

FORCED MIGRATION POLICY OF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE
FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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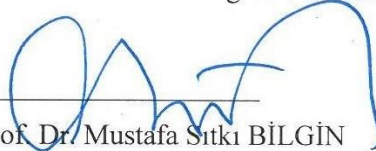
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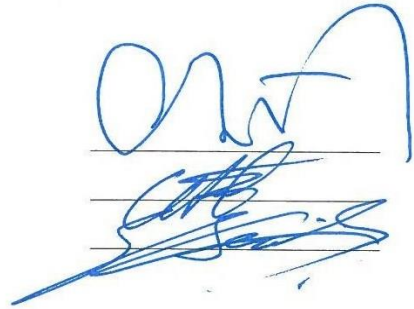

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ABSTRACT

FORCED MIGRATION POLICY OF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Immigrants question has been on the agenda since the ancient times. Immigrants had to abandon their homelands because of social, economic and political factors. However; they faced internment and repatriation policies in the newly arrived countries due to nativism, discrimination, wartime hysteria and xenophobia. These policies mostly associated with the third world countries were also adopted by the Great Powers such as the United States and Britain in the modern times.

This study will analyze and compare internment and repatriation policies implemented by the United States and Britain in the first half of the twentieth century. Internment and repatriation of Germans, Irish, Italians, Jews, Japanese, Boers and Philippines during the Anglo-Irish War, the First and Second World War, the Second Boer

War and the Philippine-American War will be examined. Additionally, segregation and repatriation that Blacks and Mexicans were subjected in Britain and the US will be discussed. Internment and repatriation policies implemented by both countries and civilian experiences will be compared and contrasted.

As internment and repatriation policies adopted by Britain and the US were imposed upon civilians as compulsion, they are included in the scope of forced migration. Wars of the first half of the twentieth century and segregation and racial discrimination that came to surface from time to time in both countries became key factors for taking decision of these policies.

Laws enacted by both countries against minorities affected them even if they were citizens of these countries and pushed them out of the society. Both countries followed firm and harsh policies against immigrants. Apart from discriminatory policies adopted by the governments, unofficial racism via media, organizations and newspapers were used for the execution of these policies.

Keywords: Britain, Internment, Repatriation, the United States

ÖZET

20. YÜZYILIN İLK YARISINDA İNGİLTERE VE AMERİKA'NIN ZORUNLU GÖÇ POLİTİKASI

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Göçmenler sorunu eski zamanlardan beri gündemde olan bir konudur. Göçmenler sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi faktörlerden dolayı anavatanlarını terk etmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Ancak yeni ülkelerinde de nativizm, ayrımcılık, savaş zamanı histerisi ve yabancı korkusundan dolayı enterne ve ülkesine geri gönderme politikaları ile yüzleşmişlerdir. Daha çok Üçüncü Dünya ülkeleri ile ilişkilendirilen bu politikalar modern çağlarda Amerika ve İngiltere gibi Büyük Güçler tarafından da benimsenmiştir.

Bu çalışma 20. Yüzyılın ilk yarısında Amerika ve İngiltere'nin uygulamış olduğu enterne etme ve ülkesine geri gönderme politikalarını analiz edecek ve bu politikaları karşılaştırılacaktır. İngiltere-İrlanda Savaşı, Birinci ve İkinci Dünya Savaşları, İkinci Boer

Savaşı ve Filipin-Amerikan Savaşında Almanların, İrlandalıların, İtalyanların, Yahudilerin, Japonların, Boerlerin ve Filipinlilerin enternesi ve ülkelerine geri gönderilmeleri incelenecektir. Ayrıca, Zencilerin ve Meksikalıların İngiltere ve Amerika'da uğradıkları ayrımcılık ve ülkelere geri gönderilmeleri anlatılacaktır. Her iki ülkede uygulanan enterne ve ülkesine gönderme politikaları ve sivillerin tecrübeleri kıyaslanacak ve karşılaştırılacaktır.

Amerika ve İngiltere'nin uyguladığı enterne ve ülkesine gönderme politikaları sivillere bir zorlama olarak dayatıldığından, bu politikalar zorunlu göç kapsamında yer almaktadır. 20. yüzyılın ilk yarısında tecrübe edilen savaşlar ve iki ülke toplumlarında gözlenen ayrımcılık bu politikaların kararının alınmasında temel faktör olmuştur.

Her iki ülkenin de göçmenlere karşı çıkardığı yasalar, ülke vatandaşı olsalar bile onları etkilemiş ve yerli halktan ayırıp toplumun dışına itmiştir. Her iki ülke de göçmenlere karşı sert ve katı politikalar izlemiştir. Hükümetler tarafından uygulanan ayrımcı politikaların dışında basın, sivil toplum örgütleri ve gazeteler vasıtasıyla gayri resmi ayrımcılık bu politikaların uygulanmasında kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İngiltere, Enterne, Ülkesine Gönderme, Amerika.

To My Dear A., D. and H.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IWW	Industrial Workers of the World
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
MI5	Military Intelligence Section 5
US	United States
WASP	White Anglo-Saxon Protestant
WRA	War Relocation Authority
WRB	War Refugee Board

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study will analyze the problems of minorities subjected to forced migration by internment and repatriation policies adopted by Britain and the United States in the first half of the twentieth century. It will also compare these policies of the mentioned countries. Both countries won many victories over their enemies as a result of the wars such as the Second Boer War, Philippine-American War and the First and Second World Wars. This study aims at examining experiences of minorities when their countries scored victories abroad. Prerequisite for understanding what the scope of this study and what is strived to illustrate to reader is to acknowledge what will be implied and deduced in advance. Within this framework, the first terms to be defined are internment, repatriation and forced migration.

Immigrants are the kinds of people who leave their homelands because of social, economic and political problems and in order to have better life conditions. They are not welcomed in some countries to which they immigrated and are subjected to displacements voluntarily or reluctantly. The displacement of these immigrants with pressure from a geographical region to another can be defined as forced migration. And since ethnic cleansing means “deportation of people to an area to cleanse the undesirables” and includes coercive displacement, expulsion and genocide (Mutlu, 2009, p. 15); it can be deduced that a group of people subjected to forced migration is also exposed to ethnic cleansing.

Since forced migration is carried out by “state or functionally similar institution that serves as the activating agent for the migration” (Zanden, 1983, p. 64), the migrants are not the decision makers about leaving or staying. That Jews were entrained and sent to concentration camps by the Nazi government was an example of forced migration (Zanden, 1983, p. 64). Likewise, the fact that Crimean Tatar people were forcibly deported by the Soviet Union in 1944 was an example of mass deportation, in other words, forced migration (William, 2001, p. 374). In the first half of the twentieth century, there occurred many forced migrations and millions of people were uprooted and separated from their homes and families.

Internment is defined as “the practice of organizing material culture and space to control and restrict the movement of a person or a group of people” (Myers, 2011, p. 2). Daniels (1993) also defines internment as round-up of target minority group and internment camp as a detention camp where prisoners of war or aliens are sent (p. 205). Thousands of minorities were sent to internment camps by the British and US governments. These camps surrounded with barbed wire cut minorities off from outside world and soldiers at watchtowers pointed their guns to internees. As this policy required round-up and forced removal of minorities, it was a forced migration as well.

Repatriation states volunteer or reluctant return of a minority to its home country after living in a country for some time (Hurn, 1999, p. 224). Even minorities with British and American citizenship were regarded as temporary immigrants by their host societies and returned to their homelands. This indicated that they did not have same rights with the native populations. Minorities having so called equal rights before laws were pushed out of the society first and then were sent to their countries by any means. As repatriation refers to evacuation of a person or community, it can be also called as forced migration. So, internment and repatriation policies are forced migration as they were implementation of coercive actions and requests.

These forced migrations created social, political, economic and ethnic otherness and changed lives of minorities completely. Minorities who tried to be integrated into and adapt to the society understood that they could not be a part of the country after encountering these forced removals. The fact that many citizen minorities were subjected to forced migration indicated that equality and liberty were not assured in either Britain or the US.

The restrictions imposed on civilians resulted from wartime hysteria, xenophobia, nativism and discriminatory actions. Destructive effects of the First and Second World Wars led many people to regard minorities as spies on account of sabotage and espionage activities. For this reason, wartime hysteria emerged in both the US and Britain. With the effect of xenophobia, societies demonstrated hostile and discriminative manners towards minorities and almost attempted to eliminate them. As for nativism, it tried to prevent native population from encountering problems by restricting immigration and entry to the countries. So, before going into detail of internment and repatriation policies used as a wartime precaution by Britain and the US, the reasons and consequences of the World Wars affecting the minority policies will be discussed.

The First World War broke out after Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary was assassinated by a Bosnian Serb terrorist. When Germany assured Austria to give support in its every action, Austria declared war on Serbia on 28 July 1914. Upon Russian support to Serbia, Germany declared war on Russia and invaded France. In order to defeat France easily, Germany invaded Belgium as well and caused Britain to enter the war on the side of France. Britain, in fact, both protected its national interests and prevented Germany from ruling almost the entire world by joining the war (Cawood, 2001, pp. 3-20).

Throughout the war, Germany resorted to unrestricted submarine warfare to defeat its enemies. In accordance with Maritime Law, merchantmen, crew or passengers without gun cannot be shot and ships cannot be sunk without warning or assuring civilian security. In November 1914, Germany declared to destroy all hostile merchant ships on the British Isles and on 6 May 1915, a German U-Boat sank the British liner *Lusitania* as a result of which 128 Americans died. Upon the sinking of passenger ship *Arabic* in August, two Americans died. In order to secure its citizens, the US warned Germany about its war policy and demanded that German U-Boat commanders would halt suspicious vessels for identity and the American crew and passengers would be embarked on lifeboats safely before sinking any vessel (Cawood, 2001, pp. 86-89).

As Germany estimated the US would arm its vessels and ships to protect them, it proposed the Mexican government, in bad odor with the US, alliance, financial support and recovery of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. This alliance caused the Congress to declare war on Germany on 5 April 1917 (Cawood, 2001, p. 95).

From the beginning of the war, in fact, the US was reluctant to participate in fighting as it strived to maintain its isolationist policy. Hence, it tried to end the war as soon as possible by playing a mediator role, but, both the Allied and Central Powers refused mediation in the hope of victory. However, the unrestricted submarine warfare policy of Germany caused the US to adopt an interventionist policy (Strachan, 1998, pp. 239-240).

The First World War ended on 11 November 1918 when Germany took a major blow by the American forces. At the end of the war, with Germany the Treaty of Versailles, with Austria the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, with the Ottoman Empire the Treaty of Sèvres were signed (Marsh, 2004, p. 25). The war resulted in the collapse of German, Russian, Ottoman and Austria-Hungarian Empires, foundation of new countries and redrawing of European maps.

Civilians were horrified and no one wanted to mention about the war or remember it. Both the Allied and Central Powers looked for something or someone to blame (Ross, 1997, p. 52). At the end of the war, at least 9.4 million soldiers were killed, financial difficulties emerged and many people faced with starvation and lack of supply. Many people went through traumas owing to casualties and preferred being pacifists (Tucker, 2006, p. 444).

Woodrow Wilson proposed an organization with his famous Fourteen Points so as to protect nationality, reduce armaments and promote free trade and peace. Nonetheless, both the Fourteen Points and the League of Nations founded as a result of Wilson's proposal failed and could not prevent the Second World War (Ross, 1997, p. 53).

The Second World War began just as Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939 and Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September. As for Asia, the war had in fact begun when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. The reason of the war was the refusal of Japan and Germany for the existing territorial and political situation and their revisionist policy to change this situation by using force (Black, 2003, p. 1).

After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria was condemned by the League of Nations, Japan left the League in 1933 and signed a cooperation treaty with Germany in 1936. The war in the Pacific began with the attack of Japan on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii as a result of which eight battleships were sunk and more than 2.400 soldiers were killed in

1941. On 11 December, Germany and Italy declared war on the US as a result of the US declaration of war on Germany. So, the war turned into a global conflict (Hatt, 2007, pp. 36-37).

Germany allied with Italy and conquered many European territories between 1939 and 1941. In 1939, the Soviet Union and Germany signed a non-aggression pact and agreed to share European continents between each other. Nevertheless, when European Axis Powers attacked the Soviet territories, the Soviet Union went on fighting on the side of the Allied powers (Hatt, 2007, pp. 20-32).

The Axis expansion halted once Japan lost some naval battles in the Pacific against the US. The Axis Powers were defeated in the North Africa. The Allied Powers invaded Italy. The Soviet Union regained its lost territories and invaded Germany. The war in Europe ended with the German surrender on 8 May 1945. After the US dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Soviet Union declared war on Japan, on 15 August 1945, Japan surrendered and the war in Asia ended (Hatt, 2007, pp. 50-56).

The Second World War ended up with the defeat of German Reich and the Axis Powers. It resulted in the foundation of the United Nations, emergence of the US and Soviet Union as Super Powers, and decolonization of Africa and Asia (Hatt, 2007, pp. 56-58).

The war caused massive destruction and loss of life and became more destructive than any other war owing to the participation of many countries and modern weapons (Ross, 1995, p. 40). At the end of the war, 20.000.000 Russians, 6.000.000 Holocaust victims, 326.166 Americans and nearly one million Axis and Allied military personnel were killed. This tragic war caused millions of people to change their lifestyle, occupation and residence. Racial segregation initiated by Germany became a ubiquitous system (Kelly, 1998, pp. 13-14).

In this study, second chapter will discuss the British internment policy of Boer civilians in the course of the Boer War of 1899-1902, in addition to Jews, Germans and Italians in the course of the First and Second World War. Moreover, Irish in the course of the Anglo-Irish War of 1919, and the British repatriation policy of Blacks due to financial difficulties will be discussed. In addition, riots, discrimination and segregation against minorities will be scrutinized. Third chapter will focus on the American internment policy of Philippines

all along the Philippine-American War of 1899-1902. Moreover; it will indicate the internment of Jews, Germans, Italians and Japanese during the First and Second World Wars. The American repatriation policy of Mexicans because of economic problems, discrimination and segregation will be analyzed. Fourth chapter will compare and contrast repatriation and internment policies of Britain and the US in the first half of the twentieth century.

1.1. Reason of the Study

Generally, internment and repatriation policies, in other words forced migration are associated with the third world countries. So, many people think that forced migration is conducted only by these countries. Nonetheless, in the first half of the twentieth century, internment and repatriation policies were applied by the two of the most important countries in recent history: Britain and the US. Thus, forced migration must be considered in a broader context rather than within the history of the third world countries. This study aims at breaking taboos by indicating that forced migration is not applied only by the third world countries.

The number of some interned immigrants and location and names of internment camps were not known certainly as records by the British and the US governments were not taken. Since both countries did not want the public opinion to know about these policies, the number of resources on the policies was very limited. Therefore, it is hoped that this study will be illuminating in regards of indicating communities subjected to internment and repatriation policies and presenting the reasons, process and results of these policies.

1.2. Methodology of the Study

This study aims at comparing and contrasting internment and repatriation policies of Britain and the US in the first half of the twentieth century. In the first chapter, conceptual framework has been used by defining key terms necessary to understand the

study. In the second and third chapters, minority groups subjected to these policies have been analyzed one by one and detailed by examples. Six minority groups subjected to the policies have been spotted. Thus; in these chapters, analytical framework has been used. In the fourth chapter, policies of both countries implemented to these six minority groups, and the reasons and results have been compared and contrasted. So, in this chapter, comparative study method has been used.

The problems to which each minority group was subjected have been looked up in different resources and discussed. Secondary sources written by historians and other social and political scientists working on the American and British immigration system, minorities, race and ethnicity have been gone through. The National Archives of Britain and the US have been a guiding light on the preparation of this study. Their web sites provide information on alien registration cards, aliens having served in the armies, internment and prisoners of war camps and management of internees.

There were many minorities facing racism, discrimination and segregation both in Britain and the US throughout the twentieth century. Nevertheless, as this study has been focused on repatriation and internment policies of both countries in the first half of the twentieth century, they were excluded from the scope of this study.

1.3. Limitations of the Study

Since primary sources could not be used, this study is based on the review of the extant literature on the subject. Nevertheless, this study still hopes to fill a blank in the field as there is not a scholarly work on forced migrations applied by other countries apart from the third world countries.

1.4. Organization of the Study

This study is organized in five chapters. The first chapter, introduction, indicates the reasons and consequences of the First and Second World Wars affecting the decisions

and atmosphere of the first half of the twentieth century. It also defines some terms to make the study understood clearly and explains reason, methodology, limitations and organization of the study. The second chapter exemplifies and explains civilians subjected to internment and repatriation policies in Britain with an introduction and conclusion section in itself. The third chapter, likewise, civilians experiencing repatriation and internment in the United States are discussed and detailed again with an introduction and conclusion section in itself. In the fourth chapter, the American and British repatriation and internment policies are compared and contrasted as both generally and specifically and the reasons and consequences of these policies are illustrated. In the last chapter, conclusion and implications of these policies is prepared and their results are presented.

CHAPTER II

INTERMENT AND REPATRIATION POLICIES OF BRITAIN

2.1. Introduction

It can be said that Britain did not follow an extreme racist policy like Nazi Germany. In the first half of the twentieth century, however, when the two World Wars occurred, minorities were subjected to internment, repatriation, riots and racism. However, it cannot be said that all immigrants in Britain were met with hostility in the twentieth century. The ethnic groups which faced with internment or repatriation or both were Blacks, Boers, Irish, Italians, Germans and Jews.

The British people named all non-British people as “aliens” (Solomos, 1993, p. 46), which reminded of a humiliating, hostile and unhealthy stranger rather than a foreigner, and greeted immigrants with hostility. Racism became visible with legislations, repatriation and internment policies and economic discrimination. Because of the general discrimination, minorities or immigrants were seen as potential criminal in case of an illegal act. All the society and police had a prejudice and hostility towards them (Panayi, 1994, p. 104).

The British government enacted nationality laws from time to time and modified them when needed. These laws put some restrictions on the lives of non-British citizens and differentiated them completely from native population. In 1905, the Aliens Order was passed, according to which aliens might not be given permission to enter Britain and an

alien could be expelled from the country if he or she was found guilty or living in bad conditions. In 1914, the Aliens Restriction Act enacted. The government could control immigrants by deciding who would not enter Britain and who would be expelled from the country (Solomos, 1993, p. 46). The Act brought the obligation of registration and residence in determined places and enabled the repatriation of aliens. Britain could take all necessary precautions and have almost complete control over aliens (Kushner, 1999, p. 44). With this Act, the British government interned 32.000 alien civilians and deported 28.744 of them (Holmes, 1985, p. 43). The Aliens Restriction Act of 1919 legalized that the British citizens of different races would be paid with respect to their race if they worked as seamen (Solomos, 1993, p. 49). Because the British government saw aliens as dangerous as the enemy outside, they were arrested and interned under the Defence Regulation 18B which was used by the government in order to intern suspected people, Nazi propagandists and political rivals (Kushner, 1999, p. 149).

Throughout the First World War, 30.000 people were sent to the internment camps at Peel, Knockaloe and Alexandra Palace and had to go through bad living conditions in these camps. The camps established on the Isle of Man were in Ramsey, Onchan, Douglas, Castletown, Port Erin and Port St. Mary. Whatever their jobs were, internees lost their careers, properties and freedom. This policy was maintained during the Second World War by opening the camps once more in September 1939 as well. In 1940, repatriation of aliens was preferred over interning spy aliens (Panayi, 1994, p. 108).

Many internees sent to overseas were attacked en route Canada and Australia, too. In 1940, the *Duchess of York* carried 2.108 Germans and Austrians to Canada. The *Arandora Star* was torpedoed and sank. The *SS Ettrick* sailed with 1.307 Austrians and Germans, 407 Italians and 880 prisoners of war. The *Sabriesski* carried 983 Austrians and Germans and 545 prisoners of war. The *SS Dunera* sailed for Australia with 2.532 Germans and Austrians and 200 Italians. The internees were robbed and beaten. Because of the rather harsh treatment, the *Dunera* was described as a slave ship (Cesarani, 1993, p.115).

In view of the lack of space, the War Office also used “nine trans-Atlantic liners” (Cesarani, 1993, p. 63) as internment camps. These liners anchored off the coasts of Ryde, Gosport and Southend. In Ryde, the *Canada*, *Tunisian* and *Andania* liners interned both civilians and prisoners of war. In Gosport, the *Scotian*, *Ascania* and *Lake Manitoba* liners

interned 3.600 minorities. In Southend, the *Invernia*, *Saxonia* and *Royal Edward* liners interned a total of 5.075 civilians and prisoners of war (Cesarani, 1993, p. 64).

In addition to discrimination by the British government, unofficial racism by the media and ethnic English determined hostility against minorities. For example, they were boycotted by clubs and trade organizations. Newspapers, books and magazines depicted these minorities with negative images and ethnic English did not want to employ them (Panayi, 1994, pp. 107-120). Instead of granting equal rights to ethnic minorities, Britain preferred following strict and harsh policies. This caused the media to broadcast racist propaganda as well. The anti-immigrant organizations such as the British Brothers League and the Immigration Reform Association were established as a result of the hostility against immigrants (Panayi, 1995, p. 215). According to *the New York Times* (1915b), newspapers demanded the internment of all subjects of enemy countries.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Blacks, Italians, Irish, Germans and Jews became the most suffering minorities in Britain. They were deprived of freedom by internment, were forced to return to their own countries and were blamed for lack of disloyalty to Britain. In spite of the fact that they hoped to find prosperity and a more liberal atmosphere in Britain, they faced with a rather harsh treatment because of their nationality or ethnicity.

Wars changed social and political values, liberal understanding and traditions and tolerance against the others (Cesarani, 1993, p. 53). There were three reasons of wartime intolerance: “political changes; the extension of state’s role; and government and public persecution of the three out-groups; ‘socialists’, ‘pacifists’ and immigrants” (Cesarani, 1993, p. 54). As a political change, “Radical Right” came to power in the course of the First World War and came to the forefront with the ideas of extreme nationalism and xenophobia. The candidates holding the nationalism at the top of their agenda became the winners in the 1918 general election. Moreover, the British government started to take an active role in private lives of people. It controlled pricing and drinking and increased security precautions. Socialists and Pacifists opposing the war and conscription were criticized, attacked and treated cruelly both by the government and society. By virtue of nationalistic policies, minorities encountered discriminative actions (Cesarani, 1993, p. 55).

Blacks due to employment problem, Jews due to spreading Bolshevik ideas and anti-Semitism, Italians and Germans due to spying and Irish due to emancipation ideas were discriminated against, attacked and interned or repatriated. Throughout the Second Boer War, concentration camps were established for Boers who had to go through inhumane conditions, diseases and death subsequently.

Between 1914 and 1918, White sailors left ports to serve in the British army and as a result of labor shortage, Black community in Britain increased in numbers. For this reason, a job competition between ethnic English and Black community emerged. Whites rioted against Blacks in 1919 because Black community lived off seafaring. Accordingly, it can be said that economic reasons and racial hostility played important roles in this rioting (Panayi, 1993b, p. 92). The British government responded to these disturbances by enacting the repatriation of Black seamen to remove them from ports (Panayi, 1993b, p. 12). Repatriation and allowance to Blacks accepting repatriation indicated the tension between Blacks and Whites. The government seemed to do everything to get rid of Blacks.

During the Second Boer War of 1899-1902, Britain burned crops, farms and homes of Boers in order to deprive them of food and other livelihood. So, Boer men would be deterred from fighting against the British. Then, for the homeless Boers, Britain established concentration camps numbering nearly 120 (50 for the Boers and 70 for the Black Africans) which caused many to die owing to bad living conditions (Farwell, 1976, p. 397).

Hostility against Germans started with the First World War in 1914 and increased just as the ship *Lusitania* was sunk by a German submarine and 1.000 people died subsequently. English people boycotted Germans and destroyed their property (Farwell, 1976, p. 397). In addition, all along the Second World War, due to fear of invasion, Germans in Britain were thought as spies and were deprived of their jobs. The government decided to arrest all Germans who were between seventeen and forty-two years old (Cesarani, 1993, p. 56). So, Germanophobia and internment and repatriation of Germans were rule of the day in the country throughout the two world wars.

The English perception of the Irish was quite negative. For the English society, anti-Irishness was not a racial but a national necessity (MacRaild, 1999, p. 160). In the course of the Anglo-Irish War between 1919 and 1921 and the period of struggle for Irish

independence, Irish property was damaged and many Catholic Irish were killed. Britain interned and repatriated many Irish people in the first half of the twentieth century. With martial law, the British government authorized courts to intern Irish without trial (Walsh, 2002, p. 50).

When on 10 June 1940, Mussolini declared war on Britain, Italian owned shops were attacked. Some Italian signs were removed and Italian names of restaurants were changed. The Home Office took precautions immediately and wanted to exchange 18.000 Italians with 2.000 British in Italy. The government took action about internment of 1.500 potentially “dangerous” Italians, too. Nevertheless, two months later, the government decided on the internment of Italians between the ages of sixteen and seventy and residing in Britain less than twenty years (Cesarani, 1993, p. 126).

Jews in Britain were seen as a threat to the public order because of the growing anti-Semitism in the society. English started to attack and riot against them and destroyed their property in a rather organized manner. In view of xenophobia, anti-alienism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Zionism, the Jewish community was exposed to racism, discrimination, repatriation and internment in Britain. Anti-Semitism was so serious that Jews demanded action from the government in wartimes especially during the Second World War (Cesarani, 1994, p. 133).

Now, this part will analyze hostile manners, racism, riots and internment and repatriation policies of Britain towards Blacks, Germans, Irish, Jews and Italian minorities and Boers separately.

2.2. Black Minorities

Throughout the First World War, many “Negroes” were brought to Britain so as to carry on the business of the British society which was at war. Furthermore, 15.601 Blacks coming from the British Caribbean territories participated in the British West Indies Regiment. During the war, many Blacks died, some on duty and some by reason of illness, and as many were wounded (Scobie, 1972, p. 154).

