

BOOK REVIEW: Pacific Citizen, December 28, 1946.

"THE SPOILAGE" IS THE STORY OF THOSE
WHO LOST FAITH

"The Spoilage" is the documentary record of the ten per cent of the Japanese American evacuees from the West Coast who, in fear, bitterness and frustration, lost their faith in the United States and renounced their allegiance. It is a remarkable, readable report and many of its passages, particularly those dealing with the personal histories of the evacuees involved, will have an emotional impact for anyone who has any contact with the evacuation.

Early in 1942 a group of social scientists, including a number of Nisei, organized the Evacuation and Resettlement Study at the University of California. In what may be construed as an effort to maintain objectivity, especially of observers who carried on their work in the war relocation centers, the study was blanketed in secrecy comparable to that of the army's atom-bomb project. Now that the war is over, the various restrictions against the evacuees rescinded and the relocation camps lying empty and desolate on forgotten land, the sum of the group's observations on war relocation is being made available to the general public.

"The Spoilage," dealing mainly with the segregees at Tule Lake, is the first of two books which are being published at the University of California. The second volume, "The Salvage," which will discuss the ninety per cent of the evacuees who left the relocation centers for individual resettlement, will appear in 1947.

With access to the records of the War Relocation Authority and the Wartime Civil Control Administration, the Army agency which carried out the actual evacuation, as well as to the files of such private organizations as the JACL, the authors have provided

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what probably will be considered as the "official story of the wartime evacuation and detention of 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry. Yet because the work is the product of a non-government agency (the UC project was financed by the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco and other private grants) the authors pull no punches in their treatment of WCCA and WRA policies.

Like Alexander Leighton's "The Governing of Men" which discussed relocation at the Poston camp, "The Spoilage" is a report on the behavior of human beings under the experiences of forced evacuation and forced detention. The frustrations engendered by the abnormal conditions of internment are not peculiar to the Nisei nor to their Japan-born parents. The literature of Koestler and others on European displaced persons touch on the fear and insecurity which is a product of such displacement. Some of the reactions noted by Russel Brines in "Until They Eat Stones," which tells of the internment of white Americans at Santo Tomas, are the parallel of the behavior of Japanese and Japanese Americans in the relocation centers.

But while the internment of Americans by an enemy army at Santo Tomas was an expected consequence of war, the West Coast evacuation resulted in the internment on grounds of race, without individual hearings or trial, of 75,000 American citizens. These Nisei were not disfranchised, in fact they were permitted to vote by absentee ballot in the elections of their native state and later they were asked to volunteer for the United States army while still confined behind the fences and watchtowers of the relocation camps. There were many among these Nisei in the camps who could

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not rationalize upon the contradictions of their situation. Out of their predicament grew bitterness and frustration and out of it grew fear--fear of added discrimination and mistreatment in an unfriendly outside world--and a feeling of insecurity which colored their judgments and led them to take actions which they would not have taken under normal conditions.

There were approximately 5,000 renunciants at the segregation camp of Tule Lake and it is with this group that the authors of "The Spoilage" are mainly concerned. The book, however, contains important material in its treatment of the evacuation itself and the early stages of the development of the relocation centers with particular emphasis on personality and group conflicts which developed from differences in attitude toward the administration of the camps and to the evacuation itself.

The authors point out a fact that generally is overlooked in denunciation of the Army and the government for the mass evacuation. This is that public and political pressure determined the form of the whole program. There was no provision in the original evacuation plans for permanent relocation centers. There was no idea of limiting the free movement of the evacuees outside the West Coast prohibited zone. But voluntary evacuation did not work mainly because of public hostility and the Army and the administration bowed to expediency. The original mistake of mass evacuation was amended by the WRA under Dillon S. Myer who was resolved to return the evacuees to normal communities as soon as feasible.

"The Spoilage" contains detailed reports on the Manzanar, Poston and Tule Lake incidents, all of which were sensationally

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reported in the California press, and the dispassionate accounts, drawn from government records and the observations of field workers, lend a new perspective to these separate crises in the evacuee communities.

There is extensive material on the registration of 1943 which resulted in the administrative determination of the "loyal" and "disloyal" among the evacuees and led to the definition, among the evacuees themselves, of sympathies and antagonisms and resulted in the establishment of the Tule Lake camp as a segregation center for those persons who, in the opinion of the government, had not satisfactorily answered the loyalty questions in the registration questionnaire. But the published excerpts of interviews with many who chose the road to Tule Lake indicate that the matter of loyalty was not the primary one in their decisions. Fear of insecurity in ~~en~~forced resettlement outside the camps and bitterness against the government for the treatment accorded them were larger factors.

The second half of the book is concerned wholly with the Tule Lake segregation center and discusses various stages in the development of evacuee attitudes at the camp. The pressure and coercion practiced by organized segregee groups within the center to force American citizens to renounce their citizenship are described.

There are chapters on the martial law invoked at Tule Lake following the "riot" in November, 1943, and on the inception of organized campaigns within the camps against evacuees considered to be "informers." This account of Tule Lake shows the development of WRA policy and describes how the administration botched the

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handling of one "incident," which grew out of the death of a farm worker in an auto accident and how the WRA handled with considerable finesse another "incident" which resulted from the unwarranted shooting of an evacuee by a "trigger-happy" Army guard.

The final chapters are devoted to the mass renunciations of citizenship by citizen evacuees at Tule Lake and close with this comment:

"With mass renunciation of citizenship by Nisei and Kibei, the cycle which began with the evacuation was complete. Their parents had lost their hard-won foothold in the economic structure of America. They, themselves, had been deprived of rights which indoctrination in American schools had led them to believe inviolable. Charged with no offense, but victims of a military misconception, they had suffered confinement behind barbedwire. They had been stigmatized as disloyal often far removed from any criterion of political allegiance. They had been at the mercy of administrative agencies working at cross purposes. They had yielded to parental compulsion in order to hold the family intact. They had been intimidated by the ruthless tactics of pressure groups in camp. They had become terrified by reports of the continuing hostility of the American public, and they had finally renounced their irreparably depreciated American citizenship.

"Many of them have since left the country, voluntarily, to take up life in defeated Japan. Others will remain in America, in the unprecedented and ambiguous status of citizens who

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became aliens ineligible to citizenship in the land of their birth."

There is a footnote to the story of "The Spoilage" in the United States district court in San Francisco. More than one thousand of Tule Lake's renunciants, released from the tensions of the segregation camp and assured by contact with the outside world that Americans of Japanese ancestry have the goodwill of a considerable proportion of their fellow citizens and a future in this, their native land, have filed suit to regain the citizenship they renounced while confined in the bleakness of the segregation camp.

LARRY TAJIRI- Editor

BOOK REVIEW: Newsweek, January 6, 1947

THE NISEI INJUSTICE

Impelled by fears, real and fancied, of a suspect minority, the Army during the war decreed evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast. Along with Japanese aliens, the Nisei, or American-born citizens of Japanese ancestry, were herded into camps which for many of them became in effect detention pens for the duration. The story of what happened to them, the uprooting of the American heritage they thought they had, and the ambivalent emotions which led some to vindicate themselves by fighting in the American Army, and others to renounce their American citizenship, is a bitter and unbeautiful tale.

It is told in unemotional and often turgid prose in "The Spoilage," a careful sociological study made during the war by teams sponsored by the University of California. The results were assembled by Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto and other contributors. Only part of the story is told in the first volume now published. Others are to follow. It is a case history in the brittleness of democratic safeguards in crisis which deserves the careful study of every thoughtful citizen.

I'll Be Judge, You Be Jury

BY PAUL JORDAN-SMITH

SOIL FOOD—Keep soil healthy with organic manure and compost, thus keeping it rich in humus, and you get grain, fruit and vegetables rich in vitamins and food value, writes Sir Albert Howard in "The Soil and Health, a Study of Organic Agriculture." (Devin-Adair: \$4.) Artificial manures and chemicals stimulate growth but make plants sickly and rob food values. Grass and grain lose their values and so beast and fowl fail to yield good meat and eggs. The soil is being robbed and man must wake up before earth becomes a desert and himself a puny weakling. This author adds his voice to that of J. I. Rodale, whose "Pay Dirt" is widely read and followed in many countries.

EDUCATION—Prof. A. Gordon Melvin of New York University has written an elementary history of education, beginning with China and proceeding through early Greece to the present time. It is a textbook, and some teacher may find it of use. The title is "Education, a History." (John Day: \$4.50.)

BRITAIN—For a brief, rather elementary but always interesting survey of British places, people and their customs, here is a small compact volume bearing the title "Introducing Britain," done by a group of writers such as Kenneth, S. B. P. Mais. (Macmillan: \$2.) There are some photographs, always charming, and the essays cover England, Scotland, Wales and six counties of Ulster. These essays are informal and are done for the prospective visitor.

HOUSE PLANTS—For those who desire house plants "The Picture Primer of Indoor Gardening" by Margaret O. Goldsmith will serve as a detailed manual of potting, shifting, propagating bulbs, cacti, herbs; how to develop miniature greenhouses, terrariums, etc. Pictures in color by Harrie Wood are effective. (Houghton Mifflin: \$2.)

BOOKS AND ART

Los Angeles Times *

SUNDAY, JANUARY 19, 1947

JAPANESE RESETTLEMENT—Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, with contributions by several others, have prepared a study of Japanese-American evacuation and resettlement in a volume entitled "The Spoilage." (University of California Press: \$3.75.) It is a painful story of misconception and of administrative agencies working at cross-purposes, with the result that many innocent people were badly treated and in many cases transformed from law-abiding, peaceful and loyal citizens into something quite other.

MASTERPIECES—Two new additions to the Portable Library Series are at hand. "The Portable Rabelais," translated, condensed, edited and annotated by Samuel Putnam, is the best condensation I have seen. And Bernard De Voto, leading authority on Mark Twain, gives us the best of that great writer, including some letters hitherto unpublished, (Viking: \$2 each.)

March 6, 1947

Dr. Marvin Opler
Occidental College
Los Angeles 41, California

Dear Dr. Opler:

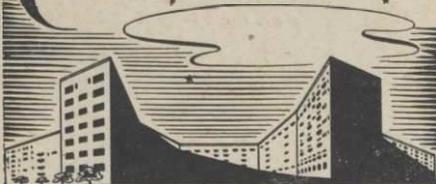
The authors realize that "The Spoilage" is far from perfect and appreciate your illuminating comments. But far from acceding to your request not to "re-duplicate" your letter, I herewith request permission to publish it, at my discretion, in toto. It would, I am sure, throw a great deal of light on your reviews of "The Spoilage."

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

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of the items on my 'must'
program."

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President,
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BOOKS

Tugwell on Puerto Rico

Rexford Guy Tugwell, once the stormy petrel of the New Deal, from 1941 to 1946 governor of Puerto Rico, and always a confessed believer in Planning (with a capital "P"), has written a passionate defense of his embattled stewardship in "The Stricken Land." The problems of Puerto Rico are desperate enough and exciting enough to warrant this book. Even to the reader not overly concerned with Caribbean affairs, at Tugwell's able writing hand the story of the unhappy island is an absorbing one (provided the reader skips the many paragraphs where Tugwell shows his too deep absorption with minor details).

Although Puerto Rico, takes up most of this book, the average reader may well be more interested in Tugwell's discussion of his late chief, President Roosevelt. He reports many conversations with the man who brought him to Washington from Columbia University to play an imposing role in the early days of the New Deal. They do not give a new picture of the wartime President, but they add to the general knowledge of him. Roosevelt, reports Tugwell, believed that the West Indies should be allowed self-government, even at the risk of bad government. Tugwell here puts his sense of history and literary abilities to good use.

For those interested in the economics of democracy, in what the British call "the colonial problem," and in what Americans call "dollar diplomacy," Tugwell's book is an important source of information. It is his own story, from his own viewpoint, but it must be remembered that Tugwell's connection with

Puerto Rican affairs began in 1941 and that no American in the next five years was closer to them than he was. His is a story of a fight for justice for Puerto Rico as Tugwell thought justice should go. (THE STRICKEN LAND. Rexford G. Tugwell. 704 pages. Doubleday. \$4.50.)

The Nisei Injustice

Impelled by fears, real and fancied, of a suspect minority, the Army during the war decreed evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast. Along with Japanese aliens, the Nisei, or American-born citizens of Japanese ancestry, were herded into camps which for many of them became in effect detention pens for the duration. The story of what happened to them, the uprooting of the American heritage they thought they had, and the ambivalent emotions which led some to vindicate themselves by fighting in the American Army, and others to renounce their American citizenship, is a bitter and unbeautiful tale.

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Some of the Japanese aliens and citizens in a West Coast relocation center

International

BOOK REVIEW: The Daily Californian, January 22, 1947

'THE SPOILAGE' DESCRIBES EVACUATION

In "The Spoilage" Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto have presented a factual account of an unprecedented situation in American history--the evacuation and resettlement of Japanese from the west coast during the first months of the war.

The book is essentially a scientific report on observations undertaken by the authors, assisted by other University social scientists. Consequently, the main purpose of the book is to present facts and interpret them in terms of sociology, social anthropology, social psychology and economics. That they have succeeded in presenting these facts in a manner which renders the book interesting to any mature person is a credit not only to their material, but to themselves as well.

The story of the evacuation and resettlement of the Japanese is a fascinating one. During the war, few references were made to them, except when unusual trouble arose in one or another of the nine relocation camps. This is the first presentation of the other side of the picture--the part played by the Japanese themselves and their reactions to the steps taken by the authorities regarding their affairs.

By that, we do not wish to imply that the authors were at all partisan. Conversely, they have given an extremely objective picture of a situation in which it would have been very easy to become partisan to the Japanese or to the administration. This book is a report, not a judgment.

Much human interest was added by the frequent use of actual

cases and quotations expressing the feelings of the internees. (These also serve to clarify the situation and explain the feelings of the Japanese.)

However, regardless of the impartiality of the authors in giving an account of a case in which there was heavy blame on both sides, "The Spoilage" is a powerful indictment against a country whose citizens could blindly and unthinkingly force a group of loyal, hard-working citizens to become "disloyals." The Japanese in this country were either born in the United States or had voluntarily migrated here; most of them knew no other home. They wanted only to be good citizens. But over the years in resettlement camps, they grew increasingly embittered, until at last one in six was forced to proclaim his disloyalty to the United States. They are the Spoilage.

Mary Lou Wiggins '50

THE SPOILAGE

This long awaited study of the effects of the wartime evacuation from the Pacific Coast of 112,000 persons of Japanese ancestry and their subsequent detainment for the duration is an important contribution to the more serious social literature of our time. Its intensive and extensive implications constitute a scientific analysis of human group behavior, a critique of American mores as expressed in official action, and finally a challenge to self-analysis of our democratic ideology.

The publication of The Spoilage was made possible by the resources of the University of California, the support of important foundations, but more largely by the industry and faithful efforts of a group of researchers led by Dr. Dorothy Thomas and Richard Nishimoto.

The publication of The Spoilage represents the end product of long, arduous planning and work under extremely difficult conditions. This, the first volume, deals with the "spoilage" of the evacuation--those persons whose lives and fortunes as a part of America have been permanently and irrevocably impaired by their wartime detention. The second volume, yet to appear, will deal with the experiences of those who resettled voluntarily and who achieved some possibly short-run gains. These objectives and a description of some of the problems encountered in the research phases are presented in the Preface. Then follows the text, arranged in thirteen chapters, supplemented by an appendix, one item of which is a very illuminating Life History of a "Disloyal." The first four chapters deal in general with the evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast, under the headings of Evacuation, Detention, Registration, and Segregation. These were phases that affected almost all members of the group. The final chapter in this group, Segregation, covers the series of events, causes and effects, leading up to the decision of the government to segregate "disloyal" persons of Japanese ancestry in the Tule Lake Relocation Center.

Chapters V to XIII have as their locale and personae dramatis the Tule Lake Center, the persons confined there, and various government officials. These latter chapters describe the events violent and sad, the social and anti-social behavior patterns, the formation of groups for security, defense and aggression, the period of martial law and intimidation, the emergence of such issues as the strike, status quo, and the eternal pulling and hauling between the Caucasian administration and interned persons, which finally led to the tragic denouement--mass renunciation of American citizenship. This covers a period from mid-1943 to the latter part of 1943. (?) The chapters are entitled Revolt, Suppression, Accommodation, Underground, Interlude, Informers, Incarceration, Resegregation, and Renunciation.

Book Review: American Civil Liberties Union-News, January 1947.

