

SUMMARY NOTES
ON
SEGREGATION CONFERENCE
of
W.R.A. OFFICIALS

DENVER, COLORADO

July 26-27, 1943

Seki Monitor.

Capt's

Hideo Asai

~~Geo. Watanabe~~

Ired Watanabe

Yosh Watanabe

car mothers

See Seki on selections of car mgrs.

Menus to be followed daily

Monday Morning, July 26, 1943

Introductory Remarks on Segregation Program.....Director Dillon S. Myer

The idea of segregation is not a new one. Comprehensive studies were made by Naval Intelligence in which it was recommended that Hearing Boards be established and a segregation program carried out. It became evident a good while ago that ultimately it would be necessary to make such a move for a number of reasons:

1. A large number of evacuees were demanding it.
2. The advent of the sub-committee on Military Affairs and its explorations into the workings of WRA.
3. The Dies Committee investigations and other developments.

Those who attended the Project Directors' meetings in Washington in May remember that a definite and final decision was then made to move ahead on the program just as soon as we were able to get our facts together and make arrangements for transportation and a number of other things.

There are two or three points that should be made clear. The die is cast. There is no argument whether we are going to do the job in spite of the fact that it may cause many heartaches and that we may have in certain spots even more emotion than we had during the Registration. Although the aspects of the situation have been thought out as clearly as possible, we know that we haven't been able to think of all the problems that may arise. However, the situation had reached the point that public temper demanded action. Before our final announcement was made, the senate passed a resolution by voice vote in the last week they were in session asking the President to order segregation by Executive Order.

This meeting is being held to iron out those problems we haven't foreseen. After weeks of effort by various WRA personnel, it has been definitely decided that Tule Lake will be the segregation center. There are 4 good reasons for this decision:

1. It is one of the 3 largest centers--with a population capacity of 15,000 or 16,000.
2. It has the possibility for agricultural production to take care of not only that Center but to help provide food for other centers as well. Because relocation will not be permitted, there will be need for keeping the evacuees busy.
3. It appeared, as a result of the registration that more evacuees would necessarily remain at Tule Lake than at any other center.

4. It is one of the centers that still lies within the evacuated area, thereby making it more difficult for evacuees to relocate.

This segregation is one of the toughest jobs WRA has faced. We are going into it with the best and most experienced staff WRA has ever had. We couldn't have made a good job of it 6 months ago. We intend to do the job without disrupting our relocation program, which still is the major job of WRA.

Segregation is not to be interpreted as a punitive measure, but the country has demanded that those people who want to be Japanese be placed in one spot and those who want to live in the United States in another. We must do the job as fast and systematically as possible, in a firm but kindly manner, so that the people who are segregated do not feel that it is being done by WRA in retribution. We must run the segregation center as nearly like any other center as is possible under the circumstances. We will continue to treat people as human beings and keep it on that plane even though the news on the outside is not going to be to our liking.

General Statements on Segregation Program.....E. M. Rowalt

What we have here is the working out of a great deal of necessary detail, now that the fundamental plan has been agreed upon. Mr. Provinse has been studying the reaction of evacuees to Registration and Segregation and will give us his interpretation of what segregation means to the projects.

There are to be two kinds of hearings on the projects -- segregation hearings and welfare interviews. Philip Glick is Chairman of the Committee on segregation hearings and Miss Gifford will discuss welfare interviews. Mr. Pitts, who worked on the handbook, was handicapped through the entire period in having the policy group change the signals on him. Mr. Provinse will discuss the operating policies at the segregation center. The purpose of having that discussion is not primarily for the benefit of Tule Lake but for the benefit of those who go back to the other 9 projects to explain to the evacuees who are about to be segregated what they are getting into when they go to Tule Lake. We have worked out a program by which the relocation offices will assist with the relocation of those evacuees at Tule Lake who wish to relocate directly and do not want to go through a second relocation center. Mr. Sabin will discuss what we have in mind there.

To wind up the prepared program, we will have two panels on the same subject--securing evacuee cooperation. The big job will be to handle this thing as fairly and humanly as possible and to convince the evacuees we are handling it in that way.

Some Lessons to be Learned from Registration in Conducting Segregation

John Embree

We have certain advantages in the Segregation Program that we didn't have in the Registration. First of all, registration is not going to come as a shock to the projects. A great deal of the misunderstanding of registration came about through the suddenness of it. Segregation is a complete WRA program in which the Army or other agencies have no part. A series of questionnaires will not be sent out for evacuees to fill in, and questionnaires cause more difficulty and resentment than any other thing. Of course, we do have a lot of the same problems as during registration. Some of the problems are:

1. Lack of understanding of what segregation is and its purpose. WRA has one purpose in mind while the newspapers have advertised other purposes. Every resident will have his own opinion. There will be family and block differences, and the persecution psychology that is so characteristic of the residents of the centers will of course be present and will complicate the picture.
2. The fear that we are evicting people from the centers and that they will be forced to relocate and be without a home.
3. The problem of uprooting the community life of the ten centers (a new problem we didn't have during registration). The segregation program will create difficulties because there will be segregants from every block of every center.
4. There will be the problem in nine centers of assimilating the people from Tule Lake. Each center has its own prejudices in regard to the people of other centers. There will have to be some ground work done to smooth the reception of the newcomers from Tule Lake.

Suggested solutions:

1. Full understanding on the part of every staff member of every project as to the meaning of Segregation and the procedure for Segregation. During registration, different staff members gave different answers to the same questions. We must figure out a consistent pattern of explanation and stick to it. It is especially important that school teachers know as many answers as possible, as they are looked up to in the community. We must be certain that our Manual, Administrative Instructions and set of Questions and Answers are in complete agreement.

2. Make sure it is understood that Segregation is for the benefit of the evacuee, that going to Tule Lake is not a blot on the family escutcheon. There was a promise made back in WCCA days that the people who applied for repatriation would not be discriminated against. The element of choice should be emphasized, as anything that can leave a little choice to the individual is to be desired.
3. Select personnel carefully for the Hearing Boards-- should be people who are regarded in the project as fair minded. It is desirable that one or two older evacuees be present at the hearings as a precaution in checking rumors that might otherwise get started.
4. Assure the Issei that, if they wish to stay in the centers, they will not be forced to relocate. Some older Nisei have applied for repatriation and are saying to the "fence sitters"-- "You better repatriate with me. WRA will soon kick you out". That is an argument which can carry a great deal of weight with the Issei and will be circulated. It is our policy not to force a particular individual out. This should be reiterated to any Issei who is skeptical.
5. Information on Segregation should be as clear and definite as possible.
6. It will be desirable, especially at the 9 centers, to enlist the aid of evacuees, not only of the pro-Americans but of the segregee group. Some of them certainly will see the value of segregation and will cooperate if they are approached wisely.

There is another question to which I am not sure I have the answer. How can you tell the loyal from the disloyal? Our only answer is that we have taken those who indicated they wanted to be Japanese. We must not take the attitude that, if they ask for repatriation, they are evil. They do not all happen to be trouble makers; they may be perfectly law abiding but just want to return to Japan.

