Japanese Army or Navy?

A. We haven't heard from them for five or six years, so I don't know.

Q. Before that time, did you know of any of them serving in the Japanese Army or Navy?

A. I remember--No, I don't think so.

Q. What were you going to say when you said "I remember."

A. I think there was one uncle who might have served.

Q. In the Army or Navy?

A. In the Army, I think.

Q. You are not married?

A. No, I am not.

Q. What has been your employment record? Were you employed prior to evacuation?

A. No.

Q. Are you employed?

A. Not now. I was working for the newspaper.

Q. How long since you have been unemployed?

A. Approximately two months.

Q. What was the reason for your leaving the employ of the newspaper?

A. I completed my special work on the Anniversary Booklet.

Q. How long did you work on that?

A. One month.

Q. Were you employed before that?

A. Yes.

Q. In what capacity?

A. As artist on the newspaper.

Q. What I am trying to get at is for you to give me your employment record here in the Center--on the Project.

A. When I first came I worked as junior clerk in the Administration Building for a month and after that I went to the newspaper, for four months.

Q. Is there any reason why you have not undertaken other employment after the Booklet?

A. I am waiting for the proper kind of a job in art.

Q. When you say the "proper kind of a job" do you mean in the Center?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you registered by your parents for dual citizenship?

A. No, I was not.

Q. You obtained that information from your parents?

A. Yes. But I think I remember my parents having registered me at birth, but just before the war broke out they cancelled it.

Q. How?

A. By writing to the Japanese Consulate.

Q. Where?

A. In Los Angeles.

Q. Have you any papers to show that cancellation?

A. In order to have the Japanese citizenship cancelled we had to turn the Japanese citizenship paper in, so we have no record of it. Just before the war we had it canceled--in December.

Q. The first week in December?

A. I don't know exactly when it was, but it was before the war broke out.

Q. What date did the war break out?

A. December seventh.

Q. The first week of December?

A. I think it was canceled in November.

Q. What are your plans for the future?

A. Well, first of all, when I relocate I want to go back to school. But in the meantime, I think I will have to work to go to school.

Q. Is there any part of the country that you prefer for relocation?

A. I prefer to relocate in the Midwest.

Q. What additional education are you seeking?

A. I wish to complete my university education.

Q. Along what line?

A. A liberal course involving all the things that a person ordinarily would learn, majoring in art, of course.

Q. Have you been studying art here?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. In school?

A. Not in school.

Q. You are studying at home?

A. I attended night school about a week, but I am studying privately now.

Q. Who is your teacher?

A. Mr. Inawa.

Q. You have no/ interest in any professional or vocational course?

A. Yes, I would be interested in commercial art and fine arts. To define fine arts, I mean painting, drawing and water color.

Q. And your object and ambition is to be an artist?

A. Yes.

Q. What is your feeling about returning to the West Coast?

A. Well, I would like to go there if we had a chance, but mainly because I feel I haven't completed all the subjects that were available at the Junior College education, so for that reason I want to go back there.

Q. What advantage would that be? Similar educational instruction is offered in other parts of the country?

A. There would not be a real motive except for the sentimental side--teachers, school mates.

Q. You expect to find the same teachers and school mates?

A. I probably won't find the same school mates, but I would find some of the teachers.

Q. Do I understand then that you would prefer to go to the West Coast for sentimental reasons rather than because of better instruction than in other parts of the country?

A. My particular desire is to return to the West Coast and continue my education there, but if that is impossible and so long as it is impossible, my purpose would be to go to the Middle West and continue my education there.

Q. If you found living conditions and working conditions satisfactory in the Midwest, would you remain there even though opportunity were afforded you to return to the West Coast?

A. Well, that would depend entirely upon the job--the pay, living conditions and the attitude of the people living there.

Q. Suppose that the job, the pay and the living conditions, also the attitude of the people were just as they are today?

A. Today? Well, if they were the same as today I would not go back.

Q. Suppose the job were better on the West Coast but the attitude of the people was just as it is today?

A. Well, in that case my decision would depend entirely upon when the job is available or how much the job pays or what type of a job it is.

Q. Do you know anything about the attitude of the people on the West Coast?

A. Well, all I know is what I read in the newspapers and if the newspapers play up the disagreeable side, that is what I know.

Q. Have you any intention of visiting Japan in the future?

A. No. Not at present or in the future. The way I feel now, I have no desire to visit Japan.

Q. Have you any immediate plans for relocation as to a particular place to go or a particular institution in which to continue your education?

A. No.

Q. Have you corresponded with any institutions or any relocation offices in which you are particularly interested?

A. No, I have not--yet.

Q. Have you ever applied for expatriation?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. Do you or your family own any property or investments or have you any business connections in Japan?

A. No.

Q. Do you have any prospect of inheriting any Japanese property?

A. No.

Q. What have been your interests outside of your education and your art?

A. I would say a good job.

Q. No, that is not what I mean. Have you been interested in sports, activities, etc.?

A. I have been interested in music.

Q. In what form?

A. As a listener and also as a performer in the choir.

Q. Have you taken up any sports?

A. Not recently. In school I enjoyed swimming.

Q. Did you ever belong to any athletic team?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever participate in any Japanese sport?

A. No. Except when we had picnics, where a person ran, high jumped, etc.

Q. That is not a peculiar Japanese sport. You never participated in Judo, Kendo, etc.?

A. No, no Japanese sport.

Q. Have you participated in any activities since you have been here besides your work on the newspaper and your art work?

A. No.

Q. Have you belonged to any Japanese organizations at any time either here or before you came here?

A. No.

Q. Have you belonged to any American organizations other than High School fraternities. Have you been a member of the Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A. or any other organization?

A. No.

Q. What is your ability to speak Japanese?

A. At home all I spoke was English, but I can understand Japanese.

Q. Can you speak it?

A. A little bit.

Q. Can you read it?

A. A little bit.

Q. Can you write it?

A. I can write my name but not much more.

Q. Have you subscribed to or read Japanese periodicals or publications?

A. No, I have not.

Q. Have you contributed to any Japanese societies or funds of any sort, or any Japanese organizations of any sort whatsoever?

A. No.

Q. Have you contributed to any American societies or organizations?

A. Red Cross.

Q. Have you purchased any War Bonds or stamps?

A. Yes. I have a \$25 War Bond.

Q. Have you taken any part in American drives or anything of that sort in connection with raising funds?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever been arrested or questioned by police?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever had any dealings with Internal Security at the Center or been questioned about any of your activities?

A. No.

Q. When you first answered question 28 on the military registration questionnaire., you answered that question in the negative?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that a true answer when you gave it?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you explain the reason for your answering the question that way?

A. In the first place, the Japanese were put in camps while the American citizens of German and Italian ancestry were not. The conditions in the Assembly Center such as living in stables where there was no ventilation and in lining up for hours at a time in order to eat at a mess hall - those were the conditions which influenced me. The main reason was because we were in camp.

Q. Did any one influence your decision in any way?

A. No.

Q. Did you arrive at all these conclusions by yourself?

A. Yes.

Q. And the sum total of your objections to this treatment led you to state that you refused to swear allegiance to the United States?

A. Right.

Q. Was that the part of the question you were answering in the negative or were you motivated in any way by the other part of the question which asked if you were loyal to Japan? Did that part of the question enter into it at all?

A. What do you mean by that?

Q. The question - "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization." You have stated that this request led you to refuse to say you would swear unqualified allegiance to the United States. Did you answer also lead you to feel you would swear ~~no~~ allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or did that enter into it at all?

A. We were placed in these camps and the attitude of the press as it was then made me feel that maybe Japan was the place where I would have my best opportunity for the future.

Q. So, at the time you answered this questions you were inclined to feel that you might be willing to swear allegiance to Japan?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, in other words, at the time you answered the question on February 11th you definitely felt this way about the United States?

A. Yes.

Q. And one week later, I believe on February 18th, you expressed a desire to change your answer to Question 27?

A. Yes.

Q. You were willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States and you, I believe, did change your answer on that day?

A. Yes.

Q. Since that time, have you expressed a wish to change your answer to Question 28?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. About when did you make that application the first time?

A. When segregation hearings were begun. I don't remember exactly when that was. It was right after I had my segregation hearing.

Q. That was the early part of this year. Is that right?

A. Yes. It was my desire to have it changed when I had my hearing.

Q. Will you state the basis on which you wished to change your answer at that time?

A. Why, at that time, did you wish to change your answer?

A. Over a year had passed since the war broke out. The attitude of the press had changed since we were first sent to camp and the fact that people were more willing to accept us as citizens and give us equal opportunities. These prompted me to change my answer.

Q. You speak about the press of the nation. How much of the press of the nation did you see during the period when you were disloyal to the United States?

A. Why I saw just the Pacific Coast papers, particularly the Los Angeles Times, Examiner and Herald Express.

Q. What led you to believe the attitude of those papers has changed in any way?

A. Their attitude has not changed but the papers in the Midwest and the East are favorable.

Q. Did you see those papers at the time you were bitter about the attitude of the West Coast?

A. No, I didn't.

Q. What basis of knowledge do you have that the rest of the country felt more kindly towards Japanese-American citizens at any time?

A. They seem to be very agreeable toward us, so I think that is a very healthy sign.

Q. Was your feeling of loyalty or lack of loyalty to the United States dependent entirely upon the attitude of the people and the press towards your minority racial group?

A. I would say yes.

Q. And if you discovered that the government or military policies might affect your minority group in a way which you considered unjust, would you on that basis either gain or lose loyalty to the United States?

A. Well, that would depend entirely on what happens to American citizens of German or Italian ancestry. If those policies might be put into operation against or were applied to Germans and Italians as well as Japanese, I would not mind, but on the other hand, if they applied only to us, then I would not know. I might change my answer.

Q. Are we supposed to infer from these answers that your loyalty or lack of loyalty to the United States is entirely selfish to quality?

A. It could be interpreted as selfish.

Q. I am asking you to interpret it for us. We are anxious to know whether it is based entirely upon the treatment which you received individually as a member of a minority racial group, or whether it is based upon the fact that you consider that democracy has so failed generally as to be an institution to which you cannot be loyal?

A. The two statements which you give are slightly disconnected, are they not?

Q. You will have to separate them and answer them. What I am driving at is this. You are doubtless aware that during the period when you were growing up, if you studied American history, at all times there has been oppression of one class or race by another, based upon race prejudice or class hatred. You are probably also aware of the fact that today there are certain oppressions in the southern states against negroes which do not exist as far as white people are concerned, although both are citizens in the eye of the law and the Constitution. Does the fact that the southern states, to some extent, oppress negroes cause you to be disloyal to the United States, or is it only when the oppression reaches you personally through the group of which you are a member that your loyalty to the United States wavers?

A. I would say that if it affected me personally, I would change my answer. It would depend upon how I am treated personally.

Q. In other words, when I asked you if your loyalty or disloyalty is based entirely upon what we might consider the treatment of yourself, the answer to that would be "Yes?"