Part of the genius of the authors of The Spoilage lies in the effective methodology. While adequate use is made of the chief research materials usually available to social scientists, it is the skillful use of quotations obtained through direct interviews that gives life and movement to The Spoilage. The authors have not obtruded--rather they have let the flow of pertinent quotations by the subjects of the study carry the reader to the heart of the matter. The mass of this material is imposing. Its total effect on the reader is an impression of formidable authenticity and a terrifying sense of intimacy with a rather dreadful human experience. One closes the book with a feeling of foreboding and insecurity. The renunciants have made a decision--our decision is yet to be made.

How simple it all seemed to the American people! How mathematically plain to the government, to the army, to the politicians--to the small fry bureaucracy! Once the decision was reached that these people at large, enjoying freedom, constituted danger, their assemblage and detention were easy. Because of their distinctive physical appearance, it was simple to round them up, simple to put them in relocation centers, and the administration of these internment camps--that would be a cinch. But somehow all these assumptions of simplicity were wrong. It wasn't simple at all, and the basic assumptions were not really valid. The result at Tule Lake anyhow seems to have been an awful mess. Practically everything humanly important went wrong.

The failure seems to have arisen from a lack of comprehension on two points: first, that the fundamental dynamic of freedom works just as well for people of color as for whites. Humanity values personal freedom, and once having tasted it, will fight to maintain it with any weapons that are available.

The second error was even more profound. Mathematical concepts cannot be substituted for human emotions. The War Relocation Authority, the Army, and the FBI at Tule Lake proceeded time and again to ask for simple, categorical answers to mathematically simple questions. They forgot that they weren't dealing with integers but with frightened, insecure human beings. They got some amazing answers. For example? Well--the decision that Joseph Yoshisuke Kurihara, American citizen, college graduate, soldier of World War I, member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, reached in renouncing his American citizenship.

"The decision was not that of today or yesterday. It dates back to the day when General DeWitt ordered evacuation. It was confirmed when he flatly refused to listen to the voices of the former World War veterans and it was doubly confirmed when I entered Manzanar.

" . . . The American democracy with which I was infused in my childhood is still unshaken. My life is dedicated to Japan with democracy my goal."

LAURENCE I. HEWES, Jr.,
Regional Director, American Council

BOOK REVIEW: Los Angeles Times, January 19, 1947

BOOKS and ART

JAPANESE RESETTLEMENT-- Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, with contributions by several others, have prepared a study of Japanese-American evacuation and resettlement in a volume entitled "The Spoilage." (University of California Press: \$3.75.) It is a painful story of misconception and of administrative agencies working at cross-purposes, with the result that many innocent people were badly treated and in many cases transformed from law-abiding, peaceful and loyal citizens into something quite other.

I'll Be Judge, You Be Jury,

by Paul Jordan-Smith

BOOK REVIEW: Oakland Tribune, January 5, 1947.

THE SPOILAGE, by Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto;
University of California Press, Berkeley; \$3.75. Tragic story--
the more moving for its factual scholarly presentation--of the
Japanese-American minority turned against their accepted country
by treatment and policies in "relocation" camps.

BREVITIES ON CURRENT VOLUMES
GIVE PREVIEW OF LITERARY OUTPUT

BOOK REVIEW: Post-Enquirer, December 21, 1946

THE SPOILAGE--

A day-to-day recorded study of forced mass migration copiously documented, the book traces the events of wartime evacuation of the 127,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living in the United States at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack. Most of the book is concerned with the problems presented on the West Coast where 113,000 of the evacuees resided.

The methods used by the authors to gather documented material make the book one which was described as "a contemporary record unique in the annals of social science" in the annual report of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Informational support was given by the War Relocation Authority, the War Department, the Department of Justice and the American Civil Liberties Union by making available various data for study by the authors.

"The main problem of the study," the authors write, "was to record and analyze the changes in behavior and attitudes and the patterns of social adjustment and interaction of the people to whom these (Government) policies and regulations were applied."

By Earle V. Weller

BOOK REVIEW: Fortnight, January 27, 1947

THE SPOILAGE--

This important book on the Japanese-American evacuation and resettlement looks as formidable as most source books (footnotes, quotations from official documents, bibliography, references, etc.), but turns out to be very readable, sentence by sentence. Not that the story of what happened to the Nisei during the war is told in emotional journalese. The study is factual and fascinating, both in relation to the orientation and mores of the group interned and the motives of the Army and other forces contributing to their evacuation. Authors Thomas and Nishimoto are, in effect, only assemblers of the exhaustive information gathered by a group of U.C. social scientists who focused on the problem early in 1942. At that, only part of the story could be compressed into this volume, and others are scheduled to follow. It is safe to say that "The Spoilage" will be required reading for years to come by Californians who are interested in the problem of minorities--the Japanese one in particular.

BOOK REVIEW: NEW YORK TIMES, February 2, 1947.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE TULE LAKE "SEGREGANTS"

That the mass evacuation of 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry from the three Western Coast States--persons two-thirds of whom were citizens of the United States--was the most important single blunder that we made during the war, from the point of view of furthering a democratic strategy, is a conclusion overwhelmingly fortified by this scholarly, objective, thoroughly documented study. Furthermore, mass evacuation was a dynamic blunder: it set in motion a chain of decisions, a fatal logic of illogic, the consequences of which will haunt the conscience of American democracy for years to come.

"The Spoilage," as the title implies, deals almost exclusively with a single aspect of the evacuation program--namely, with the segment of evacuees branded as "disloyal," the Tule Lake segregants, who made up one out of every six of the evacuees. Another volume, based on the same research project, to be published in the future, will deal with "the salvage," that is, with the "loyal" evacuees.

The basic fact about the mass evacuation program was that the order for mass evacuation represented a serious error, an error which, once committed, could never be fully corrected and from which other errors, mistakes and injustices flowed as a natural consequence. Once mass evacuation had been ordered by the military, subsequent detention of the evacuees followed as a matter of course. Then, in a commendable effort to unwind the diabolical chain of cause and effect which had thus been set in motion, the Government decided to separate "the loyal" from "the disloyal" among the evacuees and to release the former. As part of this process, the so-called "disloyal" evacuees were concentrated in

N.Y. Times

the Tule Lake relocation center.

For reasons far too complex to summarize here (they are set forth in this volume with meticulous care and elaborate documentation), the segregation process, largely based as it was upon a verbal inquiry addressed to the adult evacuees rather than upon some objective appraisal of their behavior prior to evacuation, dismally failed to accomplish its objective. Thus there came to be lodged in the Tule Lake center thousands of evacuees who had been branded as "disloyal" for reasons that, in a clear majority of cases, had almost no relation whatever to their political sentiments and allegiances.

Once lodged in Tule Lake, administrative blunders, the accumulated irritations of evacuation, the confusion and insecurity of detention, the serious intimidation practiced by a core of intransigent evacuees, family loyalties, and many other factors, finally resulted in a wave of renunciations of citizenship by evacuees-- renunciations starkly tragic in terms of their personal and social implications. The final, ironic commentary on the segregation process occurred after the defeat of Japan, when the Government, in its anxiety to work a speedy termination to the folly of evacuation, shipped some of the "renunciants" to Japan but released for resettlement in America approximately 3,000 evacuees previously branded as "disloyal." These individuals are now in the "unprecedented and ambiguous" status of citizens who have become aliens ineligible to citizenship in the land of their birth!

So far as the Tule Lake segregants are concerned, the central conclusion of this book is to be found in a single paragraph:

N.Y. Times

With mass renunciation of citizenship by the Nisei and Kibei, the cycle which began with evacuation was complete. Their parents had lost their hard-won foothold in the economic structure of America. They themselves had been deprived of rights which indoctrination in American schools had led them to believe inviolable. Charged with no offense, but victims of a military misconception, they had suffered confinement behind barbed wire. They had been stigmatized as disloyal on grounds often far removed from any criterion of political allegiance. They had been at the mercy of administrative agencies working at cross-purposes. They had yielded to parental compulsion in order to hold the family intact. They had been intimidated by the ruthless tactics of pressure groups in camp. They had become terrified by reports of the continuing hostility of the American public, and they had finally renounced their irreparably depreciated American citizenship.

This is a completely fair, a fully substantiated, conclusion. I would only cavil at the phrase "military misconception." Mass evacuation came about, not as a result of a military misconception, but largely as a result of a pre-war pattern of racial discrimination on the West Coast.

Ironically enough, some of the best proof, in terms of behavior rather than of words, of the tenacious hold of democratic ideals upon Japanese-Americans is to be found in the attitudes of the so-called "disloyal" evacuees. The case history of Joseph Kurihara, who served with the United States Army in the first World War, amply demonstrates this point. Kurihara, who renounced American citizenship in the Tule Lake center, speaks the unmistakable language of the American tradition at its finest in his own narrative, set forth in an appendix to this book. He was bitter about evacuation, but, as one administrative official observed, he was "bitter and sore in an American way," and it was essentially his devotion to American democracy that prompted his resistance to a procedure which deeply

N.Y. Times

violated the principles and ideals of that democracy.

For those who have a special interest in the mass evacuation program, "The Spoilage" is an indispensable chronicle and record. Considered as a contribution to the social sciences, which is what it purports to be, the book poses a large question. As the initial publication of a lavishly financed research project--financed by grants from the Rockefeller, Giannini, and Columbia foundations--"The Spoilage" is published at so late a date as to be completely without influence (except perhaps as a post-mortem commentary) upon the tragic pattern of events with which it deals.

Carey McWilliams

BOOK REVIEW: The Chicago Sun, January 26, 1947

DEMOCRACY BETRAYED AND AFFIRMED

Failure and success in race relations--the betrayal and the affirmation of democracy--are strongly presented in two new books: "The Spoilage" by Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto; and "Hawaii's Japanese" by Andrew W. Lind. Both books have been written by sociologists. Both present authoritative scientific conclusions based upon exceptionally thorough and careful investigative studies. Both richly deserve careful reading.

Most thoughtful Americans have long since realized that the wholesale evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry from coastal areas in the early months of the war and their subsequent confinement in concentration camps were tragic and costly mistakes. But to realize fully how tragic and how costly were these major violations of democratic principles, it is necessary to read in "The Spoilage" the day-by-day record of what happened to many of those who were American citizens and of their reactions.

ALIENS IN THEIR NATIVE LAND

The process is summarized on the final page of "The Spoilage": "Their parents had lost their hard-won foothold in the economic structure of America. They, themselves, had been deprived of rights which indoctrination in American schools had led them to believe inviolable. Charged with no offense, but victims of a military misconception, they had suffered confinement behind barbed wire. They had been stigmatized as disloyal on grounds often far removed from any criterion of political allegiance. They had been at the mercy of administrative agencies working at cross-purposes. They had yielded to parental compulsion in order to hold the family intact.

The Chicago Sun

They had been intimidated by the ruthless tactics of pressure groups in camp. They had become terrified by reports of the continuing hostility of the American public, and they had finally renounced their irreparably depreciated American citizenship."

The wholesale injustice and bungling cruelty of evacuation and confinement transformed thousands of useful and law-abiding citizens into lifelong enemies of the nation and of democracy, whether they return to Japan or remain "in the unprecedented and ambiguous status" of aliens in their native land.

"The Spoilage" is written with scientific objectiveness, but reading it is a searching emotional experience. It is so concrete in detail, so amply documented, that the reader cannot but share the shock, the frustration and fear of the evacuees. Among those whose clamor helped to cause evacuation were some whose purses were fattened by dispossession of Japanese farmers and merchants, and some whose bigotry and race hatred were fed. But all of us share in some degree a national guilt not readily to be atoned. And none of us can escape the lesson of what could happen to other groups, what can happen to any group, once constitutional guarantees are violated and justice is abandoned.

HAWAIIAN JAPANESE PROVE LOYALTY

Rumors of Japanese sabotage at Pearl Harbor were seized upon as pretexts for evacuation and confinement of Japanese citizens on the mainland. Those rumors were false, without exception, as statements by military authorities and those of the Federal Bureau of Investigation have made clear.

The Chicago Sun

In Hawaii those of Japanese ancestry constitute not a relatively tiny minority, but over 30 percent of the population. But the Hawaiian government and a majority of the white citizens of the islands gave their Japanese citizens a chance to prove their loyalty; and they were completely justified by the results. Of more than 160,000 Japanese in the islands, including 30,000 foreign born, less than 1,000 were interned as disloyal in word or action. The overwhelming majority worked in war industries, bought war bonds generously, carried their full share of the war effort. When 1,500 Japanese volunteers for the American Army were asked for in Hawaii, nearly 10,000 tried to enlist.

The story of this greatly successful experiment in democracy is brilliantly told in "Hawaii's Japanese." The author, Andrew W. Lind, has lived in Hawaii for 20 years and is chairman of the department of anthropology and sociology at the University of Hawaii. The book is soundly scientific in spirit but is written in a way eminently satisfactory to the general reader. The record it presents is profoundly significant and deeply reassuring.

I'VE BEEN READING

By John T. Frederick

OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
Los Angeles 41, California

Department of
Economics and
Sociology

3-1-47

Dear Dr. Thomas:

I'm afraid I've been remiss in thanking you for "filing my order" with the U.C. press. Thereupon I received three review copies from such diverse sources as the Pasadena Star-News and the American Anthropologist, drat it, and now have four copies piled up on my desk. I've looked through completely, --my usual preliminary,-- and now am almost through on the "careful second" re-reading. But before this acknowledgment could be made, the separation of the above two departments and the working out of a new integrated program under what will be the Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology had to be effected.

May I say frankly that so far I like many, many things in the Spoilage but that I was greatly disappointed in many other aspects obviously connected with methodology, field technique and personnel? In the light of these facts, it seems unfortunate, in retrospect, that we never had the occasion of a discussion of Tule Lake. I suggest one sometime, if you get down this way, in the near future. And I may pass through Berkeley this summer, end of August, on the way south again from a more northerly summer teaching appointment, if other arrangements fall.

Before then, however, I'd welcome your reactions to some of the following critical queries which it is only proper, perhaps, to state frankly:

(1) I wonder if you were made completely aware of how much of the material of Rosalie came--(in no doubt changed and slanted form)-- from regular evening conferences at my or Noyes' house, and from my

material on local administration? This tactic was not, I think, "administrative research," but more in the nature of an "orientation course." (Certain other tactics with which I complied, like furnishing notes of the November meetings and getting transcripts of meetings from locked files might, more properly, come under the heading of "administrative research.") But not attempted raids on C. Anal. staff, use of our office, etc. For example, one letter in my files to a staff member (graduate of UCLA) elaborately set forth in tones that amused our entire bunch why one could not work in the barrack-rooms entitled "Community Analysis" and how her accts. of the "true picture" of things would be something of a splendid relief. The man, Tai Inagu, father of five other children, had to be instructed by the 16 other staff members--and several visitors to that meeting (they were open)--to kid her along in her view of the "true state" of affairs as a way of forestalling more upsetting modes of aggression. Other problems, of a basically similar nature, obtruded earlier in re: Jimmy S-----a who came regularly for sheafs of notes to myself or the Planning Board office--(and we were working, in some respects, closely together with Mayeda, (Harry), Father Dai, Mrs. Yashida, etc., etc., etc.)--and frankly, in the opinion of most project-dwellers, wasted most peoples' time. What I am hinting at under this point is the variance between good field-technique and uncritical note-gathering. Also such errors as reliance, in the main, on a feminine field-worker in an Issei-Kibei dominated segregation center; with uncritical acceptance and over-identification in accts. of Kurahara, Kuratomi, and other non-average and in some cases highly aberrant personalities.

(2) Did you know "we" knew Nov. 1 was coming off but had no way,

other than the "Negotiation" groups' own "splendid" controls, of achieving at that point any solution which would not trouble the waters by possible Army entree?*

(3) Did you know that attempts to clear the Stockade included not only the Robertson visit in Block 5, but an elaborate process of Robertson-Opler mediation which was most annoyingly checked, in a most underhanded manner, by the same persons in Stockade - via cigarette messages - who are overstressed and over-dignified in the book as positive center leadership? (K--- among others.) You may be interested to know that R's reaction, in view of his rather unusual background and personality, was Xian forgiveness in true missionary spirit. Mine was determination to study the "inside Stockade" picture--never revealed to Rosalie, of course, though the "pumping" was considerable,--because of concern over certain indiscretions on her part which might follow. In so doing, the following, inter alia:

(4) Did you know that the entire Stockade vs. Co-ordinating Comm. picture was hopelessly complicated by the existence, in each camp, of a rival group of gamblers? (My personal--and not public--files contain common peoples' reactions to these groups in their blocks; and their fear-ridden attempts to get them, in some instances, to move out? That this gave impetus to rumors and counter-rumors, in each group? That it affected both the rise and fall of Stockade "consciousness"?¹

** I argued with weakening force, cajoled, flattered and entreated both friend, George, and friend, Best, during the weeks trouble was brewing, but George was a prima donna at T.L. and Best a confused boy.