After the war, many Blacks remained in Britain rather than returning to their homes. The population in Cardiff increased owing to the hopes of Blacks to find jobs as seamen. In reality, Black seamen found good business opportunities at sea. However; when White men of the Royal Navy returned to the country, 1200 Blacks became unemployed in Cardiff (Scobie, 1972, p. 155).

The fact that employers used Black seamen to decrease the pay of White British seamen led to a serious hostility and competition between Blacks and Whites. In addition, the number of seamen all along the First World War decreased. This created such a suspicion that employers would increase the number of non-British workers for lesser wages. This would cause serious wage cuts and White British workers would not earn anything. So, Whites focused on the Black community mainly for economic reasons in the post-war period (Panayi, 1993b, p. 95). All these were reasons for the outbreak of race riots. In 1919, these riots spread to nearly every port of Britain (Scobie, 1972, p. 156).

The riots occurred in nine cities and the first incidence broke out in Glasgow. Disturbance started in a shipyard when White British people tried to get a job from employer. The question to whom employment would be given was the reason why Whites resorted to violence who were armed and chased Black sailors to their homes. With local people, White British surrounded Blacks' houses and Black sailors were taken away by fifty policemen. As a result of the violence, one Black and two Whites were seriously injured (Panayi, 1993b, p. 95).

In Tyneside, British seamen wanted to restrict the employment of Blacks and attacked Arab seamen (Holmes, 1985, p. 45). The riot at South Shields broke out as a result of a dispute in the local shipping office. Adenese sailors were hired as employees who would work in stokehold. However, just as this was opposed by two people from the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, violence broke out between Whites and Blacks (Panayi, 1993b, p. 95).

Riots in London started with an attack on a Muslim restaurant and continued with an attack to Blacks by a White crowd. Sexual relations or accusations between Blacks and White women became reasons for these riots. On the evening of June 11, 1919, a crowd gathered near the Hayes Bridge and fired shots at a house in which eight Blacks lived. Blacks defended themselves by holding a table in front of them, and at the end, they were

taken to a police station. Thus, Blacks were forced to stay at home behind locked doors without answering to attacks (Scobie, 1972, p. 157).

Liverpool was a city of Black community settling down in the city to involve in seafaring and getting married to local White women and Black settlers. After the war, many Blacks immigrated to the city to find jobs which caused thousands of Blacks to look for a job as a sailor in the city. Whites, who saw Blacks as “outsiders” answered them with violence and riots. Whenever a Black was seen in the streets, he was chased or beaten (Panayi, 1993b, p. 96).

The racial issues like not housing Blacks, employing them or allowing them to get married with White women caused the most serious racial disturbances to occur in Cardiff which was the leading British port. Three people were killed, many people were injured and many properties were damaged. Likewise, in Newport, South Wales, Salford, Hull and Barry, disturbances led to violence, damage and arrests (Panayi, 1993b, p. 97).

Policemen tried to quell the riots. In Glasgow, police officers arrested Black sailors and one White man. In London, they formed “a barrier zone” between Blacks and Whites. In Cardiff riots, Blacks were seen as a threat for public order and were arrested for the preservation of order. In Liverpool, Blacks were seen as initiators of violence. The policemen discriminated against them and evacuated Blacks from their homes. Such an evacuation gave a sense of collecting all the Blacks in a camp for repatriation (Panayi, 1993b, p. 98).

Police acts showed that officers had prejudice against Blacks seen as aggressor and trouble-makers. Many of the arrested Blacks were sent to jails while no White British people were imprisoned even if they were found guilty. Even Blacks were victims, more Blacks were arrested than Whites (Panayi, 1993b, p. 101). All these indicated prejudice, racism and hostility in the British society.

Ship owners signed a treaty with Blacks who would work at lower wages than Whites seeing that they wished to keep labor costs at the minimum level. Despite the fact that this made Blacks disadvantageous over Whites, the British trade unions defended that Blacks had decreased life standards of Whites. The issue was raised in the Parliament. Aliens invading the country were replaced with Whites in the shipping industry. As a suggestion, it was said that more Whites could be employed or the wages of Blacks could

be increased so as to make White and Black wages same. Nonetheless, this would indicate discriminative actions by the government. Hence, the government enacted the Aliens Order of 1920 and the Special Restriction (Colored Alien Seamen) Order of 1925 which would prevent Blacks from taking part in the shipping (Scobie, 1972, pp. 160-161).

The Special Restriction (Colored Alien Seamen) Order of 1925 authorized police officers to impose restriction on aliens and, make arrests if and when they deemed necessary. All Black seamen would register at police offices and carry registration cards. So, in an emergency they would be repatriated easily. In any doubt, a British-born Black could be stopped and questioned about his nationality (Cesarani, 1993, p. 39).

According to official records, during the “lynching the niggers” damage to properties was around £4.000. As a result of the riots, Blacks demanded from the government to be repatriated. Furthermore, Whites requested that Blacks must be repatriated and that the government must ban immigrations (Scobie, 1972, p. 158). For this reason, the government decided to remove threat in the public order by repatriating the Blacks who would be sent after enduring and facing violence. On the other hand, approximately 200 Blacks refused repatriation as, first of all, the governments of their own countries did not want them. Secondly, they were angry at the British government which did nothing throughout the riots and gave no rights to them despite their contributions in the wartime (Panayi, 1993b, p. 103).

The government decided to give a resettlement allowance of £5 and further £1 voyage allowance to the Blacks who would accept repatriation. The government discussed the possibility of interning Blacks before repatriating them as well. On 23 June 1919, “Memorandum on the Repatriation of Colored Men” was issued. Repatriation committees were established in Hull, South Shields, Glasgow, Cardiff, Liverpool, London and Salford (Panayi, 1993b, p. 104).

Many Blacks still refused repatriation despite the allowances. The government gathered an Interdepartmental Conference and decided that White wives and families of Blacks would be repatriated with them. Even so, the fact that the government did not pay for the wives and families caused many Blacks to leave their families behind (Panayi, 1993b, p. 106).

When police wanted to repatriate Black seamen, the Home Office opposed by saying that they were British subjects so that they could not be expelled from the country. So, repatriation was arranged as to persuade the seamen (Solomos, 1993, p. 50). On the other hand, repatriation was successful in terms of the British government seeing as it ended the riots in the country. Although not all the Blacks returned to their homelands, the remaining Blacks in Britain would not lead to any troubles in the country as the number of Black people decreased significantly with that repatriation policy (Panayi, 1993b, p. 107).

Nearly all ships departing from London did not employ Blacks in 1937. For this reason, many Blacks became unemployed and tried to survive by panhandling. They encountered with racial prejudice both in employment and social life. They were not allowed to go to church. Black children were discriminated against in schools (Scobie, 1972, p. 164). So, they were seen as second class people with lower social status in the society. However, when the Second World War broke out, the British West Indies helped England with food and money. Consequently, in a patriotic manner, many West Indians arrived at Britain and participated in the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve. The West Indians kept coming in Britain until 1944 and served at Royal Navy and Royal Air Force. In the wartime, they were given the opportunities not provided in peacetime: Volunteers from the Caribbean territories worked at war factories. The British West Indies contributed £750.000 and lent £1.400.000 to Britain (Scobie, 1972, pp. 186-190).

After the war, Blacks were repatriated to their homes (Scobie, 1972, p. 192). The reason was to prevent them from settling in Britain. When they took off uniforms, they were welcomed with the prejudice of peacetime. They fought and died for Britain, but, after the war, they again became aliens.

2.3. Boers During The Second Boer War Of 1899-1902

With the Sand River Convention in 1852 Transvaal of South Africa; with the Bloemfontein Convention in 1854 Orange Free State of South Africa were recognized by Britain. Both in Transvaal and Orange Free State, the settlers were Boers who were farmer Dutch and Afrikaans. They immigrated to these Southern African lands in the 18th century and adopted these lands as their homelands. In the nineteenth century, because of the desire

to control trade routes to India and colonial expansion, Britain annexed Transvaal. At that time, Transvaal Boers kept silent to this annexation due to the threat of the Kingdom of Zululand whose power restricted both Boers and Britain in the region. In the Zulu War of 1879, Britain ended the Zulu independence. After that, the Transvaal Boers complained about the annexation of Transvaal and violation of the Sand River Convention and Bloemfontein Convention. They found British control over them unnecessary. When Britain refused to recognize their independence, Boers had defeated Britain in Bronkhorstspuit, Ingogo River, Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill in the Transvaal War of 1881. So, Britain had to recognize Transvaal's independency with the Treaty of Pretoria (Latham, 1977, pp. 4-5).

After discovery of gold in Witwatersrand of South Africa in 1886, uitlanders increased in Transvaal and many of them, who were British, outnumbered Boers in the 1890s. The Transvaal government imposed heavy taxes without giving an opportunity for full citizenship to prevent the uitlanders from strengthening in the country. The uitlanders asked Britain for help, but when Britain did not want to intervene, the uitlanders revolted. The raid of 1895 gave no result and the uitlanders were arrested (Latham, 1977, p. 5).

In 1899, Britain negotiated with Transvaal for the uitlanders, but at the end of the negotiation both sides started to prepare for a war. Boers obtained arms from Germany and France and many volunteers came to Transvaal to participate in the war (Yalçın, 1938, p. 984). With an ultimatum, Transvaal demanded Britain to withdraw British troops and not to send troops to Cape. Unless Britain accepted these conditions, this would be perceived as a declaration of war by the two Boer republics. As a result, on 11 October, the war began among Britain, Transvaal and the Orange Free State (Latham, 1977, p. 6).

Everyone from working class to upper class participated in the first "people's war" (Barnes, 2003, p. 10). Volunteers from New Zealand, Australia and Canada joined the British troops. 60.000 Boer soldiers were farmers while Britain sent at least 450.000 professional and experienced soldiers to fight against them. The conflict lasted nearly 3 years from 1899 to 1902 (Barnes, 2003, p. 7).

In December 1899 "Black Week," Britain burned crops and houses of Boers so as to deprive them of food and supplies, and so, Britain would break the resistance of the

Boer men. As a result of “farm-burning policy,” many Boers became homeless (Krebs, 1999, p. 32).

In September 1900, camps were created in Bloemfontein and Pretoria for surrendered burghers. On 20 December 1900, it was officially declared that the surrendered burghers and their families would be fed and accommodated in camps (Krebs, 1999, p. 32). So, Britain introduced “concentration camps” to warfare by ignoring the Geneva Convention of 1864 which determined international humanitarian treatment during war and made arrangements to reduce negative effects of a combat. This Convention assured “the basic requirement of sanitation, exercise, food, clothing, bedding and towels, work, recreation, religious services, visitors and so on” (Krammer, 1997, p. 49). Britain violated it by burning many houses and farms and sending women and children behind barbed wire. While at first the aim of these camps was shown as the help of food, shelter, nutrition and care, in practice it turned into an inhumane system (Oldiges, 2006, p. 12).

In the statement of March 1900, Britain declared that Boer women, who were not prisoners, were held in the camps so as to supply the needs of them and they could leave camps whenever they wanted. On the contrary, in fact, the Boer women were not allowed to leave camps. Many Boer women begged British soldiers to wait their husbands in their homes rather than being taken to camps though their homes and crops were burned (Krebs, 1999, pp. 59-60).

Between December 1900 and February 1902, Britain held Boer men and defenseless Boer women and children in fifty camps. The biggest one was the Potchefstroom Camp with a capacity of 7.400 people. The smallest one was the Waterval North Camp holding eight people. The living conditions in these camps varied in as far as closeness to water supplies and being new or old establishment. While the conditions were bearable at the camps of Kimberley, Norval’s Pont, Johannesburg and Krugersdorp, the camps of Aliwal North, Mafeking, Kroonstad, Standerton and Merebank were not as good (Farwell, 1976, p. 397).

For prisoners of war, the Deadwood Camp, Peace Camp, Broadbottom Camp, Ceylon Camps, India Camps and Bermuda Camps were opened. These prisoners of war were treated as murderers and were closed at camps in order to make them be forgotten (Farwell, 1976, p. 421).

Throughout the war, both Boers and Britain benefited from the labor of the Black population. These Africans were armed, enlisted as troopers and used as messengers. Thus, many of them were shot with suspicion of being enemy spies. Inasmuch as their homes were destroyed with fear of accommodating enemy, many Black Africans became homeless refugees. Many African servants of Boer families were also closed at the concentration camps (Knight, 1997, p. 44).

The British government rounded up women and children in the camps in a way to separate Black and White families (Cull, 2003, p. 12). With this policy, nearly 18.000 Black families were held in seventy concentration camps. The conditions in Black concentration camps were worse than White ones (Laband, 2007, pp. 98-100). Nearly 14.000 Africans perished in these camps (Bromfield, 2011, p. 24).

The British concentration camp policy was condemned by all over the world (Cull, 2003, p. 13). Villages and farms were destroyed, which was seen as a “barbarism” (Yalçın, 1938, p. 985). In June 1901, Emily Hobhouse from the South African Women and Children’s Distress Fund arrived in the camps to distribute blankets and clothing to Boers. Then, she revealed unhealthy and inhumane camp conditions to public opinion (Krebs, 1999, p. 32). The camps were not well run and furthermore, there was scarcity of food, fuel, camp regulations, hospitals, nurses, beds, water supplies etc. (Farwell, 1976, p. 412).

As a response to Emily Hobhouse, Britain published Command Papers (Blue Books) which indicated camp population and death rates. Britain attempted to justify itself for concentration camps which were created due to brutal war techniques of Boers. Besides, they claimed that Boer women could not raise their children well, defended the camp policy and blamed Boers for not giving up fight (Heyningen, 2009, p. 23). Another reason of sending Boer women to camps was that they were seen as the properties of Boer men. When men were dispossessed of their women, they would surrender and give up fighting (Krebs, 1999, p. 64). For Britain, bad living conditions of camps were the blames of uncivilized Boer women who were raised in rural areas and did not know anything about cleanup and hygiene (Heyningen, 2009, p. 24). In addition, because schools in camps taught English to “Afrikaans-speaking children” (Krebs, 1999, p. 48) the camps were a great success.

The concentration camps proved deadly. At the end of 1901, there were 14.514 recorded deaths. Most of these deaths resulted from diseases like measles and dysentery and thirst and malnutrition (Warwick, 1983, p. 152). “In White camps death rates peaked at a rate of 344 per 1000 per annum in October 1901, while in Black camps the worst rate was 372 per 1000 per annum, reached in December 1901” (Krebs, 1999, p. 47). Though the exact number of dead children in the camps was unknown, it was estimated to be around 20.000 except the Black ones (Farwell, 1976, p. 392).

In 1902, Boer leaders argued about the conditions of the Boer republics: Crops and homes were burned, animals were destroyed and women without their husbands were held at camps. Making concessions to their independence was more rational than continuing to battle. They had already come to the bitter end on account of sacrificed money, blood, women and children (Farwell, 1976, p. 392). Hence, the Boer republics had to accept the offer of Britain and the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed by assuring Boers self-government and £3.000.000 for reconstruction. The Boer republics accepted to be under the British sovereignty as well (Oldiges, 2006, p. 11). Both English and Dutch would be taught in the schools. This seemed as an agreement of an imperialist country with its colony (Farwell, 1976, p. 435).

The war had become one of the most dreadful since the Napoleonic Wars. It cost £222.000.000 and nearly 22.000 British soldiers of 450.000, 6.000-7.000 Boer soldiers, 20.000-28.000 Boer civilians and 20.000 Black Africans lost their lives because of either disease or warfare (Oldiges, 2006, p. 11).

The Treaty of Vereeniging ended this “barbarism” and prisoners, women and children returned to their homes which were restored by Britain (Nash, 1999, p. 44). However, wounds and memories remained alive in the South Africa. Concentration camp policy indicated that liberal understanding of Britain was shaken.

2.4. German Minorities

Even though there was not a common language, race or culture, Britain at first welcomed German immigrants in the 19th century since both countries represented

European civilization. Hostility against Germans in the twentieth century resulted from xenophobia against immigrants, Germanophobia, in other words fear of Germans, and the worsening of the relations between Britain and Germany after 1900s. Moroccan Crisis of 1905-1906 was used by Germany against Britain and France. Germany defended the independence of Morocco in order to sow discord between Britain and France. This resulted in the emergence of the “Entente Cordiale” between France and Britain. In addition, the value to navy given by Germany, doubling German warships with the Naval Bill and diplomatic rivalry caused Britain to feel insecure in the international platform. As a result of all these, Britain had to be cautious against Germany (Panayi, 1995, pp. 237-240).

British people thought that Germany could invade Britain easily with its own German citizens inhabiting Britain via espionage and sabotage activities (Krammer, 1997, p. 18). Moreover, the fact that Germany did not give support to Britain in the Boer War caused hostility to grow. In 1900, the British people attacked German property, rioted against Germans, forced them to speak English, stoned, beat and called them spies (Krammer, 1997, p. 18).

During the First World War, British people boycotted Germany and attacked German property. Positive thoughts, friendship, aid and kind reception of Victorian and Edwardian periods turned into hostility in the political atmosphere of the war (Krammer, 1997, p. 202). Subsequently, all the Germans under suspicion of being a German spy should have been arrested, interned and repatriated (Kushner, 1999, p. 46). Besides, the government enacted the Aliens Restriction Act in 1914, the day after Britain declared war on Germany. The government controlled every aspect of their life from their entry into the country to their life style (Ellis, 1994, p. 247). Three days after the outbreak of the First World War, on 7 August 1914, it was decided that all the Germans between the ages of seventeen and forty-two must be interned. After that, this policy changed as to intern only those threatening British security. By 13 August, 1.980 aliens, by 28 August, 4.300 aliens were interned (Cesarani, 1993, p. 56). At the beginning of the First World War, around 12.000 aliens were interned. At the end of the war, this number increased to approximately 32.000 and also approximately 20.000 aliens were repatriated. The number of Germans was 57.500 in 1914 and this number decreased to 22.254 in 1919 (Kushner, 1999, p. 45). In the decrease of this number, repatriation, internment and rejection of all things German

were instrumental. Furthermore, public opinion wanted the repatriation of all the Germans rather than them staying in the country.

In 1915, the passenger liner *Lusitania* was sunk by a German submarine (Krammer, 1997, p. 21). This incident created disturbances all around the country. Many people raised their hostility to surface by combining popular feeling against Germans though they did not lose their relatives in the *Lusitania*. In the press, the fact that Germany abused prisoners of war though Britain did not do the same thing was published and so, the British people initiated riots against them (Panayi, 1993b, p. 71).

In August 1914, October 1914, May 1915, June 1916 and July 1917, anti-German riots broke out. The riots included areas “from Glasgow to Winchester and Liverpool to London” (Ellis, 1994, p. 252). German property was destroyed; many people were injured and arrested. In Castleford, Bury St. Edmunds, Greenock, Goldthorpe and Walton-on-Thames, German shops were attacked. Russian Jews hurried to show their origins and many Germans sent loyalty letters to the *Times* emphasizing their loyalty to Britain (Holmes, 1985, p. 43).

Anti-German riots were instrumental in shaping internment policy. According to *the New York Times* (1915a), the fact that Germans would be interned and repatriated was announced after an anti-German rioting. The government decided on mass internment of them. However, because of lack of space, it had to order the release of some internees. Thus, mass internment could not start until May 1915. Between November 1914 and February 1915, approximately 3.000 aliens were released (Cesarani, 1993, p. 57). In November 1915, the number of the interned Austrian and German civilians was 32.440 (Ellis, 1994, p. 249).

Germans were sent to the camps in Frimley, Stratford, Isle of Man and Hawick. 3.339 male Germans were interned until 5 June of 1915 (Cesarani, 1993, p. 59). Olympia, Ryde, Gosport, Southend, Alexandra Palace of London, Douglas and Knockaloe Moor of the Isle of Man were the camps where prisoners of war were interned (Ellis, 1994, p. 249).

Children, women and those not at the age of conscription were repatriated by exchanging with Germany. Between May 1915 and June 1916, approximately 10.000 Germans were repatriated. Many of them were volunteers (Cesarani, 1993, pp. 58-60).

Press and books reinforced anti-German attitudes in the society. Many anti-German organizations were set up and companies expelled their Germany-born employees. The British Empire Union, as an anti-German organization, boycotted German products and declared Germans as unwanted. The members of the organization increased to 10.000 with fifty branches in 1918. The Anti-German League was another organization founded with the emotions of *Lusitania* in 1915 despite its short existence. Moreover, parties like the National Party played a role in the hostility against Germans by demanding their internment from the government (Ellis, 1994, p. 251).

When the armistice was signed, there were still 24.255 internees in Britain. In the interwar period, hostility against Germans did not end. The ones not knowing a word of German were born and raised in London and had never been to Germany before, were treated in the same way with other aliens (Cesarani, 1993, p. 62).

In 1940, German armies headed for Europe and Britain started to fear from this situation and refugees which could be the spies of Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. The fact that the 1919 Aliens Act restricted the entry of them and the 1929 Great Depression created unemployment and hardships in the country also affected feelings towards these people (Holmes, 1990, p. 2).

56.000 refugees from Germany and Austria entered Britain despite controls. As a consequence, before the outbreak of the war, the Committee of Imperial Defence ordered that the War Office must arrange accommodations for 18.000 civilian internees (Holmes, 1990, p. 2).

Invasion danger was debated in the cabinet of Winston Churchill and it was agreed that dangerous aliens must be interned for a possible invasion. At first, 2.000 male aliens between the ages of sixteen and sixty were interned at the camps of Lingfield Race Course, Belle Vue Zoo, Warth Mills and Bury. These camps were surrounded with barbed wires (Kushner, 1999, p. 174). Internment was expanded as to involve all the male and female aliens between the ages of sixteen and sixty on the 22nd May 1940 in view of the suspicion of loyalty. Besides, the British rioted against German-born aliens and attacked their property. For this reason, Churchill defended that their internment was more secure for them (Kushner, 1999, p. 175).

Internment areas were prepared, and German refugees were gathered into one place for security purposes. As a result, approximately 22.000 Austrians and Germans with 4.300 Italians were interned. Not only new-comers but also residents were interned. Nonetheless, the resident aliens could not understand this picking up because some of them inhabited in Britain more than a century (Holmes, 1990, p. 3).

In 1940, Winston Churchill decided to send German and Italian prisoners of the Second World War to Australia and Canada. As a result, 8.000 prisoners were sent to the Dominions. The *Arandora Star* carrying these prisoners sank in Ireland and 175 German and 486 Italian refugees died while deporting them to the camps in Canada. This incident changed the public opinion about deportation and internments and led to the harsh criticism of the government policies (Holmes, 1990, p. 4).

2.5. Irish Minorities

In 1901, there were 600.000 Irish immigrants in Britain (MacRaild, 1999, p. 3). Irish people meant cheap labor for British capitalism and worked as coal miners, factory and house builders in the country. Irish women worked in cotton mills, agriculture and domestic jobs. Immigration to Britain increased all along famine years and the Second World War. Irish were seen as an inferior race because of their being lazy, dirty, drunk and violent according to the British people (Mac an Ghail, 2000, p. 138).

Irish were forced to emigrate from their residences in Britain to non-residential places in the name of improving their living conditions. This was an evacuation of the Irish who were seen as outcasts. Many Irishmen had to leave their families behind. These evacuations aimed to root out Irish and prevent them from being a community. Poor ones and those who could not get permission for permanent settlement were repatriated. Between 1875 and 1910, 7.000 poor and their dependents were repatriated from Scotland to Ireland (Swift, 1989, p. 15).

Irish people faced with violence at the places they immigrated due to discrimination and racist attitudes. The main reason for violence was the anti-Catholic British society which was mostly Protestant. Irish people were called “Paddy” with the stereotypes like

immoral, drunken and lazy. Historians likened Irish to apes and newspapers and magazines depicted them with stereotypes (MacRaild, 1999, pp. 155-157).

The First World War disturbed the Irish settlement in Britain. With regard to public opinion, Irish earning their lives off Britain had to serve in the British army. The British soldiers fighting in the First World War were exhausted and lost their lives, and thus they could not tolerate what they perceive as Irish inefficiency in the country. According to them, Irish could easily share the pain of Britain by serving in the army (Gregory, 2002, p. 127). So, both volunteer Irish soldiers and those performing their compulsory military service, numbered 115.000, served in the British army by 1915 (Swift, 1989, p. 23). In the Battle of Somme, many Irishmen died. Nevertheless, after 1916, Irish opposed to conscription because this war had nothing with Ireland and it was a battle among imperial powers. For this reason, Britain should have not implemented a compulsory conscription but a voluntary conscription (Walsh, 2002, p. 55).

Irish Republican Army (IRA) emerged in 1916 and fought against the British rule in Ireland. It tried to unite the Irish people, instigated rebellions against Britain and carried out guerilla campaigns (Coogan, 2002, p. 32). IRA forces were established in Britain between 1919 and 1920 as well. Republicans took initiatives for establishment of IRA divisions in Liverpool, Tyneside, Newcastle, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Glasgow, Edinburg, Scotland, Truce, Salford and Lancashire (Hart, 2003, pp. 142-145). "Massive act of destruction" (Hart, 2003, p. 177) began via those divisions. For example, the Houses of Parliament would be struck with a bomb-laden truck and bridges would be blown up (Hart, 2003, p. 177).

The Easter Rising of 1916 aimed at making Ireland an international problem rather than keeping it only as Britain's internal affair, still it could not succeed. The response of Britain to the rising was very brutal. Martial law was declared and applied in the whole country. All the Irish were regarded as potential rebellious criminals and approximately 3.500 male and 80 female were arrested. The Republicans were sent to the internment camps in Wales. Though nearly 1.300 internees were released in a short time, Irish criticized and rose against the government policy (Walsh, 2002, p. 50).

Ninety rebellious Irishmen were sentenced to capital punishment. In Ireland, suspicion and tension increased. Disturbances were evaluated differently from British and

Irish point of view. For Britain, rebellion was suppressed and rebels were punished. As for Ireland, the rebellion was a militant phase in the way of independence (Walsh, 2002, p. 51).