A. Yes.

Q. All I can say is this. Is your loyalty which you now profess caused by a change of attitude towards loyalty to the fundamental principles of this country as you learned them in school and college, loyalty to the principles of democracy as set forth in the Constitution of the United States and all the different states and the Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation Proclamation and the other documents which Americans point to as indicative of the government we are supposed to have, or is based upon how nearly the governing bodies, governing individuals--people of the United States--arrive at successful administration of those principles with regard to your own personal place in the population of this country?

A. While the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are all fine documents, they are only documents. It would depend entirely upon how their administration is handled by the people and those documents can only stand as long as the people desire to carry out those principles.

Q. I assume from your original answer to Question 28 that your belief was that the constitutional provisions broke down and failed in so far as the treatment of your group was concerned.

A. I would not say that the documents broke down but the interpretations broke down.

Q. What test of the interpretation have you made, or what attempt have you made to test the strength of those documents in relation to your own situation?

A. First, we have been promised that we could pursue happiness, a very important principle. I don't think that was possible in the assembly centers or in the relocation centers.

Q. I am afraid again that you misunderstand the Constitution of the United States, the fundamental law of the United States. As you know, there are judicial bodies throughout the United States up to and including the United States Supreme Court. There are tribunals in which every citizen and every alien may complain of any injustice or violation forbidden by the Constitution of the United States. You are aware of that, are you not?

A. Yes.

Q. You feel that there has been injustice and discrimination in your particular case-- in the case of people of Japanese ancestry? What effort have you made to preserve your rights through the democratic channels of the United States?

A. I have not made any personal effort, but I think a certain person in Portland, Oregon, and another fellow who lives on the Pacific Coast, made that test and took their cases to the Supreme Court.

Q. Are you familiar with the results?

A. I am not too familiar, but some of the cases that the Supreme Court passed were unfavorable, were they not?

Q. You personally, however, have made no effort in your own favor?

A. No.

Q. Have you considered any legal aid which is free, which is offered in most any community through the Bar Association or through the other channels or employing a lawyer, in the event that you or your family wanted to do that? Have you taken that step?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. Do you consider it fair to condemn a system of government or to relinquish your loyalty to a system of government without giving it a chance to see whether it works or not?

A. I haven't tested it but these people I mentioned before tested it.

Q. What I am afraid of is that your original answer and your desire to change were based solely and exclusively upon your own selfish interests, without any regard to your rights or obligations as a citizen. I would like to have you demonstrate to me that I am wrong. If you feel that you are being dealt with with absolute fairness--I want you to be fair to yourself and I want you to be fair to us; but what can I conclude except that your loyalty depends upon how the officials of the press and the people of the United States deal with you personally? Would you serve in the United States Army?

A. Yes, I would.

Q. Would you serve in the United States Army regardless of whether you were loyal to the United States or not?

A. If I had said I were disloyal, I don't think I would, but I am loyal now and would serve in the Army.

Q. If you were refused leave clearance, would you serve in the United States Army?

A. If I were drafted, I would, yes.

GOODMAN:

Q. That one answer to that question right there--if you were drafted. We know you would serve then, but would you be willing to serve?

A. Yes, I would be.

Q. Are you loyal enough to serve or just serve because you had to serve?

A. You know if I did not want to stay here and if I did not want to serve in the United States Army, I would repatriate to Japan, would I not?

You would ask for it probably.

TERRY:

Q. Under what circumstances would you volunteer for service in the United States Army?

A. It is difficult to say. It would depend upon the time.

Q. Give a set of circumstances under which you would volunteer.

A. Well, I would volunteer if the Japanese people were allowed to return to the Pacific Coast because the threat of invasion by Japan no longer exists.

Q. Would you, under those circumstances, volunteer for service in the Pacific?

A. Yes.

Q. You would have no objection to fighting against your people?

A. No, no objection.

ROGERS:

Q. I have a man working for me who has asked for repatriation. He made a lot of money in the United States. I asked him why he was repatriating and he said his family was in Japan. Then I asked him what his reason was for repatriating in Japan and he said he would go over until this thing is over and then come back. I wonder what your attitude is toward that story. What is going to happen to him in Japan and what will he do when he comes back to the United States. He has made lots of money here in the United States, he has lots of property, and we are talking about loyalty and treatment, etc, here. What do you think of his reception when he lands in Japan and when he comes back to the United States to make more money? Do you think he will be allowed to keep all that money over there? Do you think when the war is over he will be allowed to come back to the United States? So you think that is a true program which he can work out?

A. No, I don't think so, I would not call him a very fine person. He certainly is not patriotic.

TERRY:

Q. If your feelings were based upon inadequate information, not knowing how the country as a whole felt, and if you failed to exercise your rights as a citizen by seeking redress in the courts of the United States, would you still feel that

it was not up to you to do anything, not up to you to find out how the rest of the country felt, but so long as you were being oppressed in newspapers, would you be justified in declaring yourself disloyal to the United States? Do you see the point?

A. But would not a person not a Japanese have the same ideas? Would he not answer the same way if he were put into camp?

Q. I am not asking about anybody else. I am asking about you.

A. The thing is, what knowledge is acquired by an individual would affect his decision and if the attitude of the press of the nation was not known to you, than I think even you would answer the same way.

Q. Let me put it this way. If somebody assaulted you on the street without justification and broke your jaw and knocked some teeth out, and injured you, and if you had gone up to the policeman on the corner and asked him to arrest this person and you knew who it was who assaulted you, and the policeman refused to do it, would you feel justified, for instance in killing the policeman?

A. No, I would not.

Q. Why not?

A. Because the policeman is not responsible for my broken jaw.

Q. He is responsible for your immediate deprivation of your rights, isn't he?

A. Yes, I would report him to his superiors.

Q. What else would you do?

A. I would find another policeman.

Q. You would not take that action because you know you could get redress in other ways. Now then, suppose that you failed to do any of those things or nothing about it, would you feel justified in stating that law and order had completely broken down in that community and that you had no use for that type of government.?

A. If I were persecuted outside, at least I would have my liberty and it would make me fight.

Q. Suppose you went to Cleveland, got off the train and a policeman took you and locked you up in jail because you looked like a Japanese?

A. I would get a lawyer and see if I could get out.

Q. You would not have your liberty then, would you?

A. I would have liberty in my grasp.

Q. What difference is there?

A. The thing is, if I had the opportunity to go outside, I would be more free than I am here.

Q. Have you been deprived of permission to communicate with lawyers?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever, for instance, come to the office of the Project Attorney here and asked to obtain a lawyer?

A. No.

Q. Don't you think you have neglected to even attempt to protect your own rights?

A. I guess I have.

Q. Don't you think that your answer, in the fact of such neglect, is not logical? The situation is the same. It is not changed. Any change which appears to you is unreal, transitory. People throughout the United States have not changed their attitude as a whole towards your racial minority group. If anything, the change would have been for the worse because of the force which comes out of the Pacific because some people are unable to distinguish between an enemy alien and a citizen of this country and that situation will probably get worse.

A. I have many friends who have relocated. I have not heard of a single case where a person has failed because of the attitude outside.

Q. You were living here, outside of California, for many months before you answered that question. I think we have gone far enough, but I am trying to get you to understand the basic reasoning which led you to answer this question and your own failure to acquire knowledge of the situation and protect your own rights--you say would not anybody in the same situation answer the question as you did. It is my own opinion that the majority would certainly have not answered it that way. I would not. I would have exercised my legal rights.

A. You, as a lawyer, would be closer to those things.

Q. There has been a lawyer right here. You haven't even attempted to consult a lawyer inside or outside. You haven't raised a finger to protect your rights. How can you blame a situation when you have not done anything?

A. I have been a school-boy almost all of my life and led a sheltered life, but I know that there is no excuse for me not doing anything about it.

GOODMAN:

Q. You are asking to do everything now that democracy stands for?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. The thing that those other boys who are fighting for the United States would like to do?

A. Yes.

HEARING CONCLUDED

No risk, but cannot affirmatively recommend clearance. Does not possess a real sense of loyalty.

---

James A. Terry  
Committee Chairman

KIRA'S LEAVE HEARING

Since Dr. Hata and Mr. Wolter believe that Kira's illness was precipitated by his leave clearance hearing this stenographic transcription warrants close examination. Kira showed no symptoms of mental derangement before this experience. Gordon Brown is of the opinion that the boy's treatment at this hearing "pushed him over the brink." Wolter admitted to me confidentially that it might well have been the last straw. The hearing, said he, had not been well conducted; it had been turned into a debate rather than an attempt to get an expression of the boy's opinion.

Both Kira's father and mother have mentioned the unfortunate effect produced by the hearing. Mrs. Kira is reported to be particularly disturbed over it. According to her, the boy has been brooding ever since, and has stated repeatedly that he resented the questions put to him. Mr. Kira said that Satoshi came home that day ~~32~~ and lay down, complaining of feeling very tired.

In this and other reports I have mentioned frequently that many evacuees complain to me of Terry's "criminal attorney" manner.<sup>1</sup> This was mentioned in the council meeting by Harry Miyake although he did not call Terry by name.

Mrs. Luty, who served as stenographer, was greatly disturbed by the shooting. She talked frequently of the incident and was absolutely in agreement with Terry's decision. Kira, she said, was selfish, utterly self-centered, very erratic, and not loyal either to Japan or to the United States. She was certain that he had changed his answer only because he wished to relocate. Later she added that Kira, at times, seemed ready to jump over the desk at any minute and take Mr. Terry by the throat.

He was very loquacious and very argumentative.

<sup>1</sup>On December 8 I was told by Miss Wilson, one of the high school teachers, that she had been told of a leave clearance hearing at which Terry was chairman where the evacuee being questioned suddenly "began chattering and jabbering in Japanese. Mr. Terry attempted to make the interpreter translate the Japanese, but the interpreter refused, saying, "I can't tell you, I can't tell you."

Mr. Terry's character is paradoxical in the extreme. He is honest, sincere, intelligent and kind. He is devoting himself whole-heartedly to his task of assisting the evacuees. In his legal defense of the Japanese he is often unselfish to a degree. If he thought he were fighting in a just cause, he would, I believe, risk<sup>15</sup> his professional reputation without hesitation.

His desire to assist verges at times on sentimentality. When Kimiko Murakami was determined to leave on the Gripsholm he argued with her for hours, offered to lend her money, and, according to Brown, even conceived a plan of spiriting her out of the camp to get her away from the authorities.

Yet, as the hearing shows, he is quite unable to understand, to admit into his mind, and consequently to take into consideration, the psychological effects of evacuation on the Japanese. He will never let an opportunity for debate pass unchallenged.

He is utterly blind to the Japanese' sensitiveness and inadvertently injures their feelings by his brusque behavior. That a person would retain a love and respect for the country of his birth, even though he had adopted another, is beyond his comprehension. His honesty and good intent are beyond question; yet he is the most unpopular Caucasian on the project.