1. First: "those gamblers and inu"; later, "those Stockade gamblers."

(5) That Spicer spent a month on the project to check the Army Colonel's chagrin at my manœuvering the project, via one branch of the Co-ord. Comm., out of their (Army) hands; that the Colonel had me FBI-ed; that Hanky, Kurahara, etc. were entirely oblivious of these events?

(6) That to achieve Stockade liquidation, I wrote personally channeled reports to Washington, got Provinse out, him conferring with Tsuda, etc., whereupon the Washington office fell down in carrying through and my hope for liquidation waited the 10 months you can therefore record?

(7) That block surveys on "no-report" meant fear (and fear of Stockade-supporters mostly, tho' immoderates and other varieties) in relation to the famous status-quo vote? Our staff of 16, a contact list of 50, and surveys in practically every block that night from the dinner hour on out attest to this blotting out of the "conservative vote": The 9-to-1 "trouncing."

(8) That perhaps the most gratuitous bit of meddling in T.L. was Rosalie's effort to convince Burling and Justice Authorities of how bad the situation was when we were trying to make apparent the cultural-revivalistic (and Ghost Dance of 1890) tendency of a pent-up hopeless people.² We would take B----- down to visit families, advised him against the famous Biddle letter to Sakamoto, etc., and then R---- would, over beer and skittles put on an act more interesting to a basically, prejudiced and sadistic man. (This meant, in my life, the challenge of staying at T.L. one extra year to help in

2. Burling's whole line "of how little WRA understood how bad it all was" dated from R's act.

clearing out [with saner men, like Noyes, Rothstein of the J.D., Professor Hays of Columbia Law School (under Mitigation-hearing rules) and countless others] the 6,000 renunciants who were the results, in part, of such false emphases and guessing. A story here is also a-propos: While we wrote 1000's of letters, aided legally and in 1000's of hearings and spent the last year largely on renunciation a girl working with my wife appealed several times to R---- for a "mitigation" letter on "loyalty" and got too late for use an unutterable piece about her having worked for this most notable Bachelor of Arts (with no mention of anything remotely useful).

I hope I've made it clear what I feel, (of several qualified to speak) are pitfalls in using untrained and "romantically" non-scientific field workers. In Billigmeier, I might add, there was, pre-segregation, a profoundly astute and ethically-integrated worker. He should have remained to substitute accurate measurement of reactive systems for the reams of billingsgate and redundancy in half-truths which must have obtruded.

(9) My only other point, in this brief and obviously "out-of-the-tube" ribboning of opinion (without, I admit, the documentation) is to suggest that my official reports must be taken, in certain dated periods, cum grano salis. For not only Ned Spicer, but John Provinse came out, and re-iterated at one Denver meeting, that my tactic, if I were to remain "in" to effect a situation which no one else knew in its complexity, would have to be to stop needling Best with perspectives he couldn't possibly understand. Best, you know, had been Dies-investigated with Myer and any firing of one would make both look "suspect" in the eyes of the historic Muse. Best,

politically speaking, could not go. I "could not upset him." So my best reporting became verbal, telephonic, and "for my files" or in letters to Ned and speeches at Conferences:--at many points this is precisely where you footnote "what Analysis says." My view of the people is in a personal unduplicated file along with the statistical measures. (And in a tiny bit in the Jl. of Folklore,--for their poetry of escape and more common voice). In Washington, I must admit, I tore down this inutile file further and built it into my record. So it is highly incomplete, even the "official parts."

Could you please, if you care to comment on these points or not, return this letter without re-duplicating it since many of the points are ones I simply wish to hold up for final treatment? My point here,--in this seemingly strange request,--is that there are two court cases on the books and in one of them John Burling and I are engaged in a battle of wits. I'm afraid The Spoilage has been referred to by him and contains enough quotes (of out-of-context possibilities), on the usual red-herring of "disloyalty,"--for Burling to use the book uncritically. My own tactic would then be, not to debate the book, but to blast him with data on several of the points, above, on which he is rather unversed. The opposition-to-renunciation of the Stockaders is one that has been quoted back to me. But "little does he know" of the reputation of "gamblers" which nullified a leadership function. And don't get me wrong--huge chunks of Spoilage are excellent. Only: you or Bob Billigmeier or ? should have participated in on the spot field work.

Sincerely,

/s/ Marvin Opler

BOOK REVIEW: Far Eastern Survey, "Books on the Pacific Area,"
March 26, 1947, p. 72.

This is a study of the effects of the wartime evacuation from the Pacific Coast of 112,000 persons of Japanese ancestry and the subsequent detention of a larger proportion of them for the duration. It is an analysis of human group behavior, a critique of American mores as expressed in official action, and finally a challenge to self-analysis of our democratic ideology.

The Spoilage was made possible by a combination of the resources of the University of California and important foundation support, but more largely by the faithful industry of a group of researchers led by Dr. Dorothy Thomas of the University of California and Richard Nishimoto.

This publication is the end product of long, arduous planning and research under extremely difficult conditions. The first volume (a second volume is now in preparation) deals with the "spoilage" of the evacuation--those persons whose lives and fortunes have been seriously impaired by their experience.

The objectives of the entire study and a description of some of the problems encountered in the research phases are stated in the Preface. The text is arranged in thirteen chapters, supplemented by an appendix, one item of which is a very illuminating life history of a "Disloyal." The first four chapters deal in general with the evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast, under the headings of Evacuation, Detention, Registration, and Segregation. These were phases that affected almost all members of the group. The final chapter in this group, Segregation, covers the series of events, causes, and effects leading up to the decision of the government to segregate "disloyal" persons of Japanese ancestry in the Tule Lake Relocation

Center. This period extends from early spring 1942 to mid-1943.

Chapters V to XIII have as their locale and personae dramatis the Tule Lake Center in California, the persons confined there, and various government officials. These latter chapters describe events violent and sad; the social and anti-social behavior patterns; the formation of groups for security, defense, and aggression; the period of martial law and intimidations; the emergence of such issues as the strike, status quo, the illegal imprisonment of agitators, and the hunger strike; the eternal pulling and hauling between the Caucasian administration and interned persons, all leading to the tragic denouement--mass renunciation of American citizenship. These events occur from mid-1943 to the latter part of 1944. The chapters are entitled Revolt, Suppression, Accommodation, Underground, Interlude, Informers, Incarceration, Resegregation, and Renunciation.

Skillful use has been made of many direct quotations obtained through interviews. These give the book life and movement. The authors have not obtruded; rather they have let the flow of pertinent quotations by the subjects of the study carry the reader to the heart of the matter. The mass of this material is imposing. Its total effect on the reader is an impression of authenticity and a feeling of intimacy with a rather dreadful human experience.

Once the decision was reached that these people of Japanese ancestry, at large, enjoying freedom, constituted danger, their assemblage and detention was easy. Because of their distinctive physical appearance, it was simple to round them up, simple to put them in relocation centers, and it was presumed that the administration of the internment camps would also be a cinch. But somehow all

these assumptions of simplicity were wrong. It wasn't simple at all. The result at the Tule Lake Center anyhow seems to have been an awful mess.

The failure seems to have arisen from a lack of comprehension on several points. First, the fundamental dynamic of freedom works just as well for people of color as for whites. Humanity values personal freedom, and once having tasted it, will fight to maintain it with any weapons that are available.

The second error was even more profound. Mathematical concepts cannot be substituted for human emotions. The War Relocation Authority, the Army, and the FBI at Tule Lake proceeded time and time again to ask the internees for simple, categorical answers to mathematically simple questions. They forgot that they weren't dealing with integers but with frightened, insecure human beings. They got some amazing answers. When a young man was asked, "Are you a dual citizen?" he replied, "No, we are not dual citizens. But in the first place if we are citizens, how come we are in these camps? . . . How come they took the citizens? How come they didn't intern Willkie, LaGuardia and Mayor Rossi?" (p. 96)

Third, Americans don't seem to make very good concentration camp operators. It's not in our tradition. On the other hand, we display an alarming lack of social skills and therefore rather complete incompetence in situations requiring their use.

The authors of The Spoilage imply that there is a woeful gap between American social intent and American social techniques. Our official intentions toward persons of Japanese ancestry were, on the whole, not consciously malicious or wicked. In some cases it was downright benevolent. So, perhaps the most serious charge is that of uncertainty by Americans on the question of how to preserve

the essentials of human dignity. This uncertainty, as the authors show, was manifest throughout the whole period in the activities of all agencies responsible for formulating policy or in executing it. The Army, the FBI, the War Relocation Authority, and Congress all worked at cross purposes. For the victims this resulted in discouragement and frustration.

The pressure of this experience was so harrowing that in a number of instances repudiation of American citizenship was a distinct relief. These questions then arise: Is the term spoilage reversible? Was America spoiled for those repudiating it, or was individual impairment the more important aspect? The first alternative seems worth pondering.

- Laurence I. Hewes, Jr.
Regional Director
American Council on Race Relations

BOOK REVIEW: The Christian Science Monitor

'SPOILAGE' OF EVACUATION:

Tragedy of Japanese-Americans By Robert R. Brunn

Berkeley, Calif.

Dr. Dorothy Thomas and Richard Nishimoto work in three rooms lined with steel filing cabinets, amid tables and chairs stacked high with roughly bound typewritten reports and the careful disorder of work in progress. They are the nation's foremost authorities on what many consider to be the American tragedy of World War II--mass evacuation of 110,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

Dick Nishimoto was born in Tokyo, and came to America when a youth to attend Lowell High School in San Francisco and Stanford University, where he graduated as an engineer in 1929. He is thin, alert, still talks with a trace of an accent.

Dr. Thomas is one of the country's foremost sociologists, and came to the University of California in January, 1940, after many years at Yale, Columbia, London University, and points east. Her boyish bob and dark-rimmed glasses only serve to emphasize one thing--that she is a seeker of facts.

Story of Mass Evacuation

Together, Dr. Thomas and Mr. Nishimoto, with Nisei and other associates, have been gathering facts since the day in March, 1942, when Dr. Thomas "saw a forced mass evacuation and said let's study it." She praises "the extraordinary attitude" of Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, President of the University, and the University regents, who not only approved but encouraged what came to be known as the

University of California Evacuation and Resettlement Study.

The first product of the study is a 383-page book, "The Spoilage," co-authored by Dr. Thomas and Mr. Nishimoto. It is an after-evacuation study of the so-called "disloyal" evacuees-- those of the immigrant generation who have been sent to Japan and those of the second American generation who renounced their citizenship while in the war camps. "The Spoilage" explains the pressures upon the attitudes of this "disloyal" group--one out of every six evacuees.

The last chapter of "The Spoilage" is being written in San Francisco, where Federal Judge A.F. St. Sure is reading the mass of evidence in the famous citizenship renunciation cases. His decision will affect the liberty of 400 renunciants held by the Department of Justice and the citizenship of some 3,550 persons who, it is claimed, renounced their citizenship under duress.

Those who argue duress believe the renunciants were disillusioned by their treatment as second-class citizens, and urged to action by those basically disloyal, who used the "concentration camp" atmosphere to take advantage of them. The evacuation and concentration in desert camps was hard to take, particularly for those who had been educated in American schools to believe in their democratic heritage.

'Salvage' is Final Chapter

Aside from the "spoilage" of one in six, there was the "salvage" of one in three--those who left the concentration centers to go to the East and Middle West. Dr. Thomas and Mr. Nishimoto

are now deep in writing "The Salvage," which will complete their study.

The two collaborators feel that the most valuable result of their wartime compilation will be the mass of source material which will be available to students at the University of California Library after "The Salvage" is written. A good example is the Kikuchi diary--more than eight feet of typewritten pages.

When you ask these serious people if the Japanese-American "problem" is solved, they say "No." What becomes of the "residue" of the evacuation will be the answer, they say.

The extent to which the renunciants, if freed, are taken into community life; whether with increasing unemployment Japanese-Americans will be "first to be fired"; the re-establishment or not of Japanese ghettos in Pacific Coast cities; the attitude of traditional anti-Oriental pressure groups on the Pacific Coast under economic pressure--these questions must be answered first.

Mr. Brunn is a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

April 4, 1947

Dear Dorothy,

Do you
mind showing the
enclosed to the revised
editor of the O. J. Cal Press,
and ask him to
send me anything
he wants mentioned?

We don't

do you + W. I. Jean,
+ wish you were
here.

My love to you both
Helen

Wages in the building trades are higher than in most industries; thus employment and spending can be set in motion by easy loans. Sometimes taxes act as a subsidy, and at other times hidden bounties may be the means of minimizing complaints from taxpayers.

Government agencies are listed, explained, and in some instances found wanting. What is not wanting is any item concerned with the building industry, its history and possibilities. This book should be carefully read by all interested in construction and its allied branches.

GUIDE POSTS TO WALL STREET

by Joseph Mindell

Forbes Publishing Co., 64 pp.

"Guide Posts" is a small paper book of real merit, especially for the less seasoned Wall Street analyst. It succeeds in portraying some obscure areas in financial reasoning, lists excellent sources of information, and explains technical measurements. Many will find "Guide Posts" a welcome and a readable exposition.

PRICES AND BUSINESS IN 1947

by H. C. Kuthe

Business Bourse, 271 pp, \$3.00

The author believes the monetary disequilibrium must be remedied by reducing the supply of money. Federal Reserve Banks are holding some \$23 billion of Government securities. The sale of these assets would reduce reserve funds, and, in addition to this, the reserve banks might raise reserve requirements that rest on member banks. Inflationary developments can be set in motion through gold imports.

Qualitative credit control is basically sound, but its influence on any inflationary danger cannot be great.

During the fiscal year of 1946-47 the national demand for capital funds is likely to exceed the supply

of current monetary savings; then will come the danger of the United States being faced with a shortage of capital funds, which might result not only in inflation but also in a severe nakedness depression. The author's conclusion is that we are menaced by possible inflation and threatened by a serious shortage of current savings.

THE SPOILAGE

by Dorothy S. Thomas and
Richard Nishimoto

Univ. Calif. Press, 2,228 pp, \$3.75

One of the problems taxpayers face is that of how their funds are to be spent. After reading the "Spoilage" they will know all about at least one Government project with a high cost, and considerable carelessness in the use of cash. The book tells about projects begun, then abandoned, of committees that never did more than meet, and of other wasted movements. The manner in which co-operatives thrive under any circumstances should be noted. Although there is little of direct boon to stock exchange practice, this book will illuminate much that is wrong in Government undertakings and for this reason should be known.

TRENDS IN AMERICAN PROGRESS

by Investors Syndicate

Minneapolis, Minn., 66 pp

Most analysts have dreamed of finding some bound volume of factual data. The Investors Syndicate of Minneapolis collected tables of several series of importance. These are for data from 1894 to the present and include, among other items, housing, commercial failures, national income, money in circulation, loan rates, foreign trade, and harvests. The book is neatly bound, a useful compilation, and of great value to students; it may be had for the asking.

BOOK REVIEW: Population Index, April, 1947

(*School of Public Affairs, Princeton University*)

JAPANESE AMERICAN EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT

In 1942 a group of social scientists in the University of California planned an interdisciplinary study of the evacuation, detention, and resettlement of the Japanese minority living on the west coast of the United States. The first volume resulting from that study, The Spoilage, by Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, "analyzes the experiences of that part of the minority group whose status in America was impaired: those of the immigrant generation who returned, after the war, to defeated Japan; those of the second generation who relinquished American citizenship. It is, thus, concerned with the short-run 'spoilage' resulting from evacuation and detention; the stigmatization as 'disloyal' to the United States of one out of every six evacuees; the concentration and confinement of this group in the Tule Lake Center; the repressive measures undertaken by government agencies, including martial law, incarceration and internment; the successive protest movements of the group against these repressions, culminating in mass withdrawal from American citizenship....It is presented as...a unique record and analysis of the continuing process of interaction between government and governed, through the point-by-point reproduction of stages in the process of attitude formation." (P. xii.)

The second volume of the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement study will analyze the short-run salvage, i.e., those who were dispersed and resettled in the East and Middle West. In addition, there will be at least two monographs, one dealing with the political and administrative aspects of evacuation and resettlement, the other with the ecology of "disloyalty."