Irish nationalists struggled for their independence from Britain in the Anglo-Irish War that started on 21 January 1919 and ended on 9 July 1921. They aimed at establishing a free and independent government. In the course of this struggle, many rebels were arrested, exiled and imprisoned (Kautt, 1999, p. 3). This war was made by both an independent administration from Britain and IRA. In 1921, approximately 2.300 Auxiliaries, who were British ex-soldiers, and 10.000 Black and Tans who were all English and Scotch served in Ireland in addition to regular police forces. Furthermore, nearly 15.000 members of IRA were in Ireland and 3.000 of them were in conflict with British forces actively (Walsh, 2002, p. 67).

In 1920, IRA killed thirteen policemen in six months, bombed streets, used violence and disturbed public order. Thus, the British government took decision on the internment of IRA militants and consequently, 4.500 members of the IRA were interned. So, many people were imprisoned and interned without trial. This gave rise to hunger strikes in the country. The British government had to release hundreds of prisoners (Hart, 1998, p. 74).

The guerrillas of IRA depicted disturbances in Britain as the reflection of disturbances made by Britain in Ireland. After November 1920, Britain increased violent pressure on the Irish civilians and damaged Irish property. This was an eye for an eye policy. So, Ireland always would become at the top of the agenda and the public pressurized the government to solve the Irish question as soon as possible (Hart, 2003, p. 98).

In 1920, the British government proclaimed martial law in Cork, Kerry, Clare, Waterford, Limerick and Wexford. In addition, courts would intern Irish without trial. Only in Cork, 1.100 Irishmen were imprisoned in the camps (Hart, 1998, p. 86). In response to the martial law, the IRA members damaged British civilian property. Products with an estimated value of £3.000 were damaged. Houses, cotton mills and factories were burned (Hart, 2003, p. 154).

Any rebel or IRA member was exposed to torture or worse with their families. Their homes were demolished; their children were beaten up and killed (Hart, 1998, p. 81). Irish civilians were also terrorized by reason of ethnicity problem, had to immigrate and suffer heavy losses. For instance, while the Protestants had been safe with the British forces as the British society was mostly Protestant; their population decreased 34 percent in Southern Ireland due to the conflicts with Catholics (Hart, 2003, p. 241). 100 Irish Protestant of approximately 300.000 died and 30 of them were wounded in the conflicts. 400 Protestant houses and business were burnt and properties and churches were damaged. Riots, disturbances and boycotts became the rule of the day. In the Northern Ireland, 300 of 420.000 Catholics died; hundreds were wounded and 600 houses and business were damaged (Hart, 2003, pp. 242-243).

By virtue of religion, Protestants felt threatened and were verbally humiliated by the Catholic Irish society. Many of them made mass departure voluntarily or reluctantly. They became the group subjected to “hate crimes” mostly by the IRA in the guerilla war. Some thought that such occurrences might be possible in wartime whereas some perceived this violence as a response to Britain’s violence against the Catholics. After the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, Protestant property, houses and business were damaged during the Belfast boycott. The reason was to take revenge from those cooperating with the enemy. The IRA members sent letters ordering the Protestants to evacuate their houses because the Belfast Catholic refugees would be settled in these houses. So, deportation of the whole community was targeted. Such disturbances occurred in King’s and Queen’s counties, South Tipperary, Leitrim, Mayo, Limerick, Westmeath, Louth and Cork (Hart, 2003, pp. 236-237).

The violence against the Catholics in Belfast and Lisburn became visible with expulsion and massacre of civilians. The fact that killed and wounded civilians were the members of IRA indicated discrimination of loyalists and police officers. Britain attempted to “cleanse” areas from the Catholics by expulsion because they belonged to the Protestants (Hart, 2003, p. 247-251).

IRA maintained its activities in the political arena via non-legal ways. In return, the British government enacted the Emergency Power Act of 1940 which authorized the government to intern Irish citizens without trial in the same way with other minorities throughout the wartime (Coogan, 2002, p. 137). It can be said that the British government

could not end propaganda and disturbances of the IRA and Ireland became a republic in 1949 (Hart, 2003, p. 175).

2.6. Italian Minorities

Italians in Britain were merchants and shopkeepers and the British people had no complaint about them. They were respected in the local region and country. Though they were integrated in the society easily, they did not assimilate into the British society. They maintained their own cultures, traditions and religious understanding (Cesarani, 1993, p. 168). However, with the coming war, everything changed and Italians were seen as threats. They closed their shops and restaurants and hid in the back rooms of their homes to escape from violence (Panayi, 1993b, p. 134).

Fascism emerging in the 1920s and 1930s affected lives of Italians in Britain certainly. One of the aims of Fascism was to gather Italians abroad under the Italian flag. Therefore, the Italians abroad were seen as social and economic extension of Italy. They were perceived as representatives, fans and propagandists of Mussolini (Cesarani, 1993, p. 169).

In reality, many Italians in Britain celebrated Fascism because of the principle of Honor, Family and Fatherland. Their membership to the party was not political but because of being a part of Italy and patriotism. Fascism spread so much that clubs, organizations and schools in Britain started to teach Italian and tried to unify the Italian community. Non-members could not communicate with Italy even via Consulates. Therefore, many Italians in Britain had to be the members of the party voluntarily or reluctantly. On the other hand, there were surely Italians who were the fans of Mussolini. Some even fought in the Abyssinian War for Italy. Despite the fact that some were anti-Fascists, they became members not to break connections with Italy (Cesarani, 1993, pp. 169-170).

When Italy entered the Second World War on side of Germany on 10 June 1940, the British government regarded Italians as one of the most dangerous minorities. On the same day, riots against Italians started from London to Scotland and Italian shops were attacked. Some Italian signs were removed and Italian names of restaurants were changed. 4.000 women and girls protested against Italians in Liverpool. Besides, disturbances occurred in Soho, Birmingham, Manchester, Belfast, Middlesbrough, Sunderland,

Newcastle, Wales, Newport, Cardiff, Swansea, Glasgow and Edinburg on 11 and 12 June 1940 (Panayi, 1993b, p. 132).

In 1940, the Home Office agreed to exchange of populations with Italy and intern the most dangerous people. The War Cabinet calculated 1500 Italians to be arrested and 300 British-born Italians were also held for security reasons. After the day Italy entered the war, the British government ordered mass internment of the male Italians. So, the British police made the famous instruction for Italians: “Collar the lot!” (Cesarani, 1993, p. 126). Everyone with Italian origin was rounded up without considering political condition, residence period or Italian citizenship (Cesarani, 1993, p. 174).

Many Italians hoped to be repatriated because of hostility against them. As a consequence, they went to the Italian Embassy in London and Italian Consulates for a few days. Some fugitives were allowed to board a train of diplomatic corps. “Many Italian men themselves were quickly removed to be interned thus defusing potential tensions and confrontations” (Panayi, 1993b, p. 146). Many Italian shopkeepers declared themselves as British for their business. Ironically, children served in the British army while their fathers were interned (Cesarani, 1993, p. 175).

The police arrested and interned aliens in accordance with the lists from the government. Some of the interned Italians were born and raised in Britain. Some of them were over 60 years old and some of them were blamed for their previous anti-Fascist actions with MI5 lists on which there were 1.500 pro-Fascists. In reality, MI5 listed the ones who were members of the Fascist Party or Fascist organizations in Britain. Nevertheless, MI5 did not explain the source of information or put any individual file forth (Cesarani, 1993, p. 127).

In 1933, Italian Consulates had conducted census of Italians in London, Glasgow, Liverpool and Cardiff. When MI5 brought the lists of “dangerous characters” or “desperate” Italians, it might benefit from this census because there was a question in the census about party membership. For MI5, membership was synonymous with pro-Fascism. On the other hand, the list of 1.500 Italians included also anti-Fascists (Cesarani, 1993, p. 171).

There were approximately 10.000 Italians in Britain. Within two weeks after the declaration of Mussolini, around 4.200 Italian waiters, doctors, writers, shopkeepers, cooks

and restaurant managers between the ages of sixteen and seventy were rounded up for internment. Even though young British-born Italians of military age fought in the British Army in the war, those having relations with Fascist organizations were interned under the Defence Regulation 18B. These people numbered 400. Moreover, approximately 500 seamen were arrested just as their ships were captured by the British government. They were held on the Isle of Man at the Metropole Camp (Cesarani, 1993, p. 128). At the end of 1940, some of them were sent to the Granville Camp. Then, when these camps were closed, Italians were sent to the Onchan Camp, Mooragh Camp and Peveril Camp (Dove, 2005, p. 156).

Minorities were interned by categorizing as A, B, and C which represented danger for security. Category A was the most dangerous group. The Home Office did not strive to categorize Italians in terms of danger for security. It did not question who were anti-Fascists or pro-Fascists or non-Fascists. Fear was about all the Italians who could harm Britain via Fascist organizations (Cesarani, 1993, p. 170).

The communication of internees was completely cut off. Newspapers were not put in camps. Letters from aliens and their relatives were held in Liverpool. Life in camps was self-government. The Home Office did not organize daily lives. Dull camp life and inefficiency resulted in suicides. Establishment of universities and libraries decreased dullness a bit. However, these universities and libraries tried to Anglicize these internees (Cesarani, 1993, pp. 85-100).

While deporting Italians to camps overseas owing to lack of space in Britain, the *Arandora Star* sank in 1940 and 486 Italians died (Cesarani, 1993, p. 15). Many of these interned Italians were British-born and separated from their children and families. They were interned like in the totalitarian regimes. Fathers were separated from their children even in camps (Cesarani, 1993, p. 176). Women, whose husbands were arrested and interned, had to remain horrified and starving in their houses. Italian shops and properties were attacked all along riots. Children of interned Italians were insulted and attacked in schools. Because of these occasions, many Italians had to hide their identities (Cesarani, 1993, p. 16). Whereas only men had been interned initially, the internment of women was decided as well in 1940. During the Second World War, Italian women were sent to the camps in the Isle of Man with their luggage and children in their laps (Cesarani, 1993, pp. 149-150).

After the tragedy of the *Arandora Star*, the public found out that the Home Office sent aliens to overseas by following such a transportation policy. In reality, the Home Office attempted to prevent aliens from being in news and rebounding both in the country and outside; yet it did not succeed (Cesarani, 1993, p. 112). For this reason, the tragedy resulted in some changes in the internment policy of the government. At first, the administration of the internment camps was given to the Home Office from the War Office, and so the difference between prisoners of war and civilian internees became clear. Secondly, release procedures of internees were set in White Papers. A Home Office Advisory Committee was established to evaluate release requests (Dove, 2005, p. 155).

The survivors of the *Arandora Star* were 444 people and 200 of them were Italians. These survivors were sent to Australia via the *SS Dunera*. It was not allowed to communicate or send telegraphs to relatives (Cesarani, 1993, p. 131). Conditions were worse than the *Arandora Star*. Aliens were beaten up and threatened. All the belongings and luggage were held all together. Voyage to Australia lasted for 55 days. In the beginning of 1941, internees requested compensation from the government with letters to the Parliament (Cesarani, 1993, p. 181).

The newspaper *Fasci* was published in Britain between 1928 and 1940. It tried to transform the Italians in Britain into Fascists and founded Fascist organizations in the country. So, it aimed to make Britain wholly fascist (Baldoli, 2003, p. 3). Britain saw this newspaper as a threat and feared from the spread of fascism throughout the country. In 1940, the leaders of the British Union of Fascists were interned and its publications were banned. 750 people were held on the grounds that they had contacts with the Union (Goldman, 1973, p. 4). On the other hand, many people could not understand why Italian refugees were judged with Fascism because they had already escaped from Fascist Italy (Cesarani, 1993, p. 112).

When Italy sided with the Allies in 1943, the status of Italians changed from enemy aliens to friendly aliens. Though 410 internees were released by November 1940, those supporting Fascism and not supporting Britain in the war were held in camps until the end of 1945 (Cesarani, 1993, p. 233).

Discrimination did not end after the war. To have an Italian name was enough to face with prejudice. The children whose fathers were interned tried to hide their Italian

identities and names and refused to speak Italian. They used Anglicized names and tried to assimilate into the British society. Moreover, internment and riots of the wartime devastated family and business structure of the Italian community in Britain. After that, to earn respect and recollect themselves lasted years for them (Cesarani, 1993, p. 167).

2.7. Jewish Minorities

The Royal Commission on Alien Immigration was established in 1902 by reason of mass immigration of Jews to the East London. The Royal Commission suggested in its report that the government must restrict entry of minorities and establish forbidden areas. The report put the blame of crimes on aliens. In 1904, the report was introduced to the Parliament as an Alien Bill which allowed aliens to settle in ports only with official permission and prohibited entry of ill aliens. Aliens involved in crimes would be repatriated (Cesarani, 1993, p. 32).

With this bill, anti-alienism was prosecuted strictly in the East London. The Aliens Act was changed and became a law in the Parliament in 1905. It decreased the number of Jews who came to Britain as settlers or transmigrants. 110.700 transmigrants in 1907 declined to 61.680 in 1908. As a result, the government would make a law for the actions against aliens in the future. Between 1906 and 1910, approximately 5.000 aliens were not allowed to enter into the country because of illness and hundreds of convicted aliens were exiled (Cesarani, 1993, p. 32).

In 1911, the Home Office introduced a bill which obliged all aliens to register at police offices. Moreover, convicted aliens could be exiled without a trial. The Criminal Bill of 1911 also aimed at decreasing crimes by carrying penalty into action for unlicensed pistols of aliens (Cesarani, 1993, p. 33).

In the meantime, the British society initiated riots so as to indicate their hostility to Jews. The first riots occurred in the Welsh Valleys on the 19th August of 1911 in Tredegar. Disturbances started just as 200 Whites sang “several favorite Welsh hymn tunes” and attacked Jewish shops in Tredegar. The disturbances spread to Ebbw Vale, Rhymney, Brynmawr and Bargoed and after a week, they ended. Nonetheless, it was clear that Jews

were scapegoats because there was the Cambrian Coal Strike of 1910-1911 in that area. This strike affected the whole community when it united with negative effects of the National Railway Strike to local economy. Rent increases and the Baptist religious revival in the South Wales made Jewish community target of the White British Christians (Holmes, 1985, p. 42).

When the First World War broke out on 28 July 1914, hostility against Jews came to light once more. With the effect of xenophobia, wartime insecurity and fear, in October 1914, Britain immediately decided on the internment of aliens of military age including the ones having come to Britain before the war. This was victimization of the incidentally German-born Jews. The British government seemed to confuse Jews with Germans (Cesarani, 1994, p. 117).

During the First World War, German-born Jews in Britain were in a dilemma: They would either make war against enemy Britain or be British citizens despite their internment in this country. It seemed very complicated because the ones who accepted to have Anglo-Jewish identity and be loyal to Britain would be friend to Britain, but enemy to their own origins. Though some Jews abandoned their own identity, accepted to die for Britain voluntarily and waited on the queues for voluntary recruitment, this time British soldiers carried on discrimination against them by dividing braids as the Jews and British soldiers (Kushner, 1990, p. 65).

When the War Office declared that Britain would accept volunteer recruitments of aliens into the British Army, the question whether these people would be given naturalization or not arose. Only the Russian Jews who conscripted into the British Army would receive naturalization; yet, this divided Jews into parts because only the Russian Jews would be eligible (Kushner, 1990, p. 68). Before the legislation of compulsory conscription in May 1916, 10.000 Jews had already participated in the British army voluntarily. Together with the compulsory conscription, around 45.000 Jews from Britain served in the British army throughout the First World War (Lipman, 1990, p. 140). While Anglicized Jewish families sent their children to serve in the British army voluntarily, some Jews did not want to help Tsarist Russia from which they escaped, by serving in the army (Endelman, 2002, p. 185).

By the decision on deportation of aliens not serving in the army, many Jews gathered to protest this repatriation (Endelman, 2002, p. 185). In 1917, a conflict about this conscription emerged between Jewish religious authorities in London and “venerable rabbis” in Leeds. Furthermore, anti-Jewish riots in Leeds and Bethnal Green occurred because of this conscription problem (Kushner, 1990, p. 72). The riots of Leeds in June 1917 were one of the most serious and comprehensive riots against Jews. On 3 June, around 1.500-2.000 people attacked Jewish properties and this number increased to around 3.000-4.000 on 4 June (Lipman, 1990, p. 142). These riots were the results of anti-Jewish feeling and antagonism because conscription differentiated Jews from non-Jews.

Although conscription seemed to be the cause of these riots, unemployment, growing anti-Semitism and refusals to work on the Sabbath day were efficient in the intolerance of the British government. As a result, hundreds of Jewish people were deported with the 1919 Aliens Act. Entry of Jews was limited and only some certain people were allowed to enter the country (Kushner, 1990, p. 154).

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 became instrumental in British hostility against Jews as for many, the words “Bolshevik” and “Jewish” became synonymous. There were many Jews amongst Bolshevik leadership and Britain feared from the influence Jews might do to Russia (Levy, 2005, p. 85). Therefore, the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act passed in 1918 and limited British nationality only to those loyal to Britain (Panayi, 1993a, p. 6).

With the Balfour Declaration in 1917, Britain pioneered to found a Jewish state in Palestine. Besides, in 1920 the Mandate for Palestine was given to Britain. In 1922, Winston Churchill presented a White Paper explaining the Balfour Declaration during his visit to Palestine. The Declaration did not make Palestine a Jewish state but made foundation of a Jewish state in Palestine possible. While the White Paper was refused by Arabs, it was celebrated by Zionists (Lipman, 1990, p. 174). This step by Britain indicated the British policy for rescue from aliens before the Second World War.

In the inter-war period, anti-Semitism, anti-Bolshevism and anti-Zionism feelings increased in the society depending on anti-alienism (Cesarani, 1994, p. 133). Especially after 1932, with the effect of the Great Depression, violence against Jews and damages to Jewish property became widespread. Hooliganism and propaganda were organized by the

British Union of Fascists especially in the East End of London, Leeds and Manchester. Black shirts dressed by people participating in marches spread fear due to reminding of Nazi Germany which labeled Jews by forcing them to wear armbands (Lipman, 1990, p. 185).

When the Second World War broke out in 1939, the reaction of the British society to the Jewish community was shaped by fear of Nazi government and the war (Lipman, 1990, p. 173). As diplomatic tension increased, the British society thought that Jews strived to make Britain enter the war with Germany for their own interest (Cesarani, 1994, p. 159). Moreover, the fact that the Jewish population in Britain increased as a result of escaping Jews from the persecution of Nazi government became efficient in these ideas. While only 11.000 German Jews entered in Britain by 1938, 55.000 Jews moved in the country during the Nazi rule (Manz, 2012, p. 128).

The Home Office was rather ambivalent about precautions against aliens. The discriminative and expensive precautions of the First World War could not be repeated. First of all, the government interned a few thousand aliens with a prejudice. After nine months, this practice was converted into mass internment. Even though the government had claimed to find liberal solutions to alien problem before the war, hundreds of internment camps were established. Enemy aliens were gathered in these camps in the wartime. After Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France fell; this policy was tightened and explained as panic precautions (Kushner, 1999, p. 173).

With an amendment to the Aliens Order of 1920, the Home Office declared that aliens must not settle in “protected areas” without the permission of a registration office. The Aliens (Protected Areas) Order was enforced in April 1940. These “protected areas” included “Humber, Harwich, Medway, Thames and Dower, Portsmouth, Plymouth area.” Those not obey warnings were interned (Kushner, 1999, p. 174).

For fear of invasion, the British government rounded up Jews in the internment camps in Canada and Australia, too. With mass internment, approximately 30.000 aliens were interned. Most of these interned aliens were Jews escaping from the Nazi Germany. By 1942, more than 2.000 Jews experienced camps (Kushner, 1990, p. 84). Military officers in charge of internment camps in Canada named themselves as “camp boys” and

generally treated internees with anti-Semitism. Ironically, Jews and pro-Nazi Germans were held together in the camps (Perin, 2000, pp. 172-173).

Press, literature and public opinion fuelled anti-Semitism. Hostility and racism created questions about liberalism of Britain which turned to “barbarism” in the manner towards Jews (Kushner, 1990, p. 154). Repatriation of Jews was very cruel. There was a possibility of returning home for other minorities; yet, returning home meant going to death for the Jews.

2.8. Conclusion

In the first half of the twentieth century, Italians, Germans, Jews and Irish experienced both internment and repatriation and Blacks were repatriated in Britain. Boers were held in concentration camps as a result of farm-burning policy. Although the British government was not involved in genocide or British police did not provoke rioters directly, it can be said that Britain followed a racist policy.

Many minorities came to Britain for better life conditions and wished to live in a peaceful environment and express their thoughts independently. On the contrary, they were interned, deprived of their independence, separated from their families and excluded from the society. They encountered with humiliation and discrimination in the country of which they hoped to be a part. All these affected mental and psychological condition of these people who had to live as differentiated from the others. They did not want to remember or be reminded of their “otherness.” The wives, who were separated from their “alien” husbands and left behind, had to deal with many economic and social hardships. They could not return to their neighborhood or family home. Consequently, they were forsaken to isolation and unhappiness.

Britain sent many minorities to camps, which reminded totalitarian regimes. The fact that people were held behind barbed wire for the period of four years or more was inhuman. Though Britain was known for its liberal reforms, regulations and approaches, the minorities of the first half of the twentieth century Britain did not find any remainder of them in the country. To survive in Britain cost the minorities dear: They lost their business

and freedom, they were separated from their families, their health deteriorated and many of them were deported from Britain. Internees and their internment and repatriation were forgotten, but memories seem to remain alive all the time.

CHAPTER III

INTERNMENT AND REPATRIATION POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES

3.1. Introduction

As Oscar Handlin (1973) said “Once I thought to write a history of immigrants in America, then I discovered that the immigrants were American history,” (p. 3) the United States is a mixture of immigrants from other nations. Thus, immigration was the reason of being for the United States. Many different ethnic groups came together, united under the Americanness and created a new nation by means of melting pot and American pluralism (Henderson, 1995, p. 19).

The melting pot anticipated that “the multitude of whites from various European nations (blacks and Asians were not included) would fuse together within America, producing a new people and a new civilization” (Zanden, 1983, p. 303). Therefore, the melting pot necessitated assimilation of different type of people to create new identity (Steinberg, 1981, p. 253). Likewise, for the American pluralism, a group did not have any superiority to the others, and thus, all the groups must be assimilated into a society (Steinberg, 1981, p. 255).

To be a minority in the US meant not having the same rights and freedom as the country’s own citizens. Even though every immigrant contributed something to the melting pot, they were treated as second class citizens (Henderson, 1995, p. 296). Immigrants

acknowledged their alienism and worked at lower wages for long hours to feed their families. Therefore, they felt that they became less valuable as a human being in the New World (Handlin, 1973, pp. 61-64). As the US waited the transformation of freedom and equality for everyone to uniformity and sameness, ethnic groups had to adopt the American way of life and change their life styles and religious understanding (Wrobel, 1990, p. 157).

“For the American White society, God gave them power to spread Christianity and rule the world. Non-Whites even accepting Christianity must be oppressed and accept ‘white man’s burden’ as they could not be a self-regulating society” (Piersen, 1993, p. 12). Hence, if a minority was not white, he was discriminated by the American society as he came from a different ethnicity and needed to serve the society. If a minority was white but did not have same religion, language and ethnicity, he or she was again discriminated as he or she was an alien to American territory (Piersen, 1993, p. 12).

Many minorities, who wished to catch “American Dream” and reach welfare in the country of liberty, encountered with discrimination and segregation on account of their racial and ethnic background. Subsequently, they were frustrated. The US followed “open-door policy” at first and opened its doors to miserable immigrants because the nation had to develop industrially and immigrants would work at these industrial areas. Then, it closed all the doors to them inside and caused them to be trapped. In every field from education to employment, they were discriminated and regarded as troublemaker, inferior and criminals (Steinberg, 1981, p. 222).

In the first half of the twentieth century, the US restricted immigrations with three laws as immigrants were perceived as a threat to American culture and civilization. The first one was the Immigration Law of 1917 which forbade entry of illiterate people to the country. After that, all the newcomers had to know how to read and write (Handlin, 1973, p. 259). Furthermore, it was planned to exclude all the Asian people except Japanese and Chinese who were already restricted with the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907 and the Chinese Exclusion Act. The law also emphasized deportation of aliens intervening in sabotages after their entry into the country. This formed a basis for the future steps (Higham, 1984, p. 52). As a result of this law, immigration, over 1.2 million in 1914, decreased to 110,818 in 1918 (Panayi, 1993a, p. 179).

Secondly, the Immigration Restriction Act of 1921 known as the Emergency Quota Act brought numerical limits and a temporary quota system to European immigrations which were restricted as 3 per cent of the population of every nation in the census of 1910. This caused the immigrant population to move to the northwestern Europe (Higham, 1984, p. 54).

Thirdly, the Immigration Act of 1924 namely the Johnson-Reed Act restricted immigration by imposing a permanent quota system on European immigrants. It declined immigration from three percent to two percent of the population of every immigrant living in the US in 1890. This law was enacted to exclude previous immigrants rather than using the 1910 census (Handlin, 1973, p. 260).

The American universal terms; democracy, freedom, equality and respect for individual dignity became of secondary importance with destructive and psychological effect of wartime. The US made serious mistakes which it carried as a trace in its history. Immigrants were seen as a threat to American nationalism and individualism. Naturalized immigrants were Americans only by name; yet, in reality they were still enemy aliens. So, the US did not differentiate the enemy inside from the outside (Panayi, 1993a, pp. 191-192).

In the first half of the twentieth century, thousands of minorities faced with repatriation and internment in the US. Internment and repatriation policies of immigrants were implemented easily because the American society supported such policies as wartime instruments (Heinrichs, 2011, p. 6). These policies devastated the family life of immigrants. Besides, the US repatriated thousands of immigrants so as to get rid of them and clean the country from aliens (Riley, 2002, p. 155).