Some Kibei are now beginning to ask for repatriation because they do not want to be charged with disloyalty. They feel it is better to be segregated as repatriates than as disloyal persons.

One of our big difficulties is that of rumors circulating through the project. Some mechanism should be developed for tracking down these rumors as they develop.

Tule Lake presents special problems not present at other centers. For one thing, there is the problem of moving out the "lily whites." It isn't our policy to force anyone out who doesn't want to go.

Tule Lake was chosen for various reasons:

1. More choices for those now at Tule. Focus people's attention on this choice element; they can relocate or go to one of the number of centers.
2. It is a big, well settled center. There is a growing attitude at Tule that, if you cooperate with the government, you come out on the short end of the stick. Some attempt must be made to overcome this as far as possible. There is the attitude that the WRA staff doesn't know what it is doing and isn't sincere. To overcome that, we must have agreement between the Tule Staff and visiting staff (during segregation) to begin with. At Tule, there is the complication of not only new people coming in but of the difficult groups at Tule.

Problems at Tule Lake:

- a. The prospect of the loyal citizen being shipped in hot coaches under armed guard like prisoners of war. This may cause complications in the attitudes of the people to be shipped out.
 - b. The possibility of general passive resistance developing at Tule. We must work out some procedure for solving this problem.
 - c. The further complication of the relocation drive that will go on at the same time. The relocation team must work in very close harmony with the people working on segregation.
3. The international aspects to Tule Lake. It is the center of the repatriates, the center from which most people probably will go back to Japan after the war. If some of these people go back, they may be people we can work with there later. If they go back with a bitter attitude, they can make more difficult our post-war problems over there.

Discussion

Question: To what extent can we assure Issei they will be permitted to remain in segregation centers and relocation centers?

Answer: We are urging relocation for everyone eligible but we are not forcing people to go out if they don't think they can make the adjustment. The Congress appropriated every cent of money we asked for this year. Congress generally feels we are doing a good job and should have adequate funds to continue, so people who elect to remain in centers may feel reasonably secure for the next year. However, we are going to put all the pressure we can on relocation and take this

opportunity to speed up the relocation program during the next few months rather than slow it up.

Daily staff meetings were suggested at which time any rumors might be corrected in writing over the project director's signature.

Question: Should the segregation program and relocation attempt be put through at the same time at Tule Lake?

Answer: Both sides of the question should be argued. It will be so much a matter of pressure as giving opportunities for those who need help in making up their minds. The people at Tule Lake will have advantages during this period that people from other centers won't have. For those people who want to go directly from Tule Lake to relocate, the opportunity for transportation and cash grants will be provided whether needed or not. They will also get the best choice of jobs.

Question: What assurance do those being transferred have for jobs at other projects?

Answer: We can't give the answer to that other than to say everyone will be given consideration in line with his capabilities.

Question: Could you consider rationing jobs?

Answer: We can't lay out any national rationing program. The assumption is that there will be a good many jobs vacated by those going out. New jobs will be opening up.

Question: What can we do from the WRA public relations point of view if the sentiment of passive resistance becomes apparent among the evacuees?

Answer: We shouldn't recognize such a thing is already existent and thus encourage it. However, if there is a problem, let us face it among the administrative staff and not among the evacuees. Let's not go out looking for trouble until it comes to us. Let's not, by having developed it in our own ideas, have the evacuees pick it up from us. When it comes to us, of course we have to meet it but we can meet it then by presenting the facts and giving the people the facts with which to meet that situation. But never admit to them but what the people undoubtedly were going to move.

Conduct of Segregation Hearings.....Philip Glick

The discussion so far has been about general attitudes important in connection with Segregation and the importance of uniform understanding by the administrative staff as to just what will be the procedure in connection with Segregation. We must get the evacuees' cooperation in the Segregation program so that they will recognize this is anything but a major catastrophe. If the procedure can take place on a sympathetic basis the American public

will be more apt to cooperate in accepting evacuees for relocation in normal American communities.

We are not ready to begin a discussion of the procedure for evacuation. The basic structure was agreed upon in Washington at the time of the Project Directors' meetings. Since that time, work has been largely on detail. No large group will agree on all details of any procedure but, when this meeting is over and a procedure has been accepted, full cooperation is expected of everyone whether he is in agreement or not. This is the only way we will attain unanimity of attitude.

The documents prepared are subject to correction and amendment. Administrative Instruction No. 100 attempts to sketch the main outlines. The Operations Manual is a commentary, in detail, on the Administrative Instruction and is long and complicated. First, let us cover some of the points outlined in the Manual.

Whom are we going to segregate? How do we determine who falls into those groups? What kind of records do we need? Who handles them? What is the relationship of the process that will follow in connection with Segregation to the processes we have been following in leave clearances and investigations? Just what is the distinction between Segregation hearings and welfare interviews?

We must think of evacuees for purposes of Segregation as being divided into three groups. The procedure differs for each group.

1. REPATRIATES and EXPATRIATES. A repatriate is an alien who has asked to be sent back to Japan. An expatriate is a citizen who has asked to be sent to Japan. Repatriates and expatriates together constitute one group.
2. REGISTRANTS. Those who are to be segregated because of certain activities in connection with registration--for military and war industry purposes. The registrant problems, as we know them, have been developed into seven different groups of people. We are concerned with at least four different groups among registrants.
 - a. Those who refused to register at all--virtually none at any project except Tule Lake.
 - b. Those citizens or aliens who answered "No" to the loyalty question, No. 28.
 - c. Those who wrote a qualified answer, neither "Yes" or "No" which required interpretation.

- d. Those who did register but refused to answer question 28, leaving it blank or drawing an X over it (occurred only at Jerome).

The registrant group, for whom a separate segregation procedure is established, are the above mentioned, except class c. Not included for the purposes of the special segregation procedure are those who qualified their answers.

3. ALL OTHERS. A different procedure is to be followed in their case. Among this group, the ones we are primarily interested in are those who qualified their answers to question 28, those on whom we have adverse intelligence reports and certain other groups.

(Refers back to group 1 -- Repatriates and Expatriates who did not withdraw their request for repatriation or expatriation prior to July 1, 1943 make up the first group so that, for example, one who asked for repatriation and then withdrew his request prior to that date would be in the third rather than the first group).

I will use the term repatriate in the first group and registrant in the second group and leave clearance in the third group.

The Instructions and Manual say, for purposes of segregation that the repatriate group is going to be segregated to Tule Lake on the basis of the records available to the project director without further investigation and without further hearing. The problem with the repatriate group is for the project director to determine. It is a matter of adjustment of his records. The Washington office will make its information available to the project director for checking and, when the project director has determined who is on the list, he can determine that group is to be among the segregants.

During the process of segregation, there will be no opportunity for hearings for an evacuee who maintains that the records are wrong, that he never asked for repatriation or that he did ask and withdrew his request before July 1. There will be opportunity for the correction of mistakes later.