To summarize The Spoilage is manifestly impossible, for it is almost four hundred pages of distilled documentation of an extraordinarily complex process of social interaction and social adjustment. Its relevance to formal demography is limited if viewed within the narrow focus of the existing content of the discipline; if viewed within the broader compass of the evolving world of the mid-twentieth century, its contribution may approach that made by W.I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki when their The Polish Peasant in Europe and America deepened the study of the international migration of an earlier period from demographic balance-sheet to social process. The Japanese Americans who were transferred and resettled because they had become categories rather than individuals were a small group, but in Europe and the Far East millions of people have become migratory pawns in the changing relations of states in a world in which both the right to migrate and the right to remain stationary have been lost. The detailed processes of individual adjustment and social transformation doubtless differ sharply among the various groups of people moved, re-moved, or subject to movement, but the findings of The Spoilage indicate that comprehensive research and meticulous planning are necessary if the tragic waste of the American transfer is not to be duplicated a thousand-fold in areas whose economic and cultural resiliency is already precariously limited.

BOOK REVIEW: Social Forces, May, 1947.

Everybody knows about Pearl Harbor and the hysterical presidential proclamations of December 7-8, 1941, subjecting 127,000 American Japanese, 80,000 American born, to loss of personal liberties, evacuation, detention, and resettlement. These things are described in this book. The study is conceptualized on the basis of sociology, anthropology, political science, social psychology, and economics. Much of this immense scope must be realized, however, by implication and inference because of difficulties in getting various kinds of data. The three main laboratories of the study were the Tule Lake project in Northern California, the Poston project in Arizona, and Minidoka project in Idaho. The study combines the typical prodigiousness of Miss Thomas and the meticulous perseverance of her Japanese-American colleagues.

The study recounts in spine-chilling vividness the evacuation, confinement, and segregation of the "loyal" and "disloyal"; the inevitable rise of discontentment, strikes, violence, threats, and martial law; the subsequent apathy, passive resistance, underground activities, suspicious beatings, and murder growing out of frustration and internal dissent; and the final mass renunciation of American citizenship.

It is only by great effort that one can forbear a detailed excursion into the many stupidities that were consummated upon this helpless minority guilty only of having fled to this country in search of refuge from the self-same indignities and persecutions to which they were subjected by military misconception and of

being born of Japanese parentage. Needless to say, the constitutional and statutory guarantees of 99 per cent of the American population were sacrificed upon the altars of chauvinism in order that one per cent might not escape an undeserved vengeance. (No part of this comment can be imputed directly to the authors.)

A study of this type virtually defies either schematic analysis or objective criticism. It is written somewhat like one would try to imagine an elaborate case study divided into integral parts with thorough authentication. Important as the subject is, the style of the text keeps it from being compelling reading matter. Students of the social psychology of conflict and accommodation will find the study a fertile source of much needed information. Social scientists in general will find it a record of social history and consequences of what appears to be unexcelled fidelity. The American public cannot afford to allow it to escape the attention of the executive branches of the government, if the survival of democracy is one of its ambitions.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

The Spoilage. By DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS and RICHARD C. NISHIMOTO, with contributions by ROSALIE A. HANKEY, JAMES M. SAKODA, MORTON GRODZINS, FRANK MIYAMOTO. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946. Pp. xx + 388. \$3.75.

In 1942 a group of social scientists at the University of California began a study of the evacuation, detention, and resettlement of the Japanese minority in this country. This publication is the first of a number which will give a social-cultural analysis of the main elements of this entire program.

Originally the evacuation of all Japanese Americans from the Western Defense Command was viewed as a military precaution following the shock of Pearl Harbor. It was assumed that, aside from some outright dangerous aliens who would be locked up, the bulk of the evacuees would be allowed to settle in the inland sections of the country. But the widespread public reaction to this idea forced the federal government to set up separate camps in which the Japanese—both native born and foreign born—could reside for the duration.

This particular volume tells the story of what happened at the Tule Lake Segregation Center. Due to misunderstanding and resentment on the part of many Japanese toward the whole idea of segregation, and due to the inept administrative policy and practice of the War Relocation Authority, there developed a series of conflicts marked by accusations on both sides, and by strikes, riots, and homicide. In the early months, however, leadership among the evacuees was in the hands of moderate organizations and individuals. As the relations among the evacuees themselves and between the Japanese colony as a whole and the administration became more tense, the leadership of the evacuees passed to more antagonistic groups and persons. In the end there was an almost hysteric mass movement among the residents of Tule Lake in favor of renouncing their American citizenship.

For cultural anthropology and sociology the study reveals the limitations as well as the extent of our acculturation of the Japanese. Among the

Ames Rev

June '47

Nisei particularly their American ideals were gradually shattered. Moreover, their sense of strong family solidarity and the propaganda of relatively few but highly vocal pro-Japanese elements played distinctive parts in the emergence of more and more hostile reactions on their part. For the social psychologist the book provides useful documentation of the role of conflict in developing leadership and strong solidarity among dissident groups and of the place of intra-group tensions among the evacuees themselves, characterized by rumors and fear of informers. There is also a good picture of the shifts in attitude through time. Initially there was dismay, confusion, and uncertainty balanced by a faith that they would, in the end, be well treated. Finally, however, a large percentage had a sense of being most unjustly persecuted and many showed signs of personal disorganization.

The data in this volume are of the case-record variety and the statistical matter is kept at a minimum. As valuable as this volume is, it seems to the reviewer that the authors failed to make use of their materials to combine sociological theory with empirical findings. Nowhere is there a systematic presentation of the processual changes which might have been given if only in schematic and summary form. The reviewer is not suggesting that the authors should have forced their data into any preconceived rigid frame. On the contrary, use might have been made of their excellent materials to test some of the long-standing assumptions about the genesis and course of such basic processes as conflict, cooperation, and accommodation.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Review Clipping
American Sociological Review

June 1947

RECENT BOOKS

9

THE PRESIDENTS AND THE PRESS. BY JAMES E. POLLARD. New York: Macmillan, 1947, 866 p. \$5.00.

A chronicle of each President's relations with the press, from Washington to Truman.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN SECRET INTELLIGENCE. BY GEORGE S. PETTEE. Washington: Infantry Journal, 1946, 120 p. \$2.00.

Dr. Pettee, now on the political science staff at Amherst College, had extensive experience during the war with American intelligence agencies. In this slim volume he criticizes those agencies and puts forward suggestions for a professional intelligence organization to function as an indispensable arm of our defense.

BORN TO FIGHT. BY RALPH B. JORDAN. Philadelphia: McKay, 1946, 208 p. \$2.00.

A very friendly pen portrait of Admiral Halsey.

BUILDERS FOR BATTLE. BY DAVID O. WOODBURY. New York: Dutton, 1946, 415 p. \$7.50.

An illustrated account of the construction, before the war began, of naval air bases on Hawaii, Johnston, Palmyra, Midway and Wake Islands.

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LEGION. BY RICHARD SEELYE JONES. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1946, 393 p. \$3.75.

An authorized account based on the Legion's records.

THE COMING CRISIS. BY FRITZ STERNBERG. New York: Day, 1947, 280 p. \$3.50.

A Marxist warning that a great world economic crisis is inevitable and that the United States will be the spearhead of the "monopolist capitalist elements."

ECONOMIC FREEDOM FOR THE WEST. BY WENDELL BERGE. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1946, 168 p. \$2.50.

An ex-Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Anti-Trust Division opens up a vista of economic development for the Western half of the United States provided it can shake off the shackles of Eastern financial control.

AMERIKA. BY OTAKAR MACHOTKA. Prague: Melantrich, 1946, 336 p. Kč. 150.

Interesting essays on life in the United States by a Czech sociologist who visited the country shortly before the war.

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE. BY STETSON KENNEDY. Garden City: Doubleday, 1946, 372 p. \$3.00.

A southerner turns the spotlight on the "nativeborn Fascism" by which the Negroes are kept in subjection in the South.

THE SPOILAGE. BY DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS AND RICHARD S. NISHIMOTO. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946, 388 p. \$3.75.

A careful study of the psychological effect of "relocation" upon the Japanese-Americans who were confined in various centers during the war.

THE ALIEN AND THE ASIATIC IN AMERICAN LAW. BY MILTON R. KONVITZ. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1946, 299 p. \$3.00.

A study of legislation and the relevant judicial decisions.

HAWAII'S JAPANESE. BY ANDREW W. LIND. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946, 264 p. \$3.00.

This report of a thorough investigation into the wartime behavior of the Japanese-Americans in Hawaii shows that the great majority are loyal Americans and that the few dissidents are not dangerous.

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Foreign Affairs

July 1947

furnished, and located in areas better designed and planned.

Human and political relationships are also discussed. In his introductory chapter the author states his own economic and political position, and outlines the plan of the book. He begins with a brief survey of present conditions, turns next to technical advances and possibilities, and concludes with recommendations. Mr. Teague stresses the importance of preserving political freedom and the free enterprise system. In dealing with the problems of labor, he shows how important it is that labor be given a responsible and profit-sharing position in this system. It is pointed out, also, that to make the parade of technical and social advance possible, the United States must make the start, to set an example to the rest of the world for a necessary advance along the same road. Both the style and content of the book are directed toward the general reader.

Teague, Walter Dorwin. Born 1883. Attended Art Students League, New York, N. Y. Industrial designer. Publication: *DESIGN THIS DAY*; the technique of order in the machine age, 1940.

Teeters, Negley King. *PENOLOGY FROM PANAMA TO CAPE HORN*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, for Temple University Publications, 1946. 269 p. plates, maps. 22 cm. \$3.50. 47-1293.

IN THE summer of 1944 Mr. Teeters made a survey of the crime control systems in Panama and South America under the auspices of the Cultural Relations Division of the U. S. Department of State. The present monograph reports on Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil. Surprising as it may seem, this is the first sizable presentation of the subject for the English-reading public. The absence of earlier reports may well be due to the fact, pointed out by

the author, that with regard to the criminal law itself, the interpretation of the causes of crime, and the handling of offenders, South America has been exposed almost exclusively to Continental European rather than North American influences. Criminal etiology is dominated by the Italian Neo-Lombrosian school and by criminal biology in general; and, as the author points out, where such American prison systems as the Pennsylvania and Auburn have been borrowed, they have been borrowed by way of Europe instead of directly from the United States.

The introductory chapter, *Latin American Penal Practice*, will be of special interest to the criminologist. The detailed surveys of the individual countries are directed to the reader with a special interest in the area. The author is critical, with a few exceptions, of the penal practices of South America, but this is to be expected from the representative of a country which currently subscribes to an entirely different philosophy regarding the interpretation and handling of the crime problem. Any student of South American life will find the book profitable reading, since crime control is, after all, one of the important elements in the culture of any people.

Teeters, Negley King. Born 1896. Educated at Oberlin College, A. B., 1920; Ohio State University, Ph. D., 1931. Professor of sociology, Temple University. Publications: *THEY WERE IN PRISON*, 1937; *NEW HORIZONS IN CRIMINOLOGY* (in collaboration), 1943; *WORLD PENAL SYSTEMS*, 1944.

Thomas, Dorothy Swaine and Nishimoto, Richard S. *THE SPOILAGE*; Japanese American evacuation and resettlement. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1946. 388 p. plates, diags. 24 cm. \$3.75. A 47-1448.

PRESENTED in this book is an objective, documentary report of how one-sixth of the 110,000 Japanese Ameri-

Aug. copy

cans evacuated from the West Coast came to be identified as disloyal to the United States and who constitute "the spoilage." The story is told authoritatively by a sociologist and by a Tokyo-born participant observer in the evacuation. The authors drew on the day by day records kept by more than a dozen social scientists and a score of evacuee participant observers. Most of the story naturally revolves about the Tule Lake relocation center to which disloyal persons were sent from the other nine centers.

Developments are related, the one after the other, that led up to the renunciation of American citizenship by one-sixth of the evacuees. First of all was the expulsion of a minority group from their homes as a precautionary wartime measure; then came detention behind barbed wire until the ten relocation centers could be made ready. Next came registration and the administrative determination of "loyalty" and "disloyalty," with segregation of the disloyal at Tule Lake. There followed revolt, strikes, threats, and violence which were suppressed by martial law. An evacuee co-ordination committee lost status when an underground movement began to emphasize the committee's failure either to provide enough employment or to secure the release of detained persons. As the underground movement gained strength, there was an interlude of apathy, followed by an outburst in which many were called informers, with beatings and murder occurring. When some of the participants were placed in confinement, the disloyal group pressed for resegregation, claiming that more advantages were to be gained by avowed disloyalty than by attempting further to remain loyal to the United States. Such were the conditions back of the mass relinquishment of American citizenship.

Thomas, Dorothy Swaine. Born 1899. Educated at Columbia University, A. B., 1922; University of London, Ph. D., 1924. Professor

of rural sociology, University of California, Berkeley. Director, University of California Evacuation and Resettlement Study. Publications: *SOME NEW TECHNIQUES FOR STUDYING SOCIAL BEHAVIOR*, 1929; *OBSERVATIONAL STUDIES OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR* (in collaboration), 1933; *SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF SWEDISH POPULATION MOVEMENTS, 1750-1933, 1941*; and other works.

Nishimoto, Richard S. Born 1904, Japan. Educated at Stanford University, B. A., 1929. Research assistant, University of California Evacuation and Resettlement Study.

U. S. National Housing Agency. PUBLIC HOUSING DESIGN; a review of experience in low-rent housing. National Housing Agency. Federal Public Housing Authority. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1946. 294 p. illus. (incl. maps, plans) tables, diagrs. 26 cm. paper, \$1.25. 46-2907.

OFFERING the extensive experience collected from nearly four hundred low-rent projects which contained over a hundred thousand dwelling units, *PUBLIC HOUSING DESIGN* is a report on the most satisfactory designs for public housing projects. It covers the whole field of public housing, including such subjects as site analysis and engineering, dwelling types, plans, and construction, land use and planting, the selection, design, and installation of utilities, down to so small a detail as the types of garbage can proper for the rear of garden-type apartments. Emphasis is placed on planning for continued usefulness, on low capital cost, and on construction for low-cost operation, maintenance, and repair.

Although the government's experience has been in the field of public housing, it was gained across wide areas of the United States and is more extensive than that of a private builder is likely to be. Moreover, construction conditions and problems in privately financed projects are similar to

BOOK REVIEW: Pacific Affairs, June 1947.

Of the several clinical studies of America's wartime treatment of its residents of Japanese ancestry, the present is the most thorough. In language of severe objectivity, and with a wealth of documentation rare even in these days of meticulous social investigations, the authors have fashioned a severer indictment of American civilization than have any of the emotionally colored reports of the same episode. A government popularly supported on the ground of its concern for human welfare inflicted during four years every conceivable hardship and humiliation upon a section of its population charged with no crime. It gave way to the hysteria of a small minority; it permitted a mechanical military concept of national security to override the dictates of morality and of common sense; it got itself entangled in contradictions of policy; and it has thus far failed to make even such amends for manifest injustices as involve only financial compensation.

The book itself provides no such conclusion--and, indeed, no summary of findings. Its generalizations are few and intended for the most part to elucidate the external course of events. Little guidance is afforded the reader who desires to cut through the accumulation of observations, excerpts from diaries and letters, official statements, and accounts of local events or personal experiences, to a grasp of essentials. To get the full meaning of these chronicles, he must work hard or use the materials here offered in conjunction with Alexander Leighton's The Governing of Men.

This is not to say that the information here offered has little value for the social scientist. For many purposes it is exceptionally useful. Records of social conflict are too often lacking in the very data that explain their psychological content. In the present instance, they are as complete in every respect and as carefully checked as the most meticulous student may hope for.

There are also many secondary values. For example, the reliability of verbal tests to ascertain attitudes is once again thoroughly exploded. In this instance, the government used it in a futile attempt to separate loyal from disloyal Japanese Americans. As one Issei points out, no inner conflict is involved in being law-abiding--and to that extent loyal to the United States--and at the same time altogether loyal to Japan in feeling. Cultural pluralism does not permit of any tests of attitude in rigid terms of absolutes.

The detailed account of the "revolt" in the segregation center set aside for difficult elements provides an unusually clear picture of the contributions of uncertainty, fear, and resentment to the growth of violence. It tends to confirm the belief held by many social scientists that the success popularly attributed to the machinations of professional agitators has a foundation of fact only in those rare instances when they come upon a scene exactly ripe for them.

Among other matters of special interest to those concerned in social group adjustments is an abundance of information about the effect of the catastrophic interference with the lives of Japanese residents on the Pacific Coast on the relations between young and

old, between those who still have links with the homeland and those who have none.

Of technical interest for social research is the excellent use made in the project that has resulted in this report of "participant observers." Many of these were young highly-trained Japanese Americans who genuinely shared in the emotions of the camp population to which they belonged, yet were able to record their observations and thoughts with a high degree of objectivity. This kind of evidence requires special checks, of course, but in this instance, at least, has proved invaluable.