The First World War united xenophobia and nationalism together. Everyone tried to prove their “100 per cent Americanism” (Handlin, 1973, p. 258). In reality, a direct threat to the United States was not possible since it was separated from its enemies by the Atlantic. However, this could not end public hostility against aliens. For this reason, the United States strived to control its minorities, established police system and repatriated and interned many immigrants. Enemy aliens became the target of restrictive and oppressive governmental policies. All the organizations and groups felt the government pressure (Panayi, 1993a, p. 194).

Even though the President Roosevelt declared that rights of equality and justice of every American citizen were protected under the Constitution without any color or race difference, his steps during the Second World War made pure White Americans superior (Davenport, 2010, p. 95). Throughout this period, 32,275 enemy aliens were interned. Of them, 10,905 were Germans, 3,278 were Italians, 1,000 were Jews and the remainders were Japanese apart from the relocated people (Krammer, 1997, p. 171). If disloyalty and sabotage activities of these people were proven, they could appear in court and be punished. On the contrary, the US preferred sending these people to camps as a wartime precaution without a court decision.

In the first half of the twentieth century, many minorities faced with discrimination, segregation, insults, mob attacks and lynching in the US. However; Germans, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Mexicans and Philippines became the minorities welcomed by the American internment and repatriation policies which devastated many families, separated children from parents and pushed minorities out of the society.

After the US participated in the First World War in April 1917, the President Wilson declared twelve regulations applied to German-born males over fourteen. Now, Germans would not own guns, radios or explosives and approach to factories, aircraft stations, forts, naval vessels more than a half-mile. On 16 November 1917, more eight regulations were declared. 250,000 male enemies would be registered at the US post offices and carry registration cards. On 18 April 1918, the President extended all the twenty regulations in the manner they would include 220,000 German females. As a result of investigations of the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation and state and local polices, 6,300 German enemy aliens were arrested under presidential warrant. 2,048 Germans were sent to internment camps (Krammer, 1997, p. 14).

When the Second World War broke out, the US again declared Germans as enemy aliens for fear of invasion and "fifth column." The FBI and Justice Department listed pro-Nazi Germans. As soon as the US participated in the war on 7 December 1941, President Roosevelt authorized the Justice Department to arrest and intern enemy aliens posing a threat to the country. During the war, nearly 6,000 Germans were interned in camps owing to their homeland (Krammer, 1997, pp. 90-100).

Italian immigrants in the US became one of the fearful enemy aliens in the course of the Second World War due to the possibility of pro-Fascism. They were declared as “potentially dangerous enemy aliens” with the Public Proclamation 2527 signed by the President Roosevelt on 7 December 1941. With respect to the lists prepared by the FBI, approximately 250 Italians were interned for two years with the suspicion of sabotage and espionage activities (Distasi, 2001, pp. 9-11).

When Japan bombed the Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, Japanese Americans encountered with life change events (Ng, 2002, p. 1). In February 1942, the American Congress enacted legislation of relocation according to which all Japanese should evacuate their homes and concentration camps should be established for them (Gesensway, 1987, p. 42). For this reason, the newly founded War Relocation Authority established ten relocation centers and placed Japanese in these centers. By their real name, concentration camps were established at desolate and distant places (Panayi, 1993a, p. 221). 110,000 Japanese were at the concentration camps in November 1942. 77.4 per cent of interned Japanese were under the age of twenty-five (Panayi, 1993a, p. 9). They, who became citizens first but then became prisoners, were held in the camps until 1945 (Gesensway, 1987, p. 79).

Jewish organizations and Jewish Americans in the US put pressure on the American government to save Jews from the Nazi persecution. At first the US had tightened visa procedures for refugees and preferred being away from saving Jews as it might create problems with Germany and Britain. However, in 1943 the US consented to pass the Rescue Resolution and established the War Refugee Board owing to the pressures in the Congress. The War Refugee Board searched for havens for Jews rather than bringing them to the US and forced other countries to accept Jewish refugees. The US saved only 1,000 Jews which were interned in the camp of Fort Ontario, New York (Wyman, 1984, pp. 193-250). The fact that the US saved them from the Nazi persecution did not change the reality of their internment in the US.

Mexicans, who immigrated to the US so as to benefit from job opportunities and worked at railroad, mining and agriculture fields, faced with discrimination and segregation by the American society. On account of unemployment, general resentment, segregation and financial difficulties, thousands of Mexicans were repatriated in the 1930s. Some states even collected money to return Mexicans to their homeland. While Mexican

population in the US was 459.287 in 1930, it declined to 22.319 between 1931 and 1940 (McLemore, 1980, pp. 240-249).

The US aimed at achieving American business interests, gaining raw materials and military successes and proving Anglo-Saxon superiority during the Philippine-American War of 1899 and 1902. The US followed very cruel techniques, tortured Philippine civilians and soldiers and devastated many families by burning their homes and crops. In 1900, the US created concentration camps in order to prevent civilian support to Philippine guerillas. Throughout the war, between 200.000 and 600.000 Philippines died from disease, malnutrition, warfare and bad camp conditions (Nash, 2007, pp. 200-209).

Now, following parts will analyze discrimination, segregation and internment and repatriation policies of the United States towards Germans, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Mexicans and Philippines separately.

3.2. German Minorities

Between 1901 and 1910, 341.498 Germans immigrated to the United States (Bodnar, 1985, p. 217). German population in the US was 2.501.000 in 1914 (Ellis, 1994, p. 239). As the First World War approached, the status of Germans in the US changed dramatically. The status of German Americans changed from pacemakers to “Huns” (Panayi, 1993a, p. 169).

The First World War broke out on 28 July 1914 and the US followed non-intervention policy. However, the US declared if any American vessel or American citizen was harmed by Germany, it would accept this as the violation of neutral rights in 1915. Still, on 7 May 1915, 128 Americans were killed with sinking of the British liner *Lusitania*. In that case, Germany had to promise not to attack at any passenger or merchant vessels without warning or assuring their board safe. Nevertheless, when the attacks were maintained, the US at first cut off diplomatic relations and then answered by declaring war on the side of Britain and France in April of 1917 (Wrobel, 1990, p. 107).

After participating in the war, the US lost its confidence in Germans who might be loyal to Germany (Ellis, 1994, p. 241). Negative reactions increased and everything

German became synonymous with barbarism and militarism (Panayi, 1993a, pp. 194-195). Moreover, the Committee on Public Information, National Security League, All-American Anti-German League, American Anti-Anarchy Association, Boy Spies of America and American Protective League induced hostility against all German things and supported American nativism (Ellis, 1994, p. 243).

The National German-American Alliance had 2.000.000 members when the First World War broke out and emphasized innocence of Germans in the outbreak of the war via newspapers and journals. This German support caused spy-fever to increase in the US (Ellis, 1994, p. 250).

Hostility, fear and hatred against Germans affected lives of many German-Americans. Mourning of the killed American citizens in the war was reflected to Germans as hatred. The United States took restrictive precautions and waited Germans to prove their loyalty to it and disloyalty to Germany which sent greater number immigrants comparatively to the other countries. Over eight millions Germans of ninety-two millions American population were seen as a threat to the nation after April 1917 and the United States named all of them as enemy aliens (Panayi, 1993a, p. 193).

The Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation founded in 1909 observed enemies high in number together with the Military Intelligence Division in wartime. So, spy aliens would be determined easily (Panayi, 1993a, p. 203). After 1916, the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation immobilized the aliens violating neutrality laws and declared 11.770 names as suspicious in 1917 (Ellis, 1994, p. 242).

President Woodrow Wilson declared a proclamation based on the Alien Enemy Statute of 1798 and announced twelve regulations increasing security precautions on 6 April 1917. Non-citizen German-born males over fourteen would not own guns, radios or explosives and use airbases or wireless communication devices. They would not approach to federal or state ports, aircraft stations, forts and naval vessels more than a half-mile and enter into protected areas. If anything threatening peace was sensed, enemy aliens would be removed (Krammer, 1997, p. 14).

From June 1917, no enemy aliens were allowed to enter into the protected areas. On 16 November 1917, the President declared further eight regulations. 250.000 male enemy aliens would be registered by police officers or the US postmasters and carry registration

cards. Enemy aliens threatening national security and German sympathizers were arrested and interned. In 1917, the members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) were interned. This aimed at controlling activists, political leftists and radicals in view of German fear. In April, 63; in July, 295; in October, 895 enemy aliens were interned. On 18 April 1918, the Justice Department declared validity of these regulations also for women threatening national security (Panayi, 1993a, pp. 198-212). According to *the New York Times* (1918), those refusing to be registered would be sent to internment camps.

President Wilson approved an act to modify the American Naturalization Law in May 1918 which enabled to question the loyalty of a naturalized German. Over 10.000 of 75.000 enemy aliens on the list sent to the Justice Department were investigated about their loyalty (Panayi, 1993a, p. 201).

On 28 May 1918, President Wilson declared that German-born people trying to become both American and German were not Americans, but traitors, and servants and tools of Germany. Hence, the American melting pot was not a pot anymore; yet a system including Americans and excluding the others (Tolzmann, 1995, p. 1071).

Between January and August 1918, nearly 4.300 enemy aliens were arrested. Increasing arrests, in reality, indicated to the society that the government could get alien threat under control. In the course of the war, 6.300 suspects were arrested under “presidential warrants” without a court decision. After arrest, if disloyalty or violation of regulations became definite, aliens were sent to one of the internment camps. During this transmission, they were insulted, assaulted and exposed to mob threat (Panayi, 1993a, pp. 206-207).

German names, streets and food were changed and Americanized. Listening to German music was banned. Germans were tarred and feathered. Some states banned to teach German in schools. German books were burned. Arrests and even lynching occurred by reason of disloyalty (Wrobel, 1990, p. 108). For example, on 5 April 1918, in Illinois, Robert Prager was lynched in a mob on grounds of being a German spy (Panayi, 1993a, p. 205).

2.048 male and female Germans were interned in the camps controlled by the War Department. Besides, in the wartime, German war and trade vessels consisting of 4.000 crews were interned. Germans living in the east Mississippi were sent to the camp in Fort

Oglethorpe, Georgia; those living in the west Mississippi were sent to the camp in Fort Douglas, Utah (Krammer, 1997, p. 15).

Besides arrests and internment, denaturalization was used to deter aliens from disloyalty. This created fear and threat throughout the country and prevented aliens from pulling the United States' leg to some extent (Panayi, 1993a, pp. 208-209).

Nearly one year after the signature of the Versailles Treaty, which ended the First World War between Germany and the Allied Powers, last remainder 200 internees were released. Camps were closed until the Second World War (Krammer, 1997, p. 15). However, German defeat in the First World War led to its return with Nazi party to the international arena (Wrobel, 1990, p. 109).

In the 1930s, the American public anxiety increased by virtue of possible Fifth Column activities as the appearance of Fifth Column in Poland, Norway, Belgium, Holland and France was indicator of Hitler's success. Nazi sympathizers would appear immediately to assist and support the coming troops in case of an invasion. So, in September 1936, the FBI investigated to find Nazi propagandists and listed the individuals posing threat to the country (Krammer, 1997, p. 3).

The US accelerated preparation of internment of enemy aliens for a possible threat from Nazi and Nazi sympathizers just as Hitler invaded Norway, Poland and Denmark in September 1939. The idea that "fifth column" was efficient in the fall of Western Europe with saboteurs inside led to regard aliens as dangerous. Nearly 40.000 German-born aliens, members of the pro-Nazi German-American Bund, were threats to the country (Daniels, 1993, p. 24). On 9 September 1939, President Roosevelt formed the Emergency Detention Program and ordered the Justice Department about arrestment of the ones which might be dangerous in case of a war or invasion (Krammer, 1997, p. 10).

In 1940, the Congress took important steps against these threats. Civil rights of all non-citizens were restricted. It transferred the Immigration and Naturalization Service from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice. Furthermore, it passed the Aliens Registration Act which required all the resident aliens over fourteen ages to be registered and fingerprinted (Daniels, 1993, p. 24). Besides, the Aliens Division of the Department of Justice with the FBI listed aliens to be interned in case of a war. The Special Defense Unit

was established to determine aliens who had ties with their homelands (Christgau, 2009, p. 65).

The Justice Department listed Germans in three categories. Category “A” included the leader of non-political cultural organizations and this group was the most dangerous one who must be arrested in the wartime immediately. Category “B” involved the members of such organizations. Category “C” included money donators and supporters of the pro-Nazi organizations (Krammer, 1997, p. 11).

Deutschamerikanische Volksbund, an organization of German-Americans with nearly 200.000 members, praised Hitler and spoke out against Roosevelt in a gathering. When such organizations increased their activities, the American society requested the government to act against “saboteurs” as soon as possible (Dickerson, 2010, p. 147).

The war tested loyalty of German-Americans who were in dual loyalty. Naturalized Germans were the citizens of the United States and there was no legislation which would disprove this situation. Enemy aliens without American citizenship had to be under the control of the government, which made aliens target of the public (Panayi, 1993a, p. 192).

The society requested the government to intern and repatriate all Germans. In 1940, there were 1.237.000 German-born people in the US. With their children, this number became almost five million. Therefore, the mass internment of Germans could not be possible because of economic reasons. Moreover, such a mass internment could create an international crisis as there were many famous writers, artists, politicians and business leaders in the US. Germans were also assimilated into the American society and had American values like language and patriotism. Therefore, to distinguish them from the society was not easy in contrast to Japanese (Krammer, 1997, p. 60).

In September 1940, the Justice Department took precautions against the possible German espionage activities. It also issued arrest warrants for German seamen, who did not extend their visas and used sixty days for temporary settlement under the immigration laws (Christgau, 2009, p. 11). So, the German seamen of *Columbus* liner were arrested and sent to the Angel Island in January 1940 and then, they were interned in Ft. Stanton of New Mexico in 1941 (Christgau, 2009, p. 58).

On 16 January 1941, ship passengers including 220 Germans were taken away to the North Dakota State Prison and seventy-five seamen were rounded up and taken to the Ellis Island. At the end of March 1941, the US seized sixty-five German, Italian and Danish ships. Officially these ships were seized to prevent sabotage because twenty ships of twenty-five were sabotaged by their crews. In reality, the seizure was a compensation for the American loss of eight million tons in the Battle of Atlantic. Although Germany condemned and protested the seizure and arrest of crews on 1 April 1941, the US declared that all these were not violation of German rights and the crews would be held in case of sabotage. Consequently, 875 crews were held on the Ellis Island (Christgau, 2009, pp. 14-15).

In May 1941, arrest of crews spread to Chicago, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Baltimore, Philadelphia and San Francisco. These arrests were considered necessary to get ships tied to the US ports under control. Now, nearly 2.000 aliens were on the Ellis Island (Christgau, 2009, p. 18).

When Japan bombed the Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, the US participated in the Second World War (Burgan, 2007, p. 14). Soon after this attack, President Roosevelt made Proclamation 2525 based on his power under the Alien Enemies Act of 1798. The Proclamation authorized the government to arrest enemy aliens posing threat to public safety. In the following days, he made several proclamations to authorize the Justice Department to arrest Germans suspected of crimes as well (Dickerson, 2010, p. 148).

The President was recommended to do mass internment of Germans on the East Coast. Even so, he refused since it would be very hard to arrest and relocate such a large number of people. Instead, noncitizen or enemy alien German descents would be tried by the US Justice Department. In the states, where martial law was declared, trials would be made by the army (Dickerson, 2010, p. 149). The government also initiated the Exchange/Repatriation Program with Germany in March 1942 for the return of each country's citizens. Within this program, immigrants were sent to their homeland voluntarily or reluctantly (Krammer, 1997, p. 105).

As a result of investigations and queries, FBI arrested the people on its list and in December sent them to detention camps. Until February, 1.393 Germans were arrested and interned in the camps (Dickerson, 2010, p. 149).

Germans were interned at least forty-six camps in Texas, New York, New Mexico, California, Washington, Montana, North Dakota, Illinois, New Jersey, Oklahoma and Tennessee (Krammer, 1997, pp. 83-84). In 1942, the Crystal City Family Internment Camp, the most tolerable camp to many internees as they could bring their families as “voluntary internees” (Krammer, 1997, p. 100), was opened in Texas. The first internees were Germans. In December 1944, there were 997 Germans and on 30 June 1945, 954 Germans in the camp were repatriated. With the last brought internees, German internees were counted as 756. By the end of 1945, 1,300 Germans were held in the camp, but their number decreased with repatriation day by day (Riley, 2002, p. 24). At the end of 1946, the only ones behind barbed wire were Germans in the camp (Krammer, 1997, pp. 110-111).

German internees were complaining about the food in the camps. They stayed in tents and faced with hardships in case of raining. There was shortage of hot water and drinking water. They had no winter cloth for such cold places (Krammer, 1997, p. 107).

The reason why victims were targeted was either prejudice or displacement desire by which people were deprived of their homes and farms since a little baby and mother could not threaten national security (Dickerson, 2010, p. 154). The manner of Germans to the US changed after they were interned like prisoners. They resisted against everything American because internment policy could not be explained under any circumstances. Many Germans did not send their children to the American schools in the camps as they planned to return their homeland after camp life (Riley, 2002, p. 156).

After the war ended with the Allied victory in 1945, repatriation of undesirable aliens began and lasted until July 1947. The US only apologized to Japanese and compensated their losses and forgot Germans who had never forgotten their imprisonment (Krammer, 1997, pp. 153-167).

3.3. Italian Minorities

Between 1901 and 1910, 2,045,877 Italians immigrated to the United States. The seventy-seven percent of them were farm workers or laborers. They immigrated to the US due to harsh climate, overpopulation, economic problems and social class status so as to

find welfare in the new country. Between 1910 and 1920, 1.110.000 Italians came to the US, and in 1920, there were 1.610.000 Italian birth people in the country. Immigration declined with the quota limitation of 1924 and in the 1920s, only 455.000 Italians entered into the US. In 1930, there were 1.790.000 Italian birth people in the country (Moynihan, 1970, pp. 184-185).

Prior to the Second World War, many Italians thought that they had prestige in the US thanks to successes of their ancestral home and prided themselves on Mussolini's accomplishments. The US did not worry about Mussolini's actions as much as Hitler's in the 1930s; thus, approval of Fascism in the US became very easy. On the other hand, this support was not always ideological; Italian-Americans only supported their homeland (Bayor, 1978, p. 78).

One of the Fascist clubs established in the US was the Fascist League of North America organized by the Italian government, but opposed by anti-Fascists and nativists and; subsequently, closed in 1929. Instead, several smaller organizations were founded by the Italian Consulate officials like the Lictor Federation, Dante Alighieri Society and Committee Pro-Italian Language (Bayor, 1978, p. 78). These organizations became efficient in spreading Fascist ideas across the country.

Mussolini wanted Italians to emphasize their loyalty to their homeland via agents and propaganda campaigns. Some Italians considered fascism equal with homeland, showed their nationalism by using Italian flag and traditional holidays and attempted to maintain their Italian lifestyle by participating in clubs and organizations and publishing newspapers in Italian (O'Brien, 1995, p. 64). Some Italian-American families even sent their children to summer camps sponsored by Mussolini (Bodnar, 1985, p. 202). However, these implementations were evaluated as fascist propagandas as the Second World War approached. The American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Socialists, communists, liberal progressives and Italian exiles were interpreted as disloyal and anti-Catholic enemies (O'Brien, 1995, p. 65). As the possibility of Italy's entry into the war increased, Italians became suspects on account of pro-Fascism (Bayor, 1978, p. 118).

When the Second World War broke out in September 1939, Italians became one of the suspected minorities (Distasi, 2001, p. 11). Therefore, Italian organizations urged the US for neutrality on the grounds that the war would damage friendship of two countries

and affect Italian-Americans negatively. While 122 Italian-American organizations condemned Mussolini's actions, Americans thought that Italians supported Mussolini secretly and desired for his victory (Bayor, 1978, p. 119).

When Britain and France declared war on Germany in September 1939, the US declared its neutrality. Even so, President Roosevelt ordered the FBI to prepare the lists, called as the Custodial Detention List, of "potentially dangerous" people with army and navy intelligence units. The American government declared all denaturalized Italians as enemy aliens. In June 1940, as a result of the fear of sabotage, espionage and fifth column, the Congress passed the Alien Registration Act known as the Smith Act requiring all the aliens to be registered at police offices and notify residence or employment change (Distasi, 2001, p. 11).

In June 1940, Italy entered into war on the side of the Axis powers and attacked France. The Congress, this time, passed the Selective Service Act requiring males between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five to participate in one-year military training. In March 1940, the President ordered the FBI to arrest those posing threat to security of the country. Italian Consulate was closed and diplomatic staff was repatriated by the US (Distasi, 2001, p. 11).

On 7 December 1941, President Roosevelt signed the Public Proclamation 2527 declaring all the Italian residents in the country as enemy aliens. In fact, this proclamation had been accepted by the War Department and the Department of Justice weeks ago. The President ordered the FBI to investigate foreign agencies performing sabotage and espionage activities. The lists prepared by the FBI were full of German, Italian and Japanese Americans (Distasi, 2001, p. 236).

When the US declared war on Italy officially on 8 December 1941, arrest warrants were taken to the White House for the signature of President Roosevelt who indicated his disinterestedness to arrests and internment of Italians by saying that "I don't care so much about Italians. They are a lot of opera singers. But the Germans are different; they may be dangerous" (Christgau, 2009, p. 54). So, Italians did not suffer oppression as much as Germans even though the President signed the arrest warrants which caused Italians to be arrested and interned.

Emergency precautions were put in place and 231 Italian Americans were interned immediately upon the signature. These internees were the members of the Federation of Italian War Veterans serving in the Italian army throughout the First World War. In spite of the fact that the Italian War Veterans fought against Germany in the First World War and collected funds for war orphans and widows, all members were regarded as pro-Fascist and all non-citizen members were interned within several months. Writers and editors in Italian newspapers, instructors in Italian schools and Italian radio announcers were also arrested and interned (Distasi, 2001, p. 12). Moreover, ship passengers including 162 Italians were taken away to the North Dakota State Prison. They, then, were sent to the internment camps at Ft. Missoula of Montana. At the end of 1941, more 4,000 Italians were sent from the Ellis Island to Montana (Christgau, 2009, pp. 8-20).

The American government conducted negotiations about internment of nearly two thousand enemy aliens in the Latin America. The aim was to exchange with the Americans interned abroad. In 1942, Germans, Japanese and Italians arrested in eleven Latin American countries were transported to the US. When they landed in the US, they were arrested on the grounds of being “illegal immigrants” (Distasi, 2001, p. 16).

New regulations in March 1942 restricted the movement of 600,000 immigrants, and 50,000 ones were also subjected to curfews. Throughout the day, they would be within five miles from their homes (Dickerson, 2010, p. 165). Policemen raided on many houses in order to control the ban of carrying guns, cameras and radios. In the first six months after the war, 1,500 Italians were arrested by reason of the violation of curfew and travel restrictions (Distasi, 2001, p. 10). The regulations also required denaturalized Italians to abandon their homes and evacuate “prohibited zones” (O’Brien, 1995, pp. 66-67). Over 10,000 Italians inhabiting in prohibited zones of the West Coast were relocated. The government had no thought of interning all Italians. In June 1942, it was declared that if Italians wished, they could return to the prohibited areas or work at these places (Bayor, 1978, p. 124).

The Italians were arrested under presidential warrant and held in detention facilities of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and then sent to a military camp built for Japanese. The exact number and names of internees were not known. Many interned Italians came from the Eastern states like New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Massachusetts. Some indicated Italian internees as 228, 250 or 277. The internees were

paid for some works in camps like kitchen services. Some internees undertook some works like gardening for only an occupation (Distasi, 2001, pp. 201-239).

Some clubs and organizations were redesigned so as to support the war effort for fear of hostility. Besides, street, building and monument names were changed and the American flag was raised. Many young Italians used Americanized names not to be a target of public discrimination (O'Brien, 1995, pp. 72-74). However, the US did not want the public opinion to know about the arrests and internment as this could cause the Americans abroad to face with inhumane treatment as a consequence of reciprocity principle (Distasi, 2001, p. 119).

The war affected lives of Italians socially and economically. Even some naturalized citizens had to leave their homes and business on the ground of being "dangerous" (Distasi, 2001, p. 11). For them, this war was of Germany trying to dominate Europe and the world, and its blame was laid at Italy's door (Bayer, 1978, p. 124).

In Britain, Scotland, Egypt, South Africa, India and Australia, there were nearly 250.000 Italian prisoners of war during the war. After negotiations between Britain and the US, it was decided that prisoners of war held in the Allied landings after November 1942 would be "American-owned." In September 1943, the US held 82.000 Italian prisoners of war in the North Africa and Sicily, 48.000 Italian prisoners of war in the US. The War Department tried to find a way to use these prisoners in American war effort efficiently (Keefer, 1992, p. 44). So, nearly 28.000 prisoners of war in the North Africa were sent as supporters to the fighting US troops. 15.000 prisoners of war were given under the authority of France in order to be used as laborers in the North Africa. The rest was divided as "secure" and "insecure." The "secure" ones were employed in the North Africa whereas the "insecure" ones were sent to the US as they posed security threat to the country (Keefer, 1992, pp. 28-29).

Six internment camps were established for prisoners of war brought to the US. The Prisoner of War Division and Military Police Division would deal with these prisoners of war. Camps for prisoners of war were designed for nearly 2.000-4.000 people and established in places miles away from railroad lines and military buildings. 340 ones of whole 511 prisoner of war camps were founded in desolate places. At the end of 1943, nearly 50.000 Italian prisoners of war were behind barbed wire in twenty-three states and

twenty-seven camps. By 1945, some camps were closed in view of economic reasons and prisoners of camps were transferred to other camps (Keefer, 1992, pp. 50-51).

After the relocation of thousands of Italian families and internment of hundreds of Italians, on 12 October 1942, Columbus Day, a US holiday peculiar to Italian Americans, Attorney General Biddle declared that Italians were not enemy aliens from now on. As many Italians had difficulty with English, they could not become American citizens. The government declared that use of literacy tests in naturalization would be reduced and so, Italians could serve in the American army without any problem (Krammer, 1997, p. 69). In fact, there were two factors for this change: The Congressional elections of next month and army plans to invade Italy in spring (Distasi, 2001, p. 21).

