

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFICATION REVIEW PROJECT

NND 883078

RECORD GROUP	ENTRY	BOX
407	P.A.C.	200

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

NA Form 1409 (4-85)

RG 407 Records of the Adjutant  
General's Office

PHILIPPINE ARCHIVES COLLECTION

POWS/Civilian Internees

Civilian Internees-Rosters

Box 200

93-2

MORALE OF SANTO TOMAS

INTERNEE CAMP

MANILA P. I.

Morale of Santo Tomas Internee Camp  
File 9 List 1

Morale of Santo Tomas

## THE MORALE OF SANTO TOMAS

An honest report on the morale of 3,219 American men, women and children in Santo Tomas Internment Camp requires going beyond a factual rehearsal of statistics and events, beyond medical diagnoses and physical appearances, to deal with the things these people feel and think after 22 months of imprisonment. In order to clarify the implications of this report, it will be well to keep in mind certain important facts which have bearing on the elusive thing called "morale." These facts are as follows:

Our isolation from the world at war and the world immediately around us is almost absolute. The only communication officially permitted is with other interment camps, and this is infrequent. Financially, we are dependent upon charity, upon borrowed credit, and upon the "magnanimity" and "generosity" of the Japanese military authorities, who recently elevated to one peso per day, per head, our allowance for basic needs, including food. While men and women are permitted to associate in daytime and early evening, marital relations are prohibited and there is absolute segregation of living quarters, all intimacy between the sexes being expressly forbidden by the Japanese.

Since the beginning of interment in January of 1942, we have had no official contact with our government, either directly or indirectly, through the Red Cross or through third party representation; and with no official of our government among us, we are thrown upon our own resources in dealing with the Japanese. Our future, individually and collectively, is uncertain, both during and after the war. We have been deprived by military action of our homes, our means of livelihood, and all but the meagerest personal possessions, such as we were tricked into bringing to Santo Tomas for a "registration period" of "two or three days" nearly two years ago.

These are the conditions which, outside the simple facts of our loss of freedom and crowded living conditions, principally affect the mental state of interned Americans. Since all other nationals concerned, mainly British and Dutch, share the burdens and the limited privileges of internment, it may be said there is little difference and much similarity in the condition of all interned people, totalling some 4,760. This report, however, deals specifically with the American community, which, as will be made plain later, is placed in a special position as regards the political implications of internment and has, therefore, a slightly different way of looking at things.

Physical Aspects.- Imagine a 50-acre walled enclosure dominated by a massive, somber, three-story building of concrete set off with straight, heavy columns, vertical rows of blue-tinted windows, a heavily corniced, flat roof, the whole surmounted by a tall tower. The ground floor windows are barred with iron, like a jail.

The stone walls surrounding the compound are approximately ten feet high, Japanese sentries with guns and bayonets are stationed at the main gate, and internees are required to bow upon entering or departing, when going out on release or on official business.

The compound is quartered with neat graded roads bordered with old shade trees, the main building being located at the central crossing of these roads. It is flanked on either side by two more large buildings of three stories. One is occupied exclusively by men internees, the other, a chapel and administrative building, by Catholic priests of the Dominican order, who are the nominal owners of Santo Tomas University. The campus contains several other buildings, mostly wooden structures, including a roomy concrete and steel gymnasium with

an arched roof. All of them are packed to near-capacity as living quarters.

On three sides of the compound a community of 600 shacks had grown up. Crowded closely together and open to all weathers, these shacks of nipa and bamboo resemble a Philippine barrio. Here cooking is done over charcoal stoves. Primitive coconut oil lamps or kerosene pressure lamps furnish light. A limited number of "men only" are allowed to sleep in them, preferring exposure, monsoon rains and typhoon winds to crowded building quarters where the official allotment of space is 36 inches by 72 inches.

General Appearances.- An initial impression of the physical condition of internees might create envy of a sort. Healthy-looking young people, deeply sun-tanned, are seen practising football, baseball or basketball on the broad green lawns and play fields. Children seem to be normal and healthy, busy at games and attending school classes.