On December 11 I attended a small gathering at which Terry and his wife were present. This was the night of their return from Washington and New York. Terry argued with Brown, Wolter and Provincethat any ~~member~~ of the evacuees had a "perfect legal right" to walk out of camp. He couldn't see why they didn't start legal proceedings. Though he battled valiently, the combined insistence of three men and two women, Mrs. Wolter and myself, finally forced him to admit that the evacuees might be motivated by their fears, resentments, and other emotions and not by logic, that an appreciation of their legal rights under the Constitution is inhibited by their attitudes, and that they should

not be condemned because of this.

The members of the group, particularly Mrs. Wolter, were not too tactful in their statements, and I think some impression was made on Terry's mental crystal.

From Brown I hear that Terry will officiate at no more leave clearance hearings, if Wolter has anything to say about it.

#### PERSONAL NOTES ON THE HEARING

On page 4 Terry forced Kira to admit that he had made a mistake in the date he had said he had turned in his Japanese citizenship papers in to the Japanese consul. On the next two pages Terry spent considerable time in quizzing Kira on why he wished to return to the West Coast.<sup>1</sup> The evacuees' desire to return to the West Coast is incomprehensible to Mr. Terry. On the occasion when he tried to cross-examine me, he stated that he couldn't understand why the Japanese wished to go back to California. He certainly would never go back if he had been treated as they were.

On page 8 Kira explained that he answered "No" because the Japanese were put in camps while American citizens of Italian and German ancestry were not. The conditions in the assembly center, no ventilation, lining up to eat at the mess hall also angered and humiliated him. This is a significant and very common attitude which I encountered frequently when I interviewed potential segregees.

On page 9 Kira stated that he changed his mind because he felt that the attitude of the American people had changed. He felt that now he had a chance in the United States. This is also an attitude which I have met repeatedly.

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<sup>1</sup> A few days ago an evacuee told me "Terry always harps on the West Coast. When a friend of mine had a hearing, he asked him, 'Where would you go if they closed the ~~East Coast~~ East Coast?' My friend said, 'I would go to the Middle West.' Then Terry said, 'Where would you go if they closed the Middle West?' 'Then I guess I'd go to the South.' 'Where would you go if they closed the South?' 'Then, I don't know what I'd do,' said my friend."

Mr. Terry then questioned the boy minutely as to where he had got the information of this change of public opinion and succeeded in putting him in the wrong. Kira had not answered the question dishonestly. The consciousness of the change in American Public opinion, the fact that evacuees with a good record would be allowed to relocate permeated the camp at this time (early spring of 1942). One would not have to be a subscriber to a Middle Western newspaper to be conscious of it and to fall under its influence.

On pages 9 and 10 the different frames of reference for loyalty held by Terry and Kira are clearly apparent. I made reference to these different frames of reference for loyalty in my report on segregation.<sup>1</sup> Kira expressed himself as willing to give unqualified allegiance to the United States if his people were treated justly. This did not constitute loyalty to Mr. Terry who remarked several times that he considered such an attitude very selfish.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to consider Kira wild and erratic when reading his answers to the second question on page 10. The answer is intelligent and shows unusual alertness:

Terry: Are we supposed to infer from these answers that your loyalty or lack of loyalty to the United States is entirely selfish in quality?

Kira: It could be interpreted as selfish.

Terry: I am asking you to interpret it for us. We are anxious to know whether it is based entirely upon the treatment which you received individually as a member of a minority racial group, or whether it is based upon the fact that you consider that democracy has so failed generally as to be an institution to which you cannot be loyal?

Kira: The two statements which you give are slightly disconnected, are they not?

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<sup>1</sup> I do not suggest that there are only two frames of reference, one Japanese and one American. There are no doubt many.

<sup>2</sup> During my interview with Terry he remarked that many of his contacts with evacuees disgusted him because the Japanese appeared to be motivated almost entirely by selfish interests.

At the bottom of page 10 Kira stated that while the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are all fine documents they are only documents. Their power depends entirely upon how their administration is upheld by the people. They can ~~and~~ stand only as long as the people desire to carry out the principles which they represent.

On page 11 Terry brought Kira to another rhetorical defeat because he did not seek legal advice in his difficulties. This argument came to a climax on page 13 where Kira, interestingly enough, used the same defense I employed when Terry questioned me on this subject: that Terry might have felt the same way if he had been confined in a camp. "I'm not asking about anybody else. I am asking about you," Terry tells Kira.

On page 12 Terry again called Kira's attitude selfish, and Kira stated that even though he were refused clearance, he would serve in the United States forces if he were drafted.

On page 13 and 14 Kira is again defeated when Terry, ~~using~~ ~~the~~ compared Kira to a citizen who is refused justice from one policeman and then condemns the government who employs the policeman. Kira is finally made to admit that he had neglected to attempt to protect his own right and that his actions were not logical. On page 15 he offers his final defense: "I have been a schoolboy almost all of my life and led a sheltered life, but I know that there is no excuse for my not doing anything about it."

When Kira had left the room, Mr. Terry remarked, "That boy is certainly off the beam."

Kira's answers appear honest and straightforward. His answers are not wild or erratic. Mr. Terry appears to have given considerable vent to his joy in debate. He is quite right when he concludes that Kira's reaction to evacuation was not logical. He is unable to understand human action, not dictated by logic.

Confidential

I should prefer that you do not send this section to X. The Kondos are his very good friends and I am not sure he would approve of the frankness with which I discuss them.

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On the evening of December 9 I had an opportunity to visit the Kondos. Since they are my trusted friends and since I knew that they had been treated very rudely by Mr. Terry when they consulted him about getting their child from a mental institution in California, I thought their remarks on Kira's leave clearance hearing would be interesting.

Mrs. Kondo is a Nisei; her husband is Kibei. She appears to resent evacuation more bitterly than Mr. Kondo.

She is quite American in her psychological processes: in her attitude toward the upbringing of children and toward those members of the Caucasian staff who are incompetent or rude.

She considers some of the ideas which her mother-in-law wishes to impress on her 10-year old son superstitions, foolish and pernicious. Her husband considers them wise and proper.

Mr. Kondo is a peacemaker. At least he feels "you should not strike unless you are sure every evacuee will stand with you."<sup>1</sup>

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They were extremely interested when I showed it to them, and sat at the table reading it together. They said nothing until they reached page 5 where Terry began to question Kira on why he wished to go back to the West Coast. Said Mrs. Kondo, "Anybody has a sentiment and an attachment to where he's been living. The spots he has known in his childhood on the West Coast will

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<sup>1</sup>In a later report I shall include an interesting discussion on superstition, religion and social stratification in which I participated with the Kondos and a Japanese friend.

always be like a dream. Like the old folks say, 'I want to go back to die, It is my home'."

When they reached the 14th/ question on page 9 Mr. Kondo said, "That last question I think if you ask this question to anybody, I think they'd say, yes, if you discover that the government might affect a minority group in any way or other that you consider unjust.

Concerning the second question on page 10 where Mr. Terry asks Kira if he considers that democracy has failed as an institution, Mr. Kondo said, "Any sensible person would interpret it so--that is democracy for you. If you don't have a right to think the way you want what have you got."

As Mrs. Kondo continued reading on page 9 and 10 she remarked, "I think he is brilliant. Good for him." In the middle of 10 where Mr. Terry mentions negro persecutions in the United States, Mrs. Kondo says, "That really shows what he (Mr. Terry) feels--that racial prejudice in the Sothern states is a natural thing. Why are we making a fuss when the negroes are abused!" When she reached the top of page 11 she again remarked "I think he is brilliant."

At the bottom of page 11 when Terry asks Kira why he did not call legal aid before he condemned the system of government, Mr. Kondo remarked, "How's the poor kid to know, none of us ordinary people know. I didn't know anything about the Bar Association."

Referring to Terry's remark on the second line of page 12 where he states, "What I am afraid of is that your original answer and your desire to change were based solely and exclusively on your own hands." Mrs. Kondo said, "Those are the exact words he told me. You are being selfish to want your child with you!"

There was good natured laughter on Mr. Roger's long dissertation on page 13. Mr. Kondo said, "Boy he's really simple minded," and added that the plans of the Japanese to whom Rogers referred were impossible. Once you get out of this country to Japan/, naturally you are not going to be allowed to come back to this country."

Mr. Kondo was impressed by the discussion of the policeman on page 13 and 14. He said, "This idea of changing loyalty is just not the idea from changing loyalty from United States to Japan/. What he means when he says 'I would find another policeman' is, 'I must find another country'."

At the top of page 14 where Kira said that he would not go so far as to feel that law and order had completely broken down in a community where such things were allowed, Mrs. Kondo said tersely, "I would."

Concerning the fifth answer on page 14 where Kira says "I would have liberty in my grasp," Mrs. Kondo remarked, "I should say he can't fight in here. If you do you sign yourself up for Isuppe!"

At the bottom of page 14 where Terry says that the people throughout the United States have not all changed their attitude toward the Japanese, Mrs. Kondo said, "Oh phooey, what does he mean? When I went to him he couldn't tell us anything until we had chosen another state to go to. He said he had not, in one case found any prejudice against the Japanese in the East. He says, 'If feeling would be worse there!' Oh, I wish I'd have had somebody to take down what we said on that day we went to see him."

When he had finished reading the document Mr. Kondo remarked, "That boy is certainly a 100% American." He implied that none of Kira's reactions had been Japanese.

December 2, morning, 1943

Last night, December 1, an evacuee boy was shot by one of the military police. A Caucasian teacher, sympathetic to the evacuees told me her version this morning. The boy, a brother of one of the evacuee school teachers, was brooding over his father's relocation, probably did not obey the command of the M. P. and was shot in the hip. The soldiers brought him to the hospital in their truck and according to one of the negro nurses, made the boy walk into the hospital. According to this nurse the M. P. made the remark, "Well, here's a Jap. I shot, now I'll go and get me somemore." The Caucasian teacher expressed concern over the fact that the soldiers may have been drunk and that this incident may give rise to more trouble on their part. The soldiers may all get drunk and come in and shoot the evacuees. "They all feel badly because they are more or less the leavings and have been relegated here instead of being sent into active service."

Block Manager

My block manager told me this noon that he thought maybe the boy was a little crazy. He also said that the people were saying, "He (the boy) was unarmed," implying that the soldier had no right to shoot him for this reason.

arsenic in the sugar.

"He told the fellow at the gate that he was president of the U. S. and director of the project. At the hospital he has been claiming he's director of the project."<sup>1</sup> (Here Miss Smith inserted her opinion that unbalanced as the boy is, he could probably run the project as well as Mr. Bennett.) "The soldier told him to stop. He said he was just walking along the road to Chandler. He shot at his feet four times before he plugged him. The soldier was alone. The soldier said he didn't know whether he was armed or not so he shot him in the left kidney.