Italians contributed to the US by serving in the army because they hoped to clean discrimination and hatred from the public life. More than one million Italians served in the army. Even though Italians served in the American army, wore same uniforms, marched under same flag, obeyed same orders and fought against same enemy, they were discriminated and felt into the “dilemmas of duality” (O’Brien, 1995, pp. 70-71). So, they had to suffer for their ancestral country’s sin with fear and insecurity (Bayor, 1978, p. 119).

After Italy’s surrender and declaration war on Germany in September 1943, the War Department declared that they worked together with “Italian Service Units” and Italian prisoners of war were secure “good guys” (Keefer, 1992, p. 56). After the war ended completely in Europe, Italy urged the US to return all Italian prisoners of war to their home. Conversely, the US declared that they would not be sent until 1 November 1945 as they were needed as laborers. This situation ignored the Geneva Convention of 1929, requiring “captor nations to send prisoners home with the least possible delay after the conclusion of peace” (Keefer, 1992, p. 159). At the end of 1945, half of them were shipped their home while others were held by March 1946 (Keefer, 1992, pp. 160-161).

3.4. Japanese Minorities

In the US, Japanese immigrants faced with segregation, discrimination, prejudice and many limitations by virtue of cultural differences like language, food and traditions. Though they were deprived of their freedom in the US all along the Second World War, in the society they had already been deprived of the rights the American citizens had (Daniels, 1988, p. 184). They were humiliated and narrated with subhuman terms and animals. “They were depicted as monkeys, baboons, gorillas, dogs, rats, rattlesnakes, cockroaches and vermin” (O’Brien, 1995, p. 20).

There had always been an interest rivalry in the Far East between the US and Japan and it was estimated that this rivalry would end with a war. The Americans regarded Japanese as a part of “Yellow Peril” which based on the idea that Asians threatened the US and would invade it one day. Thus, their loyalty was always questioned (Ng, 2002, p. 8). The fact that in 1934 the President Roosevelt requested a study of espionage activities in the West Coast since the possibility of Japan’s attack at the Pacific islands was high indicated the tension between two countries. The events occurred predictably at the end (Burgan, 2007, p. 25).

The US entered into the Second World War, when on 7 December 1941 Japan bombed the Pearl Harbor and harmed eight battleships of the US navy and more than 2.400 Americans died (Daniels, 1993, p. 22). Moreover, over 9.300 Japanese fire balloons destroyed Canadian and American cities, forests and farmlands between November 1944 and 1945 (Gesensway, 1987, p. 18). With this attack at Pearl Harbor, Japan changed not only its own history but also Japanese Americans’ fate (Burgan, 2007, p. 14).

Anti-Asian racism eased to victimize Japanese after the attack at Pearl Harbor. As Japan followed in Germany’s footsteps, there was no possibility of Japanese loyalty and innocence (Panayi, 1993a, p. 220). Easily recognizable Japanese became the target of suspicion and hatred. First of all, the US government froze Japanese’s accounts and they did not draw money. Arms, rifles and cameras which could be used as an espionage tool were seized (Ng, 2002, p. 14).

American nativist groups incited hostility against Japanese and emphasized that the US must consist of the native-born people from Europe; thus, Japanese did not belong to the US. The American Legion, Japanese Exclusion League, Western Growers Protective Association and the California Farm Bureau Federation defended that Japanese must be removed from the West Coast in the face of their disloyalty (Ng, 2002, p. 16).

On 19 February 1942, as a “military necessity”, the Executive Order 9066 was signed by legislating “mass evacuation and incarceration of Japanese and Japanese Americans” (Gesensway, 1987, p. 41). In March 1942, Washington, Oregon, California and Arizona were divided in two groups and Idaho, Utah, Montana and Nevada were grouped as a third military zone. Between 2 and 24 March, Japanese were required to evacuate the first military zone from the West Coast to Arizona. They could move to the military area 2 or 3 or move any region of the country. As a result of the reaction of state governors, the military areas 2 and 3 were also evacuated. In March 1942, at the recommendation of the House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, in other words the Tolan Committee, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) was established to practice relocation. The real aim was to move Japanese from the western defense zones to the Midwestern and eastern areas (Gesensway, 1987, pp. 41-42).

On 19 March 1942, the Congress enacted Public Law 503 for punishment of those violating the Executive Order 9066 (Davenport, 2010, p. 104). On 27 March 1942, the American government introduced the Proclamation No. 3 intervening in the daily lives of Japanese. All Japanese ancestry would be under curfew from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. in all the places of the Military Area. “They were restricted to their place of employment or not more than five miles from their place of residence” (Daniels, 1993, p. 53).

The War Relocation Authority established detention camps on the “unused federal lands” (Gesensway, 1987, p. 43). Japanese were first sent to fifteen assembly centers in Fresno, Marysville, Merced, Pinedale, Pomona, Salinas, Santa Anita, Stockton, Tanforan, Tulare, Turlock and Walerga, California; Portland, Oregon; Puyallup, Washington; and Mayer, Arizona. Each center held nearly 5.000 people and daily approximately 3.750 people were brought to these centers which were defined as temporary accommodation for evacuees until they moved to relocation centers out of the military areas. These assembly centers were surrounded with barbed wire fences and armed soldiers guarded at towers. By

the time, permanent relocation centers were prepared, nearly 10.000 people had inhabited in these centers from three to six months (Gesensway, 1987, p. 43).

In the summer of 1942, transportation to relocation centers started and completed in November. Japanese travelled without seeing outside all along the journey lasting to ten days. There were ten relocation camps housing 10.000-20.000 Japanese in Manzanar and Tule Lake, California; the Colorado River Relocation Project and Gila River, Arizona; Jerome and Rohwer, Arkansas; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Central Utah; Minidoka, Idaho; and Granada, Colorado. The WRA defined these relocation centers as the areas providing housing and protection to Japanese during the war (Gesensway, 1987, p. 44). In fact, these relocation centers were concentration camps and armed soldiers did not protect Japanese; on the contrary, they pointed their guns to them (Gesensway, 1987, p. 84).

The American generals knew that though hit-and-run naval raids might be possible, invasion of the North America by the Japanese forces could not be possible (Daniels, 1988, pp. 201-202). Hence, “military necessity” explanation was the definition of racism with different terms. Neither military administration nor security forces like the FBI believed in the necessity of interning female, male and children (Panayi, 1993a, p. 219).

Over 110.000 Japanese of whom over 70.000 were American citizens were arrested and interned due to simply their race without a court decision. These people not intervening in any sabotage were sentenced to prisoner lives because of race prejudice (McLemore, 1980, p. 201). So, even though the American Civil War had been “a war to make men free” (Daniels, 1988, p. 187) the Second World War brought captivity to Japanese Americans.

Camps surrounded with barbed wire were located in desolate and isolated areas. Japanese were shocked with the weather conditions of camps: Freezing cold, tornados, sandstorms, desert with sand wind blowing and snow. They were not accustomed to such weathers and places. Housing was shaped with regard to the number of family members. In some camps, three to four people, mostly strangers, housed in a single room (Gesensway, 1987, p. 36). There was no privacy or comfort in camps where from 250 to 3.000 Japanese used the same laundry and recreation hall. Food was terrible and Japanese got depressed behind barbed wire (Gesensway, 1987, p. 76). In some camps, Japanese were even denied

to be given medical care. The fact that birth certificates to the babies born in camps were not given was the denial of existence of Japanese babies (O'Brien, 1995, p. 22).

As a result of this internment, faith and trust in democracy decreased. While some Japanese accepted internment quietly, some showed their reactions with demonstrations, strikes and riots. Some proved their loyalty by serving in the American army. And some preferred obeying orders as disobeying was considered equal to disloyalty (Gesensway, 1987, p. 43). Many Japanese organizations like the Japanese American Citizens' League obeyed the Executive Order 9066, prepared Japanese for relocation and wanted them to regard this movement as a contribution for the defense of the US (Chin, 2002, p. 246).

Many Japanese had to sell their homes, workplaces and holdings at "panic sale" prices. Many others locked their homes and workplaces so as to assure their safety until their return. Many farmers leaved their crops behind. Consequently, material damage of this relocation was high beside spiritual damage (McLemore, 1980, p. 203).

In 1942, the United States entitled volunteer Japanese to serve in the American army. Furthermore, it was declared again that they could apply to serve. Even so, they were segregated again by separating them in a different battalion. Volunteers served in the 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team. 1500 of them came from Hawaii and 3.500 of them came from the mainland (Gesensway, 1987, p. 78). On the other hand, it was very ironic to wait Japanese, whose loyalty was questioned, to serve in the army.

Demonstrations, protests, strikes and violence occurred in camps. The Manzanar Riot of 5 and 6 December 1942 was the most serious disturbance of that period. There was a rumor that the camp officials stole sugar and meat and sold them out of the camp. Thereupon, when a Japanese kitchen worker was arrested, thousands of internees marched on administration building. "Military police threw tear gas and fired into the crowd, killing a seventeen-year-old boy. Another man, who had been wounded, died later" (Heinrichs, 2011, p. 58). Subsequently, martial law was declared in Manzanar and troublemakers were arrested and sent to isolation camps (Gesensway, 1987, p. 79).

In April 1943, while sixty-three years old James Wasaka was standing near fences at the Topaz Camp of Utah he was shot and killed as a guard thought he was attempting to escape. After funeral, Japanese residents arranged a strike (Heinrichs, 2011, p. 56).

At the Lordsburg Camp, internees initiated a strike against forced labor out of the camp and refused to work forcibly on account of the Geneva Convention. When the Spanish Consul, who represented Japanese interests in the US in the course of the war, said that he would investigate the Geneva Convention on the issue; yet in the meantime, they must obey orders, the strike ended (Soga, 2008, p. 77).

In 1944, some Japanese refused to be drafted for the military service at the Heart Mountain Camp of Wyoming. They could not understand how the government took them to the military service from the camp as if nothing happened. As a result, a “resistance movement” started and over eighty internees were imprisoned due to their refusal of the draft (Heinrichs, 2011, p. 56).

1.862 Japanese Americans died naturally in the camps. This number increased to 5.918 with death of the American citizens born in the camps. The US did not want to use the words “concentration camp” because they reminded of the Nazi death camps. The American camps were not death camps (Daniels, 1993, p. 46).

During the war, a large number of non-citizen Issei wanted to be repatriated. When the transportation became possible, the American government began to repatriate Japanese to Japan. 4.724 Japanese were sent from the WRA camps to Japan. Of them, 1.659 ones were aliens, 1.949 ones were American citizens and 1.116 ones were adult Nisei (Daniels, 1993, p. 85). Moreover, the American government put the Denaturalization Act into practice in 1944. Consequently, 5.766 Japanese were denationalized (Panayi, 1993a, p. 230).

After the Allies won victories in the Pacific Battles, on 17 December 1944, the US government put the Public Proclamation No. 21 into effect. In as far as this proclamation, Japanese did not pose a threat for the American security anymore; thus, they could go to their homes. The WRA requested all the Japanese over seventeen to fill out a questionnaire. According to the results, loyal Japanese Americans would leave camps. However, the fact that the questionnaire was prepared in the manner that it would indicate disloyalty of Japanese to Japan created trouble (Chin, 2002, pp. 338-339). Nearly 75.000 of the 78.000 camp residents filled this questionnaire. Approximately 6.700 ones were found disloyal and over 65.000 ones were found loyal by the WRA. Many Japanese had to answer to the questions not to encounter with persecution and discrimination. While the

disloyal Japanese were sent to the camp in the Tule Lake of California, the others were transferred to other camps. This caused many families to be separated (Daniels, 1993, pp. 68-70).

On 2 January 1945, releases began (Heinrichs, 2011, p. 63). In fact, evacuation of camps started in the summer of 1942 while new internees were brought. Although over 110.000 internees were brought to ten relocation centers, the number of the internees in the winter of 1943 was around 107.000. The number declined to 93.000 in 1944 and 80.000 on 1 January 1945. When the war ended in August 1945, the number of the internees was 58.000. On 1 December 1945, all the camps were evacuated except the camp in Tule Lake where there were 12.545 internees and 2.806 internees on 1 March 1946. Evacuees were given “relocation allowance” \$25 for individuals and \$50 for families and train tickets from the camp to the return place (Daniels, 1993, pp. 72-86).

In 1948, the American Congress passed the Japanese-American Claims Act to give \$38 million compensate for the property harms arising from internment. Over 23.000 Japanese got compensation for their harms owing to this forced migration (Davenport, 2010, p. 96). Besides, the President George Bush signed and legalized “appropriation bill” on 21 November 1989. In 1990, annually \$500 million compensation to all Japanese American survivors was initiated though the US knew that this payment would not compensate Japanese suffering (Daniels, 1993, p. 104).

3.5. Jewish Minorities

As from the 1930s, the American government took a dim view of Jewish immigrants on account of employment, nativism, anti-Semitism and restriction which opposed to the employment of immigrants while the Americans waited on lines (Wyman, 1984, p. 6). Jews encountered with discrimination in jobs and housing facilities. They worked at extremely long hours and lower wages without job security (McLemore, 1980, p. 83).

In terms of the Orthodox Christian view, even though Jews were chosen people by God, they were also unfaithful because of their betrayal as they preferred not to believe in

the prophecy of Jesus (Higham, 1984, p. 100). For this reason, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) attacked to sinful Jews and followed anti-Semitism, boycotted Jewish merchants and created social separation (Higham, 1984, p. 149).

In contrast to some immigrants wishing to return their countries after earning some money in the US, Jews came to stay in the US as they had no home to return. The US was their future. Thus, Jews tried to Americanize by learning English and gave importance to education so as to adapt to the American culture easily (Wrobel, 1990, pp. 155-158). Nonetheless, many employers did not employ Jews and universities restricted Jewish admissions (Dinnerstein, 1994, p. 107). They were excluded from social clubs, luxury apartments and neighborhoods, schools and jobs (Moynihan, 1970, p. 160).

Anti-Semitism reached its peak towards the end of 1930s after 150.000 Jews escaping from the Nazi persecution immigrated to the US (Moynihan, 1970, p. 145). Hundreds of anti-Semitic organizations made hatred propagandas. Jewish cemeteries were vandalized. Jewish business and synagogues were damaged. Slogans were shouted against Jews and riots were arranged. Jewish school children were beaten up by their crowded classmates. Anti-Semitism was everywhere from brochures, gazettes, journals to buses, subway stations, workplaces, schools (Wyman, 1984, pp. 9-11).

After the Second World War broke out on 1 September 1939, suspicion of Jewish immigrants increased anti-Semitism in the country. Jews in New York were terrorized and Jewish-owned businesses were destroyed with vandalism. After the Pearl Harbor attack, a billy club named "The Kike-Killer" was invented and the American government awarded it by giving patent number immediately (Krammer, 1997, p. 52). However, Jews could not understand discrimination and segregation towards them. To be a Nazi sympathizer was a crime; yet, to be one of the Jews persecuted by Nazi Germany was also a crime (Dinnerstein, 1994, p. 107).

Upon the beginning of mass exterminations in Germany, many Jews escaped to Havana, Cuba by German line *St. Louis* in 1939 and applied for the US visa. Nevertheless, the US did not free Jews from immigration quotas in view of the confusion in Germany. In a year, as no country allowed Jewish refugees to enter into the country, Jews had to return to Germany in which most of them were killed in gas chambers (Dickerson, 2010, pp. 173-175).

Some American Jewish leaders understood that they could not keep silent about increasing hostility in the US. Especially two of major Jewish organizations, the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reacted to situation by writing letter to the Senate. Nonetheless, until 1940, they had neither personnel nor fund to fight against these hostilities. The American Jewish Congress was founded to defend interests of a Jewish state in Palestine and tried to indicate un-American and un-democratic nature of anti-Semitism. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, founded in 1913, attempted to eradicate prejudice against Jews. Nevertheless, both organizations could not succeed in eradicating substantial ideas (Dinnerstein, 1994, p. 147).

There was a growing anti-Semitism in the US which had no thought of rescuing Jews from the Nazi government. Moreover, it feared from opening gates and giving visas easily as Germany could be pleased with sending Jews out of Germany. This would lead to create pressure on Britain to open Palestine to Jews. In short, this situation would affect the steps of the US at the international platform (Dickerson, 2010, p. 176).

In view of the pressure of the Jewish organizations and citizens, the President Roosevelt ordered the Great Depression restrictions to be decreased and European quotas to be opened. Even so, in the 1940s, the order was drawn back in that refugees were used as German spies. After the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, visa procedures were tightened for refugees that were born or lived in enemy countries. Refugee immigration decreased to twenty-five percent of normal quotas, as immigrants from Italian, German and Russian territories were subjected to harsh security tests to get visa to the US (Wyman, 1984, pp. 124-125).

The Jewish organizations like the Central Conference of American Rabbis, American Jewish Congress, Hadassah, Jewish War Veterans, Brooklyn Jewish Ministers Association supported the US decision of being on the side of the Allies as, first of all, they opposed to Hitler by reason of Jewish persecution. Secondly, since many anti-Semites supported isolationist policy, Jews preferred being in interventionist group. However, their support caused the American society think that Jews strived to force the US to enter into the war for their own interest (Bayer, 1978, p. 121).

As treatment of Nazi Germany towards Jews became more cruel and insensitive, American Jews put pressure on the President Roosevelt to liberate immigration policy.

Nonetheless, as he had to receive the Congress' approval on the issue, Roosevelt did almost nothing to prevent six million European Jews from extermination between 1939 and 1945 (Dinnerstein, 1987, p. 65).

American Jews put pressure on the American government and public about Jewish persecution and urged them to take a step to save them from Nazi Germany. As a result of this pressure, on 19 April 1943, the Bermuda Conference was held between Britain and the US. If Jews were saved from the persecution, transportation of them would be a real problem. All shipping facilities were used to carry supplies, troops, prisoners of war and wounded soldiers. When supplies were unshipped, refugees would not be embarked as they could be merged with military operations or pose a security threat. Libya which was controlled by Britain was refused as a haven by virtue of Arab opposition to Jews. French authorities did not lean towards a refugee camp in North Africa since Jews would remain at their hands and would not return to their homelands. After the US assured post-war removal, the Fedala Camp was opened in May 1944, but only 630 Jews could be saved and transported to this camp (Wyman, 1984, pp. 104-116).

On 9 December 1943, the Congress passed the Rescue Resolution requiring a commission consisting of diplomatic, economic and military experts and aiming to save Jews from extermination of Nazi Germany (Wyman, 1984, p. 193). The President Roosevelt had to accept the resolution owing to pressures increasing in the Congress. On 22 January, the War Refugee Board (WRB) was founded with the Executive Order 9417 to save European Jews (Wrobel, 1990, p. 156).

The US did not open its gates to Jews on account of strong opposition from the Congress, State Department and American public against immigration; thus, the WRB forced other countries to provide a shelter to Jews. It was true that the US did something for them: It moved heaven and earth to find havens for them in other countries (Wrobel, 1990, p. 261).

The WRB selected representatives for operations and appointed them to other countries and gave them diplomatic status in order to follow American mission there. It tried to adjust havens for Jewish refugees and sent relief supplies to concentration camps as well. Conversely, the WRB could not clarify where these refugees would go. Except the

Fedala Camp, after long negotiations with France, the second camp for refugees was opened in Philippeville of Algeria with permission of France (Wyman, 1984, pp. 260-261).

In 1944, the WRB came to know that the capacity of refugee buildup in Southern Italy was filled up. One of the solutions the WRB proposed was to establish an emergency camp in the US in which refugees could be interned like prisoners of war. This would be an operation not requiring quota or visa procedures and taking place out of immigration system. Jewish refugees would be selected by the WRB and transported to the US with the army. When they entered into the country, they would be under the control of the War Relocation Army (Dickerson, 2010, p. 178). They would live under the same restrictions with prisoners of war, but would be treated humanely and return to their homeland after the war. The President Roosevelt consented to bring 1.000 refugees from Italy on these conditions and so, third refugee camp was opened in Fort Ontario, New York. Even though Sweden whose land and population were one-twentieth of the US welcomed even 8.000 Jewish refugees, the US opened its gates only for 1.000 refugees (Wyman, 1984, pp. 261-266).

Jews, certainly, would be more secure in the American camps than the Nazi camps; still they were deprived of their liberty. Moreover, before coming to the US, refugees signed a form accepting that they would reside in Fort Ontario and would return their homeland after the war. So, the US assured repatriation in case refugees did not obey the agreement (Wyman, 1984, p. 269).

Jewish refugees were transported from Italy to New York by an army ship. Since the War Relocation Authority experienced in operating camps, it dealt with the coming refugees. They were held with the pro-Nazis in the same camps though they escaped from the Nazi persecution (Christgau, 2009, p. 76). Camp conditions were endurable, but were not appropriate for a family life. Means were eaten at mess halls and families lived in barrack buildings divided into small apartments. Rooms had no individual baths and there was no privacy in view of thin walls. Internees could not get out of the camp and could not be employed out of the camp (Wyman, 1984, pp. 267-268). The Jews were confused when they encountered with camp system in the US. Did the US save them from the Nazi government to intern them? (Dickerson, 2010, p. 183)

The WRA waited for refugees to make basic services like maintenance, washing dishes, garbage collection, cleaning and cooking in the camp, but many refugees refused to work as salary did not compensate their labor. The WRA granted \$8.50 per month to each internee and regular workers got \$18.00 per month. Many of them were wealthy before the war; yet, throughout the war they did the works labor servants had done for them (Dickerson, 2010, p. 183).

After the Second World War ended, refugees feared that they would repatriate to their homeland where the Nazi government planted anti-Semitism seeds. This might cause them again to be subject to persecution. From the American perspective, issue was different: If the US attempted to repatriate these 1.000 refugees, it could encourage other countries like Sweden and Switzerland to do the same thing. After all, insistence of the US on repatriation of 1.000 refugees to Europe sounded very meaningless (Wyman, 1984, p. 273).

On 22 December, the President Truman presented a solution: The US immigration quotas would be “open for full use.” So, repatriated refugees would be eligible immediately to get visa to the US. In 1947, repatriated Jewish refugees entered into the US officially as permanent immigrants (Wyman, 1984, p. 274).

3.6. Mexican Minorities

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 determined a new border between the US and Mexico. It approved the annexation of Texas by the US and provided fifteen million dollars from the US to Mexico for California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma and New Mexico. Despite the fact that the treaty assured to protect rights of all citizens preferring to stay in the Northern provinces, Mexican minorities could not have equal rights in the American society (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 13).

Mexican Americans, therefore, were not newcomers to the US like other ethnic groups. The Southwestern regions were inhabited by Spanish-Mexican-Indian peoples before Anglo-Saxons had arrived. Therefore, the Mexican Americans were included in the country directly with the conquest of their territory. So, it was controversial to evaluate

Mexicans as immigrants seeing that they had already lived in the country (McLemore, 1980, p. 232).

According to the Manifest Destiny belief, American settlers were destined to expand over the continent from the east to the west, over a region not clearly defined in order to build a new heaven (Merk, 1995, pp. 24-28). This belief requiring American expansion led to regard Mexicans as an obstacle to this expansion. The Mexican Americans were not glad with the US citizenship granted on so-called equal terms as they were second-class people socially, economically and politically. They were pushed to isolated barrios and had to work at undesirably low wages in lands they previously owned (Jimenez, 2010, p. 33).

The political and economic changes in the US and Mexico resulted in immigrations in the twentieth century. Liberal economic policies of the Mexican President Porfirio Diaz caused a few wealthy Mexicans to increase their lands and rural residents to have difficult life conditions. As Mexican population increased, working population rate increased and wages became very low. Moreover, to improve trade relations with the US, the Mexican government began to improve the northern part of Mexico, and for this purpose, border states developed. The poor moved to the north for employment, good salaries and less cost of living. Since rail lines between Mexico and the US were stretched, international transportation became easier. So, Mexicans immigrated to the American Southwest and Midwest sometimes illegally for job opportunities like agriculture, mining and railroad (Jimenez, 2010, p. 34). On the other hand, the Mexicans entering into the US illegally did not regard this act as a crime since the Southwest was a Mexican territory and; thus, Anglo-Saxons were the illegals (Zanden, 1983, p. 243).

In the 1900s, Mexicans from Mexico could enter the US easily by obtaining permission at any border station. Between 1901 and 1910, Mexican immigrants were 49.642 while between 1921 and 1930, this number reached to 459.287 (McLemore, 1980, p. 245). Many Mexicans settled in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. Smaller number of Mexicans went to Colorado, Minnesota, Michigan, Oregon and New York (Prago, 1973, p. 157).

As a result of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, many Mexicans had to face with unemployment, starvation and social problems. For this reason, many Mexicans

immigrated to the US where labor shortage arose after participation in the First World War in 1917. Hence, the US welcomed Mexican immigrants (Jimenez, 2010, p. 35). The US needed a large number of Mexicans to grow crops and allowed many Mexican farmers to enter the country. This caused Mexican Americans to be stereotyped as farmers and agricultural workers (McLemore, 1980, p. 248).

Americans were annoyed with immigrants with the effect of nativist thoughts. The Congress laid head tax and literacy test in 1917 and so, European immigration was restricted. On the grounds that Mexican labor was needed, they were excluded from these regulations (Jimenez, 2010, p. 35). Nonetheless, Mexicans were subjected to abuse. Bandits beat them at border stations and stole their money and valuables. Some employers hired illegal workers and delivered them to immigration agents before paying their wages. And some others paid by check which bounced when workers went to a bank to change check into cash (Zanden, 1983, p. 244).

Mexican children were sent to segregated schools where mostly Mexican teachers worked. They were taught many things about the American way of life. Nevertheless, they could not speak Spanish in school gardens and were dropped out of schools after secondary schools. By reason of discrimination and segregation, Mexican Americans strived to achieve Americanization. Though they attempted to change themselves by using Anglo sounding names and only speaking English, they could not change their racial heritage: Their brown skins (Wrobel, 1990, pp. 81-83). Mexican Americans were commonly called as “black population” and not categorized as whites by virtue of socio-economic reasons and Anglo policies (Webster, 1992, p. 121).