Clothing is scanty. Men and women alike wear shorts, and bakias for footwear, the bakias being wooden slabs with straps across the toes, worn on bare feet. Many men wear no shirts. Beards are commonly worn, both to save shaving and to satisfy a certain type of male vanity. One reason for going bare above the waist is to preserve scarce clothing, but to some it represents a satisfying rebellion against civilized custom.

Women generally have sought to preserve the amenities. They spend much time cleaning and repairing what few clothes they have. Bright colors are freely worn. Cosmetics are in great demand, and most women keep their lips and faces rouged. Clothing of both men and women is ragged and patched, faded with much washing, and well worn.

A visiting observer might note the smiling, animated expressions on people's faces, the cheery greetings passed unfailingly between internees, the bustle of activity attending performance of camp duties and preparation of food, the pleasant lolling about with books in shady spot, and conclude he had entered a community of castaways on a desert island, where the ingenuities of a Robinson Crusoe has been employed to make life pleasant under conditions of stern privation.

On second sight, however, an unnatural thinness would be marked as prevalent among these people, and a slowness and lassitude in their movements. Many look drawn, tired and worried. Energy flags quickly. Our doctors estimate an average loss of weight per person for the whole population of 25 to 30 pounds. This becomes shockingly evident in the crowded shower baths. Some of Manila's portly bankers and prosperous businessmen would be difficult to recognize. Rotund abdomens have vanished. Shoulder bones and ribs stick out. Two small drapes of flesh replace normal rear contours. Such manifestations of improper nourishment are not freely spoken about, for with too many people impairment of physical assets is either an actual embarrassment or a latent fear.

A tour of the main building on a rainy evening reveals this great gloomy pile of concrete as the solar plexus of Santo Tomas--and the abode of the women. On the ground floor is the brightly-lighted local management office, where an appointed committee of internees conducts autonomous camp affairs. In the lobby are two blocks of collapsible chairs where, night after night, sit their owners, always in the same allotted positions, reading or chatting, while in the space between them flows a stream of oddly-assorted, oddly-dressed humanity, in and out the main entrance, up and down a broad staircase leading to upper floors, where beds and cots are crowded side by side in college classrooms, each bed with its mosquito net. The dimly-lighted corridors and hallways, lined with chairs, tables and cabinets, are crowded with

people deprived by weather of the cherished privilege of sitting under the stars until nine o'clock.

In the rear corridor are refreshment stands where licensed internee vendors dispense coffee, cakes and tidbits made from rice flour, sugar and peanuts. Smells from the main kitchen, closed for the night, mingle with emanations of rain-soaked clothing, human odors from close sleeping quarters, whiffs of cheap perfume and the acrid smoke of native cigarettes. A steady hum of conversation is punctuated by the sharp clack of bakias on the concrete floors, and strains of recorded music flow from the camp's loudspeaker system. Many women have donned "dress-up" clothes and put flowers in their hair, for this is the social hour. At nine o'clock a bell rings and corridors are cleared for roll-call. At eleven, lights are out.

Make the same tour at seven in the morning and you find Santo Tomas with its mask off. Bathrooms are crowded. Long lines of drooping women in boudoir attire await their turn in the hallways, with no rouge, no lipstick, no artifice to hide the ravages of boredom and exhaustion. Lines of men and women are beginning to form at the food counters, laden with tin pails, buckets, pans and trays, waiting for the morning dole of rice-and-corn mush, coffee-flavored hot water, and coconut milk. Another day has begun, just like yesterday, just like tomorrow.

General Welfare.- For many on the breakfast line it will be their only meal of the day until five o'clock in the afternoon, when they line up in the same queues for vegetable hash with duck eggs, rice, fruit and tea, and carry their food portions to long eating sheds back of the main building where rough benches are provided. The menu varies slightly, governed by the procurability of food at fantastic inflation prices in the outside markets. Meat is occasionally obtainable and may be carabao or a poor grade of beef, fit only for stews. Those who do hard work, or for other reasons need it most, are given lunch, usually native beans. Week in the week out, the camp diet runs about 1500 calories short of daily minimum requirements. A majority have found some means to supplement it through the resourcefulness and loyalty of Filipino friends outside the camp or with borrowed money; but a single egg costs 35 centavos.