The basic problem of the registrant group is this. Can we rely on their "No" as meaning what it says? Did the person know what he was saying? Did he understand the question? Does he still feel that way today? For the purpose of determining that question, a hearing will be held at the project for that registrant group. It will be more or less of a streamlined hearing. The function of the hearing is to determine that the man really said "No" to question 28 and knew what it meant and intended to say "no" and still wants to say "no". Or that he refused to register, that he really wants to be Japanese, that the refusal to register was an evidence of his wanting to be Japanese, or that his failure to answer question 28 represents a desire to be Japanese. To put it another way, in the case of a man who has asked for expatriation and let that stand beyond June 30,

WRA is saying that is such a strong evidence of a desire to be Japanese, that on the basis of that record he is to be segregated.

In the third group are those who changed their minds and withdrew their request to repatriate. The fact that this person withdrew his request is some contrary evidence, the fact that he qualified his answer is some evidence looking in the direction that he wants to be Japanese. So this third group is going to be given leave clearance hearings before they are segregated.

There will be two movements--a mass movement of segregation and a second cleanup of other groups. The mass movement will be expatriates and repatriates; the second movement will be those to whom the director of WRA denies leave clearance and as a group are accumulated at any particular project.

I would like to go back now in greater detail to the segregation hearing on group 2. The project director is asked in the Operations Manual to establish a Board of Review for segregation, a group of people at the project who will conduct the hearings. Whom shall he appoint? This is left to the project director's sound discretion. He should have people who can command respect within the project, who are capable, familiar with administrative procedures, not punitive minded, who can grasp all that is being discussed at the meeting, who know the evacuees as well as possible. It may be desirable for the same Board to function in connection with the welfare hearings. This is left to the project director's discretion. Do they have to sit as a Board? No. This way, they can take care of more cases in less time. A meeting could be conducted by only one member of the Board but it is probably desirable to have two because of human prejudices that enter into things. That Board of Review is to hold only the Segregation hearing, the purpose of which is to determine for this registrant group whether they knew the meaning of what they did when they did it or whether they still want to be Japanese. The welfare meetings will want to be held with the whole family. They will follow the segregation hearing and be held only with families of the segregants. The purpose of the welfare meetings will be to help the evacuees make a choice between centers, answer their travel questions, help them with arranging routine baggage check outs, etc.

The segregation hearing proper ought to be held in a small room, it needs to be relaxed and informal, not a grim trial. It is not necessary for a cross examination; a badgering attitude is hopelessly out of place. We should think of it as a conversation or an interview to determine certain things we administratively want to know. In some cases, the hearing can quickly be disposed of because many of the people who are to be segregated know perfectly well where they stand. They haven't anything to be ashamed of and should be ready to admit it. Early in the hearing, therefore, it would seem desirable, in a perfectly free fashion, to explain that they are being considered for transfer because they said "no" to question 28 and begin to discuss that with them. Many will say they understand it. So it would seem desirable to go to the heart of the issue early in the interview so as to eliminate many in the early states. Then,

there will be the others who say they meant "yes" when they said "no". People don't ordinarily say "no" when they mean "yes". So the thing to do is determine whether he is lying, whether he wants to avoid going to Tule Lake and why. Does he really want to be Japanese, etc? When the Board is satisfied that the person really wants to be Japanese and that he knew what he meant when he said "no", he would be considered among the segregants. You will learn more if you talk in a relaxed fashion rather than by asking direct questions. See the questions suggested in the Operations Manual. The Operations Manual asks the project director and his staff to prepare dockets on those to be given segregation hearings before the hearing opens. There is a form, Exhibit 1, which eliminates waste time. The interview sheets should go to the project director who will make the decision. The project director will, in most cases, have no reason for differing with the members of the Board. At the end of the week, interview sheets, together with summary form Exhibit 2, are to be sent by project directors to the Director in Washington on which basis final train schedules can be worked out. In the course of the interview, it is clearly desirable to give the evacuee an opportunity to make a statement of his own views and where he stands.

Some of the projects have already held hearings for many people of this registrant group in which much of this ground has already been gone over. For these people who obviously don't need to go over the ground again, the interview sheet can be fixed on the basis of earlier interviews or hearings.

We must not confuse the segregation hearing with the leave clearance hearing. We will talk about this hearing later. But, in brief, a leave clearance hearing is designed to be as complete an investigation as we can make to enable the director to determine whether indefinite leave should be given or whether the person should be interned for the duration. This is a serious problem. Washington will send a docket if available, or any other evidence we have to supplement evidence available to you. The Leave Clearance Board will then hold exhaustive hearings, getting a written statement from the evacuee. The ideal way to do would be to segregate no one until leave clearance hearings had been given, but we can't wait. We have to accomplish the mass segregation of those we are reasonably sure need to be segregated now. We are assuming that the repatriates and expatriates can be segregated now and the "NO's" can be segregated after a hearing to determine what the person meant. For all others, we don't feel sure enough of our judgment to segregate and to deny indefinite leave unless we do complete elaborate leave clearance hearings. Hearings on them will be completed after segregation and we can determine then whether we have made a mistake. We are recognizing that mistakes will be made however careful we may be. There may be a record slip at a project. While we are not yet ready to announce details for this, an Appeal Board will be established, and a man who maintains that he has been improperly segregated because he doesn't fit within these categories will be given an opportunity to appeal.

Discussion

Question: Tule Lake has quite a number of cases where they registered late. In which group do they fall?

Answer: Those who registered late go into group 3. We will treat them the same as if they had said no and changed their answer. Tule Lake has a special problem. You have to move those who are not to be segregated in order to determine all those who fall in that group who need hearings from the group 2 people. You have to make up your train schedules. I don't recall that our committee discussed the exact order of the hearings for Tule Lake. You would hold your hearings for the group 2 people, it seems to me, first. At the same time you would be holding your welfare interviews for those who are not to be segregated. Those two groups would make up the first train loads. It will be true at every center that there are a large number of people who have changed their attitudes. There have been between 1800 and 2000 requests for change of answers come to Washington since registration, some of which probably aren't on record at the projects. There are also about 50 cases where the answer was changed from yes to no. We are pulling all those cases from file and sending the documents back to the projects for use during the segregation procedure.

Question: If a person withdrew his application for repatriation on July 3, will he go to Tule Lake?

Answer: He will go to Tule Lake and make his appeal after he gets there. If a person said "No" and changed his answer prior to July 15 and, after he has been given a leave clearance hearing, he will not go to Tule Lake. Requests must have been made before July 1. Those in the category of "No" answers must have made their request for change previous to July 15; otherwise they are in group 1 or 2. Where there is considerable doubt, let's not do people an injustice but give them a hearing. Our real consideration is avoid any kind of a stampede, particularly at Tule Lake. We may have to move people out from Tule Lake and then move them back in again, even though it may look foolish. Neutral answers would, I believe be qualified answers, and a qualified answer gets a hearing.