A second volume will deal with the experiences of that minority of evacuees who, forcibly torn by these events from their homes on the Pacific Coast, found through their dispersal and resettlement in other parts of the United States a new promise of release from the status of half-Americans.

BRUNO LASKER

New York, March 1947

BOOK REVIEW: Saturday Review of Literature, June 7, 1947

TEST OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy. By Andrew W. Lind
Americans: The Story of the 442nd Combat Team. By Orville C. Shirey
The Spoilage: By Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto

It is a commonplace that the full significance of great events often fails to make itself felt until time has put them in the perspective of history. Very few Americans understood, during the clamor for removal of the Japanese from the West Coast in 1942, that our whole concept of civil liberties was on trial. Fewer still knew that when they lent their voices to this demand they were serving as tools of certain pressure groups, and as victims of their own ignorance and emotions. A distressing majority still believes today that resident Japanese in Hawaii committed sabotage at Pearl Harbor.

To set the record straight, to provide the backlighting of scientific inquiry, the coloring of public opinion, and the critique of legality, a considerable literature is growing up around the evacuation and its consequences. A series of ten booklets has been issued by the War Relocation Authority itself--a much maligned agency which under the humane but firm direction of Dillon Myer fought its way through criticism from both liberals and reactionaries in order to preserve what remained of the rights of American citizens uprooted from their homes without accusation or evidence against them, dispossessed through the greed of neighbors and the laxity or dishonesty of both local and Federal officials, held for years in concentration camps without trial, and then threatened with deportation by West Coast pressure groups and some members of

Congress. The story of how these prejudices were fought, of how WRA stuck to its guns and got the evacuees back into the mainstream of American life, and the Japanese Americans into higher public favor than they had ever before enjoyed, is summarized in Dillon Myer's report, "WRA--A Story of Human Conservation."

The thing above all others that lifted the Japanese-Americans from the undeserved abyss of hatred and mistrust was their military record. After the injustice of removal from the Coast, the Nisei had further been struck a bitter blow in their exclusion from the armed forces. Dillon Myer kept after the War Department until in the spring of 1943 the ranks of the army were opened again, though at first only to volunteers. The result was the 442nd Combat Team (the 100th Infantry Battalion from Hawaii had been in constant service since before the outbreak of war, and preceded the 442nd overseas)--an outfit whose valor made headlines all over the country when it began fighting in Europe. It is said to be the most decorated unit of the war. Incredible heroism is always the ironic accompaniment of man's chiefest degradation, but the 442nd really seems to have had more than its share of heroes, from the Rome-Arno campaign through its rescue of the Lost Battalion in the Vosges Mountains and back to the final campaign for Italy. Its story can be read in "Americans: The Story of the 442d Combat Team," a straightforward, plain-spoken narrative of misery and heroism.

"The Spoilage" tells the other side of the story--the story of those who, embittered by losses, ostracism, and imprisonment, finally renounced their American citizenship. Aided by several generous grants and by a number of social scientists, including some Nisei, Dorothy Thomas began her work before the Japanese had been removed

from their homes. Planned originally on a much wider base, her study has been cut down to the present volume and one yet to appear, supported by several monographs.

During the war years certain pressure groups and not a few politicians made quite a noise about the "disloyals" among the Japanese-Americans. Mrs. Thomas and her associates conclude that in most cases it was not loyalty but security the evacuees had in mind when they answered questions regarding their allegiance. Some of them refused to "forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor" because they had never held such allegiance. To be asked to forswear it looked to them like a trick to make them admit that they had once professed loyalty to him. Others, pressed by parents who had lost everything in the evacuation, falsely claimed disloyalty in order to avoid being drafted, and thus made unable to care for their parents. Others, embittered by all the kicking around they had suffered at the hands of their government and angered by the baiting of a hostile press, denied their loyalty out of protest, or said that they could not affirm loyalty to the United States until their liberties were restored. In this group were some of the best Americans, the ones who took their citizenship most seriously.

After registration came segregation of those who had professed themselves "disloyal." As anyone could have predicted, the community established for these people at Tule Lake in northern California was in continuous turmoil. While only a small minority were militantly Japanese, it was this group which gained control. Incidents, such as the accidental death of one of the inmates, were seized upon for

political maneuvering until a threatened revolt led to the use of the Army. When peace had been restored, pro-Japanese elements introduced early morning military exercises, bugle blowing and banzais, which made the camp look like a Tokyo parade ground. Though the active adherents never amounted to more than a few hundred, their activities, added to the ever-present fear of being forced out into a hostile world, led seven out of ten citizens at Tule Lake--including former soldiers in the American Army--to renounce their citizenship.

The cycle which began with evacuation was complete. Their parents had lost their hard-won foothold in the economic structure of America. They, themselves, had been deprived of rights which indoctrination in American schools had led them to believe inviolable. Charged with no offense, but victims of a military misconception, they had suffered confinement behind barbed wire . . . They had been at the mercy of administrative agencies working at cross-purposes. They had yielded to parental compulsion in order to hold the family intact. They had been intimidated by the ruthless tactics of pressure groups in camp. They had become terrified by reports of the continuing hostility of the American public, and they had finally renounced their irreparably depreciated citizenship.

In this fashion we created nearly five thousand men and women without a country. No one can read this factual record of our abrogation of democratic principles without the sober realization of a great injustice that still remains to be righted by enactment of a law to repay a small part of the losses sustained by the evacuees, and by a more enlightened attitude toward evacuation on the part of the Supreme Court.

The futility of this spoilage is brought into focus by Andrew Lind's account of the Japanese in wartime Hawaii. One-third of Hawaii's people were of Japanese ancestry; the Japanese in the

three West Coast states were less than one per cent of the population. In Hawaii they were promised fair and equal treatment, with swift punishment for any who should betray this trust. Those known to have connections with Tokyo were watched and picked up when the surprise attack came. The others continued to fill their vital roles in the Hawaiian economy. They also guarded military objectives, captured Japanese submariners, served as OCD wardens--and suffered more casualties from the Japanese attack than all other racial groups put together.

A sociologist who has taught in the University of Hawaii for nearly twenty years, Andrew Lind is widely familiar with life in Hawaii, where the United States--through fortuitous circumstance rather than initial planning--has created the most hopeful community of interracial harmony in the world today. Without dodging any of the uglier manifestations of prejudice, Professor Lind shows that Hawaii met the test of the war remarkably well. It did so because the military and civilian authorities realized that racial harmony was not an ideal to pay lip service to but a goal that could be achieved.

Professor Lind, whose War Research Laboratory collected a vast amount of first-hand and first-rate material about the attitudes of the many races present in Hawaii, clears up a number of misconceptions about Japanese-Americans. He shows, for instance, that their birth-rate is well below that of most other racial groups. He shows that the American-born children differ so markedly from their alien parents as to suggest that they come of a different stock--thus refuting the thought still prevalent in many uninformed minds that

race determines conduct and attitude. The net effect of the war, he concludes, was to hasten and assist the participation of Japanese-Americans in the broader life of the Hawaiian community.

In a day when democracy seems to be diplomatically on the defensive, it is heartening to find proof of its vitality in this American outpost. If we have to travel to Hawaii to learn how to achieve interracial harmony--a lesson which both our foreign and domestic policy must learn--is it not about time we granted the statehood Hawaii wants and deserves?

Our handling of the Japanese Americans as these books record it, is at once an illustration of our great strength and our great weakness--of the workability of democratic principles when truly applied, as in Hawaii and the 442d, and of our fear to stand by what we profess, as in the evacuation of the West Coast. A clearer demonstration of the meaning and potentiality of American culture could scarcely be given.

BRADFORD SMITH

BOOK REVIEW: American Sociological Review, June 1947.

In 1942 a group of social scientists at the University of California began a study of the evacuation, detention, and re-settlement of the Japanese minority in this country. This publication is the first of a number which will give a social-cultural analysis of the main elements of this entire program.

Originally the evacuation of all Japanese Americans from the Western Defense Command was viewed as a military precaution following the shock of Pearl Harbor. It was assumed that, aside from some outright dangerous aliens who would be locked up, the bulk of the evacuees would be allowed to settle in the inland sections of the country. But the widespread public reaction to this idea forced the federal government to set up separate camps in which the Japanese--both native born and foreign born--could reside for the duration.

This particular volume tells the story of what happened at the Tule Lake Segregation Center. Due to misunderstanding and resentment on the part of many Japanese toward the whole idea of segregation, and due to the inept administrative policy and practice of the War Relocation Authority, there developed a series of conflicts marked by accusations on both sides, and by strikes, riots, and homicide. In the early months, however, leadership among the evacuees was in the hands of moderate organizations and individuals. As the relations among the evacuees themselves and between the Japanese colony as a whole and the administration became more tense, the leadership of the evacuees passed to more antagonistic groups and persons. In the end there was an almost

hysterical mass movement among the residents of Tule Lake in favor of renouncing their American citizenship.

For cultural anthropology and sociology the study reveals the limitations as well as the extent of our acculturation of the Japanese. Among the Nisei particularly their American ideals were gradually shattered. Moreover, their sense of strong family solidarity and the propaganda of relatively few but highly vocal pro-Japanese elements played distinctive parts in the emergence of more and more hostile reactions on their part. For the social psychologist the book provides useful documentation of the role of conflict in developing leadership and strong solidarity among dissident groups and of the place of intra-group tensions among the evacuees themselves, characterized by rumors and fear of informers. There is also a good picture of the shifts in attitude through time. Initially there was dismay, confusion, and uncertainty balanced by a faith that they would, in the end, be well treated. Finally, however, a large percentage had a sense of being most unjustly persecuted and many showed signs of personal disorganization.

The data in this volume are of the case-record variety and the statistical matter is kept at a minimum. As valuable as this volume is, it seems to the reviewer that the authors failed to make use of their materials to combine sociological theory with empirical findings. Nowhere is there a systematic presentation of the processual changes which might have been given if only in schematic and summary form. The reviewer is not suggesting that the authors should have forced their data into any preconceived rigid frame. On the contrary, use might have been made of their excellent materials to test some of the long-standing assumptions about the

genesis and course of such basic processes as conflict, co-
operation, and accommodation.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Queens College

This is a study of the effects of the wartime evacuation from the Pacific Coast of 112,000 persons of Japanese ancestry and the subsequent detention of a larger proportion of them for the duration. It is an analysis of human group behavior, a critique of American mores as expressed in official action, and finally a challenge to self-analysis of our democratic ideology.

The Spoilage was made possible by a combination of the resources of the University of California and important foundation support, but more largely by the faithful industry of a group of researchers led by Dr. Dorothy Thomas of the University of California and Richard Nishimoto.

This publication is the end product of long, arduous planning and research under extremely difficult conditions. The first volume (a second volume is now in preparation) deals with the "spoilage" of the evacuation--those persons whose lives and fortunes have been seriously impaired by their experience.

The objectives of the entire study and a description of some of the problems encountered in the research phases are stated in the Preface. The text is arranged in thirteen chapters, supplemented by an appendix, one item of which is a very illuminating life history of a "Disloyal." The first four chapters deal in general with the evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast, under the headings of Evacuation, Detention, Registration, and Segregation. These were phases that affected almost all members of the group. The final chapter in this group, Segregation, covers the series of events, causes, and effects leading up to the decision of the government to segregate "disloyal" persons of Japanese ancestry in the Tule Lake Relocation Center. This period extends from early spring 1942 to mid-1943.

Chapters V to XIII have as their locale and personae dramatis the Tule Lake Center in California, the persons confined there, and various government officials. These latter chapters describe events violent and sad; the social and anti-social behavior patterns; the formation of groups for security, defense, and aggression; the period of martial law and intimidations; the emergence of such issues as the strike, status quo, the illegal imprisonment of agitators, and the hunger strike; the eternal pulling and hauling between the Caucasian administration and interned persons, all leading to the tragic denouement--mass renunciation of American citizenship. These events occur from mid-1943 to the latter part of 1944. The chapters are entitled Revolt, Suppression, Accommodation, Underground, Interlude, Informers, Incarceration, Resegregation, and Renunciation.

Skillful use has been made of many direct quotations obtained through interviews. These give the book life and movement. The authors have not obtruded; rather they have let the flow of pertinent quotations by the subjects of the study carry the reader to the heart of the matter. The mass of this material is imposing. Its total effect on the reader is an impression of authenticity and a feeling of intimacy with a rather dreadful human experience.

Once the decision was reached that these people of Japanese ancestry, at large, enjoying freedom, constituted danger, their assemblage and detention was easy. Because of their distinctive physical appearance, it was simple to round them up, simple to put them in relocation centers, and it was presumed that the administration of the internment camps would also be a cinch. But somehow all these assumptions of simplicity were wrong. It wasn't simple at all. The result at the Tule Lake Center anyhow seems to have been an awful mess.

The failure seems to have arisen from a lack of comprehension on several points. First, the fundamental dynamic of freedom works just as well for people of color as for whites. Humanity values personal freedom, and once having tasted it, will fight to maintain it with any weapons that are available.

The second error was even more profound. Mathematical concepts cannot be substituted for human emotions. The War Relocation Authority, the Army, and the FBI at Tule Lake proceeded time and time again to ask the internees for simple, categorical answers to mathematically simple questions. They forgot that they weren't dealing with integers but with frightened, insecure human beings. They got some amazing answers. When a young man was asked, "Are you a dual citizen?" he replied, "No, we are not dual citizens. But in the first place if we are citizens, how come we are in these camps? . . . How come they took the citizens? How come they didn't intern Willkie, LaGuardia and Mayor Rossi?" (p. 96)

Third, Americans don't seem to make very good concentration camp operators. It's not in our tradition. On the other hand, we display an alarming lack of social skills and therefore rather complete incompetence in situations requiring their use.

The authors of The Spoilage imply that there is a woeful gap between American social intent and American social techniques. Our official intentions toward persons of Japanese ancestry were, on the whole, not consciously malicious or wicked. In some cases it was downright benevolent. So, perhaps the most serious charge is that of uncertainty by Americans on the question of how to preserve the essentials of human dignity. This uncertainty, as the authors show, was manifest throughout the whole period in the activities

of all agencies responsible for formulating policy or in executing it. The Army, the FBI, the War Relocation Authority, and Congress all worked at cross purposes. For the victims this resulted in discouragement and frustration.

The pressure of this experience was so harrowing that in a number of instances repudiation of American citizenship was a distinct relief. These questions then arise: Is the term spoilage reversible? Was America spoiled for those repudiating it, or was individual impairment the more important aspect? The first alternative seems worth pondering.

- Laurence I. Hewes, Jr.
Regional Director
American Council on Race Relations

FAR EASTERN SURVEY, "Books on the Pacific Area," p. 72.

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FOX RIVER
REVIEW
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BOOK REVIEW: Applied Anthropology (Spring 1947)

The Spoilage is the first of the authors' two volumes plus technical monographs to appear on the evacuation and resettlement of Japanese Americans during the war. This project was conceived not as a post-mortem analysis of a public program but rather as an inquiry into the social actions of a minority group experiencing enforced subordination. For a period of four years, Thomas and her associates systematically recorded "the continuing process of interaction between government and governed, through the point-by-point reproduction of stages in the process of attitude formation." The support of several foundations with the vision to appreciate the importance of the enterprise, enabled a staff of workers living in the War Relocation Authority camps to trace "the maneuvers and reactions of an insecure, increasingly resentful people to policies imposed by government agencies, and to incidents developing from the application of these policies."

Though the details are documented extensively and the mode of presentation is rigorously objective, the book has a quality of readability rare in such monographic reports. This quality stems in part from a sensitive selection of apt terminology which is free of the technical idiom of the specialist. But the clarity is more than merely a linguistic one. It also reflects an integrated theory which enables the writers to select out and analyze a mass of data with incisiveness.

This volume, as the title indicates, is focused on the "spoilage"--that segment of the Japanese population who prior to the war viewed America as their personal home but who in the end felt impelled to abandon their American loyalties and, in some instances, to seek

Applied Anthropology - 2.

repatriation to Japan. This study reveals what happens to the values of a people when its pre-existing patterns of life have collapsed and no satisfactory alternatives substituted.

No attempt will be made to offer an abbreviated version of the findings. To do so would be a disservice to a book which merits from the serious student more than a cursory summary crammed into a two paragraph abstract. In lieu of this, the reviewer would like to concentrate on what he deems some of the most significant scientific and social problems disclosed by the authors.