"Last night the jeeps went up and down in front of the hospital as if they were expecting more trouble."<sup>2</sup>

At this moment Mrs. Luty entered the room. She began to talk: "I was there when the fellow had his hearing. He was so erratic in his statements."<sup>3</sup> He's very self-centered, very selfish, and certainly not loyal to the United States or loyal to Japan. He was only interested in himself. He's a very talented boy. He even referred to the curfew case in Washington or Oregon. He's a very intelligent boy. Mr. Terry's expression as he went out was, 'He's certainly off the beam.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This information came to Miss Smith from her sister, who is a nurse at the hospital, and in contrast to Miss Smith is very reticent.

<sup>2</sup>According to Brown, there was only one jeep in Butte.

<sup>3</sup>According to Brown this is false. The boy's statements were quite lucid.

<sup>4</sup>In Brown's opinion this hearing shows Terry at his worst.

"He had beaten his mother and his sister the day before. He emptied out their sugar bowl and said it was full of arsenic."

He didn't impress me as being insane. He was a very talented boy. He wanted to relocate and study art. I understand he has been cutting up for a week. He was not granted leave clearance because he was "NO-NO" and very bitter about it. He was bitter about the Japanese being put into camp.

"Those of Italian and German ancestry were not put in camps." He banged and banged at that.<sup>1</sup> He had just decided to change around and go out. That was the only reason. He didn't care whether Japan or the United States won the war. His name was Satoshi Kira.

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<sup>1</sup>See the emphasis put on this point by potential segregees in "Report on Segregation."

42

DECEMBER 2, Afternoon--CAUCASIAN REACTIONS

My observations among the Caucasians lead me to believe that they are more disturbed over the shooting than the evacuees. For one thing, the news spread far more quickly through the Caucasian group. The incident is almost the only topic of conversation, whenever a group of Caucasians meet, and it is the chief topic at meals.

A conversation with two school teachers and Mrs. Luty, who is at present secretary to Mr. Hoffman and in charge of the legal ordering of the leave clearance hearings is illuminating. Miss Smith, an elementary teacher is very sympathetic to the evacuees. She began to tell me her version of the incident: "This boy was an artist. He did all the artwork for the Gila News-Courier. He drew the cover for the anniversary issue. (Here Miss Smith ran to her room for a copy of this issue which she gave me.) He was begging for relocation and had been refused by Mr. Terry. Bennett said, 'yes,' but Terry said 'no'. Luty said 'no' too. Luty said the boy was nuts."

"Wolter called Luty in about it. She said, 'No, a person like that should not go out. He's not for America and he's not for Japan.'"

"He goes over the bridge to go to Chandler.<sup>1</sup> Previous to this he had beaten up his mother and sister. They couldn't live with him in the same house. He told them there was

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<sup>1</sup>Chandler is miles away.

43

KONDOS AND FRIENDS ON SHOOTING December 2, 11:00 p.m.

From the Kondos I received a strong corroboration of my observations that so far the evacuees are taking the shooting very quietly. Mrs. Kondo is an excitable person, yet neither she, her husband, nor their two men friends made any statement which indicated a violent feeling. In fact, though they are always well informed on evacuee gossip, they admitted that they knew little about the incident. They had heard that the boy was unbalanced and had been acting strangely. Mr. Kondo expressed the opinion that "nobody who wanted to escape from camp, is going to go to the gate and walk out when all he has to do is crawl under the barbed wire. After all, the boy was not carrying a suitcase and had no money with him."

They did not know about the patrolling of the camps by soldiers in jeeps carrying machine guns. The extreme ignorance of the soldiers at the post was discussed at length and in detail. Some of them can scarcely write, it was said. "Most of them are physically unfit for service, that's why they're sent here," said Mr. Kondo. "Mentally unfit, too," added a male friend. "They can't even shoot," continued this friend. He based this statement on his observation of one of the soldiers who, in his presence had aimed at a tin can six feet away several times and had been unable to hit it.

The group took a quiet and objective view of the affairs. They did not defend the boy, although all agreed the soldier should not have shot him. No particular bitterness was voiced against the soldiers. They <sup>were</sup> rather pitied for their infirmities.

44

SHOOTING--HIKIDA December 3, 1943

It is a little too early yet. It happened the day before yesterday.

From immediate contacts in the mess and in other places, the first thing that comes to their minds seems to be "Wasn't there any other alternative employed rather than shooting?" And of course yesterday's paper explained. The papers stated that the M. P. fired two warnings. People at first thought that the M.P. shot without warning.

I think it is safe to say that there is considerably less reaction toward the incident because for several reasons:

1. The mental condition of the young man. He happened to be a Nisei. That may cause less dissention. He was able to speak English.
2. The wound is not serious enough to cause death to the person.
3. The absence of any pressure group. I think if we had an organization like the G.Y.P.A. and some others, certainly I think some public opinion would have been shown.

I know the father. He used to be a movie projectionist for the C.A.S. He was a fine man. He left for Cleveland about a month ago expecting to get his family. I understand he is coming back in a few days.<sup>1</sup>

Some people knew the boy was refused relocation and are suspecting it. People don't know about the jeeps coming in.

The evacuees as a whole are more or less holding to their own public mindedness. Their view is one of common sense; not so emotional. Of course there might be some who might be emotional. But they don't have any opportunity. Mr. Wolter talked to me this morning. I told him that if five or six agitators wanted to start something the rest of the people would hold them back.

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<sup>1</sup>Because of the shooting incident.

48

December 3, 1943, a.m. Mrs. M. (not verbatim)

Had most interesting interview with Mrs. M. this morning. She was in better spirits than I had ever seen her before, and after I had done most of the talking for five minutes she opened up at length on the shooting. My small gift of candy seemed to please her. While we drank tea she expressed the following sentiments:

"The people say that if the boy had attacked the soldier it would have been all right to shoot him. But just for running away he had no right in the world. The boy was unarmed. The soldier had absolutely no right to shoot an unarmed boy.<sup>1</sup>"

"There are some people around, I'm not mentioning any names, who wanted to show~~y~~ them. They wanted to go and make trouble. But I told them, 'Don't you do it. You wouldn't have a chance. They're just looking for a chance to mow you down.' I told them that they have to be patient. Their chance will come."

Mrs. Mizuno did not know that jeeps entered the camp. Since the incident happened two days ago I think this is good evidence that the knowledge of the jeeps entrance into camp has not penetrated among the evacuees. The pro-Japanese group would certainly be among the first to appreciate the implications of this action. In this regard, I do not think Mrs. M. was lying. She had nothing to gain, and was, moreover in a very communicative mood.

Mrs. M. did not accuse the soldiers of physical or mental unfitness. "They hate us. Eh, how they hate us! And for what? They are ignorant. It's just ignorance."

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<sup>1</sup>This is the identical remark made by my block manager who has two brothers in Tule Lake.

Mrs. M. and two friends who were present burst into laughter when I remarked that some of the Caucasians thought that the fire had been an act of sabotage. "I'm not saying what they might do, but one thing you can be sure of, they're not going to sabotage our food like that."

Mrs. M. then tried to pump me on the rumor she had been hearing that Mr. Bennett wants to quit, and also about a rumored investigation of the Internal Security. I retold as much of my place as a witness in the traffic case as I thought wise. The story was greatly appreciated. My stock in Mrs. M's somewhat unstable estimation, rose considerably.

Mrs. M. remarked that she saw no reason why since the Caucasians are studying Japanese, the Administration will not let the evacuees' children learn it. "They think they can break us. But they're wrong. Our minds are getting harder and harder." We discussed and agreed on the point that the evacuees are getting more and more Japanese in spite of all the Administration's attempts to make them Americanized. "If they'd let us do somethings like study Japanese, maybe we'd loosen up a little toward them."

Mrs. M. complained that men were bothering her. She was going to see Mr. Wolter and tell him that he'd better let her husband come back to her (from Santa Fe) or let her join her husband, or else put a guard around her house. It disgusted her. (If she is seduced, I imagine she will blame the F.B.I. for leaving a helpless widow without protection.)

She showed me a beautifully written letter in Japanese from a fellow in Isuppe and remarked that her brother (the "I" of my segregation Report) sends me his regards and is busy gathering data for a long description of the Tule Lake affair which he will mail when it is safe.

We parted on very friendly terms. She would like to visit me, but it might get me in trouble with the Caucasians, said she. I urged her to come.

47

DECEMBER 3, 1943 evening

Interview with anonymous minister

Kira was an introvert, quiet; he was not working because he's off the staff of the Gila News-Courier. He told me he was using his spare time looking at situations in the center and trying to put it on paper (with his drawing). I'm in complete sympathy with him. I wanted to know if he could get the feeling of this center from that Butte over there. I also wanted him to get the feeling of my church. I wanted to put the picture in a magazine with a poem. He drew me a picture. But then he said to me, "I've never been to a service" So he asked if he could come. And he immediately interpreted the communion. He caught it. I was very pleased.<sup>1</sup> I wanted to put it in a magazine with a poem by Miss Inouye in which she said, "The church, it is a barrack." The poem and the picture matched very well.

Then, of course, I find myself just a busy parson. Really, here in camp I have been engaged in one case after another which required pastoral care.

I used to see Satoshi every morning. He lived in my own block. He seemed to be lonely because his two friends, his last friend, had gone out. Then his father had gone out. He had only his mother and his sister here now. His father had decided that he would resettle first. Being a retoucher, he found a fine job. At the hearing board he had said, "I am only going if my son is cleared." They said, "Yes, your boy gave a sincere and honest answer in his request for change from "No" to "Yes". But, he'll have to wait for Washington's approval. The father had written back that the situation was all right as far as employment was concerned, but that housing was acute and he could not call his family out.

On November 30 the mother was called to the leave clearance committee, to Mr. Graves' office. She was asked many questions. After the hearing she was asked if she wanted to ask them anything. She said, "Yes, my boy has

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<sup>1</sup>Here I was shown a charcoal sketch still attached to the board and leaning against the wall. It was well done, showed power and unusual talent.

approval to leave locally speaking but he is waiting for Washington clearance. If my boy does not leave I can never leave!"

On December 1 the boy found out his mother had gone to the leave clearance office for a hearing. From December 1 the boy was suspicious of the mother. He said, "You're hiding something from me." Of course the mother at that time didn't understand that possibly the boy might have felt that he was going to be left behind when she and his sister left camp. She just thought her son had strangely changed.

He became rather violent toward his mother at times. He began cleaning house, sorting his things. His sister tried to stop him, when he started cleaning her things. There was conflict. His mother realized he was under great emotional strain, for what reason they still didn't know.

What happened was.....I was engaged in this Christmas present business: all over the country people are sending presents to the ten relocation centers. The ministers want to see that every child has received a present.

I came home at six o'clock, that was December 1. My wife told me, "Where was I. Here you are running around and pastoral work is at your door. A person who never came to your door came." I knew it was serious. The Kira family was concerned. There was something wrong. "You better go to the family."

So I went to the family. But two friends came and told me the story--that the boy had become violent. At two o'clock he had left home and just a few minutes ago his sister had received a note from the hospital that the boy had been hospitalized. This being supper time, I phoned the hospital receptionist. She told me that the boy had been hospitalized and was in the operating room.