Conduct of Welfare Interviews.....Selene Gifford

As you can see from Mr. Glick's statement, all persons who are the relatives of persons being considered for segregation will be interviewed by the welfare section. With the repatriate group, the problem probably will not be as complicated as with the other group because I believe more of the families as a whole will decide to move together. The thing to remember is that the welfare section picks up after the determination is made that an individual is to be moved and the welfare section in its interviews gets into no discussion at all about the right or wrong of that decision. If the individual still has a question and feels that the decision was wrong, it is not a matter for the welfare section to handle. Our service is only for helping the members of the families who are affected by this decision to make their plans on what they want to do. They have many choices open

to them. That is why the investigations will be so complicated. We will segregate certain people but the rest of the family can do what it wants to do. With the repatriation group, there is a complete record of what individual members want to do. There will be a few questions there as to where the family will go but, in some instances, you will find teen aged children who definitely don't want to be considered a part of the relocation group. This is the time they are going to have to make up their minds whether they will go with the family, choose outside jobs, live with other relatives, and a whole number of questions which I personally cannot anticipate.

In dealing with that group and trying to help them make up their minds, we must not forget the strength of the family ties. In some instances, the decision may go against the desire of the child. I get very concerned about the problems we may inherit if we have too many young people left loose on our projects without supervision of relatives. We are not saying we should over-emphasize this in any particular interview. It depends very much on the child, whether he is mature and able to get along and to make the necessary adjustment.

The other group, the persons who have answered "no", presents a very difficult and different problem because frequently you will find the determination to segregate an individual affects a younger member of the family rather than the parents. There you have the parents and other children wondering what they ought to do. Again, they have many choices. The only thing we can do in our interviewing process is to have in the hands of all the interviewers all of the information that has been given here today so that every single phase of our policy and our attitude is known to the interviewer so that questions can be answered and then the family make the decision. I hope that in the process of interviewing, we will appear to be the people that have the answers for that individual. The families will come to us very troubled and will have many questions. They have the right, however, to make up their own minds about what is best for them as a family group in line with the best information and best interpretation of the policy we can possibly give. There is one thing Mr. Embree mentioned I want to touch upon--that is the rumor business. I believe that the interviewing staff could be a great help to the project director in quickly sorting out rumors. As the families come to discuss their problems and raise questions, they will undoubtedly tell some of the things they have been hearing other people say about the segregation program. I believe the project directors could arrange to every day pick up things that have come to the attention of the interviewers and stop some of the rumors quickly.

The Manual tries to take care of the ramifications of the family. We have said that we should consider the decisions as to what these families will do in line with Administrative Instruction 27. I would like to point out, however, that some of these people will not be able to make up their minds unless they are sure certain relatives can be taken care of in certain ways. That may mean clearances between projects to find out what has happened to certain people before a family can make up its mind. There also questions of health, that probably will become known to welfare interviewers before they are known

to the medical staff. There is a provision in the Manual that in cases of serious illness the individual will not be moved, and the family may not be moved at that time if it seems inadvisable for them to be moved.

One other group has a choice, the group who may have a member who is to be segregated but the family has made application to join the rest of the family at Crystal City. The Department of Justice has told us that they will attempt to move the families that can be moved to Crystal City within the next few months. We don't know how fast they will move. Nevertheless, if a family falls within this group, they may stay where they are. Not the segregants, however, but the rest of the family may elect not to go to Tule Lake at this point but stay where they are.

There are several other situations in which the welfare section will attempt to be helpful. I anticipate that families, because of disturbances and strain, will have difficulty in making up their minds as to what is best for them to do. The attitude I think we should take toward people in interviewing should be one of simply being helpful. We are there to help them in whatever way we can. They have a problem. We try to get the answers for them. Many of them will have questions about the kind of place that Tule Lake is going to be. The welfare interviewer should be in a position to tell them. They will ask about relocation. We must work very closely with the division of employment. No one answer can be applied to all families. You will notice that in drafting the forms to be used, the form which is used by the Hearing Board is routed to the welfare section and on the back of the forms there is a place to record the decision of the family, accounting for the decision and for each member in that family. I sincerely hope that those records will be kept as adequately as you have staff to do so.

In future decisions about families or individuals, it is going to be increasingly important that we have an accurate record of exactly what the individual in the family desires and why he desires these things. This is a very good opportunity to record the problems the family presents when they come, the decisions the family made, etc. In cases of split families, you will have a record in both places, of those persons at this project and why decisions were made and other members of the family that were somewhere else.

Discussion

Question: Are the persons who wanted to make application to go to Crystal City, and we suggested they hold off, to be paroled?

Answer: The movement to Crystal City will be very slow and holding off making application probably would be advisable. The assumption is that people may still have the opportunity to move from Tule Lake to Crystal City at a later date and, unless going to Tule Lake will create a very definite hardship, they should go to Tule Lake.

Question: To what extent does the segregation hearing attempt to help the evacuee make up his mind on points he is doubtful about?

Answer: The Board should clearly not argue in helping the evacuee make up his mind but there are tactful ways in which an evacuee can be influenced. We must not argue but must give a fair and unbiased hearing and try to develop the question in such a way they will understand the factors involved.

Question: Where is the age line to be drawn on children making their own decision?

Answer: There is no age line; this is something to be worked out by the family. The age 16 was set up for repatriation but not movement to the segregation center. The handbook says we are to apply Administrative Instruction 65. Administratively this is one of our most difficult problems. We are trying to be very democratic and may get involved in some of that if we do. If you have a problem that involves a child under 16, I think unless the welfare section is assured that plans are made for that particular child where he gets a home, some supervision, some affection, etc., we would be getting in very real difficulty by having the child under 16 on the project without such guidance. The project is in no position to give this guidance. The tearing away of family ties is much more serious than the other things that can happen to the child. WRA cannot take on the responsibility of running an orphan asylum. Unless arrangements can be made with someone who definitely indicates in writing that they are ready to make provision and adequate plans for the child, we better urge that they go with their families.

Question: Can we promise expatriation to anybody?

Answer: Neither expatriation or repatriation can be promised to a soul. That will depend largely on what Japan decides. We wish we could promise it but can't do it. Our attitude must be that it depends largely on Japan.

Monday Afternoon, July 26, 1943

Further discussion on Segregation Hearings. Answers by Director Myer or Solicitor Glick.

Question: What was the answer made to Mr. Gelvin's question as to how to handle those who wrote the word "neutral" to Question 28?

Answer: Where the word "neutral" was written Mr. Myer has indicated they should be thrown into Group Two - give them the segregation hearing.

Question: The answer written after Question 28 is "No, and I certainly hope Japan wins the war tomorrow." Is that a negative or qualified answer?

Answer: Clearly that is a negative answer. Merely because words are added does not mean it is a qualified answer. There is no rule that can be announced because we tried in the Leave Clearance Section in Washington to list some qualified answers so we could be of help, but it just wasn't possible. So the answer is that the project director will have to decide by looking it over whether it is a negative or qualified answer. Negative into Group Two and Qualified into Group Three.