First, with regard to the frame of reference. The actual interaction between the governing and the governed, especially in a cross-cultural relationship in which the subordinate has been undergoing acculturation but finds the attainment of its goals thwarted, has seldom been subjected to empirical examination. All too often in the past, the minority, the ethnic, the primitive, etc., have been studied without due regard to the power structure within which they must operate or to the larger political and social forces impinging upon them. The authors of this work demonstrate the far-reaching significance of taking these neglected factors into account. In this instance it would have been possible to have made a traditional type of social or ethnographic survey. But to have done so, would have meant to miss the most salient feature affecting the behavior of the group. Wisely, the authors viewed the subordinate-superordinate relationship as the central feature and were thus able to offer a meaningful interpretation of a great variety of events. Such a study, too, clearly shows the need for those concerned with the character

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structure of peoples, to relate this attribute to the actual social situation. Only through an examination of cultural patterns as they are filtered through the life experiences of groups and find expression in particular situations can we hope to gain a realistic understanding.

This particular study assumes a general knowledge of the principal traits of Japanese character and concentrates on the results of subordination given the cultural base. The end-product is not the identification of what is uniquely Japanese, but rather what responses are evoked among the Japanese subjected to a series of experiences. In some respects the reactions noted were similar to those of the American Indian living on reservations, in others they corresponded to the behavior of Americans incarcerated by the enemy during the war, and in still others to natives we placed in camps on the Pacific Islands during the war. In short there are certain common human reactions to involuntary subordination. But the distinctive mode of expression is affected by the social heritage of a group, its rationale for explaining its status, the actions of the governors, the sequence of events which transpire during incarceration, etc. It is to be hoped that the approach used in this study will not be identified exclusively with this particular case for it is equally applicable to the study of other subordinated groups.

Second, with respect to the social processes. The writers have made a contribution to the larger body of knowledge concerning the forces which unite a minority group around a common set of goals and those which splinter it into factions. We actually know, for example, very little about who become the "Quislings" when a people are

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subjected to subordination. There are individuals of this type in every dominated group--they were as much in evidence in the Philippines and China as they were in Norway and France. Within the Japanese population in the W.R.A. camps, the "informers" and those who cooperated with the administration, were viewed as playing this role. The writers throw considerable light on the way the subordinate group's solidarity is shattered and how this threat to the group may be used to coerce individuals into group solidarity when more rational appeals are ineffective. The processes by which groups become integrated around common grievances and the durability of the unity when there are no solutions are skillfully depicted. The relationship between leadership and followership within a subordinate group are revealed more explicitly than in any study heretofore made. The ways in which a group's ideas are shaped merits this book's inclusion among the studies in the sociology of knowledge. The writers analyse the questions used by the administration to classify the loyalty of the Japanese to the United States. Superficially, a large proportion responded so that it seemed that they owed primary allegiance to Japan, and the administration acted on the premise that the answers elicited were actual indicators of the attitudes of the group. Thomas-Nishimoto do a brilliant job of going behind the statements to ascertain why the particular answers were made. They show beyond doubt that the responses evoked reflected the frustrations and anxieties of the group with respect to their past and pending treatment rather than what the administrators thought they were determining. This is not merely a question of the effectiveness of a questionnaire, but rather the relationship of the ideas people hold to the social situation in which they find themselves.

Third, as to method. This study is an example of field-observation at its best. The writers were able to record the emotional responses of the group as they were manifested and to relate these responses to the actual behavior they evoked. The Japanese at Tule Lake Camp were not treated as an undifferentiated mass. The population was classified in terms of their pre-camp background, their life histories, and their roles and experiences in the camp community. Thus the generalizations made have a cross-sectional representativeness which enables the reader to understand what is taking place in each portion of the population under successive circumstances. Here, then, is a sociological contribution to the study of culture which well merits emulation in anthropological inquiries. The gain is not one of having many informants and observing vast quantities of events, but in the discriminating selection of items and people to be observed so that both the whole and its component parts may be discerned.

Finally, with reference to the administrator, The management of groups which involves the governing of peoples whose culture is only in part that of the superordinate calls for skills we have barely begun to develop. Along with several recent studies, Thomas-Nishimoto have helped lay the foundation for the scientific study of the governing process in cross-cultural situations. In a world in which half the population live in subordination, the problem of ruling calls for scientific knowledge far beyond that which we now possess. We are indebted to Thomas and her associates for having made such a substantial contribution. The Spoilage is a landmark in the development of a science with social relevance.

John Useem

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BOOK REPORT: Common Ground, Spring 1947

Far other fortunes befell Americans of Japanese descent on the mainland, as THE SPOILAGE by Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto (University of California Press. \$3.75) painfully reports. On the West Coast, as the world knows, Nisei were herded along with Issei into wartime camps in complete violation of their citizenship rights; and not from military necessity but at the instigation of race-hatred and suspicion, this report abundantly proves. That this treatment turned many against our government and against democracy itself is not surprising. More to be wondered at is the reasonableness of the many who saw behind that hate-hysteria a saving democratic principle in which--despite its passing violation--they still could believe. The stress in this thoroughly documented volume is on the human "spoilage" resulting from the evacuation--the human problems, reactions, and attitudes developed by evacuees during the segregation period. The report grows out of a study undertaken by a group of social scientists in the University of California in 1942, involving intensive observation of camps in California, Arizona, and Idaho over a period of three years. It is exhaustive and complete in respect to stated goals and is a book to be read with careful thought by all Americans concerned with democratic human relations and civil rights.

BOOK REVIEW: The American Journal of Sociology

November, 1947.

The distrust by some American public officials and a portion of the American public of the effectiveness and power of democratic processes is nowhere more sharply revealed than in the decision, in the early part of 1942, summarily to remove and place in mass detention persons of Japanese birth and their American-born children. This decision, made in the stress of national emergency, also revealed the past failure of America to resolve adequately the problems of minority groups.

The Spoilage is an analytical narrative of what happened to one segment of the more than one hundred thousand West Coast alien and citizen persons of Japanese ancestry who were forcibly removed from their homes and concentrated in relocation centers. It is an account of the events which led to the widespread and hysterical renunciation of American citizenship in the Tule Lake, California, center, where the "disloyal" had been segregated. It is an attempt to show that insecurity, frustration, and disillusionment, rather than political disloyalty, were major contributors to a tragic conclusion.

The book is also a record of the basic interdependence of the administering agency--the War Relocation Authority--and the Japanese. It portrays the effects of administrative policies and decisions on individuals and groups and their responses, which led to further repressive administrative action. Coercion as a part of administrative policy is shown to lead in turn to organized resistance, in which coercion within the group is a necessity of cohesion. Thus the failure of the War Relocation Authority officials at Tule Lake to

establish channels of communication with the community, and the attempt to administer by order and fiat, led to the formation of a well-organized underground that sought not co-operation with the administration, but the enforcement of its control among the Japanese. This it was able to accomplish through physical force and intimidation and by giving expression to those sentiments which arose from the deep insecurity and frustration of the segregated.

The authors offer no moral judgments about their material. They do not accuse either the War Relocation Authority or the Army of inefficiency or mismanagement. They do not allow the nationalistic behavior of a segment of the segregated Japanese to deter them from their main purpose of objective reporting and analysis. Their account of the cold facts of human behavior reveals the inevitability of the conclusion, once the start had been made. The suggestion runs throughout, but is never made explicit, that the magnitude of "the spoilage" might have been lessened but not eliminated.

Factually, the book is as complete as its size and purpose permit. The events leading to the evacuation of the Japanese from the West Coast, their detention in relocation centers, the Army volunteer and registration program, and the decision to segregate the "disloyal" from the "loyal" evacuees are sketched in the first few chapters. The remainder and greater portion of the book is concerned entirely with the events at the segregation center at Tule Lake.

The resulting conflicts, movements toward unity, and struggle for power among the evacuees are reflected in the relations with the administration and the gradually widening breach between the two parties which finally led to violence, followed by the assumption of control

by the Army. The remainder of Tule Lake history is an account of the continued deterioration of relations with the administration and eventual development in the majority of the segregants of an attitude of rejection toward America.

There should have been an additional chapter which would share with us the sociological insights which the authors undoubtedly gained. Is it inevitable that a totalitarian bureaucracy produces the distortion of human personality described here? What is the meaning of the unrealistic fantasies which controlled the sentiments and dictated the actions of so many? What are the principles of cohesion and communication which were so flagrantly violated in the relations between administration and segregants? The answer of these and other questions undoubtedly concerned the authors and their field workers and could profitably have been included.

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tion was undoubtedly prompted by a desire to limit the size of the undertaking, but nonetheless has unfortunate consequences.

On the one hand, the author cannot quite avoid discussing the legal position of the Negro; on the other hand, his design not to enter that field prevents him from making the most of the instances where he does so. This is especially true in his treatment of the miscegenation statutes.

In the same way, the author usually makes no attempt to deal with material outside statutes and court reports. Only the chapter on Japanese evacuation gives a picture of the violence visited upon released internees who returned to California.

One doubtful thesis, not essential to the main topic, recurs through the book. This is a general attack on the so-called Holmes test of constitutionality: that legislation presumed constitutional should not be held unconstitutional unless it cannot reasonably be said to further a legitimate objective of government. Limitations on this general rule (*U.S. v. Caroline Products*, 304 US 144, 152 n) suffice for most of Professor Konvitz's criticisms of the Japanese evacuation decisions. But he questions the doctrine itself, taking no account of the setting in which Holmes formulated his theory: corporation-minded judges were declaring unconstitutional all kinds of economic regulations with whose policy they happened to disagree. Whatever its merits or limitations, the Holmes doctrine cannot successfully be assailed without considering the experiences which brought it forth.

But these shortcomings are secondary. The book as a whole gives an excellent—and damning—exposition of America's legal behavior toward her aliens and her citizens of Asiatic extraction. Not the least of its features is a series of tables compiling the restrictions which state laws impose upon aliens.

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Hawaii's Japanese, by Andrew W. Lind. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1947. \$3.00. Pp. viii, 264.

The Spoilage, by Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1946. \$3.75. Pp. 388.

United States governmental policy was curiously divided in World War II towards America's Japanese. In Hawaii, where prejudice was not

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unknown and pressures evident, General Emmons pursued a course democratic enough for island Japanese to respond with the very best combat troops and one of the most solid of the anti-Axis efforts, on farm, plantation, in industry, and in the civilian front, put forth by any group in our polyglot population. On the west coast, however, where the second great center of this population lived, General DeWitt of the Western Defense Command evacuated the entire 110,000 out of mainland economy, moved them inland as virtual wards of government, and ultimately made them easy targets for the most hysterical (and baseless) wartime prejudice the nation has yet known. In centers like Tule Lake, which the book, *The Spoilage*, attempts to assess, 19,000 men, women and children were held behind manproof fences—fences real and psychological—in a square mile of “theatre of operations” barracks, under government duress and subject to the confusions, coercion and mass hysteria which people under stress are prone to interpret, on reading the *Los Angeles Examiner*, as necessary parts of a last-ditch fight for center “security.”

This flight to a presumably war-durational center I studied for three years as Social Science Analyst for the Department of the Interior. I welcome this occasion and any rostrum to comment on a center which cost the United States government ten million annually, in wartime, just to mollify the feelings and batten the interests which were fed to the Japanese-American stake at the behest of the Hearst press and the divinely, as usual, inspired Dies Committee. As a result of the efforts of these diviners, virtually all citizens of Tule Lake, eighteen and over, renounced American citizenship because of the well-known factors of duress, discrimination, confusion, terror, and hysteria. At precisely the time Relocation Center Nisei were, most of them, hesitating to volunteer for the Armed Forces, the month of January, 1943, saw free Hawaiian Nisei apply to volunteer six times over quota. While Tule Lake's Army Registration and Segregation program went completely off-track (and we documented how and why in official government publications at the time), Hawaii's Nisei—with their battle motto of “Go For Broke”—in their 442nd Combat Team and 100th Battalion were becoming “probably the most decorated unit in United States military history.” Lind's *Hawaii's Japanese* presents this most remarkable contrast, which arose by courtesy of Hearst, Dies and others, clearly. He has excellent accounts (about p. 160 ff.) of the difference between the Hawaiian and mainland G.I.'s, the former quite naturally so much the superior in morale. The entries “Disloyalty” and “Disloyals” have plenty of reference space in the index of *The Spoilage*, and over thirty page references are

cited; but there is no mention of Dies or the Hearst press, sub-committees, lobbies, pressure groups, even in the quotations *in extenso* from official Interior, War or Justice Department documents which crowd the pages. And when the California State Personnel Board is mentioned, the criticism becomes downright abandoned. Hawaii had its racists and non-racists, those who stereotyped Hawaiian-Japanese and those who insisted on democratic human relationships. So did the mainland. But here the point in this differential history of the two areas, which any informed person knows about already, should be to indicate the reasons for the difference.

One would hope, further, that two such books designed to document wartime history on contrasting but strictly comparable segments of population might at least compare, when written by sociologists, in method, content and basic orientation. Surprisingly, the books themselves contrast in each respect. There is no doubt that Lind, Professor of Sociology at the University of Hawaii, and Thomas, who occupies a similar position in California, attempt to write objective histories and documentary histories at that. The result would seem to be description characteristic of the community or regional study so commonplace in sociology today. As such, the books seem to the reviewer to contain much valuable material for future historians of society to ponder. Yet this occurs, as indicated below, along with highly vulnerable method and much careless interpretation, particularly in *The Spoilage*. Apparently, the lack of a single, basic orientation will mean that description of a more or less random sort, governed by chronological sequence rather than careful method and analytic procedures, will produce varying and non-comparable results, the moral of which is, obviously, that in history "anything can happen." It is a question how long social science will allow its professors this luxury. A similar situation in other levels of scientific discourse, say physical or biologic science, would mean disorder and anarchy not long tolerated. But distinctions between description and analysis, the awareness of need for method in historical interpretation (or sometimes even of problems to orient method) are not yet felt in much of what masquerades as social science.

Lind presents his "sociological reporting," as he calls it, largely from the point of view of how the "outer community" viewed the Japanese; at the same time, there is no doubt that he knows his Hawaiian-Japanese community from years of careful field-work and observation. Since the "inner community" has real validity, and better, importance for comparative studies, it is regrettable more of this aspect is not presented. Thomas and Nishimoto, on the other hand, consciously attempt to describe the "inner community" of Tule Lake, yet they deigned to visit

the center at only a few rare intervals. Consequently, their volume becomes greatly dependent on the one-year stay at Tule Lake of a single, inexperienced field worker, listed as contributor; the other three contributors were not around when "the spoilage" of the segregation center began to work. A fifth man who was on hand when segregation began, Mr. Robert Billigmeier—and who knew his center up to that point—is not even listed as contributor. At any rate, this reliance and dependence upon one person for contributions leads, in turn, to undue credence afforded about two dozen factional leaders who happened to impress the field worker during her stay from the summer of 1944 to the summer following as "knowing" the center. Since the fortunes of citizen-renunciants, thousands of them, are currently being decided in the courts of the land, I cannot refrain from adding that this same field worker has filed her affidavit with the Justice Department in effect, hers being one of four affidavits, along with those of three Justice officials, who take the stand for the purpose of denying restitution of citizenship to former Tulean Nisei. Since the case, in District Court at Los Angeles, constitutes a test case, the reviewer has filed his affidavit, in conformity with official studies made of the renunciation program when in process in 1945, on behalf of these casualties of World War II.