I thought perhaps the boy had done something violent, or that he had had an accident. I went to the family and <sup>6</sup>heard the story. The mother and sister had left home and gone to a friend's. (evidently before the boy left) In the meantime the boy had left a note on which was written "L. A." Los Angeles is the boy's home.

On the way to the hospital, I found out the events of the last three days and felt I alone should see Satoshi. I went into the operating room. He had just come out. Wolter and Graves passed by. (We lived across the street from each other in Los Angeles. He was such an introvert he never even said "Hello.")

I found out then that actually he had been shot by the M.P. I came back then and told them.

They are now working to get an opinion from Washington and keep the boy peaceful. It was through overwork and overthinking.

He is not violent. For the last two months he has been working on a picture of the carpenters working on the new school. Most of the time he was looking, thinking and watching each movement, trying to get the exact truth of the history that is passing by.

In his letter asking for a change from "no-no" to "yes-yes", he said that if America can see the mistake it has made and make a correction. And he saw the correction coming: relocation.

Why was he so honest? Because he was an artist. He could not make one stroke without being honest.

There have been cases where a boy walked past that gate. This is not a camp with prisoners of war. We also have women and children here. This isn't a prison either. When a boy gets sick and he begins to walk out of the center, he has no ear to listen or orders. I wish I could show you how this boy walks. He walks very slowly and precisely. (Here my informant demonstrated the boy's walk.)

He is not a tough young boy. He's very weak and frail. You could stop him with a tap. He is of that nature.

In the past I have heard from Dr. Sleath that they have had other such cases. Then they sent a car following the boy and when the boy was exhausted they would pick him up and say, "Can't I take you back?" They they would invest-

igate and find treatment.

I realize army orders must be army orders. But why can't they see the boy is sick?" This wasn't dark yet. It was 5:30.

I wasn't there but I would like to answer for that. Why was there such a difference? Is the nature of the M.P. different than before?

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Now I know you won't believe this. But on November 23 when the father left, the boy told his sister, "The M. P. shot me, when I was out there to get scrap lumber with Tsuk. (Tsuk was his best friend.) Then two days before this happened on November 29, he also said he had been shot.

Brown's Notes, December 2, 1943.

Tek<sup>1</sup> Tek knows slightly the family of the victim, as they live in the adjacent block.

Boy was 22, Satoshi Kira, Block 32. Had been artist on News-Courier staff but resigned some months ago because of ill-health. Had been living much to himself. His best and only friend had relocated in June. His father relocated on November 11. Father had planned to relocate on Nov. 4 but stayed in for a funeral. Boy had got on bus on Nov. 4 (date of planned relocation of father) but had been put off because no pass.

Boy "NO+NO" on questionnaire. Had applied for leave clearance and been heard but not yet taken off stop list.

3 P. M.

This morning I managed to see Oguchi<sup>2</sup> for a few minutes and discussed what had happened and suggested he find what rumors were afloat (Tek already on trail)

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<sup>1</sup>"Tek" is Brown's Nisei informant, an intelligent and capable young man

<sup>2</sup>Oguchi is Brown's Issie informant, an honest but very naive old gentleman.

This afternoon he reported back having interviewed 12 people. Results as follows:

3 people expressed violent reactions.

1 (Rev. Tsuda) expressed lengthy but balanced opinions.

8 people had heard of news but were not specifically concerned.

3 people expressing violent reactions.

(1) Mother of victim: she was in tears and said she would rather not say anything.

(2) A friend (female) of mother said sentry should have seen boy was crazy and tried to stop him without firearms.

(3) Another person blamed the sentry for firing at all.

(4) Rev. Tsuda says (a) rules should be explained to people

(b) if sentry had orders to fire, he is not to blame, but orders should be changed.

Oguchi says, "If people find out that victim said, 'I am the President' before he was shot, what will they think.

DECEMBER 4, 1943 evening

At dinner I sat at the same table with Miss Blankenship, an elementary teacher notoriously unsympathetic to the evacuees. I took advantage of this opportunity to pump her on her attitude toward the shooting. I was rewarded by a fantastic account of the arrival of the inspecting major. Miss Blankenship is on friendly terms with the soldiers and visits the post frequently to eat lunch there.

I opened the conversation by remarking that the evacuees felt that the sentry should not have shot the boy when he was obviously deranged. "What did they expect him to do?" asked Miss Blankenship. She then remarked that the soldiers had been very worried that the boy might die.

A colonel and a second lieutenant had arrived, a full colonel, not a lieutenant colonel; he was strutting around like a real big shot.

The reason that Morse had arrested the evacuee farmers last night was because he had to show this big colonel that he was on duty. Besides the evacuees were outside the camp limits with passes.

This utterly fantastic account, in which the only item of truth is the arrival of the officer should be compared to Brown's account of the real reason for the major's arrival.<sup>1</sup>

December 6, 1943 - SHOOTING

Sat at the table with Luty again tonight. Over the coffee I mentioned that I had been allowed to read the transcript of the hearing of Kira. Luty wanted to know where it was, she had been trying to get a hold of it for days.

I remarked that I disagreed with her on one point: that the transcript seemed to show that the boy was quite lucid in his arguments and not at all erratic. "Oh, but you didn't see him?" said Mrs. Luty. "He was ready to jump over the desk at any minute and take Mr. Terry by the throat. He brought up the Oregon curfew cases and it turned out he didn't know anything about them. Besides he was very loquacious." "I noticed," said I, "that Mr. Terry seemed to talk about three times as much as the boy." "Mr. Terry always dose," said Mrs. Luty. "The boy was very, very argumentative."

"Don't you think he was encouraged to argument?" I asked. "Yes, indeed," said Luty. Then for the fourth times she repeated Mr. Terry's remark that Akira "was certainly off the beam."

Driving home with the Montgomery sisters, I apologized for turning the dining table ~~into~~ into an opportunity to collect Caucasian attitudes. The pro-evacuee sisters assured me they understood but warned me about having admitted that I was allowed to read the transcript since it mght

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<sup>1</sup>See page

get the kind member of the Administration who helped me into trouble.

In my opinion this conversation with Mrs. Luty is an interesting example of an individual judging two people by quite different standards.

~~the reason that force had arrested~~

Be it resolved: Whereas incident have had occurred on December 1, where M. P. actually fired a shot and wounded Elmer Satoshi Kira who was and still is in a mentally deranged state, and whereas noone in this camp is armed with any weapon or with any death-dealing weapon since declaration of war, and whereas there is strong possibility to produce an abnormally deranged person, be it resolved that the Butte Community Council on December 6 proposes to adopt the folling resolution to appeal to the proper authority to have the M. P.s refrain from the free use of firearms; and because of the undue delay of leave clearance cases which causes great suspense and often mental derangement, the Community Council asks the WRA to accelerate the leave clearance.

Bennett: There's no objection to such a resolution. I think it might bring results and speed up leave clearance, but it could have no bearing on the army.

I'll tell you what I've done. I've asked Mr. Cozzens to have the Military Police withdrawn from all activities within the project area. After this shooting the Military Police have become very technical. They even picked up the night irrigators and everybody else. Anyway, I wrote to San Francisco and arranged to get the Ninth Service Command to let the Internal Security guard the entire camp and withdraw the Military Police patrols to the outside. I think that is something that has outworn its usefulness.

When we get this the community will have to build up its own morale and be especially careful not to go to these boundaries after dark. A lot of those soldiers would like to shoot somebody.

Soldiers only live to obey an order. I don't think you could get the orders of the sentries changed. All we can do is put as much distance between the soldiers and outselves as possible.

I don't believe that the sentry was too eager to shoot, because this fellow was 165 yards away. But there's no objection to such a resolution.

OFFICIAL STATEMENT BY MR. WOLTER - DECEMBER 9, 1943

You can say for me officially that the commanding officer of the military company has been here in the desert for eight months and has developed a psychosis which he has passed on to his men. This in his own words is: "I'll shoot every yellow bellied son-of-a-bitch I can."

At five minutes to six I was called by the administration of the hospital and asked whether I knew about the shooting. I said, "No," what shooting?" They said they had a boy there who had just been shot by the M.P.'s. The wound was not serious. It had grazed the bone. I called Mr. Bennett's office. He had heard nothing. Neither had ~~Mr. Bennett~~ the Internal Security. Mr. Bennett was ill. So Graves and I went to the M.P. camp as fast as possible. That was about five minutes after six.

A sergeant was there. He would not make a statement. Then a lieutenant came in and started writing out a report. I waited till about 6:25 and then asked the lieutenant for a report which he obligingly gave.

At 6:35 Captain Morse came in. Seeing us in the office he very gruffly asked us what we wanted. I asked him about the shooting. He said, "I don't report to anybody. I report to the ninth service command. Not to the WRA. Get the sergeant of the guard!"

When the sergeant of the guard came he shouted, "I just brought all the men back. Double the guard. Have a jeep patrol each camp. Give them 1,000 rounds of ammunition."

I saw I could do nothing there and went to the hospital. I saw two M.P.'s outside of the operating room. They had no business being there. I asked them why they were there and told them that when we need guards I'll call upon them. "We're waiting for the slug," they said.

I talked it over with Graves. We couldn't see what business they had with it. If it was anybody's evidence it was going to be ours. We decided not to give it to them. I told them to scram back to camp.

For a few minutes there Kira was talking very fluently on the

operating table. He gave a vivid story of the forces drawing him out of camp, outside of the gate and making him run. Hata led him to talk.<sup>1</sup>

I next went to see Bennett in his office and ~~att~~ told him it was my suggestion that we keep the M.P.'s out of camp. That night when I saw them patrolling I told them we didn't want them in the camp. They went back to report to Morse and on the way over there, we met Morse on the road. Morse hit the ceiling. He was a raving maniac. We swung around and I followed him to see what he was going to do. Then we saw the fire and had to take care of that.

He has cited me to his commanding officer for interfering with the military in the performance of their duty.

The next morning we called San Diego and asked that an inspector be sent out. The inspector came and we talked with Captain Morse and Mr. Bennett here in the office. Morse hit the ceiling. He threatened to close the P. X. and everything else. The inspector persuaded him that it would not be a good idea to close it.

We have called for his Commanding Officer, and he'll probably call for a transfer of the whole company.

UNOFFICIAL STATEMENT - confidential

I should say that Kira's leave hearing precipitated the trouble. It was like the last straw. But all the elements were there. I don't think the hearing was well conducted. It became a debate instead of an expression of his own opinions. Unofficially, it's a warning to me not to do the same thing.

Mr. Bennett (written in pencil)

Approved (written in pencil)

LEAVE CLEARANCE HEARING OF SATOSHI KIRA  
GILA RIVER PROJECT  
RIVERS? ARIZONA

Date: September 14 1943

Time: 3:15 P.M.