Question: Supposing a man has asked for repatriation and the project director knows that these are the facts, he never withdrew his request prior to July 1, but he did indicate that he thought later, when forms were distributed on which he could request repatriation and failed to turn it in, that the new form was the only way to ask for repatriation; and by not turning it in he indicated that he no longer wants to be repatriated.

Answer: It is delegated to the project director to determine whether he had a clear intention to withdraw the request for repatriation prior to July 1, 1943, and if the project director is satisfied of an intention to withdraw but failure to act on that intention because of mistake of facts; put into Class Three. I believe early in the game that we got instructions that unless forms were filled out, previous applications were cancelled and we made the announcement.

Question: When people go to Tule Lake is there any procedure by which they can appeal if they feel a mistake has been made?

Answer: Yes. The last section of Administrative Instruction 100 says that there will be a Board of Appeal. Details are not decided but will be provided later. It will probably be a three man review Board within WRA. Any evacuee who wants to appeal will be notified that he can appeal to that Board. The Appeal Board will listen to the case and either make a decision or make a recommendation to the Director.

Question: Suppose this situation develops in the course of a segregation hearing. The evacuee says no, of course he is not loyal to Japan, doesn't know anything about Japan, never been to Japan but he said "no" to Question

28. He knew what it meant but said it as a protest because he felt the evacuation was unfair. Said "no" merely as a protest. When asked if he was willing to change his answer, he said "no, I want my protest to stand." He is not loyal to Japan and is loyal to the United States. Wants to be an American but unwilling to change his answer because he wants it to stand as a protest. On that basis, should he be segregated or not segregated?

Answer: If the answer stands as "no", he goes to Tule Lake. He can find a better way to protest if that is what he wants. If he stands on "no" he goes to Tule Lake. He has to indicate that he is ready to swear allegiance to the United States or he goes to Tule Lake. It should be explained that people who stand on their "no" will go to Tule Lake.

Question: Our Administrative Instruction says that we shall segregate only those who are believed to be loyal to Japan. The mere fact that someone refuses to swear allegiance to U.S. does not mean he is disloyal.

Answer: That is pretty good evidence that he is not willing to go along with this country. We can't quibble on that question. It would be pretty hard to explain to the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

Question: Is it the intention when the segregation is complete, the residents will be free...no stop list on projects?

Answer: Yes, that is the hope.

Question: Does the evacuee have to make a written statement to change his answer?

Answer: Better have it as a written record.

Question: We had a hearing in which a boy stated that if we would let him go out he would be loyal or if we kept him in the center he would be disloyal. We did not let him out.

Answer: No project director can stand on just that reason for changing an answer. I see the point that to be in a relocation center he feels a certain way, while if he goes out he feels the other way; but, we can't, it seems to me, go on the basis of a written statement that he is changing his answer in order to get out of the relocation center. That isn't the way to get out of a relocation center.

Question: Each project director may know of some particular repatriate family where the request for repatriation was made for reasons that have nothing whatever to do with loyalty to Japan...may have been made by an elderly member of the family who wants to be buried in Japan, or simply out of loyalty to the other members of the family. The suggestion is this: Word the Administrative Instruction by amendment so that instead of providing that all repatriates not retracting answers prior to July 1 will be segregated without hearing, provide that each project director shall have authority to make exceptions of those cases which he believes

should be placed in Group 3.

Answer: I doubt whether we want to write an Administrative Instruction. I think we must consider them as individual cases and present them for review. We'll review the cases in the Washington Office, tell the evacuees you will present the facts. Make your recommendation and Washington will decide on these few cases, before segregation. Other variants should be submitted to Washington for decision. Procedures for submission will be worked out.

Question: Does the fact that a man is an internee affect his standing?

Answer: The fact that a man has been interned and been released should not affect his record. If he is a parolee it is different. Each case should be handled individually.

Question: Parolees are not entirely cut off from relocation are they?

Answer: No. There is a definite place for the relocation of parolees. We will check with the immigration authorities beforehand and if they take the responsibility we will grant leave.

Tuesday Morning, July 27, 1943

Discussion of "Questions and Answers on Administration and Policies Governing the Segregation Center".

Question: Will attendance at government schools be compulsory?

Answer: No. We assure the opportunity for deciding whether they want to go to American schools or to a Japanese school at their own expense. I think right from the beginning it should be pointed out to the folks at Tule Lake that there is very little likelihood that any of them will be able to go to Japan before the war is over. After the war is over, they may want to change their minds. Their children are still American citizens. Maybe they will want a chance to live in the United States. It would be a very grave mistake not to provide the opportunity and see that it is taken advantage of in going to American schools and developing American traditions.

Question: What about Japanese language schools?

Answer: The Government isn't providing funds for those schools for education of the Japanese, but we are not preventing those people who are determined to go back to Japan in carrying on their education in the things they feel will be helpful to them in Japan. If they want to pay for them, Japanese language schools will be permitted.

Question: Will there be censorship of mail?

Answer: As you know, we are leaving this question open. I am taking the position that the Justice Department or the War Department or other agencies responsible for military or internal security will decide on the censorship of mail. I don't see why we should start in with a censorship.

Question: What about the shipment of household goods?

Answer: You should tell the folks going to Tule Lake that a contraband search will be made by the Army and if they have any contraband, it will be picked up at Tule Lake or they can dispose of it in the meantime. The Army has assumed that responsibility at Tule Lake and probably will continue to assume it.

Question: Will the military be permitted within the project center at Tule Lake?

Answer: The same provision will prevail there as we now have at the nine other centers.

Question: May a person voluntarily enter a segregation center?

Answer: No, except in extreme hardship cases voluntary segregation should be discouraged.

Question: I had the case of a man and his wife who applied for repatriation and the daughter wanted to go on to college. The girl didn't know whether to go to college or to apply for repatriation. Should we segregate the daughter?

Answer: She should be free to make her own decision of going to college or requesting repatriation.

Question: What about people on State Department lists? Take the people at Tule Lake. Will they have opportunities to decline to go on the boat they are scheduled on?

Answer: Not necessarily; not just anybody can cancel it. They can, however, request cancellation. But once the thing is established and after a list has been agreed upon, the State Department may insist that they go through with their commitment.

Question: Will the Immigration and Naturalization Service want to parole people from internment camps to Tule Lake?

Answer: No, they will not request that.

There are people with intelligence records whose records of work and activity in the Center are good; it is only fair to have that submitted with the intelligence record to help keep the total record straight.

Relocation from Tule Lake Prior to Segregation

Don Sabin:

The people who are to be transferred from the Tule Lake Center will be moved because they have indicated that they want to be Americans. The best way for them to be Americans is to get into normal American communities as rapidly as possible and become a part of the social and economic life. Relocation isn't easy but it is a chance for eligible people to regain their standing in the communities.