Lind, despite his better knowledge of his field and his more skillful blending of official documents, press accounts, case histories, and back-grounding of Hawaiian-Japanese social structure and economic practice, curiously avoids any conclusion other than the dictum that Hawaii always was and always will be a species of inter-racial paradise. Though Carey McWilliams, noted as early as 1944, in his book, *Prejudice*, the division in policy between Hawaii and the West Coast, and laid it, I think astutely, to the difference between Hawaii's (read the Big Five's) desire for continuance of its labor supply and the more individualized, entrepreneurial economic position of the west coast Japanese-American segment, Lind is the first to argue what he calls McWilliams' economic causation, or determinism. Surely the relationship of the labor market to sugar and fruit production played a role, paradoxically, in safeguarding the civil liberties of Japanese on the Pacific bastion, since Lind himself indicates (p. 78), directly following his disagreement with McWilliams, that a Hawaiian evacuation—like the one on the mainland two thousand miles farther from Japan— would have eliminated 73 per cent of farmers and farm managers, 59 per cent of food and dairy store workers, and 30 per cent of the sugar industry's plantation labor force. Lind then states that defense industries would have suffered even more than sugar and pineapple. But two paragraphs on down,

General Emmons and one other Army spokesman are quoted as wishing to disturb Island economy and the general labor supply as little as possible. The *Honolulu Star News*, unlike the *Hearst Examiner*, took this opinion quite seriously. While I should be the first to grant differences in intercultural relations and the social intelligence of generals in Hawaii and on the mainland, no rational exigencies or even "Victory Gardens" compensated, on the West Coast, for the removal of 110,000 people, the bulk of them in food production and distribution industries which proved as the war went on to be an extremely short item. That the Island population is one-third Japanese is not the only fact of importance. Otherwise, one might assume that the colored population of Mississippi enjoy an undiminished measure of freedom and equality since they provide a majority of the state's population and do the state's work. Further, while there was unrestrained and belligerent racism in California, there were manifestations of the same disease in Hawaii. The mainland agricultural productive force was crippled effectively in Oregon, Washington and California exactly because it did not constitute, in any large measure, a labor force for large-scale agriculture to compare with Hawaii's Japanese. As a matter of fact, in celery, in lettuce, in the Hood and Yakima River Valleys, the great pressure was to uproot Japanese owned and managed interests. Taken separately, economic interests underlay California's unbridled hate campaign, the dynamiting of the Doi barn, and the exclusion of Nisei veterans from Hood River's American Legion roll of honor. But equally, the Nisei domestic was stereotyped in Hawaii (as Lind goes to pains to point out) while the highest authorities and the largest newspapers stood pat on disturbing "labor supply" as little as possible.

While *The Spoilage* contains details of the caste system of Tule Lake and much commentary on the cruder forms of policy manipulation of the center, it fails to explain the cultural revivalism which occurred there and is implicit on the steps leading to citizenship-renunciation. Consequently, Tule is given too much the cast of a disloyal center where disloyals were badly treated. The overstress on one set of factional leaders and the credence given them crowds the average resident from the scene. There is nothing here of daily rumors, of center art and religion, of recreation, welfare, economic status, or of the most crucial cultural revivalism which came to mark the daily life of the center. Certainly, all peoples know how to match fear and frustration with life and creation. And in a way, we could probably do with fewer, but better, books on these subjects.

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Amer. Anthropologist, 50, No. 2,

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Please file April-June, 1948.

BOOK REVIEWS

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If our modern world should be able to recapture this power, the earth's natural resources and web of life would not be irrevocably wasted within the twentieth century, which is the prospect now. True democracy, founded in neighborhoods and reaching over the world, would become the realized heaven on earth. And living peace—not just an interlude between wars—would be born and would last through the ages.

And on pages 285-286:

It is of national importance, and necessary to the good role of our Occidental governments in the world, that ethnic groups shall have equality of opportunity, shall be enabled to contribute their ideals and genius to the common task, shall not suffer discrimination, shall be free to breathe deeply the breath of public life. The Bill of Rights and the Constitution within the United States, the Charter of United Nations in the world, must be made good. It follows that governments and the federation of governments should and must concern themselves with ethnic matters, and that the methods should be right and not wrong.

The aliveness and sparkle of style, the careful yet sensitive presentation of the cultural histories of the American Indian populations, and the searching recommendations applied to our modern world situation place this book in the high bracket of accomplishment.

The book is strongly recommended although some of the phraseology may be misunderstood until the reader has read beyond the immediate phrase. It is a book by an inspired man, an honest man, a sincere man, a capable man, who emerges in this book as a man who has a definite solution based upon a lifetime of research and knowledge rather than on theory.

This is the book which will aid in counteracting the influence of many of our high school and college history books. It should be required reading in high school and college.

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NORTH AMERICA

The Spoilage. DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS and RICHARD S. NISHIMOTO. (380 pp., University of California Press, Berkeley, 1946.)

This book is the first of a series of three on consequences of evacuation for 110,000 Japanese-Americans uprooted in 1942 from homes in three Pacific coast states. A second volume, *The Salvage*, promises to treat of resettlement in eastern and mid-west states. The third, already titled *The Residue*, will concern that population segment which ultimately returned to coastal areas. The total study, projected according to the Preface as early as 1942, has support from Rockefeller, Columbia and Giannini foundations. We are told that it was originally, if anything, more ambitious in conception than now appears; but even so the participants and Dr. Thomas as director deserve commendation for seeing it through to publication. The University of California at Berkeley likewise had a hand in these efforts and as a result becomes, along with the Library of Congress archives, an official repository of governmental documents evoked in this process.

In a broader sense, *The Spoilage* is part of a larger literature. Under imprimatur of the United States Department of the Interior several volumes on evacuation and resettlement have already appeared in a completed series. One of these, somewhat

parallel to the Thomas-Nishimoto study, is called *Impounded People* and is the work of social scientists—E. H. Spicer, K. Luomala, A. Hansen, and the reviewer. The interested reader will profit by consulting and comparing these two studies and, in addition, ten other volumes prepared by the War Relocation Authority, not to mention Leighton's *Governing of Men*, LaViolette's *Americans of Japanese Ancestry*, McWilliams' *Prejudice*, and Lind's *Hawaii's Japanese*. Surely, evacuation and resettlement produced a literature. It already reaches far beyond the scope of *The Spoilage*.

Having identified this study in the context of a research field, it remains to assess its usefulness for the specialist and for the general field of anthropology. It contains a Preface on methodology for the entire series; next an eighty-page account of evacuation, center settlement, Army loyalty registration, and the beginnings of the Tule Lake Center in northern California; finally there follows a three-hundred-page discussion of this specific center after it became the segregation center of the War Relocation Authority, War Department and Department of Justice. The Preface begins bravely with a statement of the "interdisciplinary approach of the study (sociology, social psychology, anthropology, political science and economics)." This method, we are told, resulted "in a situation analogous to differential diagnosis" and provided a check upon a major methodological problem, that of separating "subjective ad hoc interpretations from the more objective behavioral records." The book ends on page 380 without adequately demonstrating the utilization of these abundant resources.

For one thing there is the somewhat dogmatic assertion that economic data were unobtainable. Concerning anthropology, it is apparent that neither of the authors attempted any field work warranting the name in this specific center. To be sure, there is mention of the use of trained observers, twelve divided among several centers, who "had university training in one or more of the social sciences." In addition, three Caucasian staff members resided in centers, the segregation center assignment, upon which most of the book is based, being in the hands of a fieldworker who made three brief visits in 1944 and then remained in residence most of the year from May, 1944, to the following May. While four contributors are listed, only one was at Tule Lake when "the spoilage" of segregation operated, a period of over two years. Dependence upon one person for major contributions led, in turn, to undue credence afforded about two dozen factional leaders who happened to impress the fieldworker, during the year period, as knowing the Center. The basic contrast lies between the first eighty pages, which are excellent, contain wide sampling and inter-center comparison, and the marked tendency toward incomplete coverage and sensationalistic opinion which follows. Actually, Mr. Robert Billigmeier, who certainly understood and covered his center of 13,000 people up to the point of segregation, extends this objectivity still further into the chapter, "Segregation." But around page 100, the penchant for quoting "an Issei," "Kibei," or "Nisei" stands out since context is generally lacking; on pages 101-102, for example, "Kibei" are stereotyped and oversimplified on the basis of two short quotations from two of their number. After three years at Tule Lake, with a staff of sixteen technical assistants, hundreds of contacts, and a tendency to sample opinion by block, area of the center, faction, personality variant, age and status group, I am greatly dubious of such oversimplifications.

The reliance of one fieldworker upon testimony of a few dozen persons among thousands available is, of course a highly vulnerable method; and, since the technique

of description is governed by quotations from these individuals rather than by analytic procedures, there is a certain amount of careless interpretation specifically resulting from overstress on one set of factional leaders (Daihyo Sha Kai) and the boundless credence afforded them which reifies their rationalizations. On page 103, the authors remark "a tendency among large numbers of Tuleans toward narrowly opportunistic decisions to hold to the status of 'disloyalty' "—the term "Tuleans" here referring to a rival faction apparently. In several reports written before, during and after segregation, we pointed out carefully that pontifications about "opportunism," based on the "loyalty-disloyalty" labels, were actually misleading since these labels had long since lost any objectively significant meaning in the maelstrom of emotionalized reactions to consistently discriminatory treatment. In Denver, before the baleful program of segregation went into effect, we argued against it, predicted its immediate and long-range results, and finally indicated that the only valid distinctions which could be sought within this population would be cultural identifications and socio-economic status, not political determinations; family typologies, not loyalties; emotionalized reactions, not consistent international programs. It is surprising to find the old labels applied, amid pontifications, years later.

With social, cultural, economic and psychological analysis lacking at points in the record, a factional interpretation threads through the final three hundred pages. On page 110, the same Tuleans of the rival faction are castigated for an alleged control of the Co-operative Enterprises of the Center: "There were no major positions left unfilled" when people arrived from other centers. On page 168, this inaccuracy is swallowed with the rumor, "Residents had noted that fruits . . . on purchase by (the government) were conspicuously absent from the messhalls but were on sale in the (Co-operative's) canteens." This last refers to a million-and-a-half-dollar enterprise undergoing regular, periodic audit by both governmental agency and reputable private firms. In the event the reader remains unconvinced by these allegations of opportunism, job monopoly and the supposed dishonesty rampant among six thousand Tuleans, their factional leader receives the sociological description of "dressy and dandified" and his chief cohort is implied to have been "opportunistic" in decisions to safeguard a son "of draft age." A Mr. Tada (pseudonym) of a more-favored rival faction likewise had a son of draft age, but this fact is not adduced in accounts of his heroics. On pages 117-119, this favored faction is described as having duly elected a representative body "in about the proper proportions, but some blocs of transferees were markedly over-represented and were soon able to obtain and hold positions of control in the organization"; on page 142, this curious contradiction is doubly confounded when we learn that the elections of October 16th, "in proper proportions" yet "markedly over-represented" by some blocs of transferees, were completed on November 4th by "arrangements for selecting the permanent representative body." Staff members and Center contacts who were selected into this representative body give no indication of a *bona fide* elective process.

The contradictions of *The Spoilage* arise from credence given to accounts written up and mimeographed by the favored faction months later. On page 131, the favored faction is credited with community support of the now-famous November 1st Incident, contrary to all evidence in print. On page 140, Mr. Myer, Director of the Authority, is alleged to have unwillingly attended a staff meeting in the nearby town of Tule Lake;

there was no such meeting outside Center confines. At another point, the favored faction is credited with having eluded administrative notice while "organizing their protest movement" (p. 120) whereas, in truth, there was practically daily contact. On pages 153, 157, and 158, the Center mimeographed newspaper is quoted first as calling, later as cancelling, a meeting between Daihyo Sha Kai (Negotiating Committee) and the Army and WRA; again the Daihyo Sha Kai position is presented approvingly, unmindful of the fact that for several issues, following Army control of the center, the paper was published under direct and exclusive control of the Negotiating Committee alone and that no meeting with the Committee had been sanctioned by the Colonel in command and certainly none cancelled. The point of these corrections, and of scores of others for which there is neither time nor space, is that well-heated attempts to play sides in factional disputes which rend any aggrieved and disaffected community are only possible where the proper interpretation of factionalism in general is lacking. Certainly factionalism is a matter of prime importance in a field called applied anthropology. Equally, there is no substitute for field work in community study.

While the study contains certain details of the caste system of Tule Lake and much commentary—through WRA, War and Justice department official documents—on the cruder forms of policy manipulation of the Center, it fails to explain the cultural revivalism which flourished there and is implicit in the steps leading to citizenship renunciation. Ending with renunciation rather than with Center closure, the entire final chapter of Center history is missing, including the complete transformation of Tule Lake to the most relocation-minded Center of all. The anthropologist interested in cultural revivalistic phenomena must look elsewhere, though this case is perhaps the most striking and controlled experiment in social psychology to be found anywhere. As a result, Tule Lake is given too much the cast of a "disloyal" center where "disloyals" were treated badly. *The Spoilage* becomes an excellent source-book on government documents, but the treatment of daily rumors and the ebb and flow of opinion are subordinated to the presentation of factional claims; and there is practically nothing on Center art and religion, recreation, welfare and economic status. Obviously, the 19,000 men, women and children cramped in a square mile of tar-papered "theater of operations" barracks do not emerge as people. The effects of discriminatory and racist treatment are only in part reflected. And the need in social science apparently is to know the possible limitations of a few dozen informants or where the document ends and broad social analysis begins.

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~~MIDDLE AMERICA~~

~~*Maya Explorer—John Lloyd Stephens and the Lost Cities of Central America and Yucatan.* VICTOR WOLFGANG VON HAGEN. (xviii, 324 pp., 2 maps, 38 pls. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1947.)~~

~~In 1834 John L. Stephens was a young New York lawyer with a flair for politics, bound for Europe for the sake of his health. Nine years later he had published four~~

File under
Review

Sup. C.
Sub. Rev. of Lit
June 7, 47

Test of American Democracy

HAWAII'S JAPANESE: AN EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY. By Andrew W. Lind. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. 258 pp. \$3.

AMERICANS: THE STORY OF THE 442d COMBAT TEAM. By Orville C. Shirey. Washington: Infantry Journal Press. 1946. 151 pp. \$5.

THE SPOILAGE. By Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1946. 380 pp. \$3.75.

Reviewed by BRADFORD SMITH

IT IS A commonplace that the full significance of great events often fails to make itself felt until time has put them in the perspective of history. Very few Americans understood, during the clamor for removal of the Japanese from the West Coast in 1942, that our whole concept of civil liberties was on trial. Fewer still knew that when they lent their voices to this demand they were serving as tools of certain pressure groups, and as victims of their own ignorance and emotions. A distressing majority still believes today that resident Japanese

in Hawaii committed sabotage at Pearl Harbor.

To set the record straight, to provide the backlighting of scientific inquiry, the coloring of public opinion, and the critique of legality, a considerable literature is growing up around the evacuation and its consequences.



A series of ten booklets has been issued by the War Relocation Authority itself—a much maligned agency which under the humane but firm direction of Dillon Myer fought its way through criticism from both liberals and reactionaries in order to preserve what remained of the rights of American citizens uprooted from their homes without accusation or evidence

against them, dispossessed through the greed of neighbors and the laxity or dishonesty of both local and Federal officials, held for years in concentration camps without trial, and then threatened with deportation by West Coast pressure groups and some members of Congress. The story of how these prejudices were fought, of how WRA stuck to its guns and got the evacuees back into the mainstream of American life, and the Japanese Americans into higher public favor than they had ever before enjoyed, is summarized in Dillon Myer's report, "WRA—A Story of Human Conservation."*

The thing above all others that lifted the Japanese-Americans from the undeserved abyss of hatred and mistrust was their military record. After the injustice of removal from the Coast, the Nisei had further been struck a bitter blow in their exclusion from the armed forces. Dillon Myer kept after the War Department until in the spring of 1943 the ranks of the army were opened again, though at first only to volunteers. The result was the 442d Combat Team (the 100th Infantry Battalion from Hawaii had been in constant service since before the outbreak of war, and preceded the 442d overseas)—an outfit whose valor made headlines all over the country when it began fighting in Europe. It is said to be the most decorated unit of the war. Incredible heroism is always the ironic accompaniment of man's chiefest degradation, but the 442d really seems to have had more than its share of heroes, from the Rome-Arno campaign through its rescue of the Lost Battalion in the Vosges Mountains and back to the final campaign for Italy. Its story can be read in "Americans: The Story of the 442d Combat Team," a straightforward, plain-spoken narrative of misery and heroism.

"The Spoilage" tells the other side of the story—the story of those who, embittered by losses, ostracism, and imprisonment, finally renounced their American citizenship. Aided by several generous grants and by a number of social scientists, including some Nisei, Dorothy Thomas began her work before the Japanese had been removed from their homes. Planned originally on a much wider base, her study has been cut down to the present volume and one yet to appear, supported by several monographs.

During the war years certain pressure groups and not a few politicians made quite a noise about the "disloyals" among the Japanese-Americans. Mrs. Thomas and her associates conclude that in most cases it was

* WRA—A Story of Human Conservation, Department of the Interior, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 55c.

Your Literary I.Q.

By Howard Collins

OPENING LINES OF NOVELS

Here are the opening lines of ten fairly recent novels. Can you identify each story and its author? Allowing five points for each correct answer, a score of sixty is par, seventy is very good, and eighty or better is excellent. Answers on page 35.