COMMITTEE: J. H. Terry  
E. H. Goodman  
D. A. Rogers

TERRY:

Q. What is your name?

A. Satoshi Kira.

Q. How old are you?

A. Twenty-one.

Q. What is your address here?

A. 32-11-B.

Q. What were your previous addresses in reverse order?

A. Los Angeles, California.

Q. Where did you live before you lived in Los Angeles?

A. In Seattle, Washington.

Q. Is that where you were born?

A. Yes.

Q. You lived there until you moved to Los Angeles?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you register for selective service?

A. Yes.

Q. Where?

A. At the Assembly Center.

Q. Why had you not registered before that?

A. Because I was not old enough.

Q. What is the name of your father?

A. Hiromu Kira.

Q. What is the name of your mother?

A. Sadayo Kira.

Q. Are they both alive?

A. Yes.

Q. Where do they live?

A. 32-11-B.

Q. How old is your father?

A. He is approximately 45/

Q. And your mother?

A. Forty, I think.

Q. What is your father's occupation?

A. He is a film technician.

Q. What is your mother's occupation?

A. She is a housewife.

Q. What is your father's occupation here?

A. Camp projectionist.

Q. Your mother's?

A. Cashier at the Beauty Shop.

Q. Have they applied for repatriation?

A. No, they haven't.

Q. Your father is a citizen of Japan and your mother a citizen of the United States?

A. My Dad is not technically a citizen of Japan as he was born in Hawaii and was taken to Japan at an early age.

Q. He claims Hawaiian birth?

A. Yes.

Q. Has either parent been interned?

A. No.

Q. What has been your education?

A. I have gone to Junior College almost two years there in Los Angeles.

Q. You have never been outside of the United States?

A. No. I haven't.

Q. You have had three years of Japanese Language School?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you had any military training?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. Have you any brothers and sisters?

A. I have a sister.

Q. What is her name?

A. Rui.

Q. And her address?

A. 32-11-B

Q. How old is she?

A. She is twenty.

Q. What has been her education?

A. She has gone almost half year to Junior College.

Q. Has she ever been outside of the United States?

A. No, she hasn't.

Q. What, if anything, was her employment before evacuation.

A. She was a school girl.

Q. At the present time, is she employed?

A. Yes. She is a teacher at the High School.

Q. What does she teach?

A. Physical Education.

Q. Has she applied for expatriation?

A. No, she hasn't.

Q. Do you have any close relatives in the United States who are interned or who have been interned?

A. No.

Q. Do you have any close relatives in Japan?

A. On my father's side, but I don't call them close.

Q. How are they related?

A. His brothers and his brother's sons and daughters.

Q. No grandparents?

A. No.

Q. Do you happen to know whether any of them are serving or at any time were serving in the Japanese Army or Navy?

A. We haven't heard from them for five or six years, so I don't know.

Q. Before that time, did you know of any of them serving in the Japanese Army or Navy?

A. I remember - No, I don't think so.

Q. What were you going to say when you said "I remember."

A. I think there was one uncle who might have served.

Q. In the Army or Navy?

A. In the Army, I think.

Q. You are not married?

A. No, I am not.

Q. What has been your employment record? Were you employed prior to evacuation?

A. No.

Q. Are you employed?

A. Not now. I was working for the newspaper.

Q. How long since you have been unemployed?

A. Approximately two months.

Q. What was the reason for your leaving the employ of the newspaper?

A. I completed my special work on the Anniversary Booklet.

Q. How long did you work on that?

A. One month.

Q. Were you employed before that?

A. Yes.

Q. In what capacity?

A. As artist on the newspaper.

Q. What I am trying to get at is for you to give me your employment record here in the Center - on the Project.

A. When I first came I worked as junior clerk in the Administration Building for a month and after that I went to the newspaper, for four months.

Q. Is there any reason why you have not undertaken other employment after the Booklet?

A. I am waiting for the proper kind of a job in art.

Q. When you say the "proper kind of a job" do you mean in the Center?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you registered by your parents for dual citizenship?

A. No, I was not.

Q. You obtained that information from your parents?

A. Yes. But I think I remember my parents having registered me at birth, but just before the war broke out they cancelled it.

Q. How?

A. By writing to the Japanese Consulate.

Q. Where?

A. In Los Angeles.

Q. Have you any papers to show that cancellation?

A. In order to have the Japanese citizenship canceled we had to turn the Japanese citizenship paper in, so we have no record of it. Just before the war we had it canceled - in December.

Q. The first week in December?

A. I don't know exactly when it was, but it was before the war broke out.

Q. What date did the war break out?

A. December seventh.

Q. The first week of December?

A. I think it was canceled in November.

Q. What are your plans for the future?

A. Well, first of all, when I relocate I want to go back to school. But in the meantime, I think I will have to work to go to school.

Q. Is there any part of the country that you prefer for relocation?

A. I prefer to relocate in the Midwest.

Q. What additional education are you seeking?

A. I wish to complete my university education.

Q. Along what line?

A. A liberal course involving all the things that a person ordinarily would learn, majoring in art, of course.

Q. Have you been studying art here?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. In school?

A. Not in school.

Q. You are studying at home?

A. I attended night school about a week, but I am studying privately now.

Q. Who is your teacher?

A. Mr. Inawa.

Q. You have no interest in any professional or vocational courses?

A. Yes, I would be interested in commercial art and fine arts. To define fine arts, I mean painting, drawing and water color.

Q. And your object and ambition is to be an artist?

A. Yes.

Q. What is your feeling about returning to the West Coast?

A. Well, I would like to go there if we had a chance, but mainly because I feel I haven't completed all the subjects that were available at the Junior College education, so for that reason I want to go back there.

Q. What advantage would that be? Similar educational instruction is offered in other parts of the country?

A. There would not be a real motive except for the sentimental side - teachers, school mates.

Q. You expect to find the same teachers and school mates?

A. I probably won't find the same school mates, but I would find some of the teachers.

Q. Do I understand then that you would prefer to go to the West Coast for sentimental reasons rather than because of better instruction than in other parts of the country?

A. My particular desire is to return to the West Coast and continue my education there, but if that is impossible and so long as it is impossible, my purpose would be to go to the Middle West and continue my education there.

Q. If you found living conditions and working conditions satisfactory in the Midwest, would you remain there even though opportunity were afforded you to return to the West Coast?

- A. Well, that would depend entirely upon the job - the pay, living conditions and the attitude of the people living there.
- Q. Suppose that the job, the pay and the living conditions, also the attitude of the people were just as they are today?
- A. Today? Well, if they were the same as today I would not go back.
- Q. Suppose the job were better on the West Coast but the attitude of the people was just as it is today?
- A. Well, in that case my decision would depend entirely upon when the job is available or how much the job pays or what type of a job it is.
- Q. Do you know anything about the attitude of the people on the West Coast?
- A. Well, all I know is what I read in the newspapers and if the newspapers play up the disagreeable side, that is what I know.
- Q. Have you any intention of visiting Japan in the future?
- A. No. Not at present or in the future. The way I feel now, I have no desire to visit Japan.
- Q. Have you any immediate plans for relocation as to a particular place to go or a particular institution in which to continue your education?
- A. No.
- Q. Have you corresponded with any institutions or any relocation offices in which you are particularly interested?
- A. No, I have not - yet.
- Q. Have you ever applied for expatriation?
- A. No, I haven't.
- Q. Do you or your family own any property or investments or have you any business connections in Japan?
- A. No.
- Q. Do you have any prospect of inheriting any Japanese property?
- A. No.
- Q. What have been your interests outside of your education and your art?
- A. I would say a good job.
- Q. No, that is not what I mean. Have you been interested in sports, activities, etc.?
- A. I have been interested in music.
- Q. In what form?
- A. As a listener and also as a performer in the choir.
- Q. Have you taken up any sports?
- A. Not recently. In school I enjoyed swimming.
- Q. Did you ever belong to any athletic team?
- A. No.

Q. Did you ever participate in any Japanese sport?

A. No. Except when we had picnics, where a person ran, high jumped, etc.

Q. That is not a peculiar Japanese sport. You never participated in Judo, Kendo, etc.?

A. No, no Japanese sport.

Q. Have you participated in any activities since you have been here besides your work on the newspaper and your art work.

A. No.

Q. Have you belonged to any Japanese organizations at any time either here or before you came here?

A. No.

Q. Have you belonged to any American organizations other than High School fraternities. Have you been a member of the Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A. or any other organization?

A. No.

Q. What is your ability to speak Japanese?

A. At home all I spoke was English, but I can understand Japanese.

Q. Can you speak it?

A. A little bit.

Q. Can you read it?

A. A little bit.

Q. Can you write it?

A. I can write my name but not much more.

Q. Have you subscribed to or read Japanese periodicals or publications?

A. No, I have not.

Q. Have you ever contributed to any Japanese societies or funds of any sort, or any Japanese organizations of any sort whatsoever?

A. No.

Q. Have you contributed to any American societies or organizations?

A. Red Cross.

Q. Have you purchased any War Bonds or Stamps?

A. Yes. I have a \$25 War Bond.

Q. Have you taken any part in American drives or anything of that sort in connection with raising funds?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever been arrested or questioned by police?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever had any dealings with Internal Security at the Center or been questioned about any of your activities?

A. No.

Q. When you first answered Question 28 on the military registration questionnaire, you answered that question in the negative?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that a true answer when you gave it?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you explain the reason for your answering the question that way?

A. In the first place, the Japanese were put in camps while the American citizens of German and Italian ancestry were not. The conditions in the Assembly Center such as living in stables where there was no ventilation and in lining up for hours at a time in order to eat at a mess hall - those were the conditions which influenced me. The main reason was because we were in camp.

Q. Did any one influence your decision in any way?

A. No.

Q. Did you arrive at all these conclusions by yourself?

A. Yes.

Q. And the sum total of your objections to this treatment led you to state that you refused to swear allegiance to the United States?

A. ~~Yes~~ Right.

Q. Was that the part of the question you were answering in the negative or were you motivated in any way by the other part of the question which asked if you were loyal to Japan? Did that part of the question enter into it at all?

A. What do you mean by that?

Q. The question - "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization." You have stated that this request led you to refuse to say you would swear unqualified allegiance to the United States. Did your answer also lead you to feel you would swear allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or did that enter into it at all?

A. We were placed in these camps and the attitude of the press as it was then made me feel that maybe Japan was the place where I would have my best opportunity for the future.

Q. So, at ~~that~~ the time you answered this questions you were inclined to feel that you might be willing to swear allegiance to Japan?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, in other words, at the time you answered the question on February 11th you definitely felt this way about the United States?

A. Yes.

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Q. And one week later, I believe on February 18th, you expressed a desire to change your answer to Question 27?

A. Yes.

Q. You were willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States and you, I believe, did change your answer on that day?

A. Yes.

Q. Since that time, have you expressed a wish to change your answer to Question 28?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. About when did you make that application the first time?

A. When segregation hearings were begun. I don't remember exactly when that was. It was right after I had my segregation hearing.