We realize that persuading eligible evacuees to relocate rather than to wait and be transferred from Tule Lake is going to be a tremendous job. A special staff will visit Tule Lake Center to collaborate with the regular project staff in encouraging relocation. This relocation team will be headed by Harold James from the Employment Division of the Washington Office. Others from Washington also will be placed along with representatives from each of the areas where relocation is going on. Each of these representatives will have full authority to speak for the relocation supervisor as to the number of people who can be accommodated at a given time. An educational program will be worked up with the Project Reports Officers and others on the project staff so that people considering relocation may have as much information as possible about the areas in which they might relocate.

After August 1st all of the relocation offices will give priority on job opportunities to residents of Tule Lake. If the jobs cannot be filled there, they will go to Granada, Heart Mountain, Minidoka and Central Utah. If they are not filled in those centers they will go to Jerome and Rohwer. The others, for the time being, will get the job opportunities that are left over.

Unfortunately we must forget about jobs in war plants and in the War Department at the present time. The outlook is only fairly encouraging for Civil Service positions. The Civil Service Commission has agreed to expedite its investigations but it insists on investigations before Japanese-American employees go on the job. The list of persons who have been approved by the joint board as being eligible to go into the Eastern Defense Command contains 8000 names and the list is growing. In talking with persons who are eligible for relocation in the Eastern Defense Command emphasis should be placed on the possibility of their going to some of the eastern cities such as New York or Boston. These areas can absorb evacuees with less problem of community sentiment. Jobs are plentiful and housing is more available than in most other parts of the country. We will continue to place all we can in cities such as Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit. The only big problem is that of housing, jobs are plentiful and wages are good but the housing situation is so difficult that most evacuees should think of smaller cities and rural areas. In many of the smaller communities wages are only fair, but living costs are lower than in larger cities. St. Joseph, Missouri, and Lawrence, Kansas, are two cities where relocation opportunities are good.

We feel many more evacuees should consider farm jobs. There are several different types of farm jobs. One is the caretaker for large estates. This usually provides good living conditions and good wages. There is the corporation type of farm which would provide year round employment and housing for families and for single people. Single workers frequently are housed in dormitories or bunk houses. We feel more families should be interested in jobs as year around tenant farmers. These jobs usually pay about \$75.00 per month plus housing, a garden, poultry and milk. There are many different variations of this type of arrangement. Many evacuees are afraid of this type of farming because they have never done it, but it should be brought out that this arrangement gives the evacuee many advantages upon going into a new community. He has the advantage of a sponsor who usually will be one of the leading farmers in the area. The employer can render assistance in many ways, such as working out rationing problems etcetera. Jobs of this type may lead to other types of renting and leasing arrangements which may hold promise for long term arrangements.

There is one difficulty which may conflict with relocation in Tule Lake in some of the western states. That is the fact that several thousand seasonal workers in the Salt Lake City relocation area will be out of jobs because seasonal work may stop in August. It will be necessary to find other types of jobs or permit them to return to the relocation

centers, which we feel is not advisable. We are attempting to find jobs throughout the middle west to which these people already out on seasonal leave may transfer on indefinite leave.

The relocation supervisors are set up to handle three or four thousand people during the next six weeks. If we have underestimated the number of people who will plan to relocate from Tule Lake, the relocation officers may be swamped. If we have overestimated, relocation from Tule Lake should go along rather smoothly.

Relocation in Colorado

Harold S. Choate

Before the war we had about 2800 persons of Japanese ancestry living in Colorado. During the period of voluntary evacuation about 2700 more have come into Colorado. In addition to them over 1500 on indefinite leave and nearly 1700 on seasonal leave--a total of 8700 as a rough estimate. Of that total, probably 600 are in northern Colorado. In Denver, there are probably around 3000 Japanese-Americans in all categories.

It is an unwritten law among Denver realty houses that rentals, leases and sales shall not be made to persons of Japanese ancestry, so housing is difficult for them to find. There are places in northern Colorado where there are literally as many Japanese names on the mail boxes as there are Caucasian. Evacuees are establishing businesses in small towns, which the business men don't like. Of course, we can't stop people from coming in once they have been granted indefinite leave, but we are trying to discourage their coming, with the help of the evacuees themselves.

The new leave instructions permit persons to apply for short term leave to look for employment. I strongly urge you not to issue short term leave for persons to come to the counties in northern Colorado. If people will say to you that they want to go to Pueblo or some other "way-station", please recognize that they probably want to come on to Denver.

Tuesday Afternoon, July 27, 1943

Gaining Evacuee Cooperation

Panel Discussion: Mrs. Lucy Adams, Manzanar; Charles Ernst, Central Utah; Harry Stafford, Minidoka; John Baker, John Embree, John Provinse, Washington.

Miss Adams

I assume that we have had at least a year on securing evacuee cooperation. If we haven't done something on that we are going to have a bad time. We have specific suggestions which might be useful to other projects. Everyone has started to notify evacuees that segregation is taking place. I am going to ask you Mr. Ernst, to give your suggestions on cooperation on segregation.

Mr. Ernst

The City Council gave us a committee of 5 on segregation; they wanted to be called the Community Cooperation Committee. They suggested that each member of the council should be given a list of the repatriates from his block so that he could call them together. This gave us a committee of 33 and out of that number they picked five who could work with the committee of five. So now we have a committee of ten to help on the whole matter of segregation, and with them we are developing the details of segregation. When the question was raised regarding negative answers on registration the Caucasian committee thought it best that they not go into the negative answers at this time and would not refer to registration. They would stress loyalty to Japan rather than the negative answers.

Our Welfare Office has opened a particular building to be known as the Office of Segregation. We are endeavoring to have the children take home the same story on segregation as the work groups are getting out to the mothers and fathers.

We have an agency known as the Inter-Faith Council, made up of Priests, Ministers and the Buddhist priests, and they have been given a spot in the segregation program. We already have a great deal of influence from the Buddhist group.

The Community Activities group have the job of preparing social activities for those who are going to Tule Lake and those who are coming into Topaz.

The Relocation Committee is writing to those who have received a definite lead, except in the Salt Lake City and Denver areas, asking what help they need in taking out their families from the center. We will utilize every group we have putting particular emphasis on the City Council and the church group.

The Public Works Group brought up the question, that in the early part of the project many small tools had been borrowed and had never been returned. It was suggested by the Community Cooperation Committee that a letter be written to all persons going to Tule, giving them the information as to where they should turn in blankets and also the small tools which they had borrowed since the beginning of the project. There will be an inspection at Tule Lake.

Mr. Harry L. Stafford

In the absence of a Community government and Official Council at Minidoka, we have considered various groups of Japanese people. We had no difficulty with registration.