1. She was sitting on the stoop when I came in from the fields, her suitcase beside her and one foot on the other knee, where she was shaking a shoe out that seemed to have sand in it.
2. It was four-thirty p.m. Four-thirty on Friday, the 24th of December, 1938. They hadn't done very much work in the office that afternoon because in their various ways they had all been getting ready to celebrate.
3. Three men sat on the stoop. They were drinking tea. They were drinking it from white enamel, half-pint cups with dark blue handles. They were talking of women.
4. The worst winter in fifty years, the old Scotsman had told me. I'd only been around for sixteen, but it was the worst I'd seen, and I was willing to take his word for the other thirty-four.
5. There were fourteen officers on the *Reluctant* and all of them were Reserves.
6. The sweet old farmhouse burrowed into the upward slope of the land so deeply that you could enter either its bottom or middle floor at ground level.
7. For two days, ever since Hank's death, she had been in a daze of numbness, held in a strange waiting on some inner knowledge. Now she stood at her bedroom window in the executive mansion of the Magnolia State staring across the tops of palms, live oaks, and magnolias at the high tower of the magnificent Capitol which Hank had caused to be built.
8. Serene was a word you could put to Brooklyn, New York. Especially in the summer of 1912.
9. Forty-two miles below San Ysidro, on a great north-south highway in California, there is a crossroad which for eighty-odd years has been called Rebel Corners.
10. Grandpa's brogan shoes made a noise like whettin' two rocks together as he shuffled them back and forth on the witherin' school-yard grass.

not loyalty but security the evacuees had in mind when they answered questions regarding their allegiance. Some of them refused to "for-swear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor" because they had never held such allegiance. To be asked to forswear it looked to them like a trick to make them admit that they had once professed loyalty to him. Others, pressed by parents who had lost everything in the evacuation, falsely claimed disloyalty in order to avoid being drafted, and thus made unable to care for their parents. Others, embittered by all the kicking around they had suffered at the hands of their government and angered by the baiting of a hostile press, denied their loyalty out of protest, or said that they could not affirm loyalty to the United States until their liberties were restored. In this group were some of the best Americans, the ones who took their citizenship most seriously.

After registration came segregation of those who had professed themselves "disloyal." As anyone could have predicted, the community established for these people at Tule Lake in northern California was in continuous turmoil. While only a small minority were militantly Japanese, it was this group which gained control. Incidents, such as the accidental death of one of the inmates, were seized upon for political maneuvering until a threatened revolt led to the use of the Army. When peace had been restored, pro-Japanese elements introduced early morning military exercises, bugle blowing, and *banzais*, which made the camp look like a Tokyo parade ground. Though the active adherents never amounted to more than a few hundred, their activities, added to the ever-present fear of being forced out into a hostile world, led seven out of ten citizens at Tule Lake—including former soldiers in the American Army—to renounce their citizenship.

The cycle which began with evacuation was complete. Their parents had lost their hard-won foothold in the economic structure of America. They, themselves, had been deprived of rights which indoctrination in American schools had led them to believe inviolable. Charged with no offense, but victims of a military misconception, they had suffered confinement behind barbed wire . . . They had been at the mercy of administrative agencies working at cross-purposes. They had yielded to parental compulsion in order to hold the family intact. They had been intimidated by the ruthless tactics of pressure groups in camp. They had become terrified by reports of the continuing hostility of the American public, and they had finally renounced their irreparably depreciated citizenship.



—Press Association, Inc.

The 442d Combat Team's "valor made headlines all over the country when it began fighting in Europe. . . . It is said to be the most decorated unit of the war."

In this fashion we created nearly five thousand men and women without a country. No one can read this factual record of our abrogation of democratic principles without the sober realization of a great injustice that still remains to be righted by enactment of a law to repay a small part of the losses sustained by the evacuees, and by a more enlightened attitude toward evacuation on the part of the Supreme Court.

The futility of this spoilage is brought into focus by Andrew Lind's account of the Japanese in wartime Hawaii. One-third of Hawaii's people were of Japanese ancestry; the Japanese in the three West Coast states were less than one per cent of the population. In Hawaii they were promised fair and equal treatment, with swift punishment for any who should betray this trust. Those known to have connections with Tokyo were watched and picked up when the surprise attack came. The others continued to fill their vital roles in the Hawaiian economy. They also guarded military objectives, captured Japanese submariners, served as OCD wardens—and suffered more casualties from the Japanese attack than all other racial groups put together.

A sociologist who has taught in the University of Hawaii for nearly twenty years, Andrew Lind is widely familiar with life in Hawaii, where the United States—through fortuitous circumstance rather than initial planning—has created the most hopeful community of interracial harmony in the world today. Without dodging any of the uglier manifestations of prejudice, Professor Lind shows that Hawaii met the test of the war remarkably well. It did so because

the military and civilian authorities realized that racial harmony was not an ideal to pay lip service to but a goal that could be achieved.

Professor Lind, whose War Research Laboratory collected a vast amount of first-hand and first-rate material about the attitudes of the many races present in Hawaii, clears up a number of misconceptions about Japanese-Americans. He shows, for instance, that their birthrate is well below that of most other racial groups. He shows that the American-born children differ so markedly from their alien parents as to suggest that they come of a different stock—thus refuting the thought still prevalent in many uninformed minds that race determines conduct and attitude. The net effect of the war, he concludes, was to hasten and assist the participation of Japanese Americans in the broader life of the Hawaiian community.

In a day when democracy seems to be diplomatically on the defensive, it is heartening to find proof of its vitality in this American outpost. If we have to travel to Hawaii to learn how to achieve interracial harmony—a lesson which both our foreign and domestic policy must learn—is it not about time we granted the statehood Hawaii wants and deserves?

Our handling of the Japanese Americans as these books record it, is at once an illustration of our great strength and our great weakness—of the workability of democratic principles when truly applied, as in Hawaii and the 442d, and of our fear to stand by what we profess, as in the evacuation of the West Coast. A clearer demonstration of the meaning and potentiality of American culture could scarcely be given.

Sup. C.

Book Reviews

It is inevitable that many readers of Lind's book will compare its story and the way in which it is told with Leighton's recent study, *The Governing of Men*. The comparison is worth making. Both books deal with the American treatment of Japanese citizens and Japanese aliens under the often hysterical crises of war conditions. Hawaii's method was the more humane and democratic, whereas that of the Pacific coast, lacking a tradition of racial tolerance and friendship, produced by its mass evacuation great hardship for many thousands and undoubtedly created ill-will among many of its victims toward the Federal and state governments, the military, and the democratic process in general.

Leighton's treatment of his subject is that of a psychiatrist with anthropological training, Lind's that of a sociologist. For many readers Lind's approach will seem the less rewarding because the sociologist has limited himself to a rather generalized description of mass stereotypes and institutional changes without digging very deeply into the dynamic factors producing both stability and change in the lives of the peoples he describes. The picture of the psychiatrist-anthropologist, on the other hand, appears to be more dynamic and realistic, while the conceptual scheme enables the reader to understand more readily the interrelations between institutional patterns and human hopes, frustrations and desires. If there is any methodological lesson to be drawn from this comparison, it surely resides in the fact that the time has come for both sociology and anthropology to be cross-fertilized by the insights of psychology and psychiatry into the motives of men. Only when the investigator is able to control the maximum number of insights into his raw facts are his facts capable of yielding the maximum understanding of human social behavior.

Wellington, March 1947

ERNEST BEAGLEHOLE

THE SPOILAGE. By Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1946. pp. 388. \$3.75.

OF THE SEVERAL clinical studies of America's wartime treatment of its residents of Japanese ancestry, the present is the most thorough. In language of severe objectivity, and with a wealth of documentation rare even in these days of meticulous social investigations, the authors have fashioned a severer indictment of American civilization than have any of the emotionally colored reports of the same episode. A government popularly supported on the ground of its concern for human welfare inflicted during four years every conceivable hardship and humiliation upon a section of its population charged with no crime. It gave way to the hysteria of a small minority; it

Pacific Affairs

permitted a mechanical military concept of national security to override the dictates of morality and of common sense; it got itself entangled in contradictions of policy; and it has thus far failed to make even such amends for manifest injustices as involve only financial compensation.

The book itself provides no such conclusion—and, indeed, no summary of findings. Its generalizations are few and intended for the most part to elucidate the external course of events. Little guidance is afforded the reader who desires to cut through the accumulation of observations, excerpts from diaries and letters, official statements, and accounts of local events or personal experiences, to a grasp of essentials. To get the full meaning of these chronicles, he must work hard or use the materials here offered in conjunction with Alexander Leighton's *The Governing of Men*.

This is not to say that the information here offered has little value for the social scientist. For many purposes it is exceptionally useful. Records of social conflict are too often lacking in the very data that explain their psychological content. In the present instance, they are as complete in every respect and as carefully checked as the most meticulous student may hope for.

There are also many secondary values. For example, the reliability of verbal tests to ascertain attitudes is once again thoroughly exploded. In this instance, the government used it in a futile attempt to separate loyal from disloyal Japanese Americans. As one Issei points out, no inner conflict is involved in being law-abiding—and to that extent loyal to the United States—and at the same time altogether loyal to Japan in feeling. Cultural pluralism does not permit of any tests of attitude in rigid terms of absolutes.

The detailed account of the "revolt" in the segregation center set aside for difficult elements provides an unusually clear picture of the contributions of uncertainty, fear, and resentment to the growth of violence. It tends to confirm the belief held by many social scientists that the success popularly attributed to the machinations of professional agitators has a foundation of fact only in those rare instances when they come upon a scene exactly ripe for them.

Among other matters of special interest to those concerned in social group adjustments is an abundance of information about the effect of the catastrophic interference with the lives of Japanese residents on the Pacific Coast on the relations between young and old, between those who still have links with the homeland and those who have none.

Of technical interest for social research is the excellent use made in the project that has resulted in this report of "participant observers". Many of these were young highly-trained Japanese Americans who genuinely shared in the emotions of the camp population to which they belonged, yet were able to record their observations and thoughts with a high degree of objec-

Book Reviews

tivity. This kind of evidence requires special checks, of course, but in this instance, at least, has proved invaluable.

A second volume will deal with the experiences of that minority of evacuees who, forcibly torn by these events from their homes on the Pacific Coast, found through their dispersal and resettlement in other parts of the United States a new promise of release from the status of half-Americans.

New York, March 1947

BRUNO LASKER

BRITISH SECURITY. *Report by a Chatham House Study Group. London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1946. pp. 176. 8/6 and \$2.50.*

ANY REPORT by a Chatham House Group will be certain to have many merits and one defect. Every point of view will be considered. There will be abundant information. There will be logic and accuracy. But just when the reader wants his own halting judgment confirmed or confounded, he will find the group saying that much might be said on both sides.

How is the United Kingdom to find security in a changing world? Chatham House answers, not by producing a formula, but by explaining the traditional British foreign policy, the conditions under which it grew up and the changed—and changing—conditions of today. Comment and interpretation convey the impression that the eleven members of the group are divided, not only among themselves, but each in his own mind. They can assemble and display the facts; they can predict what will happen if certain conditions prevail; but the future of the United Kingdom depends on variables as much as on constants, and there are too many question marks to permit anyone who prizes objectivity to give definite answers. The group, however, provides a method and information, and in effect leaves each of us to answer the question for himself.

The story and interpretation of British foreign policy is the most important part of the book, though it is inserted as a mere background for the main argument. The historical objectives of British foreign policy, though often stated in terms which might mislead the superficial, are clear. They have been to maintain British frontiers and trade routes; to preserve the independence of the Lowlands; to prevent single nations from dominating the European continent; and to prevent the violation of treaties by any Power. There are two addenda which, at first glance, seem loosely connected with the general texture of British policy: the enduring alliance with Portugal and the continual nervousness about Russia. The first is explained by the desire to have an entry port into the continent in case of intervention, the second by

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of papers succeeds well in emphasizing that the veterinarians have advanced further than the clinicians in studies of certain biological aspects of fertility and in the application of their knowledge. The reasons for this are understandable, for the veterinarian encounters relatively little difficulty in procuring subjects for study and in controlling his experiments. The researches in the reproduction of domestic animals should not only be of immense benefit to stock raisers but should also help to blaze the trail for the more important work in human fecundity.

CLYDE V. KISER

Milbank Memorial Fund

File
Under
Reviews

THOMAS, DOROTHY SWAINE, and RICHARD S. NISHIMOTO. *The Spoilage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement*. Pp. xv, 388. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946. \$3.75.

This volume recounts the story of the evacuation of the Japanese. In twelve chapters it describes the evacuation itself, the detention "behind barbed wire," the registration and segregation of the "loyal" and the "disloyal," the revolts within the camps and their suppression, the adjustment of some of the evacuees, the "underground" activity of others, the apathetic abandon of most of them, the strife among the evacuees themselves, the pressure tactics of the "disloyal," and the renunciation of American citizenship by many. The appendix gives "The Life History of a 'Disloyal'" and biographical and terminology notes.

Although the story is already well known, it is here thoroughly documented. What Commander Leighton did in one detention center (reported in "The Governing of Men") was done, in some respects more systematically and minutely, in several centers, by means of detailed observations and records, by fifteen or more persons, some of whom were identified observers (themselves evacuees) and some participant observers. The research itself and the report contained in this volume constitute one of the most—if not the most—competent pieces of work thus far done in

the field of crisis-phenomena sociology involving minorities.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that the phenomena here recorded are relatively nonrecurrent and of such an extraordinary character as to make the record of little predictive or control value. The present volume will probably be read by a few of those who themselves went through the experience; by the kind of "scholars" and students who spend life in reproducing, quoting, and requoting data; and by those who will want to point the finger of scorn at the society which permitted such events to occur. In addition, it is essential to note that the ultimately basic facts, i.e., the economic foundations of the whole evacuation, are not recorded at all; those facts could have been secured, and their omission is very serious. Moreover, satisfying though such a report as this is (in the scholar's sense), the facts are not brought out into sufficiently bold relief to awaken the attention of those who have an influence in the affairs of men; its very scholarship impeccability will keep it from reaching those who might possibly do something in terms of control.

This volume, however, is so rich, so meaningful, so beautifully conceived and executed, so full of deep insight and sympathy for those who were subjected to the experiences described, that it will aid greatly in an understanding of what happens, and is likely to happen, to minorities in times of societal stress. Thereby it may aid those who are seeking to correct the wrongs done, and may even help in preventing their recurrence. Sincere, wholehearted thanks are due to its authors. We look forward to the promised second volume.

CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO

University of California
Los Angeles

LIND, ANDREW W. *Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy*. Pp. 246. Princeton: Princeton University Press (in co-operation with Institute of Pacific Relations), 1946. \$3.00.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor many asked, What of the Japanese in Hawaii? At one extreme it was thought that the

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Sociological Study of the Mass ousting and Relocation, of Japanese

"THE SPOILAGE." By Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto. Published by the University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California. 1946. 388 pages.

This sociological document is a well annotated story of the evacuation and relocation of the Japanese-American residents on the West Coast during the war.

Despite handicaps of many types the authors and contributors to this study managed to collect a vast amount of valuable material, much of which proves that the American policy led only to tragedy.

In general, this first volume of a two volume report deals with those Japanese-born who chose a return to Japan rather than life here, and with members of the American born group who, overcome with bitterness, gave up their American citizenship.

The preliminary causes for unhappiness lay in the manner in which the evacuation was accomplished.

Many Japanese Americans were willing to be relocated if this in any way proved their loyalty. But when it was done in such haste that the homes and possessions acquired through long years of toil were lost to speculators who paid but a fraction of the property's worth, many began to lose heart.

Later in the camps, poor accommodations, partiality on the part of certain camp administrators and a constant flow of rumors concerning residents who had turned to spying for the U.S. government, kept residents in a state of suspicion which turned even the best of camp programs into little more than busy work to guard against discontent engendered by lack of meaningful activities.

Finally, in certain camps, the older men took over control, forcing Japanese schools upon the younger people, threatening or beating those who spoke in favor of the United States, and in general substantiating the claims made by the Caucasians as to the inability of the West Coast Japanese ever to be good citizens.

This book deals with a bitter subject closely concerning the residents of Hawaii. Though difficult reading, it contains such a wealth of information on a frequently discussed problem it would be well for those concerned with the protection of our basic liberties to gain an understanding of the points made.

Some credit accrues to Hawaii in that several of the case histories of those returning to Japan reveal that those who obtained

their early education in the Hawaiian Islands recall with emotion that here they were unaware of the hatreds displayed toward their kind on the mainland.

Such a book adds inevitably to the feeling increasingly expressed on the mainland and here, that the mass evacuation of Japanese from the Pacific coast was needless and a mistake.

Many Americans who are 100 per cent Caucasian and whose loyalty is not to be doubted have expressed this feeling.

Dorothy Swaine Thomas is a noted sociologist. Richard Nishimoto was himself an evacuee. Other contributors were social scientists living in the camps either as residents or camp administrators.

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