Q. That was the early part of this year. Is that right?

A. Yes. It was my desire to have it changed when I had my hearing.

Q. Will you state the basis on which you wished to change your answer at that time? Why, at that time, did you wish to change your answer?

A. Over a year had passed since the war broke out. The attitude of the press had changed since we were first sent to camp and the fact that people were more willing to accept us as citizens and give us equal opportunities. These prompted me to change my answer.

Q. You speak about the press of the nation. How much of the press of the nation did you see during the period when you were disloyal to the United States?

A. Why I saw just the Pacific Coast papers, particularly the Los Angeles Times, Examiner and Herald Express.

Q. What led you to believe the attitude of those papers has changed in any way?

A. Their attitude has not changed but the papers in the Midwest and the East are favorable.

Q. Did you see those papers at the time you were bitter about the attitude of the West Coast?

A. No, I didn't.

Q. What basis of knowledge do you have that the rest of the country felt more kindly towards Japanese-Americans citizens at any time?

A. They seem to be very agreeable toward us, so I think that is a very healthy sign.

Q. Was your feeling of loyalty or lack of loyalty to the United States dependent entirely upon the attitude of the people and the press towards your minority racial group?

A. I would say yes.

Q. And if you discovered that the government or military policies might affect your minority group in a way which you considered unjust, would you on that basis either gain or lose loyalty to the United States?

A. Well, that would depend entirely on what happens to American citizens of German or Italian ancestry. If those policies might be put into operation against or were applied to Germans and Italians as well as Japanese, I would not mind, but on the other hand, if they applied only to us, then I would not know. I might change my answer.

Q. Are we supposed to infer from these answers that your loyalty or lack of loyalty to the United States is entirely selfish in quality?

A. It could be interpreted as selfish.

A { Q. I am asking you to interpret it for us. We are anxious to know whether it is based entirely upon the treatment which you received individually as a member of a minority racial group, or whether it is based upon the fact that you consider that democracy has so failed generally as to be an institution to which you cannot be loyal?

A. The two statements which you give are slightly disconnected, are they not?

Q. You will have to separate them and answer them. What I am driving at is this. You are doubtless aware that during the period when you were growing up, if you studied American history, at all times there has been oppression of one class or race by another, based upon race prejudice or class hatred. You are probably also aware of the fact that today there are certain oppressions in the southern states against negroes which do not exist as far as white people are concerned, although both are citizens in the eye of the law and the Constitution. Does the fact that the southern states, to some extent, oppress negroes cause you to be disloyal to the United States, or is it only when the oppression reaches you personally through the group of which you are a member that your loyalty to the United States wavers?

A. I would say that if it affected me personally, I would change my answer. It would depend upon how I am treated personally.

Q. In other words, when I asked you if your loyalty or disloyalty is based entirely upon what we might consider the treatment of yourself, the answer to that would be "Yes?"

A. Yes.

Q. All I can say is this. Is your loyalty which you now profess caused by a change of attitude towards loyalty to the fundamental principles of this country as you learned them in school and college, loyalty to the principles of democracy as set forth in the Constitution of the United States and all the different states and the Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation Proclamation and the other documents which Americans point to as indicative of the government we are supposed to have, or is it based upon how nearly the governing bodies, governing individuals - people of the United States - arrive at successful administration of those principles with regard to your own personal place in the population of this country?

A. While the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are all fine documents, they are only documents. It would depend

entirely upon how their administration is handled by the people and those documents can only stand as long as the people desire to carry out those principles.

Q. I assume from your original answer to Question 28 that your belief was that the constitutional provisions broke down and failed in so far as the treatment of your group was concerned.

A. I would not say that the documents broke down but the interpretations broke down.

Q. What test of the interpretation have you made, or what attempt have you made to test the strength of those documents in relation to your own situation?

A. First, we have been promised that we could pursue happiness, a very important principle. I don't think that was possible in the assembly centers or in the relocation centers.

Q. I am afraid again that you misunderstand the Constitution of the United States, the fundamental law of the United States. As you know, there are judicial bodies throughout the United States up to and including the United States Supreme Court. There are tribunals in which every citizen and every alien may complain of any injustice or violation forbidden by the Constitution of the United States. You are aware of that, are you not?

A. Yes.

Q. You feel that there has been injustice and discrimination in your particular case - in the case of people of Japanese ancestry? What effort have you made to preserve your rights through the democratic channels of the United States?

A. I have not made any personal effort, but I think a certain person in Portland, Oregon, and another fellow who lives on the Pacific Coast, made that test and took their cases to the Supreme Court.

Q. Are you familiar with the results?

A. I am not too familiar, but some of the cases that the Supreme Court passed were unfavorable, were they not?

Q. You personally, however, have made no effort in your own favor?

A. No.

Q. Have you considered any legal aid which is free, which is offered in most any community through the Bar Association or through the other channels or employing a lawyer, in the event that you or your family wanted to do that? Have you taken that step?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. Do you consider it fair to condemn a system of government or to relinquish your loyalty to a system of government without giving it a chance to see whether it works or not?

A. I haven't tested it but these people I mentioned before tested it.

Q. What I am afraid of is that your original answer and your desire to change were based solely and exclusively upon your own selfish interests, without any regard to your rights or obligations as a citizen. I would like to have you demonstrate to me that I am wrong. If you feel that you are being dealt with with absolute fairness - I want you to be fair to yourself and I want you to be fair to us; but what can I conclude except that your loyalty depends upon how the officials of the press and the people of the United States deal with you personally? Would you serve in the United States Army?

A. Yes, I would.

Q. Would you serve in the United States Army regardless of whether you were loyal to the United States or not?

A. If I had said I were disloyal, I don't think I would, but I am loyal now and would serve in the Army.

Q. If you were refused leave clearance, would you serve in the United States Army?

A. If I were drafted, I would, yes.

GOODMAN:

Q. That one answer to ~~the~~ that question right there - if you were drafted. We know you would serve then, but would you be willing to serve?

A. ~~If~~ Yes, I would be.

Q. Are you loyal enough to serve or just serve because you had to serve?

A. You know if I did not want to stay here and if I did not want to serve in the United States Army, I would repatriate to Japan, would I not?

You would ask for it probably.

TERRY:

Q. Under what circumstances would you volunteer for service in the United States Army?

A. It is difficult to say. It would depend upon the time.

Q. Give a set of circumstances under which you would volunteer.

A. Well, I would volunteer if the Japanese people were allowed to return to the Pacific Coast because the threat of invasion by Japan no longer exists.

Q. Would you, under those circumstances, volunteer for service in the Pacific?

A. Yes.

Q. You would have no objection to fighting against your people?

A. No, no objection.

ROGERS:

Q. I have a man working for me who has asked for repatriation. He

made a lot of money in the United States. I asked him why he was repatriating and he said his family was in Japan. Then I asked him what his reason was for repatriating in Japan and he said he would go over until this thing is over and then come back. I wonder what your attitude is toward that story. What is going to happen to him in Japan and what will he do when he comes back to the United States. He has made lots of money here in the United States, he has lots of property, and we are talking about loyalty and treatment, etc. here. What do you think of his reception when he lands in Japan and when he comes back to the United States to make more money? Do you think he will be allowed to keep all that money over there? Do you think when the war is over he will be allowed to come back to the United States? So you think that is a true program which he can work out?

A. No, I don't think so, I would not call him a very fine person. He certainly is not patriotic.

TERRY:

Q. If your feelings were based upon inadequate information, not knowing how the country as a whole felt, and if you failed to exercise your rights as a citizen by seeking redress in the courts of the United States, would you still feel that it was not up to you to do anything, not up to you to find out how the rest of the country felt, but so long as ~~we~~ you were being oppressed in newspapers, would you be justified in declaring yourself disloyal to the United States? Do you see the point?

A. But would not a person not a Japanese have the same ideas? Would he not answer the same way if he were put into camp?

Q. I am not asking about anybody else. I am asking about you.

A. The thing is, what knowledge is acquired by an individual would affect his decision and if the attitude of the press of the nation was not known to you, then I think even you would answer the same way.

Q. Let me put it this way. If somebody assaulted you on the street without justification and broke your jaw and knocked some teeth out, and injured you, and if you had gone up to the policeman on the corner and asked him to arrest this person and you knew who it was who assaulted you, and the policeman refused to do it, would you feel justified, for instance in ~~knocking~~ the policeman?

A. No, I would not.

Q. Why not?

A. Because the policeman is not responsible for my broken jaw.

Q. He is responsible for your immediate deprivation of your rights, isn't he?

A. Yes, I would report him to his superiors.

Q. What else would you do?

A. I would find another policeman.

Q. You would not take that action because you know you could get

redress in other ways. Now then, suppose that you failed to do any of those things or nothing about it, would you feel justified in stating that law and order had completely broken down in that community and that you had no use for that type of government?

A. No, I would not go that far.

Q. That is, in effect, what you have done here.

A. Yes.

Q. Because without making the necessary effort to protect your rights, without ~~making~~ ~~the necessary effort to acquire accurate and complete~~ knowledge of the situation, you declared yourself disloyal and when you change you are still changing without complete and accurate knowledge of the situation. You are ~~doing it merely because it is your own personal~~ doing it merely because it is your own personal impression that there is a change in the situation. If you went outside and found you were persecuted, you would change right back again.

A. If I were persecuted outside, at least I would have my liberty and it would make me fight.

Q. Suppose you went to Cleveland, got off the train and a policeman took you and locked you up in jail because you looked like a Japanese?

A. I would get a lawyer and see if I could get out.

Q. You would not have your liberty then, would you?

A. I would have liberty in my grasp.

Q. What difference is there?

A. The thing is, if I had the opportunity to go outside, I would be more free than I am here.

Q. Have you been deprived of permission to communicate with lawyers?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever, for instance, come to the office of the Project Attorney here and asked to obtain a lawyer?

A. No.

Q. Don't you think you have neglected to even attempt to protect your own rights?

A. I guess I have.

Q. Don't you think that your answer, in the face of such neglect, is not logical? The situation is the same. It is not changed. Any change which appears to you is unreal, transitory. People throughout the United States have not changed their attitude as a whole towards your racial minority group. If anything, the change would have been for the worse because of the force which comes out of the Pacific because some people are unable to distinguish between an enemy alien and a citizen of this country and that situation will probably get worse.

A. I have many friends who have relocated. I have not heard of

a single case where a person has failed because of the attitude outside.

- Q. You were living here, outside of California, for many months before you answered that question. I think we have gone far enough, but I am trying to get you to understand the basic reasoning which led you to answer this question and your own failure to acquire knowledge of the situation and protect your own rights - you say would not anybody in the same situation answer the question as you did. It is my own opinion that the majority would certainly have not answered it that way. I would not. I would have exercised my legal rights.
- A. You, as a lawyer, would be closer to those things.
- Q. There has been a lawyer right here. You haven't even attempted to consult a lawyer inside or outside. You haven't raised a finger to protect your rights. How can you blame a situation when you have not done anything?
- A. I have been a school-boy almost all of my life and led a sheltered life, but I know that there is no excuse for me not doing anything about it.