Our concern, like most places has to do with rumors, etcetera. When we tackled registration we got the information together and got the facts, and we made it a point to see to it that every person in Minidoka could hear everything being said. As we take up segregation we have the same point of view; it is necessary to educate each person in that camp. When Administrative Instruction #100 came out we called together our charter committee and had a preliminary discussion and read all the information. We mimeographed Administrative Instruction #100 and sent it out to the block delegates and called a meeting of approximately 50 persons. We sat down with them and went over it in detail and brought to Denver with us the questions which were not obvious to us.

In this segregation program we propose to educate each and every one of this group of block delegates and sit down and work out our program. We think in carrying it on in that manner under the circumstances we do not have so many rumors and complaints. We think that by that method in a perfectly frank open and above board presentation of the program in both languages we will eliminate many of the problems.

We do not know exactly what we are going to do until we sit down with the Japanese people and work out a program. We think that a definite committee of segregants to work with us all the way through is necessary. That is as far as Minidoka has gotten with the problem of their segregation program.

Mrs. Adams

The people had been talking about segregation for a long time and they knew it would take place. I can tell you some of the things we have been thinking of doing. The first group we worked with were the block managers and they have been worked with constantly. As soon as we had the official announcement it was published in the paper and then that very important thing which Mr. Stafford brought up, the education of the staff, what class the individual falls into. We have a great number on the project who do not know how they answered their Question #28. We are sending out a note to all persons over 17 telling

them what group they fall in. We are finding already that the ability to tell them in what group they fall has helped. We wanted to have an idea of how many people wanted to change their answers. We had a block meeting and asked them to discuss Question #28. We made a list of all the questions that were asked them. Out of 800 evacuees, 1/4 of them wanted to talk about family problems.

1. If I said "No" or if I said "Yes", will my family be segregated?
2. If I stay in Manzanar will I have to relocate?
3. If I go to Tule or stay in Manzanar will my son or myself be drafted?

Since that time we have gone ahead with the information program.

We began with the welfare department and went over with them very confidentially every item of the program and answered all their questions. We then brought in all the education people and brought groups together, then the recreation group and explained it to them. There should be complete uniformity of answers so they will all be alike.

John Baker

There are a few matters on the technical side of segregation particularly on the mass information. The reports workers are all ready to get out a set of pamphlets - three for the nine centers, and a comparable set for the Tule Lake Center. They will be reproduced here by mimeograph. That seemed to be the fastest and most favorable way. We can get it done here in Denver, faster than we could on the project. The over seas branch of the OWI will prepare these pamphlets in Japanese.

At the centers, after the reports officers get back there will be a great many stories that will come out of the manual and Administrative Instruction #100, chopped up into little segments setting forth the salient points of the segregation program.

Pamphlets, photographs, and project papers will be utilized fully, but it seems to me that the most effective education work will be by word of mouth. The first step is to train the staff in the details on segregation, to carry on panels, lectures, etcetera, that will reach the Japanese. The same thing has to be done by the evacuees but it has to start with the staff.

A rumor represents a gap in information. Each rumor should be used to indicate what kind of information is lacking. A rumor headquarters might be established.

It seems to me that the segregation program is not an occasion when we want to have a roman holiday on publicity. But we do want the

public to know segregation is being carried on. Reports Officers should be authorized to sound out the newspapers and try to give them the information they want. We must tell the same story to the public that we tell to the evacuees concerning segregation.

John Embree

So far as the evacuees are concerned I think we should realize some are in favor and a great many who do not know much about it.

Touching on the attitudes of the evacuees and the administrative staff. Some of the attitudes toward the segregation program are going to be tied up with attitudes of the staff on the project. This has to do with the person who announces it, and some attention should be paid to who announces it. Just how you will get those attitudes I do not know. However any attempts you can make to get knowledge on that point will help you on the administrative positions involved on the project. Care should be taken in selecting evacuees to work with you on the program. We may think they are popular and actually they may not be. That is one of the difficulties in our relocation work. We have our attitudes toward certain Japanese but the people that we like may not be the people best fitted to carry out the program. Select leaders who are well liked. There are sections in the center where one leader may not be able to work with other groups.

In connection with information on the project itself. I think an official notice about anything important should not be in the project newspaper alone. Have a notice signed by the Project Director. Such an official notice carries an air about it that the paper does not have.

Rumors are not always due to lack of information but they may be due to anxiety and fear. During registration many rumors were due to anxiety and fear.

I might just point out, your Community Analyst can be used in checking back on some of the attitudes of the Japanese. They can be used in tracking down some of the social developments on the project. They should not be brought in on any administrative problems during segregation.

John Provinse

The only point I want to make is that we set up our Community Council and evacuee government with two thoughts in view. One that it would be useful as an administrative device and would acquaint the people with the democratic procedure of our American system of Government. I think that those who have followed through in establishing this government may find it to be a very useful device at this time. It was this type of difficulty that we anticipated when we set this procedure up.

Dillon Myer

The report made by the Dies Committee contains the following recommendations:

1. That we carry out segregation as quickly as possible.
2. Carry on the Americanization program in the center instead of teaching Juda.
3. That a group similar to the joint board pass on leave rather than WRA itself.

That will be the summary but some things will be added to the report.

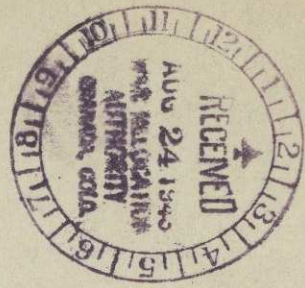
The Chandler report is out in bound form. We received 20 copies of it. One copy is being sent to the projects and one copy to the field offices. A summary of this report includes segregation, selective service, relocation of those whoever the Military and Navy think it would be advisable to have them.

I realize that with a program ahead of us like we have we are not going to have much time for public relations. But I feel that there was so much misinformation put out that it is going to take several weeks to clean up. Get information into the hands of the people, give the newspaper accounts and answers to questions. I would like to urge that between you and your staff that you go to some special effort to get material concerning the facts of the WRA program in the hands of the people who will read, will be informed and will pass it on. We have just taken the first hill in fighting our way back.

One of the things that can be done by the folks that are going to Tule -- put in a good word for the Project Director there and say he is a good guy.

In WRA we have team work and one important aspect of team work is getting the information to the staff and see that the evacuees get the same information. In the early part of your presentation of information on the project, especially during the first few days, particularly with your consultants and your people who are going to give the information, be sure you have the facts.