In the Midwest and some regions of Texas, Mexican Americans lived under “Jim Crow like system of segregation” which made African Americans second class citizens and legitimized anti-black racism between 1877 and 1960s (Jimenez, 2010, p. 36). They were put in the Mexican towns and alienated from the American society (Wrobel, 1990, p. 75). They were barred from some parts of cinema and theatre saloons and they were not allowed to vote and serve in the restaurants and cafes (Jimenez, 2010, p. 36).

In reality, racism and hostility against Mexicans were shaped with the Anglo-Saxon thought of the centuries. According to this thought, Mexicans and Indians were natural enemies of the American society. The Mexican way of life was inferior and completely

alien to the American civilization. Even a group of social workers and educators required Mexicans to be taught vocational skills and American way of life within the framework of a program which would make them become Americanized, experienced and serviceable workers (Wrobel, 1990, p. 79).

In order to improve the conditions of Mexican Americans, several organizations were established. The most efficient one was the League of United Latin American Citizens striving to make Mexican Americans a part of the US. The Congress of Spanish-Speaking Peoples also tried to make both Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants benefit from the American opportunities on equal terms (Jimenez, 2010, p. 38).

In the twentieth century, when minorities were regarded as inferior to Anglo-Saxon heritage, American protectionists such as the Madison Grant, Henry Cabot Lodge and Prescott W. Hall and anti-immigration organizations like the American Protective Association, Immigration Restriction League, Daughter of the American Revolution, American Federation of Labor and Ku Klux Klan put pressure on the Congress to establish rules for the entry of immigrants to the country. As a result, the Immigration Act of 1924 was enacted (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 51).

The fact that Mexican Americans were at the fore in the agricultural sector annoyed the American society that requested the quota system to include Mexicans as well. Just as the American government banned the permissions at border stations and brought the condition of applying to American Consulates for visas, Mexican immigration declined at the end of the 1920s. However, labor shortage because of the imposed quotas on the European immigrants caused Mexican Americans to be significant for cheap labor (McLemore, 1980, p. 249).

Mexican Americans participated in strikes and walkouts as a result of reactions from the American society. Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants cooperated with the support of labor organizations such as the Industrial Workers of the World and the Western Federation of Miners. In reality, these strikes began as protests against wages, overworking and working conditions. Mexicans were subject to occupational discrimination and wage differences. Though they were American residents and mostly American citizens, they had neither human nor civil rights. Consequently, Mexican labor strikes turned into “race conflict” (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 100).

Mexicans were blamed for deterioration of economy and its bad effects at the end of the 1920s as the Americans could not find jobs to support their families. Unemployment increased to six million in 1930 and eleven million in 1932 nationwide (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 72). Mexican labor was in all areas of the life and the Americans could not compete with the low wages of Mexicans. Therefore, the US must be for the Americans and prioritize native population (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 55). Mexicans were declared as unacceptable to the American society racially and culturally (Wrobel, 1990, p. 79). Since Mexicans were “unassimilable group” they could reflect their character to the American culture and deteriorate it (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 54).

The public opinion requested Mexicans to be repatriated. Social scientists, educators, geneticists, evangelists and politicians all had a general resentment toward them. Hence, with the repatriation program of the 1930s approximately half a million Mexicans and Mexican Americans were deported (Wrobel, 1990, pp. 78-79). Together with the Great Depression and unemployment, Mexican population declined to 22.319 between 1931 and 1940 (McLemore, 1980, p. 249).

In 1930, Gary, Chicago, Detroit, Denver, San Antonio and several cities in the Southwest organized campaigns to send Mexicans to Mexico. The greatest one of these repatriation campaigns was in Los Angeles having high Mexican population (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 72).

The economic depression and unemployment of the 1930s created nativist reaction to Mexican labor. In order to reduce unemployment and bring welfare to the country, industries employing Mexicans for the previous two decades began to employ US-born workers now. The US federal authorities sent Mexicans forcibly to Mexico so as to suppress American fears about job competition. In such cases, the American citizens with Mexican descent were also repatriated (Jimenez, 2010, p. 37). Between 1929 and 1937, average 80.000 Mexicans were repatriated each year nationwide. Only in 1931, 138.519 Mexicans’ repatriation was reported (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 72).

Many Mexicans losing their jobs had already returned to their countries and illegal immigrants were deported. The Americans strived to save money nationally and locally for the transportation of Mexicans to their homes (McLemore, 1980, p. 249). Some Mexicans were not deported formally as deportation process involved time-consuming procedures.

Hence, the US Department of Labor and the Border Patrols and other governmental bodies tried to persuade Mexicans to leave the country voluntarily. So, many Mexicans seesawed between voluntary and forced migration (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 73).

Between 1931 and 1932, over 200.000 Mexicans left the US as many feared from repatriation and were threatened with this idea. Many families were devastated and the American citizen children stayed in the US while Mexican parents returned to their countries. These repatriations indicated that Mexican Americans were not perceived as real American citizens. Their cheap labor was used all along the shortage periods, but they were repatriated when economic problems emerged (McLemore, 1980, p. 250).

When the US entered the Second World War in 1941, the labor shortage once more appeared in agriculture, but this time, Mexicans did not pour into the country. The existence of such a shortage also in Mexico and bad experiences in the US became efficient in this situation. For this reason, Mexico presented some conditions: Farmers would get free transportation and food and they would be assured about wages, working conditions and accommodation. Moreover, Mexican officers would inspect the situation, evaluate complaints and prevent discrimination. Under these conditions, between 1942 and 1945, the Bracero Program was introduced and over 167.000 farmers went to the US (McLemore, 1980, p. 250).

After Japanese internment began in the course of the Second World War, the American press focused on Mexican Americans who became targets of muggings, vandalism, robbery, burglary, rapes and murders. Young Mexicans were blamed for the increasing crimes in the country (Prago, 1973, p. 164).

Discrimination against Mexican Americans increased in Texas, Los Angeles and California. It was criticized that Mexican American youths living in the Flats of East Los Angeles and Boyle Heights were related to various juvenile gangs. These youths were proud of the Mexican heritage and hated racism and discrimination against them. They used ducktail hairstyle and wore “zoot suit” clothes (McLemore, 1980, pp. 252-253).

On 3-10 June 1943, “Zoot Suit Race Riots” occurred in Los Angeles against young Mexican Americans wearing zoot suit clothes. These mob attacks were maintained by police officers, sailors and other servicemen. Thousands of servicemen and Mexicans attacked each other and used violence. The zoot suit became hatred symbol for Mexican

Americans. The servicemen undressed the zoot suit, pulled to pieces and Los Angeles declared wearing zoot suit as a crime. The fact that discrimination resulted in riots, illegal entries were not stopped and the repatriation of these people was maintained caused the Bracero Program to be halted in 1943 (McLemore, 1980, pp. 252-255).

Whereas employers were content with the Bracero Program which met labor force requirement, employees were annoyed at Mexican population and put pressure on the American government to find a solution. The US Attorney replaced unauthorized workers with legal Mexican labor in order to answer to immigration restriction requirements and meet labor force needs. Under this repatriation program, named as Operation Wetback, the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) and state authorities repatriated thousands of Mexican immigrants (Jimenez, 2010, p. 40).

As a conclusion, Mexican Americans were accepted to the society in wartime on equal terms. On the other hand, after the war, they faced with again discrimination and segregation did not find jobs and participated in segregated schools (McLemore, 1980, p. 255).

3.7. Philippines During The Philippine-American War Of 1899-1902

The Philippines were under the rule of Spain from sixteenth century to the end of nineteenth century. However, liberal ideas coming from Europe caused Philippine Revolution requiring reforms from the Spanish administration to begin against Spanish rule. As a result of this revolution, revolutionary leaders were exiled (Kramer, 2006, pp. 119-132).

At that time, Spain also struggled with the Cuban Revolution of 1895. The conflicts harmed American economic interests in Cuba. Thus, the US tried to solve the issue in diplomatic ways, and as a result, Cuban autonomous government was set in 1898. Despite this autonomy, riots did not end and the US sent its battleship *Maine* to Havana in order to ensure the security of the American citizens. Upon the destruction of the US battleship *Maine* in the Havana Harbor in 1898 by the Spanish government, the Spanish Squadron was annihilated by the US in return. So, the Spanish-American War began (Keenan, 2001,

p. 11). The US also brought Philippine revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo rebelling against Spanish rule back to the Philippines in order to rise difficulties for Spain. The Philippine and American forces got many islands under control together (Keenan, 2001, pp. 154-169).

When the American forces captured Manila in Battle of Manila, the American-Philippine cooperation came to an end. The exclusion of the Philippine troops from Manila caused tense six months to emerge between the Philippines and US. Interest conflicts, suspicions and stereotypes used for the Philippine soldiers increased the tension (Kramer, 2006, pp. 172-173).

When the Treaty of Paris was negotiated to end the Spanish-American War, the Philippines tried to prove its sovereignty and opposed to the transformation of the islands from Spain to the US (Kramer, 2006, p. 176). The Treaty of Paris was signed to end the war on 10 December 1898 and Spain accepted to cede Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and entire Philippine Archipelago. The Philippines became the hardest issue to be solved and for this reason, the US accepted to pay \$20 million to Spain for it (Keenan, 2001, p. 12). So, the Spanish-American War of 1898 freed the Philippines from the Spanish rule and put them under the American control (Keenan, 2001, p. 303).

In January 1899, on the other hand, a Philippine Republic was established and Emilio Aguinaldo became the first president. However, the US refused to recognize the government (Nash, 2007, p. 208). Subsequently, hatred against the Philippine rebels and the pressure of the American imperialism resulted in the Philippine-American War which began on 4 February 1899 just as the Nebraska volunteers shot Filipino Nationalists (Keenan, 2001, p. 19).

In the conflicts in Northern Luzon between the American forces and the forces of Emilio Aguinaldo, the US gained victories against the Philippines in the first week of the war (Hyslop, 2011, p. 260). When an American patrol killed Philippine warders in the same month, tension increased. In the conflicts in and out of the city, nearly 3.000 Philippines died in a few days. The American troops, which were 12.000 initially, increased to 75.000 in June (Nash, 2007, p. 209).

As the violence of the war increased, the President William McKinley sent more troops and over 100.000 American soldiers served in the Philippines. The war was divided

into conventional and guerilla phases. The conventional phase lasted for one year. American weapons and experienced soldiers forced the Philippines to pass to the guerilla phase, which became harder and more expensive (Keenan, 2001, p. 12). Though in the early years of the war the US thought it broke the resistance of the Philippines, in the following years the Philippines arose with guerilla tactics (Tucker, 2009, p. 969).

The Philippines were divided into military zones and gave each zone under the control of a guerilla commander. Under these conditions, diseases, unknown conditions and insuperable roads affected American advance negatively. Nonetheless, this caused the American army to change tactics. The army was divided into four as to fight against the Philippine rebels and cut off the support to them. For example; on 19 August 1899, the US Navy blockaded the Philippine port to cut the supplies to insurgents (Keenan, 2001, p. 19).

Invasion of the Philippines by the US created comments that the US would use the Philippines as slaves after liberating “negro” slaves. The Americans already depicted the Philippines as “niggers” (Kramer, 2006, pp. 189-190). They were regarded as inferior and had to endure harsh treatment and discrimination by the white overlords. Therefore, the reason of war’s being violence and cruel was racism (Kramer, 2006, p. 192).

Throughout the war, the Anti-Imperialist Movement was reinforced by farmers, laborers, Irish, Germans and Blacks. Especially Black anti-imperialists identified themselves with the Philippines as they were also the victims of policies of racial discrimination and opposed to the Philippine policy of the President William McKinley. Many blacks served in the Philippine army against the US (Schirmer, 1987, p. 32).

In 1900, the General James Franklin Bell ordered to form concentration camps in the southern province of Batangasso as to separate civilians from insurgents by placing them to concentration camps (Tucker, 2009, p. 480). The civilians were requested to move to American controlled areas with their properties. All the possessions including homes and farms out of the secured areas would be destroyed so as to prevent the support to insurgents (Tucker, 2009, p. 33). Neutrality was not valid. Everyone had to select to be either friend or enemy. The ones supporting guerillas somehow would be interned for an indefinite time without a court decision (Schirmer, 1987, pp. 17-18). Anyone going out of fences would be arrested and shot (Tucker, 2009, p. 33).

All the Philippines were regarded as a guerilla or guerilla supporter. Thus, in the Visayan Islands, the American Navy did not hesitate to shell coastal villages. The ones refusing to be sent to concentration camps would be thought to act with guerilla forces and treated accordingly (Schirmer, 1987, p. 15). The US claimed that these people were already uncivilized like Indians. Therefore, the American government used Indian campaign methods, implemented in the west with success, in the Philippines (Smith, 2011, p. 419). For the Americans, the Philippines would show their surrender to civilization by laying down their arms (Kramer, 2006, p. 199).

The concentration camps opened in the Philippines by the US resembled very much to the concentration camp practice of Spain in Cuba which the US condemned as an inhuman event (Kramer, 2006, p. 195). As a result of the American public reactions, the US declared that American camps were managed well and civilians were treated in a good and healthy way in contrast to the Spanish camps in Cuba. In contrast, in the letters, which the American soldiers wrote to their families, they mentioned about diseases and starvation (Tucker, 2009, p. 969).

The Philippines caught diseases like malaria, beriberi and dengue fever due to overcrowded camps, absence of clothes and food shortage. At least, 11.000 civilians perished in the concentration camps owing to disease, malnutrition and other health problems. Moreover, the US devastated many Philippine families with “scorched earth policy” which was a military strategy carried out by destroying and burning cities, crops, buildings, farms etc. in order to prevent their use by enemy. The American generals also ordered the execution of males over ten and persecution of the Philippines until praying for mercy (Tucker, 2009, p. 707).

In April 1901, Emilio Aguinaldo was arrested and had to sign a loyalty oath. His forces would give up fighting. On the other hand, his surrender did not end Philippine guerilla fighting (Schirmer, 1987, p. 16). As a result of the Battle at La Loma, Caloocan, Malolos, Bagbag, Baler, Quinqua, San Mateo, Pasong Tirad, Pulang Lupa and Paye, the Philippines suffered heavy losses on account of their primitive combat tools (Ongsotto, 2002, p. 159).

At the end of 1901, American commanders ordered destruction of guerilla facilities in the Southwest Luzon and huts, crops and livestock were destroyed. Furthermore, arrest

of all the males not supporting the US army was ordered. Almost all the males out of the towns were arrested and killed. A census for the civilians was conducted and identity cards were given (Tucker, 2009, p. 460). 300.000 civilians were sent to the “protected zones” in Batangas and Laguna (Hyslop, 2011, p. 260).

In April 1901, great operations started in the Northern Luzon. At the end of the operations, there could not be any rebellion or disturbance in the region anymore as the American troops cleansed the region from people by sweeping and destroying everyone confronted (Schirmer, 1987, p. 16).

In August 1901, 38 marines were killed as a result of guerilla attack in the Samar Island. For the revenge of this, the American commanders ordered to kill and burn all the arrested Philippines (Hyslop, 2011, p. 261). The operations at the Samar Island resembled more to mass slaughter than war. The Americans chased and tortured the poor guerillas. “American troops had for some time been abusing the townspeople by packing them into open wooden pens at night where they were forced to sleep standing in the rain” (Schirmer, 1987, p. 16). Besides, the American troops created “death zones” in Cavite and shot and killed everyone in these zones (Birtle, 1998, p. 158).

The American soldiers tortured Philippine soldiers with “water cure,” in other words, after spilling several gallons of water to the throat of a prisoner, the American soldiers blew up the prisoner and pressed his stomach until he gave the needed information (Keenan, 2001, p. 23). They burnt bushes and homes where civilians could hide. They killed everyone coming their way as if they were hunting (Kramer, 2006, pp. 202-203).

It was declared that between January and April 1902, 8.350 Philippines of 298.000 died. Male Philippines were questioned, tortured and finally executed (Welman, 2012, p. 138). The Americans did not record deaths. Hence, how many people died from disease was not known (Schirmer, 1987, p. 19). In view of starvation, disease, economic insufficiency, warfare and concentration camp policies, between 200.000 and 600.000 Philippines were estimated to die. Nearly 18.000 of them were killed in battles. Over 4.500 Americans died by reason of disease and war (Nash, 2007, p. 209).

Finally, the Philippine-American War of 1899-1902 broke the resistance of the Philippines (Keenan, 2001, p. 303). On 4 July 1902, the President Roosevelt declared the end of the Philippine Insurrection (Keenan, 2001, p. 19). The war lasted officially three,

unofficially ten years. Though in 1934 the Philippines were granted commonwealth status, they could win full independence after the Second World War (Goldoftas, 2006, p. 47).

3.8. Conclusion

Minorities were victimized by virtue of their race in the US. A large section of the US community maintained riots, lynching, discrimination and segregation. The US government adopted repatriation and internment policies still in the first half of the twentieth century.

Germans, Italians, Japanese and Jews faced with both internment and repatriation due to the political atmosphere of two World Wars, xenophobia and fear of invasion. Mexicans were repatriated in the period of financial difficulty, but they were welcomed when labor shortage appeared in the country. Throughout the Philippine-American War of 1899-1902, the US followed “scorched earth policy” and sent thousands of Philippines to concentration camps in order to cut off the support to Philippine guerillas.

Melting pot and pluralistic structure of the US required minorities to be assimilated into the American society and the two World Wars anticipated loyalty and patriotism from minorities. Therefore, minorities changed their life style to keep up with the American way of life. Even if they succeeded, it was claimed that they would never have same status with dominant group; and thus, they went through official and unofficial racism in the society. However, the US forgot that people could wish to immigrate to a country voluntarily, but they could not select their ethnicity voluntarily. Since they were born into ethnicity, acceptance or refusal was not a fair criterion. Minorities having come to catch “American Dream” worked at low wages, lived in the slums, studied in segregated schools and were pushed out of the society.

Thousands of minorities were interned and imprisoned in the US on account of wartime suspicion, fear, xenophobia and nativism. Thousands of minorities sold their homes and business, were captured behind barbed wire, closed their eyes to insults and paid the price for the sin of their homelands as a scapegoat. “American Dream” brought them the experiences which they would never forget throughout their lives.

CHAPTER IV

COMPARING AND CONTRASTING INTERNMENT AND REPATRIATION POLICIES OF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

A minority is a social group which stays out of dominant cultural grounds like language, religion, food and gesture and does not have any physical or cultural share with this dominant group. Generally minority groups do not have the same wealth, welfare, status and territory with the dominant group. Mostly they experience persecution, discrimination and segregation (Zanden, 1983, p. 10).

Likewise, in the first half of the twentieth century, minorities in Britain and the US faced with discrimination, segregation and riots and were subjected to forced migration with internment and repatriation policies. They became second class citizens, paid a price in view of official and unofficial racism and were expected to be assimilated into the dominant group. However, even if they did this, they were excluded from the society on the grounds of not being from the native community.

Both Britain and the US are accepted as liberal countries by reason of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, separation of church from state and protection of every individual's equality before laws (Englander, 1997, p. 253). Conversely, whereas democracy envisages that citizens have equal rights in shaping state policy, both countries followed policies not very compatible with liberal democracy and imprisoned citizens behind barbed wire rather than making them have a voice in state policies.

Citizenship can be defined by three basic principles: civil rights including freedom of speech, equality before law and right to own property; political rights; social rights

including education and welfare right provided by government (Englander, 1997, p. 221). The citizen minorities in Britain and the US were deprived of these rights. When they brought a case about this inequality to the Court, the case was rejected by judges as countries violated civil rights “to wage war successfully” (Daniels, 1993, p. 59). Universities and schools restricted minority admissions (Dinnerstein, 1994, p. 107). So, in fact, both countries denied the citizenship rights of minorities by depriving them of basic rights.

Immigrants became scapegoats in both countries and were blamed for the loss of jobs, concerns about future, fear of insecurity and danger and income inequalities. Both Britain and the US implemented restrictive immigration controls and perceived non-Whites and non-Anglo-Saxons as outsiders and threats. As a consequence, they attempted to control these undesirables.

The acts enacted by Britain in the first half of the twentieth century secured the controls of immigrants after their entry into the country and Britain could expulse “dangerous ones” from the country (Solomos, 1993, p. 46). So, Britain attempted to control the immigrants via laws as no other European country did (Manz, 2012, p. 125). However, the US limited immigrants from other countries by quota system and enacted Public Proclamations when it took a step about a specific minority group in the wartime (Distasi, 2011, pp. 9-11).

Both countries limited immigrants by taking literacy tests, criminality rate and living conditions into consideration. Both countries requested minorities to be registered at police offices and notify residence and employment change with the British Aliens Restriction Act of 1914 and the American Registration Act of 1940.

The immigrants were treated badly in Britain where they hoped to have freedom of speech and there was no possibility of being dismissed. They had to accept the changes, authority and status insisted by Britain. They could not bring their churches with them. Though the churches of their religion existed in some cities, immigrants did not feel their belonging to them. On the other hand, immigrants to the United States “brought with them their established churches to be re-established in new communities in the New World” (Handlin, 1973, p. 101).

In those years, the British economy did not develop as much as the American economy and the required labor was met by the British laborers. For this reason, Britain did not need foreign labor like the US (Panayi, 1995, p. 77). So, Britain was reluctant to provide shelters for immigrants or refugees as they could replace with the British labor, spread diseases, shake the country with anti-patriotic propogandas or create accommodation problem (Kushner, 1999, p. 66).

When thirteen colonies revolted against Britain, they had a small territory belonging to the United States. In time, it expanded by purchasing Indian, French, Spanish and Mexican territories together with their cultures. The United States represented liberty and justice for everybody as written on the plaque at the base of Statue of Liberty. Many Americans had multiple ethnic identities by virtue of intermarriage. Hence, it must not be forgotten that the US consists of diverse religions, ethnic structures and races. Furthermore, the United States did not give importance as much as Britain to the minority studies and immigration history since the United States had already emerged as a result of coming minorities to the country (Panayi, 1995, p. 10).

In the American plural structure, immigrants had to change their culture and keep up with the American way of life. Therefore, prejudice and intolerance against immigrants from different religions and cultures disappeared and immigrants left their differences behind and celebrated the American culture. Hence, in fact, the US welcomed immigrants on the condition that they would adapt to the American way of life (Steinberg, 1981, pp. 250-256). After all, “the acceptance of outsiders as part of a country’s ancestry represents an important indication that it has become pluralistic and multiracial” (Panayi, 1996, pp. 824-825).

The American melting pot structure defined the creation of a new society by melting and boiling other ethnic groups. Newcomers transformed the American society into a homogeneous structure by assimilating into the American culture. Thus, the structure envisaged to accept minorities to the society by melting differences away together with pluralism (Zanden, 1983, pp. 290-305).

Britain did not allow ethnic groups to create their own living space by destroying all things from them to create a pure Anglo-Saxon community and brought the Anglo-Saxon structure into the forefront. Britain emphasized Anglo-Saxonism even in films, art

and cinema as well. It walled against the outside world and immigration to protect national identity and attempted to create its own myth (Cesarani, 1993, p. 26). As Britain was the best nation in the world, it discriminated against inferior others (Cesarani, 1993, p. 88). Discrimination of Britain reminded a black sheep trying to grass among white sheep which owned grass and pushed the black sheep out of the area. This understanding opposed to liberalism and democracy. The others were eliminated from the society both officially and unofficially due to Anglo-Saxonism.

When the American melting pot and plural structure are compared with the British Anglo-Saxonism, it will be seen that the American structure was more willing to accept and welcome immigrants and make them a part of the society than Britain. Anglo-Saxonism aimed at protecting pure Anglo-Saxon ethnicity and supposing it more superior than other races. The “others” were regarded as alien and inferior. In contrast, the role of the immigrants in American life was very significant. The pluralistic structure of the US enabled ethnic groups to take part in the American society (Panayi, 1996, p. 830).

The British Anglo-Saxon structure put the Anglo-Saxon ethnicity forward and separated it from others and excluded them from the society together with racism. This structure caused minorities to encounter with prejudice, gain an inferior identity and the British society to regard other races weaker. However; owing to the American plural structure, the US showed more tolerance towards minorities than Britain. The discriminative policies followed by the US in the first half of the twentieth century were shaped by xenophobia and nativism (Higham, 1984, pp. 149-150).

Race concept was important for the United States as well and destructive when united with xenophobia (Panayi, 1996, p. 830). For example; in 1915, the Ku Klux Klan was revived by William J. Simmons. This time did not only kill the blacks, fire their homes and farms and follow discriminative acts, but also responded to the massive immigration of the Jews, Catholics and communists with a xenophobic manner. It was the supporter of American racism and tried to prove the superiority of white race via violence (Zanden, 1983, p. 83). Nevertheless, in the first half of the twentieth century Britain, there was no such an organization like the KKK following extreme white superiority and anti-immigrant policies via terrorism.

An American community emerged as a result of melting individuals of every nation into a new community. Every nation both contributed to the new community and changed its own culture. So, the melting pot ideology required that different ethnicities must disappear and assimilate into the pot. Even so, the melting pot, in reality, aimed at transforming and assimilating all the minorities into the idealized “Anglo-Saxon model” (McLemore, 1980, pp. 27-30).

Some people likened the American culture to Anglo-Saxonism because the aim of the United States was to direct the immigrants to “the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order” (Handlin, 1973, p. 244). This was why minorities were excluded from social organizations, clubs or schools of the WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) which was the superior, pace maker, idol and ideal community of the United States (Henderson, 1995, p. 282).

Since the first colonization period, the American population had consisted of mainly British Protestants (Henderson, 1995, p. 19). The British religious traditions had a great impact on the American religious life. Episcopal, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist denominations of the US were English origin (Henderson, 1995, p. 51). The English language and culture became dominant in the US. Subsequently, the Anglo-Saxon racial superiority and exclusion of others were adopted as state policies. Even those not knowing English were discriminated (Henderson, 1995, p. 20). Moreover, the American education system and educational institutions were established on the Anglo-Saxon culture. The US adopted the British common law and political structure (Henderson, 1995, p. 52).