The financial situation is peculiar. American internees have had no accounts in American or other "enemy national" banks since internment, and access to local bank funds is limited in frequency and amount of withdrawal. But the country is flooded with Japanese military currency which finds no safe investment outlet under conditions of Japanese occupation. Such is the confidence in ultimate Allied victory that the safest investment prospect is considered to be that much-vilified enemy national, particularly the American, who will pay back after the war in good Philippine pesos or American dollars. Bad money has driven out the good and the 150,000,000 pesos of Philippine currency which was in circulation before the war has entirely disappeared or may be had in dribbles at a premium.

Money, therefore, is easy to obtain for those who can establish credit, although, needless to say, this must be done clandestinely and through subterfuges. Hundreds of thousands of military pesos, which the Filipinos call "Mickey Mouse" money, has entered the camp and much of it has gone out again to help those in even worse circumstances. Its value, however, has depreciated to one-tenth of the buying power of the pre-war peso. For less well-known internees money is not easy to obtain, and the resulting unequal distribution of means in the camp creates a condition which has a deleterious effect upon general morale. Various machineries have been set up by the camp management to help the needy, but either pride or cupidity prevent a fully satisfactory adjustment.

Obtaining adequate clothing is an increasing problem. The whole country is theoretically on a ration basis of 100 points a year at controlled cloth prices. Internees are allowed only 80 points, for the Jap-

Japanese officially contend internees don't need to wear coats and therefore need less cloth. Eighty points will procure for an adult male two pairs of shorts, a pair of socks and a spool of thread; for a woman, one dress, a handkerchief and three yards of cotton or rayon material. Selection of articles or material may vary within narrow limits.

Against the nervous strain of isolation, crowding and boredom, the internee community has pitted a schedule of work, educational and recreational activity which has been the soundest stabilizing influence of internment. Religious activity has had a share in this, and a variety of music is made available in nightly concerts. Dancing, however, is strictly forbidden by military order.

Educational facilities are ample. Children attend school regularly, and standard scholarship requirements are met, from kindergarten through high school and into college. Courses for adults are available in languages, sciences and the arts. Vocational training has not been neglected.

The internment camp is a small, compressed city within a city, having all the variegated functions to perform for its upkeep and welfare that any city has. The labor of keeping it clean and operating it properly, as well as the labor that was spent in setting it up and improving it, all was drawn from the internee body. Every able person theoretically works a minimum of two hours a day in the interests of the community.

Two hospitals are maintained, with internee directors and doctors and a staff of U.S. Army nurses. The main hospital is just outside the wall in a former convent, reached through a special gate leading to a barbed wire enclosure. Its 100-bed capacity is often overtaxed and 450 cases daily are treated in the clinic. There is also a children's hospital. Deaths registered in camp hospitals have been few, for instructions of the Japanese are to remove dangerously sick patients to outside institutions before death occurs. The Japanese have furnished no medicines or medical supplies to the Santo Tomas hospital. The daily allowance of one peso per person is supposed to cover such expenses--with sulfathiazol tablets costing P2.50 each.

Reading matter is becoming hard to find for the more studious. A free library is maintained, supplemented by several lending libraries of privately-owned books. Periodical literature, long since cast aside for its two-year-old reading matter, is still in demand among women for illustrated advertising matter, particularly of clothing, fine foods, gadgets and home furnishings, all representing the luxuries of which they have been deprived. Women of all ages, and some men, pore over them by the hour, being transported for a time on advertising's magic carpet to a happier environment.

Conditions at Los Banos Internment Camp, a three-hour journey by road to the south, are similar, insofar as restrictions and general conditions are concerned. In May of 1943, some 800 men internees were loaded into box cars and transported by railroad to temporary quarters in this new camp, where conditions were so inadequate that protests to the Japanese authorities were elicited from both camps, resulting in postponement and final abandonment of the announced plan to concentrate 7,000 enemy aliens in Los Banos, housed in unfurnished wooden barracks without floors, light-arrangements, toilet facilities or sufficient water. Since May, the Los Banos camp has been sufficiently improved that 200 women are scheduled to be sent up this month or early in December to join their husbands, and for the first time since internment, cohabitation has been promised married couples at Los Banos. The impatience of women in Santo Tomas to be allowed to join their husbands under these conditions had been the cause of a minor management crisis, due to delays in transferring the 200.

It is understood that the morale of the 800 men at Los Banos is now equal or superior to that in Santo Tomas. They are young or middle-aged men, chosen initially because of comparatively good physical condition,

and they get three meals a day and live under less crowded conditions.

One of the strongest prevailing sentiments among Santo Tomas internees is an abiding gratitude for assistance of all kinds coming from non-interned sources. The priests of Santo Tomas, deprived of the use of their university property by circumstances over which they had no control, have done what they could toward alleviating mass discomfort by relinquishing university facilities for community use. It is to loyal Filipino friends, however, that the internees owe most. At the risk (and often the occurrence) of face-slapping, beating, maltreatment and imprisonment, they have furnished food, clothing, supplies and encouragement month after month, bringing their offerings in person to the main gate where they are inspected for contraband and accepted or rejected by the Japanese authorities; or else confiscated, according to whim. Confiscation was common in the early days of internment, but the inspection is now largely internee-controlled, although Filipinos are not allowed to come inside the camp. This persistent demonstration of loyalty and helpfulness on the part of friends, former servants and business associates has been of great benefit, not only because of the material assistance but because of the manifest sacrifice and regard of the donors. Gratitude is deep to the point of embarrassment and not lightly or easily expressed.

The material needs of the internment camp may be considerably alleviated by the expected arrival of a shipment of relief supplies for all war prisoners and internees in the Philippines. The shipment has been landed in Manila. The bulk of it is stored in warehouses of neutral nationals, and the internee management is hopeful that a good percentage of the allotted portion will find its way into Santo Tomas. It will be the first shipment of American relief goods to reach the internees, and is understood to include abundant supplies of greatly-needed medicines, concentrated foods, clothing, shoes and coveted American cigarettes. Whether all that has been sent is properly and fully distributed rests finally with the Japanese military authorities, who have control of it, as on previous occasions. When relief supplies from South Africa and Canada arrived a year ago, fresh American and British cigarettes and canned milk unexplainably appeared on Manila markets at inflation prices.

Japanese Treatment.-- No one in Santo Tomas is qualified to pronounce with full final conviction upon our treatment, good or bad, at the hands of the Japanese, because we are deprived of first-hand comparative knowledge of reciprocal treatment in the United States and elsewhere. Conditions and facts must tell the story, which assuredly had had vital effect upon the morale of interned Americans.

The day in February, 1942, when three British internees were shot to death for climbing the wall of Santo Tomas and escaping the "protective custody" under which they had been placed, saw the form and mold of our internment set and sealed. Since then, the Japanese have allowed a semblance of autonomous rule in the camp with little apprehension of obstreperous behavior. Fear of being shot and dumped into a grave has made repetition of such punishment unnecessary.

Threatened or actual cancellation of hard-won "privileges" has been an effective sword of Damocles, for it is a firm Japanese policy that all should suffer for the misbehavior of one. Closing the front gate to Filipinos bringing food, denial of the use of shanties, setting back the roll call hour to bring everyone indoors earlier in the evening--all these "punishments" have been administered upon occasion, and threatened times beyond counting. Violations of release regulations, of the rule against liquor in camp, unauthorized communication with persons outside, all bring down stern reprisal measures.

The bete noir of Japanese occupation of the Philippines is their military police, equivalent of the Gestapo, with headquarters at old Fort

Santiago. One hundred to 150 Americans have endured the hospitality of Santiago for periods as long as 13 months, and for offenses no greater than the charge of having influenced public opinion against Japan before the war. No recital of atrocities is intended here, but it may be mentioned that torture methods used upon Americans and Filipinos have caused them to come out physical wrecks, while some have not come out alive. These things, being generally known, have a salutary effect, from the Japanese viewpoint, upon discipline among the despised enemy aliens; and the natural effect upon morale that induced fear would have.

It has been impossible to pin down our Japanese captors with a declaration of what international law applies to our status as internees. For the first five and a half months of internment not a centavo was expended by the Japanese military for our support. The explanation was that we were in protective custody, but never was it explained from whom we were being protected. Was it from the Filipinos, whose loyal ministrations helped to keep us from starving when a harrassed and incompetent local Red Cross organization broke down and was abolished? No direct answer ever was obtained, but a visiting Japanese diplomat was brought to camp to explain to all internees about the alleged atrocious treatment of Japanese nationals in America, consisting chiefly of a denial of the use of the lobby in the exclusive and luxurious Homestead Hotel at White Sulphur springs where he himself was interned; the very bad air in the room at Ellis Island where 200 Japanese were temporarily confined; inability to draw their accounts out of banks, leaving prominent Japanese businessmen without funds.

These statements, and other appearing from time to time in newspaper propaganda stories about alleged mistreatment of Japanese in America, have caused many a quiet and bitter smile in Santo Tomas. When the Teia Maru docked at Manila en route to Tokyo with Japanese exchanges, the press published pictures of well-fed repatriates, stories about their up-to-date attire, and proud mention of several babies born on shipboard. This item was especially interesting to several fathers in Santo Tomas who were sentenced to 60 days in the camp jail on orders of the Japanese for violation of the regulation against family intimacy, despite the fact that some of them had been on release with their properly wedded wives for considerable periods of time.

Indulgence in self-sympathy over internee treatment at the hands of the Japanese is effectively checked by the knowledge that the indignities and hardships suffered are definitely secondary to, and hardly to be compared with, the harsh treatment of our war prisoners, or even with the suffering of some of the Filipino people, whose livelihood is more uncertain and precarious than our own and whose mistreatment at the hands of the Japanese military following occupation must be one of the black chapters of the war. Filipinis who have been sent to dreaded Santiago outnumber Americans many times.

Various Japanese commandants assigned to Santo Tomas have assiduously tried to make the internees believe they were being treated on the whole magnanimously, and that measures seemingly stringent were for the preservation of our essential discipline and our own ultimate benefit.

To most internees, however, it seems that the Japanese have employed an unflagging, deliberate technique to crush their spirits, depress them physically, confuse them mentally and to bring the "war of nerves" to bear upon a defenseless section of humanity unfortunately in their control; and that the only deterrent to worse treatment is fear of reprisal and world opinion.



Mind and Spirit.- There are certain indications of the trend of mental health in Santo Tomas which, if considered alone, might cause alarm, being generally prevalent. There is a noticeable impairment of ability to make small decisions quickly. Observation is superficial and incomplete, with a lack of intellectual discipline. Irrascibility is high, and has a tendency to manifest itself in group protests against small or imagined injustices. The most violent arguments arise over unverifiable matters. There is excessive preoccupation with the smallest details of living. Any assigned responsibility seems to carry with it the weight of the world, and lack of such responsibility makes people resort to foolish means of self-assertion.

The presence of these manifestations, or lack of them, generally indicates the degree of success with which the individual has met changed conditions of environment. In January of 1942, luxury dropped out of our lives and the world of the internee was suddenly compressed to 50-acre size, channeling and narrowing his activity and thoughts, and requiring a conscious effort to maintain proper mental activity and perspective. Those who made the adjustment most successfully were able to occupy themselves with an absorbing hobby or with helping others in some systematic way. Those who failed became entirely preoccupied with their own welfare and with news and rumors of war progress. They directed most of their waking thoughts to seeking an answer to the unanswerable question: "How much longer will it be?"

It has always been hard to realize that we were and are in an impossibly disadvantageous position to conduct intelligent detailed discussion of the present war--the one topic outside of food that commands universal priority. We are unwilling and sceptical victims of the stupidly false, bungling and prevaricating Japanese propaganda in the local newspapers, whose only value to us is inadvertent or forced admission of Allied successes. We are willing and eager victims of an even worse form of information--ill conceived and foundation less rumor. We have grown accustomed to unwarranted dependence upon unreliable information of all sorts. And we find it hard to realize that such few bona fide reports of San Francisco or London radio broadcasts as drift into camp through the barriers are originally intended for the ears of the enemy, not for beleaguered nationals.

(Incidentally Buenos Aires is the source of American domestic news open to Domei whence come the worst of anti-Allied propaganda stories. Lisbon is next.)

In general the really old people have found it most difficult of all of us to make adjustments to internment conditions, both physical and mental; and children have come off best. Compression of their world meant little to them, for it was small to begin with.

If considered by themselves, these manifestations of mental deterioration might be alarming, but they do not exist by themselves. They are environmental and temporary. No more do they represent the real spirit prevailing in Santo Tomas than does the inordinate amount of grouching, and the carping criticism against alleged inefficient and unsympathetic internee management. Confronted with real crises like the serious illness of loved ones or the death of close friends, imagined troubles melt away, and people find a reserve of calm strength that seems to have been increased rather than diminished by privation.

This fortification of the spirit shows itself in many little ways, but chiefly in the direction of a feeling about Americanism. A love of country has somehow sprung up, not by way of martial music, excitement and flag-waving and oratory, but through the very lack of these things. For almost two years we have had drummed into us daily a scurrilous vilification of our flag, our country, our President, our way of life and our motives, all done through propaganda primarily intended to turn the Filipinos away from American and toward Japan. Adequate expression of the feeling this causes among Santo Tomas Americans is denied to us, along with the ability to express simple patriotism, whether by word or deed.

One night last August the camp's entertainment department produced an uncensored performance of vaudeville which was supposed to have been a Fourth of July offering but was delayed for one reason or another. All but the final act conformed to the sort of comical and harmless buffoonery to which the Japanese had no objections.

The setting was an improvised outdoor stage in front of the main building, with the entire camp population seated before it. The stage was suddenly darkened. The voice of an unseen commentator began to tell the story of Francis Scott Key, prisoner on a warship, watching the dawn break over Fort McHenry. Faintly out of the darkness came the strains of the Star-Spangled Banner--background music.

As one person the shocked audience quietly stood, seemingly lifted from their seats. A spotlight became fixed upon a lone performer who in a low, conversational voice, shaking with emotion, commenced to read the words of the national anthem. As the final inspiring phrases died away and the music faded, there was silence. People stood with bowed heads, grateful for the darkness that hid their tears. It was a long moment before the shuffling of feet gave the signal for return to reality.

If the Japanese were displeased, they forebore for once to inflict punishment.

Against internee camp management is vented much of the fiery denunciation that belongs to the Japanese, but which by circumstances the internees are prevented from expressing because of the obvious consequences. Denied for the first time in history as Americans the full right of free speech, they make the most vehement possible use of limited rights within the semi-autonomous, semi-democratic internee government structure which the Japanese permit as a magnanimous gesture. Thus the so-called Executive Committee bears a cross of criticism along with the responsibility for operational functioning of the community and liaison with the Japanese military through a Commandant who holds office in the internment camp.

The more vociferous critics of management cannot agree among themselves, and the tendency is to split into groups and blocs over various issues, these blocs again being split and re-joined over some new issue.

Repatriation.--In September of 1942 the prospect of a small number of internees being sent home caused a stir in Santo Tomas. One hundred fifty men, women and children departed for Shanghai, where they had been led by the Japanese to believe that chances were slightly better to get transportation for the homeland. The rumor went around that another boat was due in shortly to take selected American civilians for exchange.

The rumored second repatriation failed to materialize for one year, but every American found himself up against a decision whether to get out of the Philippines if he had the opportunity. It set some of us thinking about our position with relation to the Philippines, our government, and the war.

Many Americans have spent their adult lives in the Islands. Many came out here as soldiers in 1898 and 1899. They fought the Spaniards, fought the Insurrectos, and remained to cast their lot with the Filipinos. They belonged here, as the American flag belonged here. If Ameri-

can civilians had been evacuated in a body, the Filipinos would have felt deeply hurt and angry. They would have felt deserted by their friends, left holding the bag, just as they would if we had pulled out the Army and Navy in front of a Japanese military onslaught.

In September of 1943 a list of 150 American names, consisting mostly of transients, consular representatives and missionaries, was handed to the camp management by the Japanese, who said it came originally from Washington. At the order of the commandant, secrecy was observed. Those on the list were approached individually and asked if they wished to go home. A score or more said no, they did not wish to go. The list seemed to make no sense. Tragic cases of severe illness were left out. Old men and women who needed to go home were not included. Prominent Americans who thought their position in the community entitled them to a place on the list were disappointed. Still under the cloak of strict secrecy, the Japanese filled up the vacancies with Americans of their own choice who had showed a "cooperative attitude."

Pressure was put upon the Executive Committee to approach the Japanese for permission to wire our governments (all nationalities were to be included) with a plea for further repatriation.

A survey of the camp was decided upon to determine how many would wish to be transferred to the homeland, if compatible with government policies, and if any such transfer were possible. Results of the survey: between 50 and 51 per cent of the adult population (children did not vote) expressed willingness to go, provided families were not separated. The remainder preferred to stay in the Philippines and take the consequences. If family separation were involved in a transfer, only 35 per cent said they were willing to go, 65 per cent preferring to stay. Among American men and women, 48.7 per cent indicated willingness to be repatriated, the rest wishing to remain.

The people who expressed a wish to stay in the Philippines, come what may, were not all influenced by the same motives. Neither were those who voted to go home if given the opportunity. Personal considerations of every variety were involved. Voting was not secret. Many were unable or slow to decide for themselves and voted like their next-door neighbors. Many others were transients, caught by accident in Manila at the outbreak of war, and had no ties or obligations here.

Conclusions.--Morale is an elusive thing. Surveys and mass expressions of wishes or convictions do not accurately reflect it. Shades and differences of opinion are unstable and have little bearing upon an estimate of morale. The beliefs and feelings that people act upon, and consistently find themselves in agreement upon over periods of time--these are the things that add up to morale. In Santo Tomas the important ones are as follows:

1. An absolute, unflinching conviction that the Allies will win this war and that the Axis nations will be disastrously defeated, shared by every national, man, woman and child, in internment.
2. An abiding resentment, shared by a large majority of people, against what they consider high-handed, unjustified, cruel and petty persecution by the Japanese military authorities.
3. A prevailing and natural desire to end our internment and alleviate our condition, tempered by a strong reluctance to embarrass our governments with a request for special consideration that might be against policy or beyond means of fulfillment.
4. A wish to have some part, some function in the prosecution of the war, if only to embarrass the Japanese with our presence or to make our Filipino friends feel that we have not willingly abandoned them in a great crisis.
5. A constant and confident hope that American planes will soon be seen in the skies over Manila.

As these lines are written, a driving rain is beating upon the city in the wake of a typhoon which passed close by last night and early this morning. Shanties are a shambles, some of them unroofed and torn apart by the wind, all of them partly under rising flood waters, their grass walls and roofs and meager furnishings soaked and drenched along with the occupants and their personal possessions. There are no electric lights. Water supplies have been contaminated and must be boiled for drinking. The entire camp is a picture of desolate, wet, dangerous disorder.

Yet the people are not discouraged or disconsolate. They laugh at their predicament. A resilient sort of excitement prevails. People express concern over others who may be worse off, and compare experiences of a horrible night. These things are facts, and may in themselves be an indication of the morale of Santo Tomas.

-----

Manila,  
November 15, 1943.

A CERTIFIED TRUE COPY:

E. G. REYES,  
1st Lt, Infantry,  
Aide to CO.

6-2-44 n

After almost two years under fire, the morale of some 4000 internees at this camp remains a striking example of toughness and resiliency. Nor is theirs merely a victory over isolation and privation. It is their answer to the organized effort of Japan to crush their spirits, their counter against a deliberate military offensive directed at non-combatant men, women, and children. True, they are a leaner, more ragged group; and the diet afforded by their hosts has sapped much of their physical stamina; but their laughter comes as readily as ever, though somewhat more grimly and defiantly. They are all impatient, but it is not the impatience of the war-weary so much as an eagerness to take part in the final accounting. They feel they have much to repay.

The physical aspect of the offensive against these thousands of non-combatants began the day they were tricked into interment, told to report with a three day supply of food and clothing "to be registered" as enemy aliens. The three days have since stretched to months, and almost six of the months passed before the Japanese Military Administration grudgingly assumed the responsibility of feeding their captives. During the interim, an impotent andhamstrung Red Cross chapter tried feebly to cope with the problem with results that would have meant general starvation had it not been for the solicitude of individual friends on the outside. Today the military's allowance permits a food expenditure of approximately 50 centavos daily per person (with sugar at P3. per kilo in the current market). A recent survey showed that the daily internee diet fell short of minimum requirements by 1500 calories. That miserably inadequate hospital facilities are not completely swamped, that the camp death rate is not higher, can be attributed only to internee resourcefulness and the improvised charcoal stoves now so much a part of the Santo Tomas scene.