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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

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E6-20

Agenda for Meeting with Project Representatives at Denver, Colorado,

July 26 and 27, 1943

General Statement on Segregation Program D. S. Myer
E. M. Rowalt
Some Lessons to be Learned from Registration in
Conducting Segregation John Embree
Conduct of Segregation Hearings Philip Glick
Conduct of Welfare Interviews Selene Gifford
Administrative Instruction No. 100, and the
Operations Handbook Edwin Ferguson
Malcolm Pitts
Operating Policies at the Segregation Center John Provinse
Relocation Program from Tule Lake Donald Sabin

Panel on Securing Evacuee Cooperation

Part I. a. Information for the Evacuees John Baker
b. Attitudes of Evacuees and Administrative Staff John Embree
c. Participation of Community Council John Provinse
Part II. Project Suggestions on Securing Evacuee
Cooperation Lucy Adams
HARRY STAFFORD ~~Philip Schaeffer~~
Charles Ernst
Closing Remarks D. S. Myer

Note: Persons listed on this program, except for those on the panel on Securing Evacuee Cooperation, will limit themselves to statements only sufficiently long to introduce the subject thoroughly for general discussion.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN REGARD TO EVACUEE

ATTITUDES AND THE SEGREGATION PROGRAM

(These remarks are simply notes on a talk at the Denver meeting of July 26 and are not to be regarded as in any way a full or official report on the subject--John Embree)

ADVANTAGES IN REGARD TO THE SEGREGATION PROGRAM IN CONTRAST TO THE REGISTRATION PROGRAM

1. Segregation is something which is expected at all the centers. Most people in the centers have been expecting the move for some time, so it will not be the surprise and shock to the centers that registration was.
2. The program is a complete WRA program in contrast to registration which was a combination Army and WRA program. Complications arising out of directives from different authorities will be avoided.
3. The segregation program does not involve the filling in of any lengthy questionnaires - a sore subject with evacuees.

PROBLEMS OF SEGREGATION SIMILAR TO THOSE OF REGISTRATION

1. There is now and will exist for some time a lack of any clear understanding of the problems of segregation on the part of the evacuees. The motives of the government will be suspected. The reasons why particular people are to be segregated will be given varied interpretations.
2. The evacuees suffer from a feeling of persecution and will look on segregation as one more discriminatory measure just as they did registration.
3. There is a fear on the part of the issei in connection with the segregation program similar to that during registration that they will be forced out of the centers. Indeed, there are some repatriates now who are trying to persuade their friends to sign up for repatriation and go to Tule Lake because there they may feel secure from the pressure to relocate. Such activity may be sincere and is not to be dismissed as merely anti WRA activity.
4. As with registration, the problem of alarmist rumors will be present and is, indeed, already developing.

NEW PROBLEMS IN CONNECTION WITH SEGREGATION

1. Segregation involves the uprooting of communities. Most centers have now developed a certain community

organization and solidarity and segregation, which will dip down into the populations of almost every block of every project, will create serious problems of social readjustment.

2. There is also the problem of assimilating the people of Tule Lake into the other nine centers. Each project has a certain local pride and the resident population of a center may be rather critical of newcomers from another project.

SOME SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS:

1. In order to overcome false ideas concerning the program on the part of evacuees, clear and complete information on the subject of segregation, its aims and procedures should be made as early as possible at the project. This should include some mention of what living conditions will be like at the segregation center, emphasis on the non-punitive nature of the program, clarification of the citizen status of nisei children who go to Tule Lake.
2. A primary need for the successful overcoming of obstacles such as were met during the registration program involves a full understanding on the part of staff members as to the reasons for and the procedures of segregation. Furthermore, once such a common understanding is reached, there should be a consistency of interpretation reinforced by frequent project staff meetings. School teachers in particular should be well informed on the program. Every staff member should have copies of Administrative Instruction No. 100 and a set of Questions and Answers.
3. It should be emphasized that segregation is for the benefit of evacuees. Certainly the government has nothing to gain from it. It is not a punitive measure and so is not to be regarded as a blot on the family record to go to Tule Lake (as it is, for instance, to be sent to Leupp). Repatriates were once told that if they applied for repatriation, they would not suffer discrimination because of it. Segregation is not to be interpreted as a discriminatory measure; rather it is simply a putting together of people who wish to live as Japanese rather than as Americans.
4. It should be made clear that segregation is not a procedure for forcing relocation, and it should be pointed out that so far as we can tell now, there shall be no forcing of an individual out of a center against his will.

5. The element of choice should be emphasized. We are segregating those who have asked to be repatriated or expatriated. We are also segregating those who wish, after an interview, to maintain their "no" answer to Question 28
6. Concerning Hearing Boards: One of the first questions that comes to the mind of many evacuees is that of who will be on the Hearing Boards to interview those who answered "no" to Question 28. A careful selection of responsible and respected men who have a reputation among the evacuees for fair-mindedness may go far to alleviate this anxiety. It might even be desirable at the Hearing Board to have one or two older evacuees present as witnesses who can serve later to squelch rumors of unfairness. The interviews should, of course, be conducted in a friendly and patient manner.
7. The aid of Community leaders should be enlisted not only for information purposes but also to keep the administration abreast of problems which arise in the center in the course of the segregation program, and who can be called upon to assist in solving these problems. A leader without responsibility is scarcely more than a messenger boy and, of course, can be no more useful. In this connection leaders both from the group to be segregated and from the groups not to be segregated should be used. Such evacuee leaders should be kept abreast of developments in the program and it would be well to call them in for some staff conferences.
8. Every attempt should be made to keep a check on rumors as they develop and attempt to refute them before they do too much damage.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS AT TULE LAKE

In the light of our experiences with registration and the special attention to detail which is being given to the segregation program, there will probably be little serious difficulty in connection with segregation at most of the relocation centers. However, at Tule Lake there are a number of special problems to be considered and they may perhaps lead to more difficulty than will be met with at other centers. These special problems involve particularly those persons who are regarded as good Americans or as persons wishing to live in American communities.

Tule Lake is a well-organized center, being older and larger than most so that it will be more difficult for individuals and groups to pull up stakes and leave. Most of the residents retain vivid memories of some of the bitter experiences of registration and a feeling of antagonism toward anything proposed by the WRA. There

is a general feeling among some groups that those who cooperate with the WRA always lose out. There is also a feeling that WRA does not always know what it is doing or is insincere, or both.

Another problem to be faced by those to leave the center is that of loyal citizens being shipped in hot coaches under armed guards like prisoners of war. All these factors taken together could possibly lead to a general passive resistance on the part of the residents of Tule Lake.

To begin with, it would be very desirable to explain fully to all concerned just why Tule Lake was chosen. Emphasis should also be placed on the element of choice for those persons who are not to remain at Tule Lake. They have a choice for instance as to whether or not they wish to relocate on the outside. If they do not wish to relocate on the outside, they still have the choice of going to one of six different centers. (This is grasping at straws, don't count too much on it.)

There is a further complication at Tule Lake in the relocation drive which will be going on at the same time. In this connection, it is essential that all members of the Tule Lake staff, residents and visitors, segregation people and relocation people, keep in touch with one another daily in order that they may be aware of one another's problems and not be pursuing policies which are mutually contradictory.

DESIRABILITY OF GOOD ADMINISTRATION OF TULE LAKE

The administration of the Tule Lake Center has certain international aspects. It is the people from Tule Lake who may be expected to return to Japan after the war. We will be maintaining international relations with that country and some people for us to work in such relations might well be among the repatriates who return to Japan from Tule Lake. If they go back to Japan with respect for the American government, relations between Japan and the United States will be considerably better than if they go there with a feeling of disrespect and bitterness.