GOODMAN:

- Q. You are asking to do everything now that democracy stands for?
- A. Yes. I am.
- Q. The thing that those other boys who are fighting for the United States would like to do?
- A. Yes.

HEARING CONCLUDED

No risk, but cannot affirmatively recommend clearance. Does not possess a real sense of loyalty.

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James A. Terry  
Committee Chairman

STATEMENT BY DR. HATA, December 10, 1943

Suspecting that Dr. Hata might speak more freely if a "delegation" called upon him I suggested to Gordon Brown that we pay him a call together. Wolter had told me that Hata had drawn the boy out after the operation and had gotten him to talk freely.

Hata began by giving an account of the boy's past history.

Kira had been a seven months baby weighing about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pounds at birth. He had had a normal childhood and in Grammar School had been an excellent student. In High School he had been "just good." After High School he had attended Los Angeles. He had never shown any symptoms of mental illness until September 1943 after his leave clearance hearing, before Mr. Terry and his committee. Terry quizzed him severely at that time.

He returned home the afternoon of the hearing and complained that he was tired, both mentally and physically.

The first week in November his father noticed that he was acting peculiar. His father left for Cleveland November 11. At that time Kira told his sister that he was going to kill his father and mother. She said, "Forget about it." Since that time he had stated that some persons wished to kill him. He also began to have visions at night. He thought he was president of the United States at a salary of \$ 200,000.00 a week. He said he had an I. Q. of 700. He became progressively worse from that day until the day of the shooting. He became convinced that there was a special device dragging him out of the camp. He said he heard the M. P. tell him to halt but this magnet kept drawing him out. He walked into the hospital with the support of two of the military police. It was just a superficial wound. Immediately after he was shot he was mentally recovered. He said he was not the president of the United States. He was quite well for twenty-four hours. I asked him if he still saw visions or felt a magnet. He said, "No."

The next day he was just about normal. Then he began to go back to

his original state. He became convinced some people were after him. He said, "I believe my I. Q. has gone down to 500." He said he was on a big train and that there were people under the bed who seemed to be after him.

I diagnosed his case as early dementia praecox. The gunshot would healed perfectly. He went to Phoenix this morning (to a mental institution).

I believe the boy has a good chance of recovery. I do not think he should come back to the center. He went to the state mental hospital in Phoenix. I believe he has better than a fifty-fifty chance of recovery.

Curious to know what DR. Hata thought of the mental life of the camp in general I asked him opinion. He talked freely. In his opinion cases of mental unbalance were bound to increase. The United States Health Service, said he, has always been interested. "At Tulare, they always asked us is any people were beginning to go this way." "Some of the older people who have lost everything, who feel an injustice has been done, if these people don't get out of camp or forget about it, I feel that we'll have more and more mental cases. In the clinic there are many people who from the medical standpoint have nothing wrong with them. In the great majority of cases their ailments are functional and imaginary. It is likely that there will be even more cases of mental disturbance among the young people.

Returning to the Kira case:

"I believe it is a case of mental unbalance caused by mental strain. Dementia praecox is often started off like this. It is possible that the leave clearance hearing tipped the balance.

He was neither violent nor depressed while here but is a type of individual that can become violent.

We take such cases to Phoenix. Some, like the cases of senile psychosis can do just as well here, but Internal Security wants them removed. There are about fourteen in Phoenix now, including this boy.

According to Kira's father his son was sketching a drawing that would have been his best work.<sup>1</sup>

The proper medical definition of his case would be youthful dementia praecox.

He holds no grudge against anyone.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Hata has had his medical training at denomination schools in the bay region. He is Hawaiian born. He expects to be allowed to return to Hawaii some time before March. He mentioned his and his ~~and~~ wife's effort to adjust themselves to camp life. His wife cried for two days when they went to the assembly center. But, said, he, you've got to take it the right way. Even with his attitude, however, he was gripped by the fact that in his contemplated trip (by air) to Salt Lake City, he cannot transfer at the California base. It's silly. The trip to Salt Lake City would be made to discuss his future work with the army. He has one child, a girl about four years old. He does not appear to be a full-blooded Japanese.

He mentioned that he has always been interested in mental cases and at school got his best grades in neurology.

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<sup>1</sup> Hata was referring to the drawing of the carpenters working on the high school.

<sup>2</sup> I asked this question because I was particularly interested in determining if Kira felt animosity toward Mr. Terry because of the hearing. Evidently he does not.

The following quotations from letters asking for a change of answer indicate that Kira's point of view as expressed on page 9 of the leave clearance hearing was not uncommon. The young men who wrote these letters are exactly in Kira's position.

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But now things are changing. The sentiment of the public is gradually changing. There are groups fighting for us and for our rights.

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We have friends now. We have Supporters. We are gaining more friends as time marches on. There is hope now. Eastward the people are broader minded. They are beginning to realize the country's mistakes, the mistakes of the people's past attitude and their "racial hatred".

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I think that the government is taking steps to correct any wrong done, and as a citizen, I wish to do my share.

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Now since the nisei are being accepted by some middle west states, I would, if there is a good chance, like to serve my country By farming.

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My belief is that public sentiment toward Japanese citizens of American up to now was because of the fever of war but now has cooled down considerably. Also they are seeing us American-born Japanese as citizens rather than an alien.

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But now I understand different, the public sentiment is good, the all Japanese Combat Unit gets a thorough training.

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The reasons for wishing to change are:

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But now I have come to realization the government's motive in requiring an affirmative answer to the questions involved, is not only for the purpose of demanding loyalty in the armed forces but to assist the evacuees in re-establishing themselves to normal lives.

\*\*\*\*\*

My sister is attending the University of Utah and wrote me letters saying that the American people are very good to her even though the war is going on between the Japan and the United States.

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You can say for me officially that the commanding officer of the military company has been here in the desert for eight months and has developed a psychosis which he has passed on to his men. This in his own words is: "I'll shoot every yellow bellied son-of-a-bitch I can."

At five minutes to six I was called by the administration of the hospital and asked whether I knew about the shooting. I said, "No," what shooting?" They said they had a boy there who had just been shot by the M.P.'s. The wound was not serious. It had grazed the bone. I called Mr. Bennett's office. He had heard nothing. Neither had ~~Mr. Bennett~~ the Internal Security. Mr. Bennett was ill. So Graves and I went to the M.P. camp as fast as possible. That was about five minutes after six.

A sergeant was there. He would not make a statement. Then a lieutenant came in and started writing out a report. I waited till about 6:25 and then asked the lieutenant for a report which he obligingly gave.

At 6:35 Captain Morse came in. Seeing us in the office he very gruffly asked us what we wanted. I asked him about the shooting. He said, "I don't report to anybody. I report to the ninth service command. Not to the WRA. Get the sergeant of the guard!"

When the sergeant of the guard came he shouted, "I just brought all the men back. Double the guard. Have a jeep patrol each camp. Give them 1,000 rounds of ammunition."

I saw I could do nothing there and went to the hospital. I saw two M.P.'s outside of the operating room. They had no business being there. I asked them why they were there and told them that when we need guards I'll call upon them. "We're waiting for the slug," they said.

I talked it over with Graves. We couldn't see what business they had with it. If it was anybody's evidence it was going to be ours. We decided not to give it to them. I told them to scram back to camp.

For a few minutes there Kira was talking very fluently on the

operating table. He gave a vivid story of the forces drawing him out of camp, outside of the gate and making him run. Hata led him to talk.<sup>1</sup>

I next went to see Bennett in his office and ~~add~~ told him it was my suggestion that we keep the M.P.'s out of camp. That night when I saw them patrolling I told them we didn't want them in the camp. They went back to report to Morse and on the way over there, we met Morse on the road. Morse hit the ceiling. He was a raving maniac. We swung around and I followed him to see what he was going to do. Then we saw the fire and had to take care of that.

He has cited me to his commanding officer for interfering with the military in the performance of their duty.

The next morning we called San Diego and asked that an inspector be sent out. The inspector came and we talked with Captain Morse and Mr. Bennett here in the office. Morse hit the ceiling. He threatened to close the P. X. and everything else. The inspector persuaded him that it would not be a good idea to close it.

We have called for his Commanding Officer, and he'll probably call for a transfer of the whole company.

UNOFFICIAL STATEMENT - confidential

I should say that Kira's leave hearing precipitated the trouble. It was like the last straw. But all the elements were there. I don't think the hearing was well conducted. It became a debate instead of an expression of his own opinions. Unofficially, it's a warning to me not to do the same thing.

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MR. HIKIDA - SHOOTING - December 8, 1943

Discussion is still going on. I think last Friday or Saturday I two, three people who expressed very sensible opinion. They stated that although this matter not the cause of protest or complaint to any, but as regard to two-three points the subject should be made clear to people here as well as to WRA. One of the points they mentioned was that people here are not prisoners of war. They have just been brought over here because of evacuation - a military necessity. Still, just because of stepping out of boundary, which is not immediate danger, still, M.P. has to take such action. Another thing, this boy is definitely, can be considered as mentally unbalanced. They might have noticed this at the gate. He was unarmed. Still the MP. without taking some other alternative to stop him shot him. Some action should be taken to agree what is out of bounds. People begin to think very much about it.

Of course in this boy's case the order was given by the M. P. to stop and he didn't follow.

Another point, in which I also agree, Mrs. Kira was very much upset on this ~~about~~ particular point, not so much about shooting her son. the fact that he was so much mentally upset as a result of very lengthly hard-pressed hearing. She said to me, a boy of 21,22 years of age, a hearing of that kind, especially when the boy has certain disturbances of wrong treatment by the general American citizens, was quite a mental hardship. ~~Another~~ Another person mentioned the same thing to me. In these hearings instread of trying to press upon the individual, they should take more sympathetic attitude.

And amont the evacuees there is quite a lot of talk too. Most likely this is a rumor, but they are saying that because of the boy's hearing they (the Administration) are trying to put this case as a suicide motive.

I heard this morning from Mr. Kono (an influential block manager of Canal) that one of the men in Canal was given a warning shot as he was

he was coming into the boundary line. He was inside the boundary line and the M.P. made a mistake.

This talk of the incidents among the evacuees and especially among the bachelors<sup>1</sup> is now showing a resentful attitude.. Well, they are usually more dissatisfied in everything, everything the WRA and government does. Everytime you heard a resentful comment about this incident it comes from the bachelors.

Another thing - I haven't seen Mr. Kira and Mrs. Kira%, she's very nervous now. She was crying when I saw her. I think she feels certain sense of responsibility having son commit an incident of that kind. She never said about the M.P.'s action shooting her son, but she was very much resentful about that hearing.

(At the close of this interview I questioned Mr. Hikida on a point which I had previously discussed with Brown and about which I was very curious. I had expressed the opinion that had the evacuees exhibited any overt sign of resentment it would have been directed toward the administration and not toward the military. I put the question to Hikida and he stated that he believed that they would have acted against the administration.)