Clothes are still clean despite the prohibitive cost of soap, but ragged after two years of use. The single clothing ration of 80 points for 1943 per internee, with khaki shorts costing P6. and consuming 25 points, has not gone far toward replenishing looted wardrobes. One internee, after twenty months of pleading, was permitted to claim his luggage at the railroad station. Of the 14 pieces listed, only one remained -- a weather-beaten piano.

The internee is allowed a space 36 by 72 inches in which to sleep, store his possessions, and maintain aisle for the 40-50 others sharing the room. To this phase of persecution his answer is expressed in the erection of some 600 thatch-roofed bamboo huts in which many families spend all the daylight hours, in which many men have slept through typhoon winds and rains. To the others, living space consists of a chair, small table and perhaps a cupboard cramped along the walls of a crowded corridor. Yet, "visiting" is very much a part of camp life, and you might even be "asked to dinner" -- at which hotcakes concocted from the remains of the morning's mush comprise the piece de resistance.

Japan has not neglected the "war of nerves" technique in her attacks on the morale of her unarmed captives. With several thousand men and women, many of them young married couples, thrown into close proximity 24 hours of the day, one of the first camp rules was to forbid even the most modest demonstrations of affection, dire consequences (campwide) being threatened for infractions. Efforts to achieve even a modicum of privacy, whether in the main building or the individual shanties, are countered with threats of "loss of privileges" -- one of the latter being that of huddling under a leaky nipa roof during torrential rains. When several children were born during interment to properly wedded parents, their fathers were thrown into the camp jail for sixty days!

Against the nervous strain of almost two years of merciless exposure to spying and surveillance, the internee community has successfully pitted a schedule of recreational, educational and religious activity that occupies most of the waking day. Dancing is strictly forbidden, but popular and classical concerts are regularly offered over internee-assembled and maintained amplifiers. Live talent shows are presented with improvised settings, lighting and props, and a chorus and orchestra are now rehearsing for the Christmas presentation of the "Messiah" -- just in case the camp continues until then! Until recently, salvaged internee-owned movie equipment was available for camp use. Several times the Japanese responded to persistent requests for films by bringing into camp Class C productions of ancient vintage, insisting, however, that they might be shown only in conjunction with Japanese propaganda films. When protests mounted, the military proceeded to commandeer the projector.

Balked in their more obvious efforts, the Japanese have tried what they consider subtler expedients. But, with experience, the internee has grown wary. Onerous and capricious restraints are not charged to the hapless internee officialdom through whom they are imposed, but to the original source. When mail "from home" is freely distributed to the British but withheld from Americans, the hoped-for breach of Anglo-American camp relations fails completely. Instead, another debit is recorded in the grim ledger ultimately to be balanced.

Where the program has failed most miserably is in Japanese efforts to alienate Filipinos and Americans from each other. Manila's propaganda sheet, the revived "Tribune", continues to be the internee's favorite source of humor. While he reads glowing word pictures of Filipino enthusiasm for the new order, the internee is likely to be enjoying little treats or is being cheered by authentic news that would be denied him but for the loyal friendship of some Filipino. Frequently, when spirits have been at rather low ebb, the internee has been brought back to normal by the report of some new expression of Filipino contempt for his "conqueror", usually an expression invested with typically American humor that the Filipino alone among Orientals understands and appreciates.

The morale of Santo Tomas was perhaps best expressed by a recent survey of repatriation sentiment. Despite the presence of many British, Dutch and other nationals having no ties in the Philippines; despite the inclusion of transients caught in passage, of aged and sick in urgent need of medical attention; despite almost two years of Japan's most vicious efforts, almost 50% voted unequivocally to stay! A large proportion of the others asked only that their wives and children be extricated from the rigors of Japanese "benevolence". They have not forgotten how that benevolent "protective custody" was demonstrated by the wanton cold-blooded murder of three internees who tried to leave its embrace!

-----

A CERTIFIED TRUE COPY:

E. G. REYES,  
1st Lt, Infantry,  
Aide to CO.