Both the British and American societies had a great impact on the internment and repatriation of minorities. They indicated their hostile manners and requested governments to take action against minorities. Nonetheless, Britain attempted to keep Anglo-Saxon structure pure and eliminate all the “others.” Hence, many minorities were interned or repatriated as a result of hostility and prejudice by the society. On the contrary, the American society preferred to wait minorities to be assimilated rather than eliminate them. While the US maintained segregation and discrimination against minorities as well, it showed more tolerance to minorities as the American society always included these minorities in low or high number. Only the number of immigrants increased with

immigrations, but minority nationalities did not change so much in due course (Henderson, 1995, pp. 15-20).

In the first half of the twentieth century Britain, many riots were arranged against minorities and hundreds of people spilled out into the streets and supported disturbances. Hostility against minorities came to light with harsh riots. The government sometimes made a decision about the internment and repatriation of immigrants so as to end riots and maintain order in the country (Panayi, 1993b, p. 107). On the contrary, in the same period of the US, race riots did not have so much influence on the internment or repatriation of minorities detailed in the second part.

In both countries, minorities were regarded as strangers from another world and threats to the country (Solomos, 1993, p. 46). In wartimes, they became enemies and were pushed out of the society. Both Britain and the US used internment policy as a wartime precaution. Nativism, xenophobia and wartime hysteria became efficient in this policy. Immigrants paid the price for sins of their homelands and were deprived of their liberty in the wartimes. They were ordered to sit down while trying to crawl in the new country. Hence, both countries subjected minorities to forced migration in the wartimes.

Britain ordered mass internment of immigrants in wartimes while the US could not or did not do this. The reason of that was the number of minorities in the US was sometimes thousands, sometimes millions. Such high numbers made internment impossible owing to lack of space and financial difficulties. Therefore, the US did not subject any minorities except Japanese and Philippines to mass internment and preferred interning those posing threat to the country. As for Britain, immigrants from enemy countries were ordered to be interned wholly so as to get rid of them and thousands of immigrants were arrested and imprisoned in camps. So, while Britain interned the whole community and focused on the international arena, the US preferred interning with selection except Japanese and Philippines.

Both countries did not want public opinion to be informed about internment policies of governments as this could cause their citizens abroad to be subjected to the same treatment owing to reciprocity principle (Distasi, 2001, p. 21). Besides, both countries wanted to exchange their native population with internees of enemy countries.

Treatment to the minorities from enemy countries is shaped negatively in the course of a war. In this case, minorities can be exposed to discrimination, riots and internment. This treatment changes in terms of the structure of the country. While a liberal country tolerates, a totalitarian country adopts hostile policies. The manners of the US and Britain against minorities were parallel with the practice of totalitarian regimes rather than liberal democratic countries. Both of them created negative results both for minorities and their own history despite their liberal structure (Riley, 2002, p. 155). The citizenship rights of minorities were set at naught and imprisoned for years without a court decision.

As a result of the internment policy of both countries, many families were devastated, hundreds of minorities were interned in camps for years and sold their business and homes at a cheap price. In consequence of public discrimination and segregation, they could not attend schools and were excluded from public areas. They could not find welfare and liberty; and thus, many of them returned to their homelands after going through bad camp conditions.

Both Britain and the US interned minorities who trusted on liberal actions of these countries. Minorities were held in camps surrounded with barbed wire and there were soldiers at watchtowers. Both countries tried to justify these internments as a “military necessity” (Hayashi, 2004, p. 4; Kushner, 199, p. 177).

It is necessary to look the internment policies of two countries from their point of view as well. Wars brought about destructive results materially and spiritually for both countries. Males went to war, females worked at war factories and many children grew up without parents. Consequently, citizens of enemy countries were found responsible and waited to pick up the pieces and many immigrants were enrolled into compulsory military service. So, wars changed political values, liberal structure and tolerance against minorities (Panayi, 1994, pp. 107-120).

Both Britain and the US waged war against minorities by combining the possibility of aliens’ being a spy with xenophobic ideas of the public. For example, when Western Europe fell on account of “fifth column” activities and saboteurs in 1939, the Allies treated all minorities with skepticism (Daniels, 1993, p. 10).

Britain did not lean towards the minorities with the fear of harming national identity and Anglo-Saxon culture in the interwar period. In contrast, the US followed less

anti-alienist policy comparatively to Britain in the interwar period inasmuch as it accepted roles of immigrants in the American life. After all, the two World Wars caused Britain and the US to misplace liberalism. Both countries looked for a scapegoat and carried inhumanity out of warfare (Nicholas, 1975, p. 54). Both countries wished to get the minorities under control and lost their tolerance for out-groups.

While both the US and Britain made decisions about internment of civilians, generally the US showed more sensitivity than Britain about transportation to camps and physical conditions of camps. Britain was responsible for the death of thousands of people in view of bad living conditions in camps and transportation to camps overseas (Hayashi, 2004, pp. 6-7). Nevertheless, both Britain and the US neither apologized from interned minorities nor gave compensation for their harms. The US gave compensation only to Japanese American survivors in 1990 (Daniels, 1993, p. 104), but acted as if it had not interned any other minorities.

The camp conditions in the US were better than the British camps. In the American camps, there were hospitals, libraries, schools, stores, tennis courts, volleyball courts, golf courses and water and natural gas supplies. There was no water shortage even in the camps in deserts, and the internees could take shower whenever they wanted (Soga, 2008, p. 75). Though many people complained about food and internment policy, the American camps were better than the British camps where deaths and diseases were frequent.

Britain and the US did not persecute or murder anyone to make their race superior; yet, it is clear that both followed a racist policy in the first half of the twentieth century. Racism together with wartime hysteria pushed undesirables into the camps by internment or out of the country by repatriation. The two Great Powers came out victorious from the Boer Wars, Philippine-American War and two World Wars in the first half of the twentieth century. However, the defeated and damaged ones became minorities even if they were innocent.

4.1. Repatriation of Blacks in Britain and Mexicans in the US

Blacks in Britain and Mexicans in the US will be compared in this part as they were repatriated as a result of unemployment problem. This comparison is important because it shows how minorities were treated by Britain and the US under similar conditions.

Mexicans in America differed from Blacks in Britain as they were a part of the US originally. Though the US annexed many territories of Mexico with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, Black population in Britain increased when they were brought from the British Caribbean territories so as to remove labor shortage when the British society entered into the First World War (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 13; Scobie, 1972, p. 154). As a consequence, Mexicans were included in the US with the conquest of their territory (McLemore, 1980, p. 232).

Both Mexican and Black citizens became second class citizens socially and economically, faced with discrimination and segregation and riots were arranged by the British and American societies (Jimenez, 2010, p. 33; Scobie, 1972, p. 156).

In the 1920s, Mexicans joined in strikes and walkouts to protest working conditions and occupational discrimination and made themselves heard by the American government (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 100). On the other hand, Blacks were sentenced to wait at their locked homes during riots against them far from protesting against the government (Scobie, 1972, p. 157).

Low wages of Blacks in Britain became an issue in the Parliament. The Aliens Order of 1920 and the Special Restriction (Colored Alien Seamen) Order of 1925 were passed in order to find a solution to disturbances. With respect to the Special Restriction Order, policemen would impose restrictions, arrest and question identity of Blacks. All the Black seamen would be registered at police offices and carry registration cards (Cesarani, 1993, p. 39). Similarly, the Immigration Act of 1924 was enacted as a result of the pressure of American protectionist and anti-immigration organizations on the government. At the end of 1920s, Mexican population declined in consequence of this act. Even so, while the

American act was valid for all immigrants, Britain enacted the Special Restriction (Colored Alien Seamen) Order of 1925 for Blacks specifically.

Employers preferred employing Black seamen at lower wages as there were many unemployed Black seamen in Britain. This caused job competition between Whites and Blacks to emerge and the society to request from the government to repatriate Blacks. Similarly, increasing unemployment made Mexicans undesirable as the Americans could not compete with the low wages of Mexicans. So, the society put pressure on the government to repatriate Mexicans (Scobie, 1972, p. 158; Wrobel, 1990, p. 78). Nonetheless, while Blacks wanted to be repatriated in view of destructive riots against them, such a Mexican request in the US was not observed during this study. Consequently, both Britain and the US subjected Blacks and Mexicans to forced migration by repatriation.

Nearly two hundred Blacks refused repatriation as their homeland did not want them and the British government did not prevent riots from harming them. Upon this, the British government gave Blacks £5 resettlement allowance and further £1 voyage allowance. Though the American government did not give allowance to Mexicans, states arranged campaigns and money was saved nationally and locally to repatriate Mexicans (McLemore, 1980, p. 249).

Britain tried to persuade Blacks to return to their homelands since they were British citizens (Solomos, 1993, p. 50). The US attempted to persuade Mexicans to return to their country as well. However, it did this not because it took their citizenship into consideration but repatriation process necessitated time-consuming procedures (Gutierrez, 1995, p. 73).

The British government did not give allowance for wives and children and as a consequence, many Blacks had to abandon the country leaving their families behind (Panayi, 1993b, pp. 104-106). Likewise, Mexican families were devastated and the American citizen children remained in the US while their parents were repatriated (McLemore, 1980, p. 250).

Riots were arranged against Mexicans and Blacks who became hatred symbols. While the US tried to find a solution by replacing unauthorized Mexican workers with legal Mexicans (Jimenez, 2010, p. 40), Britain presented repatriation as a solution to prevent Blacks from settling in the country (Scobie, 1972, pp. 186-192).

Blacks were welcomed in the wartimes and worked at war factories. Similarly, the US benefited from Mexican cheap labor by reason of labor shortage, but both Blacks and Mexicans were repatriated when economic problems appeared (McLemore, 1980, p. 250). Both countries adopted racism combining with nativism and followed discriminative policies in the post-war periods. Mexicans in the US were considered equal to Blacks due to their brown skin and alienated from the society (Webster, 1992, p. 121). Therefore, both countries regarded this two minority groups as inferior owing to their skin color, in other words racism.

4.2. Internment of Boers By Britain and Philippines By the US

The US emerged as a result of British imperialistic aims, but in the twentieth century it took British imperialism an example as a new Great Power. Both Britain and the US united imperialism with racism in the Philippine-American War of 1899-1902 and the Second Boer War of 1899-1902 and strived to prove white Anglo-Saxon superiority (Nicholas, 1975, p. 54).

Both wars began in 1899 and ended in 1902 and lasted nearly three years. At the end of the wars, the Boer Republics came under domination of Britain and so did Philippines of the US. Britain and the US ended these wars with victories. This part will compare Boers and Philippines owing to the wars made partly for same reasons and at the same period and implemented concentration camp policies.

Both Britain and the US sent professional and experienced soldiers high in number to the Boer Republics and Philippines. Hence, both Boers and Philippines could not resist with their primitive war techniques and suffered heavy losses (Barnes, 2003, p. 10; Ongsotto, 2002, p. 159).

Both Britain and the US established concentration camps for civilians. Britain burnt crops and homes of Boers and deprived them of food with “farm-burning policy” aiming at deterrence and breaking the resistance of civilians (Krebs, 1999, p. 32). The US created controlled areas to cut off support to insurgents and required civilians to move to these areas. Almost all people out of these areas were killed and everything was destroyed. Like

Britain, the US followed “scorched earth policy” and burnt farms and homes out of the controlled areas (Tucker, 2009, p. 33).

Some likened concentration camps in the Philippines by the US to the camps in Cuba by Spain while some likened them to the camps in the Boer Republics by Britain (Hyslop, 2011, p. 261; Tucker, 2009, p. 969). The US declared that American camps were managed better than the camps in Cuba and civilians were healthier. Similarly, as a response to Emily Hobhouse who was from the South African Women and Children’s Distress Fund and indicated unhealthy and inhumane conditions in camps, Britain published Command Papers and denied unreality of claims (Heyningen, 2009, p. 23).

In both camps, conditions were very bad, unhealthy and inhumane. Malnutrition, diseases and other problems patrolled the camps and owing to these reasons, many civilians died in both camps (Oldiges, 2006, p.11; Tucker, 2009, p. 707). Both countries caused civilians to be included in the warfare. In contrast to the rules of the Geneva Convention of 1864, people struggled with diseases and malnutrition. Accordingly, both countries violated the Geneva Convention of 1864 (Oldiges, 2006, p. 12).

Techniques implemented by the US in the Philippines were like cleaning area from people. Philippine soldiers were tortured and civilians refusing to be sent to camps were killed. At the end of the war, loss was very heavy: Between 200.000 and 600.000 Philippines died from bad camp conditions, diseases and starvation. 18.000 of them died in the warfare. In the British camps, 20.000-28.000 Boer civilians died and 6.000-7.000 Boer soldiers died in the warfare (Oldiges, 2006, p. 11; Tucker, 2009, p. 707).

The US regarded Philippines as uncivilized like Indians and implemented Indian campaign methods against Philippines. Likewise, Britain put the blame on uncivilized Boer women for bad camp conditions since these women did not know anything about hygiene and cleanup (Heyningen, 2009, p. 24; Smith, 2011, p. 419).

As a conclusion, in both wars and concentration camps, hundreds of people died and colonial countries followed brutal ways. Britain so as to make civilians surrender by burning their farms and homes and the US so as to cut off support to insurgents sent civilians to camps. Both countries faced heavy criticism as Britain introduced “concentration camp” system to the warfare and the US tortured the Philippines cruelly

(Oldiges, 2006, p. 12; Tucker, 2009, p. 265). Consequently, the tactics and crimes of the US and Britain were similar in the Philippines and South Africa (Hyslop, 2011, p. 261).

4.3. Internment of Germans in Britain and Germans in the US

British and American point of view changed with xenophobia, nativism and wartime hysteria as saboteurs might become efficient in the fall of Britain and the US. Positive thoughts and friendship turned to hostility and suspicion with the World Wars.

After the First World War broke out, both countries suspected that Germans could be spy and loyal to Germany; and thus, hostility increased against Germans. While the American government did not delay to take precautions, anti-German riots of 1914 and 1917 became efficient in the decisions of the British government and even shaped the British internment and repatriation policies (Cesarani, 1993, p. 57; Ellis, 1994, p. 242). While riots against Germans occurred in the US individually, many British people gathered to lynch Germans and harm German properties. This was about the public hostility against enemy aliens in Britain (Ellis, 1994, p. 255).

Britain with the Aliens Restriction Act of 1914 and the US declaring twenty regulations with a proclamation based on the Alien Enemy Statue of 1798 controlled every step of Germans in the countries. While both countries arrested and interned those posing threat to national security and German sympathizers firstly, Britain ordered mass internment of Germans with the effect of anti-German riots in May 1915. Because of space shortage, many Germans were repatriated and new internees were brought to evacuated camps (Cesarani, 1993, p. 57).

The US warned Germany after 128 Americans died with the sinking of British liner *Lusitania*. When German attacks were maintained, the US declared war on Germany in April 1917 while Britain was at war with Germany since the beginning of the First World War (Wrobel, 1990, p. 107).

Throughout the Second World War, both countries suspected that Nazi sympathizers would aid to coming troops so as to fall and invade Britain and the US. Being

close-range to Germany might justify Britain; still, the American suspicion did not sound reasonable as the US was divided from Germany by the Atlantic.

The US participating in the Second World War on side of Britain took important steps against German threat. The Emergency Detention Program was formed. The Department of Justice became in charge of immigrants and all immigrants were required to be registered and fingerprinted with the Aliens Registration Act. In addition, together with the FBI, the Department of Justice listed those who would be interned in case of a war immediately (Christgau, 2009, p. 65). Despite the fact that Britain prepared lists and participated in the war as well, the US brought fear of invasion to surface and showed much sensitivity.

Organizations became efficient in reinforcing hostility against Germans in both countries. German property was damaged and German-born many people were discharged with the propagandas of these organizations (Ellis, 1994, p. 251; Panayi, 1993a, pp. 194-195). As both countries threw the blame of the World Wars on Germans, German organizations tried to prove the innocence of Germans in the wars (Christgau, 2009, pp. 14-15; Krammer, 1997, p. 18).

Both countries ordered internment of Germans and imprisoned them in camps. Besides, both repatriated many Germans to Germany and initiated Exchange Programs with the German government (Cesarani, 1993, pp. 58-60; Krammer, 1997, p. 105).

Britain tried to justify internment on account of public hostility, damage to German property and anti-German riots as internment would be more secure for them (Kushner, 1999, p. 175). On the contrary, the US declared this internment as a “military necessity” to prevent espionage and sabotage activities in the country (Dickerson, 2010, p. 148).

The German population was nearly 2.5 million in the United States while this number was 56.000 in Britain. Hence, the American direct pacification of Germans was harder than Britain. The US could not implement mass internment or repatriation or wholesome harm to German properties. Nevertheless, Britain implemented all these easily with the public support while the US had to be selective. But, anyway, both countries treated Germans with hostility (Ellis, 1994, p. 253).

The second generation Germans preferred being assimilated into the British society, studying at the British schools and getting married to British people. In contrast, the German Americans protected the heritage of the first generation and preserved their culture. This indicated that the Germans in the US maintained their traditions comparatively to Britain (Ellis, 1994, pp. 253-254).

4.4. Internment of Irish in Britain and Japanese in the US

Irish and Japanese will be compared in this part owing to internment of Irish during the Anglo-Irish War of 1919-1921 and internment of Japanese during the Second World War. Treatment to these minorities was shaped by the wars.

Ethnic prejudice against Irish and Japanese had existed in Britain and the US before the wars. Irish meant cheap labor and inferior race for Britain. Japanese people were a part of “Yellow Peril” and depicted with animal names.

The lives of Irish and Japanese changed with the Anglo-Irish War and Second World War. Though few Irish were subjected to the internment policy of Britain prior to the war, many Irish were arrested, interned and exiled in the wartime (Kautt, 1999, p. 3). Nearly 110,000 Japanese were interned in camps for years after Japan attacked at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. Both Britain and the US arrested and interned Irish and Japanese without a court decision as a war necessity (Hart, 1998, p. 86; McLemore, 1980, p. 201).

The US ordered mass evacuation of Japanese from the Western defense zone on 19 February 1942 with the Executive Order 9066. The aim was to remove Japanese from the areas they could pose danger for national security. Similarly, between 1875 and 1910 Britain ordered the evacuation of Irish from Scotland and repatriation of them to Ireland. The aim was to root out Irish and prevent them from forming a community (Gesensway, 1987, p. 41; Swift, 1989, p. 15).

Wartime increased hostility and racist attitudes of both countries. Britain used violence against Catholic Irish people, many properties were damaged and many people died throughout the war. The US sentenced nearly 110,000 Japanese to prisoner life owing

to race prejudice. Of course, the number of internees by Britain cannot be compared with those by the US as the US established ten relocation centers for nearly 110,000 Japanese civilians and ordered mass internment. On the other hand, Britain interned only rebels, Republicans and IRA members (McLemore, 1980, p. 201; Walsh, 2002, p. 55).

Japanese internees indicated their reactions to the US via demonstrations, strikes and riots arranged in camps (Gesensway, 1987, p. 43). Irish responded to Britain with guerilla campaigns and damaged many British civilian properties (Hart, 1998, p. 154). The difference between these destructive and silent reactions could result from Japanese's being in camps. Even so, many Japanese preferred accepting internment rather than opposing to it (Gesensway, 1987, p. 43).

Japanese were interned for the sake of nothing as the invasion of North America by Japan was impossible (Daniels, 1988, pp. 201-202). However, Britain could not end IRA propagandas and disturbances and prevent Ireland from being a republic in 1949 (Hart, 1998, p. 175).

4.5. Internment of Italians in Britain and Italians in the US

Fascism emerging in the 1920s and 1930s affected the lives of Italians in both Britain and the US negatively. Italians in both countries prided on Mussolini's activities and celebrated Fascism by participating in Italian clubs and organizations. Nonetheless, in both countries, pro-Fascists and its activities were interpreted as Fascist propagandas and Italians were regarded as threats to national security. There were anti-Fascists condemning Fascism and Mussolini in both countries as well (O'Brien, 1995, p. 65; Panayi, 1993b, p. 134).

As a result of the entry of Italy to the Second World War on 10 June 1940 on the side of Germany against Britain, Italians were regarded as one of the most dangerous minorities in Britain and riots began in many cities on the same day (Panayi, 1993b, p. 132). Nevertheless, as the US entered the war after the attack at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, Italians in the US were not regarded as a great threat as much as in Britain.

After the Second World War began, the US ordered the FBI to prepare the Custodial Detention List of “dangerous” people. The US government required Italians together with all other minorities to be registered and fingerprinted at police offices with the Alien Registration Act. Likewise, Britain ordered the MI5 to prepare the lists of “dangerous” people as well. However, while these lists of Britain and the US must show those involved in sabotage and espionage activities, they could not go beyond indicating members to Fascist organizations (Cesarani, 1993, p. 127; Distasi, 2001, p. 236).

On the following day after Italy entered the war, the British Home Office ordered mass internment of Italians. Therefore, all of them were interned without taking political condition, residence period and citizenship into consideration. The Home Office did not question who were pro-Fascists or anti-Fascists as all Italians could harm Britain via Fascist organizations (Cesarani, 1993, p. 170). However, the US interned only the members of the Federation of Italian War Veterans, writers and editors in Italian newspapers, instructors in Italian schools and Italian radio announcers. There were two reasons for this internment with selection: Firstly, the President Roosevelt was reluctant to arrest and intern Italians as to him, they were not dangerous. Secondly, the numbers of Italians in the US were nearly two millions in that period (Christgau, 2009, p. 54). It was impossible to send so many people to camps.

Britain sent internees to overseas as the camps in Britain were full in view of mass internment of minorities. While Britain was deporting internees, 486 Italians died with the sinking of the *Arandora Star* in 1940. Its survivors numbered 444 minorities were sent to Australia with a voyage lasting 55 days (Cesarani, 1993, p. 15). So, Britain did not abandon such a transportation policy. In contrast, the US did not experience such a case as it had no space shortage.

Italians in Britain faced with destructive riots in contrast to those in the US. Both countries did not want public opinion to know about their internment policies as this could affect the lives of their citizens abroad (Distasi, 2001, p. 119). Conversely, Britain could not prevent the public and other countries from being informed about this policy after the *Arandora Star* tragedy, and made some changes in its internment policy (Dove, 2005, p. 155).

The camp conditions in both countries were almost similar. Internees were complaining about food. Dull camp life resulted in suicides. Guns were pointed to Italians imprisoned in these places surrounded with barbed wire (Cesarani, 1993, p. 85). Self-government was exercised and basic services were made by internees (Distasi, 2001, pp. 201-220).

The status of Italians in Britain changed from enemy aliens to friendly aliens when Italy sided with the Allies in 1943 (Cesarani, 1993, p. 233). However, on 12 October 1942, the US declared that Italians were not enemy aliens any more by reason of the Congressional elections and plans for invasion of Italy in spring (Distasi, 2001, p. 21). This indicates that Britain took national security very seriously and the US looked after its interests.

Italians in both countries paid the price for sins of their homeland. Many of them closed their workplaces, changed their names and had to shut their eyes to insults (Distasi, 2001, p. 11; Panayi, 1993b, p. 132).

4.6. Internment of Jews in Britain and Jews in the US

Anti-Semitism increased both in Britain and the US in the first half of the twentieth century. Hostility against Jews revealed itself with violence and damage to Jewish property. In the US, especially KKK used violence against Jews whom they regarded as sinful and damaged their homes and workplaces (Higham, 1984, p. 149).

Jewish minorities came to a new country to inhabit and make a life for themselves. Therefore, Jews in Britain and the US were not temporary but permanent immigrants. Nonetheless, both countries replied to these immigrants by segregation, excluding from social areas and not employing them (Moynihan, 1970, p. 160).

Anti-Semitism reached peak in both countries in the two World Wars and Jews were terrorized and Jewish workplaces were destroyed with vandalism. Anti-Semitic organizations were established and made propagandas via newspapers, brochures and press (Krammer, 1997, p. 52; Lipman, 1990, p. 85). Both the British and American societies

thought that Jews strived to make them enter into the Second World War for their interests as Jews wanted Germany to be halted (Bayer, 1978, p. 121; Cesarani, 1994, p. 159).

Britain and the US required Jews to be registered at police offices with the effect of wartime hysteria, anti-Semitism and xenophobia. Furthermore, in Britain, riots were arranged against Jews and hostility increased owing to conscription problem during the World Wars. While Jews preferred dying voluntarily in both countries, military forces of both countries requested Jews to serve in segregated battalions (Kushner, 1994, pp. 65-100).

Britain and the US arranged the Bermuda Conference on 19 April 1943. Two countries negotiated how to overcome the obstacles about transportation and haven in case of saving Jews from Germany. At the end, France agreed to open the Fedala Camp, but only 630 Jews were saved (Wyman, 1984, pp. 104-116). This conference indicated that both countries did not want to keep silent about the persecution.

The US took some steps to save European Jews from persecution of the Nazi government between 1933 and 1945 owing to the pressures on the Congress. On 9 December 1943, the Congress passed the Rescue Resolution and formed the War Refugee Board (WRB) with the Executive Order 9417. Because of the opposition in the Congress, the US did not open its gates to Jews and the WRB forced other countries to give a shelter to Jews (Wrobel, 1990, pp. 150-261). As a consequence, beside the Fedala Camp, another camp in Philippeville of Algeria and the other one in Fort Ontario of New York were opened to save Jews from the Nazi persecution. Fort Ontario internees were subjected to the same restrictions with prisoners of war and signed forms assuring their return to their homeland after the war. Even though the US saved Jews from the Nazi persecution, it cannot change the reality of their internment in the camp. Furthermore, it is clear that the US could have saved more Jewish refugees than one thousand.

Even though Britain arrested and interned Jews in the country, the US brought Jews to the Fort Ontario camp in order to save them from the persecution. Both countries subjected Jews to internment; still, the real aim of the US was to save them. The US formed the WRB for this aim, put pressure on other countries to give a haven for Jews and at the end, established a camp in New York. Nevertheless, both countries held Jews in the camps together with pro-Nazis (Christgau, 2009, p. 76; Perin, 2000, pp. 172-173).

Britain interned Jews both in the First World War and Second World War in contrast to the US that interned Jews saved from the Nazi persecution and repatriated to their homeland after the war. However, it opened its quotas and allowed Jewish refugees to enter into the country officially.

CHAPTER V

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This study has aimed at indicating that forced migration is not only conducted by the third world countries contrary to public opinion. Although the internment and repatriation policies of Britain and the United States are known throughout the world, many people in Turkey do not know about these policies. Moreover, as Britain and the US did not take records of the number of internees, camps, deaths in the camps, many people do not know about these policies and minorities subjected to these policies.

This study has been prepared by analyzing the extant literature, journals and newspapers. The information about internees and camps has been obtained as much as the National Archives of both countries have allowed. The policies of two countries applied to these minorities have been collected in this study as a whole. The fact that both countries applied to forced migration has been indicated with numerical values in the historical context.

The internment and repatriation policies applied by Britain and the US in the first half of the twentieth century have been compared and contrasted in this study. The ethnical structure and minority groups of two countries have been analyzed. In the first chapter, some key terms, which are significant to understand this study, have been defined and the periods of two World Wars, which were efficient in taking forced migration decision, have been explained. Thus, in this chapter, conceptual framework has been used as a method. In the second and third chapters, six minority groups in each country have been spotted, analyzed one by one and detailed by examples. So, in these chapters, analytical framework has been used as a method. In the fourth chapter, the policies to which minorities were

subjected have been compared and contrasted. Thus, in this chapter, comparative study method has been used. At the end of the study, after analyzing and commenting, a synthesis has been formed: These policies were undeniably forced migration and were carried out by two Great Powers in order to control and suppress minorities.

Many of the present studies have analyzed the forced migration applied by the eastern countries so far. This has resulted in the perception that forced migration is conducted only in eastern countries. The reason why the policies of two western countries have been analyzed, compared and contrasted in this study is the desire for breaking taboos. In the first half of the twentieth century, forced migration was also conducted by the western countries against thousands of minorities.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Britain and the United States subjected thousands of civilians to forced migration with internment and repatriation policies and followed discriminatory policies. Britain sent thousands of people to concentration camps during the Second Boer War of 1899-1902 so as to accelerate their surrender and end their fighting and thousands of people died by reason of bad camp conditions. As a result of this war, Britain introduced concentration camp system to warfare and was severely criticized owing to this system. Similarly, throughout the Philippine-American War of 1899-1902, the US sent thousands of people to camps so as to cut off the support to insurgents and included non-combatants to the warfare in some way. Philippine soldiers and civilians were tortured and thousands of people died. In fact, these horrific acts were systematically conducted and can be called as ethnic cleansing.

Fear, suspicion, wartime hysteria, nativism and xenophobia pushed Britain and the US to look for a scapegoat during the First and Second World Wars and minorities paid the price of their homelands' sins. In the course of the wars, Britain rounded up Jews, Italians and Germans, detained them in camps for years and returned many of them to their homelands. Likewise, the US sent Italians, Jews, Germans and Japanese to camps surrounded with barbed wire and repatriated thousands of them. Moreover; Britain arrested, interned and repatriated thousands of Irish during the Anglo-Irish War of 1919 fought for Irish independence.

It is very obvious that the atmosphere of the discussed period was very hard for countries and required some sacrifice from country citizens. Hence, Britain and the US

waited for minority groups to leave their identity aside and do something for their new countries. Minorities could serve in the armies and work at war factories. Nevertheless, even if they did what they were expected, the two countries wanted to prevent minorities from harming country by sending them to camps because of suspicion and insecurity brought by the wars. When the harm which could be given by old women or men, babies and children to these Great Powers is taken into account, it can be deduced that this internment policy was a racist action.

In consequence of the internment policy, families were separated. Thousands of people died by virtue of disease, starvation and bad camp conditions. Many internees committed suicide and minorities in both countries were deprived of liberty. While they hoped to be a part of the society, they were alienated from it by being sent to camps at desolate regions.

Mexicans in the US and Blacks in Britain were repatriated to their homelands because of financial difficulties. Though many of them were citizens of these countries, the US ignored this and Britain found a way to return them voluntarily by giving allowance. The repatriation of these people by two Great Powers cannot be justified as they could find a different solution. Besides, except these minorities, throughout the wars, programs were arranged to exchange citizens of enemy countries and the British and American citizens abroad. As a result of repatriation policy, thousands of people left their families behind and had to return their countries as disappointed.

The reasons behind the repatriation of Blacks in Britain were employment problem and anti-black riots. The implication of this repatriation policy is racism which became efficient in pushing Blacks out of the society and demanding the usage of the British territories only by ethnic English society.

During the Second Boer War, Britain burnt homes and crops of Boer civilians and deprived them of food. The implication of internment policy carried out in the South Africa is imperialism. Britain aimed at making the Boer Republics a British colony and benefiting from gold mines. Boer civilians were also subjected to ethnic cleansing as Britain wanted to eradicate the territory from the Boers.

Britain interned and repatriated Germans in order to prevent sabotage and espionage activities with the effect of Germanophobia, xenophobia, nativism and

discrimination during the First and Second World Wars. The policy implication behind this internment and repatriation is racism by which Germans as undesirables were sent away from the society.

Irish were subjected to both internment and repatriation policies by Britain. In these policies, the emancipation ideas and request for becoming independent from Britain became efficient. The implication of harsh reaction from Britain is imperialism as Britain did not want Irish to found their independent country.

The reasons why Italians were subjected to internment policy in Britain were spying, anti-Fascism and discrimination in the British society. The implication of this internment policy is racism. Again, minorities who were not Anglo-Saxons were not allowed to create their own living space in the Anglo-Saxon society.

Jews were interned by Britain during the First and Second World Wars because of spreading Bolshevik ideas, anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. This internment policy implicates racism by which thousands of Jews were pushed out of the society and prevented from perceiving Britain as their homelands.

In the US, Germans were interned and repatriated during the First and Second World Wars and Italians were sent to internment camps during the Second World War. Though apparent reasons of these policies were espionage and sabotage activities, discrimination and anti-Fascism, the implication of these policies is racism like in Britain.

During the Second World War, thousands of Japanese were ordered to move from western defense zone to the Midwestern and eastern territories. The reasons of this policy were discrimination, segregation and wartime hysteria. This policy again implicates racism because according to the American society, Japanese would deteriorate the American culture as a result of the contribution to the American melting pot.

The US saved one thousand Jews from Nazi persecution and brought them to the US during the Second World War. It interned them in Fort Ontario camp, New York and repatriated them after the war. The US followed such a policy due to nativism, anti-Semitism and discrimination and did not allow Jews to take part in the American society. Thus, the implication of this policy is racism.

The US repatriated Mexicans in order to solve the unemployment problem in the country. Mexicans faced with discrimination and segregation adopted by the American society which did not want to share business opportunities with aliens. Thus, the implication of American repatriation is racism again.

The US did not recognize the independence of the Philippines and sent thousands of experienced and professional soldiers to the Philippines. In the Philippine-American War, brutal war techniques were used, thousands of soldiers were tortured and Philippine civilians became homeless. Hence, this American policy implicates imperialism and ethnic cleansing. The US got the Philippines under control with this war and put the civilians in areas wherever it wanted.

It can be said that the principle similarity between the American and British forced migration is that mentioned minorities in the second and third chapters were subjected to ethnic cleansing. The principle difference is the territories in which policies were conducted and number of minorities. The US strived to control minorities in a larger territory and thus, the number of minorities subjected to the policies was higher comparatively to Britain. The number of minorities in Britain was lower and the British territory was smaller. Despite that, it perceived minorities as one of the problems with which it must cope immediately.

Internment policies indicated failure of government branches to protect civil liberties in wartimes. The societies conceded to government policies and courts did not justify internees or condemn the policies. By repatriation policies, the rights of citizens were ignored and even their citizenship was denied.

Hardships and wars of the first half of the twentieth century changed feeling and treatment of Britain and the US to minorities. Britain and the US representing liberalism and democracy frustrated minorities facing with imprisonment and expulsion of totalitarian regimes. In addition, the British and American society reinforced segregation and discrimination against minorities via riots, media, newspapers, organizations and clubs and showed their hostilities and intolerance against out-groups.

When the American and British repatriation and internment policies were compared, it can be said that Britain adopted harsher and firmer manners against minorities in comparison with the US. The Anglo-Saxon structure of Britain aimed at eliminating an

out-group while the American melting pot and plural structure required assimilation of minorities to the society. Furthermore, the mass internment of minorities in the wartimes and destructive riots by the English society had influence on the government decisions. The government enacted laws controlling every step of minorities in order to protect national identity. All these indicate more anti-alienist and discriminative actions of Britain.

It is impossible to explain or make sense of internment and repatriation, in other words, forced migration under no circumstances. Filling camps with thousands of people led many of them to die. Depriving them of liberty and coercive return to their homelands caused minority communities in Britain and the US to be destroyed in the first half of the twentieth century. Both countries ordered civilian removal in the crisis times. They proved their power by getting minorities under control with internment and repatriation policies used as a wartime precaution.

Britain and the US have represented civilization for centuries. However, this study indicates that the policies applied in the first half of the twentieth century remind of barbarism. Minorities were welcomed with segregation, discrimination, riots and forced migration. The South African and Philippine territories were invaded and homes, livestock and farms were destroyed. Thus, these policies were not reflection of civilization but indicator of barbarism.

Minorities trusting on Britain and the US about their liberal actions were kept in small rooms with a soldier on the door and internment camps surrounded with barbed wires. Internment and repatriation policies and internees were forgotten, but memories remained alive. These policies can be suppressed or can be found unbelievable by the new generation; however, it is real undeniably.

For Britain and the US, internment and repatriation policies, by which thousands of minorities were sent to internment camps or out of country, are not mistakes, inhuman or undemocratic. Thus, they maintained their policies after the first half of the twentieth century in order to control minorities. For example; during the Mau Mau uprising of 1954-1960 in Kenya, Britain closed many rebels to camps (Shah, 2011). In 1971, thousands of nationalists and republican activists were captured by the British army and sent to internment camps (Smith, 2011, p. 113). Likewise, the US opened detention camps in Cuba in order to send captured people during the Afghan War which began after the

terrorist attack in 2001 (Astill, 2004). Moreover, when the US occupied Iraq in 2003, detention camps were opened in Iraq for thousands of people (Keyser, 2009). So, neither Britain nor the US did not end their policies and regarded the civilian liberties as completely unimportant.

Taking into consideration the negative consequences of wars, it is obvious that minorities are one of the most harmed parties. In order to prevent minorities from paying the price for wars as a scapegoat, governments should abandon internment and repatriation policies. Awareness of societies against discrimination, racism, prejudice, hostility and segregation should be raised and minorities should be allowed to take part as vital components of societies.

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"Many Alien Enemies Now Liable to Arrest." (1918, February 17). *The New York Times*.

APPENDIX A

FIGURES



Figure 1: American Soldiers in the Philippines, 1899.

Reference: Millard, C. (2012). "Looking for a Fight." *The New York Times*. Retrieved May 1, 2014, from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/19/books/review/a-new-history-of-the-philippine-american-war.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

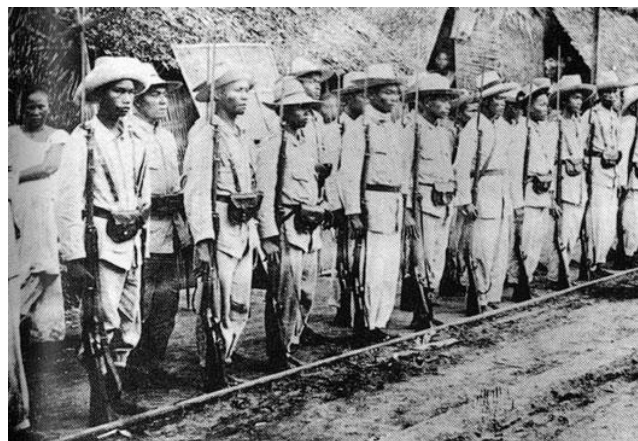


Figure 2: Philippine Soldiers During the Philippine-American War.

Reference: Kramer, P. A. (2006). "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War." *Diplomatic History*, 30, p. 179.

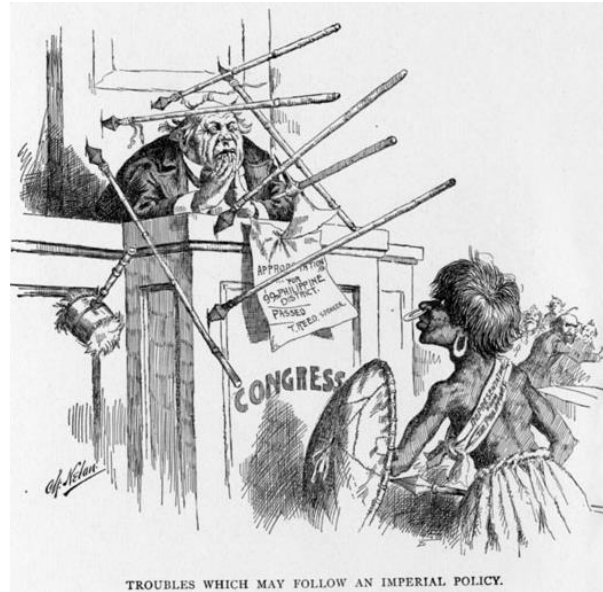


Figure 3: A Cartoon by Charles Neland. It indicates the Philippines as savage; thus, this imperialism would threaten the US political institutions.

Reference: Kramer, P. A. (2006). "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War." *Diplomatic History*, 30, p. 184.



Figure 4: Emilio Aguinaldo Images from the US Press. The first image was from 1898 and the second one was from 1899.

Reference: Kramer, P. A. (2006). "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War." *Diplomatic History*, 30, p. 193.



Figure 5: The Philippine Soldiers During the Philippine-American War.

Reference: Kramer, P. A. (2006). "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War." *Diplomatic History*, 30, p. 191.



Figure 6: Water Cure During the Philippine-American War.

Reference: Kramer, P. A. (2006). "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War." *Diplomatic History*, 30, p. 202.

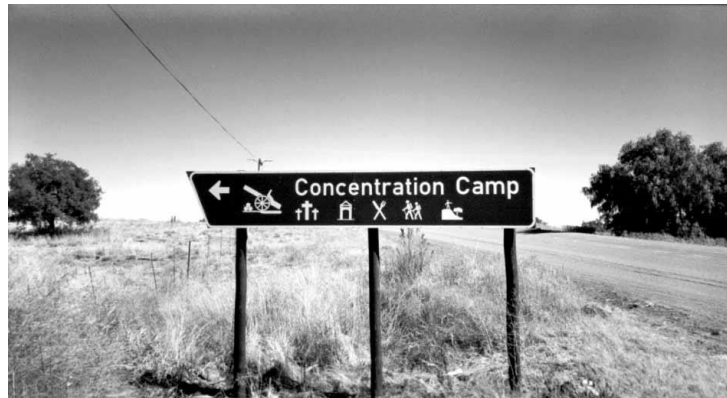


Figure 7: Concentration Camp Sign, Brandfort, the South Africa.

Reference: Stanley, L. & Dampier, H. (2010). "Aftermaths: Post/Memory, Commemoration and the Concentration camps of the South African War 1899–1902." *European Review of History: Revue europeenned'histoire*, 12:1, p. 93.



Figure 8: The Boer Civilians During the Second Boer War.

Reference: Stanley, L. & Dampier, H. (2010). "Aftermaths: Post/Memory, Commemoration and the Concentration camps of the South African War 1899–1902." *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 12:1, p. 110.



Figure 9: The Second Boer War of 1899-1902.

Reference: Nash, D. (1999). "The Boer War and Its Humanitarian Critics." *History Today*, 49, p. 42.



Figure 10: The Second Boer War of 1899-1902.

Reference: Nash, D. (1999). "The Boer War and Its Humanitarian Critics." *History Today*, 49, p. 44.



Figure 11: A Concentration Camp During the Second Boer War.

Reference: Nash, D. (1999). "The Boer War and Its Humanitarian Critics." *History Today*, 49, p. 45.



Figure 12: Emily Hobhouse.

Reference: Nash, D. (1999). "The Boer War and Its Humanitarian Critics." *History Today*, 49, p. 45.



Figure 13: Anti-German Riots in 1915.

Reference: Holmes, C. (1985). "The Myth of Fairness: Racial Violence in Britain, 1911-19." *History Today*, 35, p. 43.



Figure 14: Mexicans picking the cotton, 1919. They were invited to the US to work in lands and then, they were repatriated.

Reference: Bernstein, N. (2006). "100 Years in the Back Door, Out the Front." *The New York Times*. Retrieved May 1, 2014, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/21/weekinreview/21bernstein.html?pagewanted=all>

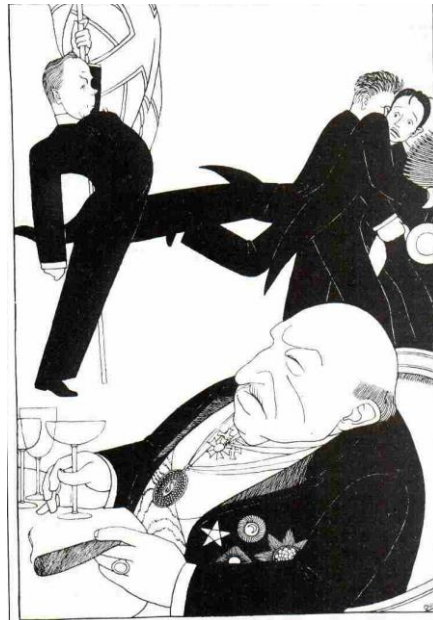


Figure 15: A Cartoon by Powys Evans. It indicates how Jews were pushed out of the British society.

Reference: Holmes, C. (1985). "The Myth of Fairness: Racial Violence in Britain, 1911-19." *History Today*, 35, p. 42.



Figure 16: Newspapers Indicating Race Riots Against Blacks.

Reference: Holmes, C. (1985). "The Myth of Fairness: Racial Violence in Britain, 1911-19." *History Today*, 35, p. 44.



Figure 17: The Release of Irish from the Curragh Internment Camp, 1922.

Reference: Ward, M. (2012). "The Treaty." *BBC History*. Retrieved May 2, 2014, from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/easterrising/aftermath/af06.shtml>



Figure 18: Ballykinlar Internment Camp for Irish.

Reference: O'Sullivan, N. (2012). "Ballykinlar Collection." *BBC History*. Retrieved May 2, 2014 from http://www.bbc.co.uk/northernireland/yourplaceandmine/down/ballykinlar_collection.shtml



Figure 19: Ballykinlar Internment Camp for Irish.

Reference: O'Sullivan, N. (2012). "Ballykinlar Collection." *BBC History*. Retrieved May 2, 2014, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/northernireland/yourplaceandmine/down/ballykinlar_collection.shtml



Figure 20: Germans in Transit to Internment Camps, 1940.

Reference: Holmes, C. (1990). "Enemy Aliens? Internment in Britain." *History Today*, 40, p. 25.



Figure 21: An Aliens Registration Office, 1940.

Reference: Holmes, C. (1990). "Enemy Aliens? Internment in Britain." *History Today*, 40, p. 27.

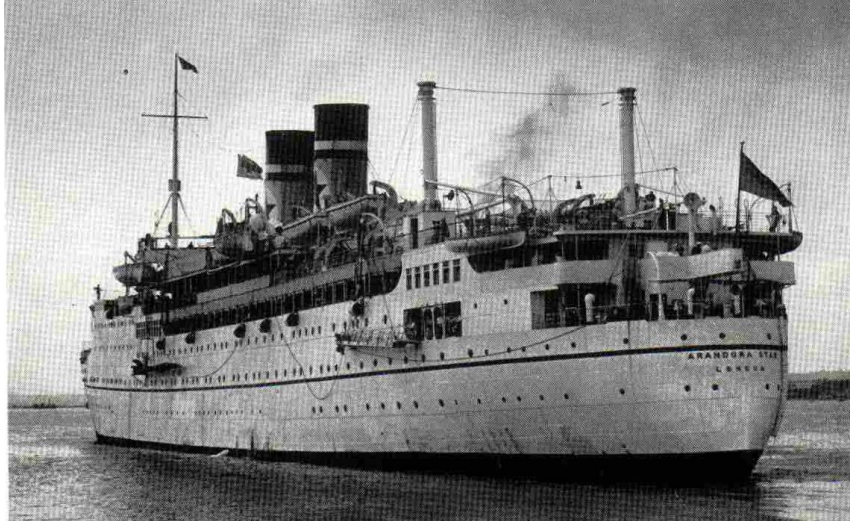


Figure 22: Arandora Star, 1940.

Reference: Holmes, C. (1990). "Enemy Aliens? Internment in Britain." *History Today*, 40, p. 28.



Figure 23: German Internees on the Isle of Man.

Reference: Holmes, C. (1990). "Enemy Aliens? Internment in Britain." *History Today*, 40, p. 29.



Figure 24: Internees Doing Daily Tasks

Reference: Holmes, C. (1990). "Enemy Aliens? Internment in Britain." *History Today*, 40, p. 30.



Figure 25: An Assembly Center in Calif, 1942.

Reference: Bernstein, N. (2007). "Relatives of Interned Japanese-Americans Side With Muslims." *The New York Times*. Retrieved May 1, 2014, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/03/nyregion/03detain.html?pagewanted=all>



Figure 26: A Relocation Center in Arkansas, 1942.

Reference: The Associated Press. "House Passes Bill to Preserve 10 Camps of Internment." *The New York Times*. Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/06/us/06camps.html?fta=y>



Figure 27: Japanese Internees, 1942. A photograph by Dorothea Lange.

Reference: Smith, D. (2006). "Photographs of an Episode That Lives in Infamy." *The New York Times*. Retrieved May 1, 2014, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/06/arts/design/06lang.html>



Figure 28: Japanese Internees, 1942.

Reference: Smith, D. (2006). "Photographs of an Episode That Lives in Infamy." *The New York Times*. Retrieved May 1, 2014, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/06/arts/design/06lang.html>



Figure 29: Horse Shelters in Tanforan. They were used to house Japanese internees during the Second World War.

Reference: Smith, D. (2006). "Photographs of an Episode That Lives in Infamy." *The New York Times*. Retrieved May 1, 2014, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/06/arts/design/06lang.html>



Figure 30: Italian Internees on the Isle of Man.

Reference: Conti, T. (2013). "My Dad, Sent to a Prison Camp for Being Italian." *BBC History*. Retrieved May 2, 2014, from <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-22278664>



Figure 31: Jewish Refugees in Fort Ontario Camp, New York.

Reference: Holocaust Encyclopedia. "United States Policy Toward Jewish Refugees, 1941–1952." Retrieved May 2, 2014, from <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/gallery.php?ModuleId=10007094&MediaType=PH>



Figure 32: Jewish Refugees in Fort Ontario Camp, New York.

Reference: Holocaust Encyclopedia. “United States Policy Toward Jewish Refugees, 1941–1952.” Retrieved May 2, 2014, from <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/gallery.php?ModuleId=10007094&MediaType=PH>



Figure 33: Jewish Refugees in Fort Ontario Camp, New York.

Reference: Holocaust Encyclopedia. “United States Policy Toward Jewish Refugees, 1941–1952.” Retrieved May 2, 2014, from <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/gallery.php?ModuleId=10007094&MediaType=PH>



Figure 34: German Internees on the Ellis Island, Christmas 1943.

Reference: Jacobs, A. D. (2005). "German-American Internees in the United States During WWII." *Traces*. Retrieved May 2, 2014, from <http://www.traces.org/germaninternees.html>

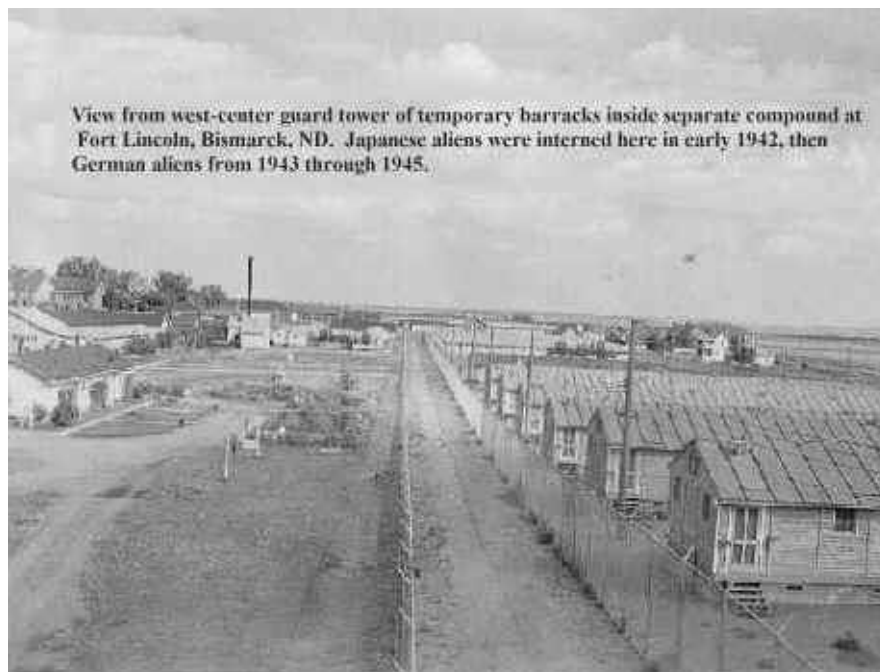


Figure 35: Internment Camp at Bismarck.

Reference: Jacobs, A. D. (2005). "German-American Internees in the United States During WWII." *Traces*. Retrieved May 2, 2014, from <http://www.traces.org/germaninternees.html>

APPENDIX B

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı: Durmaz

Adı: Gülşah

Bölümü: Uluslararası İlişkiler

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce): “Forced Migration Policy of Britain and the United States in the First Half of the Twentieth Century.”

TEZİN TÜRÜ:

Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: