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Lessons from a Different Shore: Japanese American Incarceration and the Redress Movement Portrayed in Western European Newspapers

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On the morning of Friday, October 30, 1992, readers in the Netherlands opened copies of the *NRC Handelsblad*, one of the most circulated papers in the country. The front page commemorated twelve and a half years of Queen Beatrix's reign, and the foreign section depicted a grinning George H. W. Bush in Michigan for a speech on the 1992 campaign trail. Reports on the brewing war in Bosnia circulated throughout, showing the plight of civilians as they moved through bombed-out neighborhoods. For Dutch audiences in 1992, all of this might have seemed rather innocuous.

However, on the front page of the weekly cultural supplement was a striking picture of two Japanese American women holding service flags, with the caption reading "Japanese American women at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center." The accompanying article, entitled "Above the Barracks Rises Mount Fuji: Discord in the Concentration Camps for Japanese Americans," told the story of the Japanese Americans sent to camp during World War II and their artwork.[1] The article featured discussion of the Japanese American National Museum's camp art exhibit, *The View From Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942–1945* and John Okada's pioneering novel, *No-No Boy*.[2] It seems remarkable that audiences in the Netherlands might be interested in such a distant and sobering topic as the wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans. In fact, this was neither the first nor the last article to discuss the story in a European newspaper. Stories recounting the Japanese American experience would appear in journals across Europe for decades after the war—even during times when the mainstream media in the US was less interested in the subject.

The story of Japanese American incarceration has become one of the most well-known tragedies in twentieth-century American history. Indeed, the confinement of Japanese Americans in ten concentration camps and dozens of Department of Justice internment camps by the US government is regarded by historians as a watershed moment in Asian American history, alongside the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, and the Hart-Celler Act of 1965.[3] Yet while the narrative of Japanese American incarceration certainly centers on the United States, it has also had a broader, transnational angle. As scholars such as Eiichiro Azuma and Lon Kurashige have noted, throughout the prewar years Japanese American communities existed transnationally between Asia and North America, as a result of family connections and American-born children travelling to Japan and its empire for study or work.[4] Likewise, the work of scholars like C. Harvey Gardiner, Michi Weglyn, Brian Hayashi, and Greg Robinson also points to the global importance of the incarceration experience, with Peru and other Latin American governments colluding with the US government in an international roundup of members of Japanese immigrant communities, who were then transported for internment in the United States and Canada while Peru undertook the mass incarceration of its own ethnic Japanese population.[5]

Yet a lesser-known part of the Japanese American experience is the group's legacy in Europe. As Japanese American soldiers ventured across Europe as part of the famed 442nd Regimental Combat Team and assisted in the liberation of various European cities in Italy, France, and Germany, they generated widespread interest among Europeans in their liberators. Although few Japanese Americans settled in Europe after the war, their experiences left a surprisingly substantial impact on European communities. Years later, the redress movement of the 1980s inspired further interest in human rights issues among Europeans, sparking debates over longstanding issues such as the treatment of minorities and reparations for colonized subjects—a phenomenon noted by legal scholar Eric Yamamoto.[6]

This article examines European media accounts of Japanese Americans and coverage of the redress movement in four countries: the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, West Germany, and France. I have chosen these countries for two reasons: first, because of the widespread interest in US politics within these countries; and second, because of the importance of minority relations in each. Additionally, these accounts examine countries outside of the Soviet Bloc, and in the case of news reports from Germany before unification, the articles I examine are from West Germany. Likewise, this article explores newspaper accounts from popular publications within each country. While reports in selected media surely do not capture the entirety of the debates in each country, I would argue that they are indicative of popular interest in the topic. Although media interest in Japanese American experiences and the redress movement varied among these four countries, their common interest in reporting the issue is both telling of European views of American history and its resonance with each country's debates on memories of World War II and race relations.

The reporting of the experiences of Japanese Americans in the European press, and especially the redress movement, can be read in two ways. First, it can be seen as part of a continuing European interest in the role of the United States in the Second World War. On multiple occasions, the twin images of the camps and of Japanese American soldiers fighting in Europe evoked memories of the Holocaust for European audiences, yet also presented a positive US model for Europeans in confronting their own negative past. Second, the use of this tragic chapter of American history as a history lesson for European audiences is not only telling in terms of European views, but also of what Americans can still learn from the incarceration. By offering another perspective on the importance of reconciliation, beyond Germany's own postwar payments to Holocaust victims and to the State of Israel, the story of Japanese Americans simultaneously contributed to broader, transnational lessons on citizenship and restorative justice to victims in Europe and in the United States.

The Netherlands

Among the first countries, and most prolific thereafter, to publicize the Japanese American experience was the Netherlands.[7] In addition to producing one of the few wartime accounts of the camps, Dutch news outlets wrote about the wartime events years before the redress movement began. Intriguingly, Dutch newspapers under Nazi occupation first reported on Japanese American incarceration as part of anti-American propaganda. Such accounts began even before President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. On January 29, 1942, *De Telegraaf* included a Japanese news report discussing the dilemma facing American authorities over whether to intern the Japanese community of Hawai'i in the wake of the revelations of the so-called Roberts Report on the Pearl Harbor attack.[8] A few months later, following the signing of the order, an article printed in the Dutch pro-Nazi newspaper *Het Nationale Dagsblad* stated that General DeWitt, the head of the Western Defense Command, had interned two thousand Japanese "citizens" in the city of Portland, Oregon. The article, which originated from a bulletin sent by the International Red Cross in Geneva, Switzerland, was apparently circulated in all the major Dutch newspapers by the Occupation forces.[9]

For the remainder of the war years, Dutch media interest in the Japanese American community disappeared. In the postwar era, however, the Nikkei were brought (literally) into the picture for the Dutch by the presence of numerous expatriates within the unique artistic circles of the Netherlands. The most notable example was the Nisei sculptor Shinkichi Tajiri—the brother of famed editor Larry Tajiri of the *Pacific Citizen*—who resided in the Netherlands for almost fifty years until his death in 2009 and who achieved nationwide recognition for his art. After living in Paris in the early 1950s and earning one of the first awards at the Cannes Film Festival for his short film *The Vipers*, Tajiri moved to the Dutch capital in 1956 and then to the town of Baarlo in 1962 and continued his sculpture work there. Even before he moved to the

Netherlands, Tajiri freely discussed his time in camp with Dutch papers, in the process offering a frank depiction of the incarceration at a time when such accounts were all but absent from American media. In a 1955 interview with *Het Parool*, Tajiri described how the attack on Pearl Harbor—which came on the same day as his eighteenth birthday—shattered the "ivory tower" of his life near San Diego, resulting in his confinement with his family at Santa Anita Assembly center and Poston Concentration Camp.[10] In a 1958 interview, he informed Dutch readers that "of the hundred thousand interned, over 75 percent were American citizens. Not one could be found guilty of espionage or sabotage."[11] Tajiri's articles were some of the first accounts in Europe to document the experience of Japanese Americans during the Second World War and were likely the only ones to do so until the 1970s.

In fact, beside Tajiri's 1950s interviews, little mention of Japanese Americans appeared in the Dutch press during the 1950s and 1960s. The film *Go For Broke*—titled in Dutch *Er op of en onder*—was reviewed in a Dutch paper in 1952.[12] A 1971 article in the Christian newspaper *Trouw* addressed student activism globally and government use of camps globally. In reference to the US, it cited Nisei congressman Spark Matsunaga's call to end the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, mentioning (inaccurately) that he had been one of the one hundred and ten thousand Japanese Americans confined.[13]

Ten years later, with the advent of the redress movement, the story of the camps would resurface regularly in the Dutch press. The American made-for-television movie *Farewell to Manzanar*—under the title *Vaarwel Manzanar*—was shown on German and Dutch television channels in 1980, 1984, and 1989.[14] Following the establishment of the US Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) in 1980, publications on the camps began appearing almost twice a year in major Dutch papers—coinciding with the major events of the redress movement. In most cases, Dutch reporters referred to the camps as *interneringskampen* (internment camps), with some choosing the word *concentratiekampen* (concentration camps). The most vocal advocate for using "concentration camps" was the Dutch Reformed Church organ *Trouw*. The articles generally were placed amid overseas news—in one case, in 1988, a short article on the passage of a redress bill by the House of Representatives appeared next to coverage of protests by Jewish survivors in France against a Holocaust denial speech by right-wing politician Jean-Marie Le Pen.[15] On multiple occasions, articles on incarceration appeared on the front page of the leftist paper *NRC Handelsblad*. The first was on June 17, 1983, when CRWIC released its findings to Congress and called for paid redress to survivors of the camps.[16] A second article, printed on August 5, 1988, depicted pictures of Manzanar alongside an article declaring President Ronald Reagan's decision to sign the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 five days later.[17]

While leftist newspapers such as *NRC Handelsblad* willingly engaged the subject and presented the story of the incarceration in detail, a number of conservative voices criticized the movement. The right-wing paper *De Telegraaf* opposed passage of

redress, with one article portraying reparations to Japanese Americans as unfair in relation to the actions of the Japanese Army against Dutch civilians in the Dutch East Indies during World War II.[18] In 1980, the *Leeuwarder Courant* ran an article stating that the incarceration experience was actually good for Japanese Americans, and argued that African Americans needed to follow the Japanese American model of success.[19] As part of a series explaining race relations in the US, the author argued that African Americans struggled to adapt to American society because of the effects of slavery and needed to learn from the Japanese American experience to succeed. Such an argument underscores both the rise of the model minority myth in the United States and later discussions of multiculturalism in the Netherlands.[20] Interestingly, in 1991 the *NRC Handelsblad* ran a set of reader letters discussing demands by Dutch citizens for reparations from the Japanese government for their wartime treatment, in which redress for Japanese Americans was referenced.[21] A reader countered that the Japanese American case was different because it was a government offering compensation to its own citizens, rather than a question of inter-governmental demands. Ironically, the newspaper included a drawing of an eye with the rising sun flag of Japan done by Sansei artist Ryu Tajiri, the daughter of Shinkichi Tajiri.[22] Although most Dutch newspapers presented the Japanese American experience as a part of United States history, many Dutch readers remained entrenched in their memories of the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies and struggled to see it as a part of race relations within the US.

In the years following the redress movement, references to the camp experience, such as "Yankee Samurai," reappeared in newspapers and films.[23] As was the case with other European countries, the British film *Come See the Paradise* was screened in the Netherlands and lauded by Dutch critics.[24] As perhaps the country with the most prolific documentation of the Japanese American experience and the redress movement, the Netherlands presents a rare case of a country where popular discussion of Asian American history flourished. However, the extent to which Dutch interest in the camps arose from a genuine desire to understand race relations within the United States is less clear. Dutch commentators drew no parallels between the camps and the ongoing debates over *Zwarte Piet*, the infamous Christmas figure portrayed in blackface, or mistreatment of the Indonesian community in the Netherlands, although the latter informed part of the Dutch understanding of the Pacific War.[25] Rather, Dutch fascination with Japan and the United States is more likely what inspired the attention of Dutch audiences, as can be inferred from the relationship between interest in the camp story and the release of books and films related to the larger war.

At the same time, the presence of Shinkichi Tajiri as a prominent artist within the Netherlands and a vocal witness of the incarceration experience cannot be ignored as an important influence on media interest in the camps. The Netherlands benefited greatly from the presence of Shinkichi Tajiri as a cultural figure. To this day, many of his sculptures are featured across the Netherlands, such as his *Wachter* ("Watchman")

sculpture in the Hague, and his *Sentinel* sculptures on the Bridge of Venlo were among the few dedicated personally by Queen Beatrix.[26] Tajiri would remain for the Dutch an authority on the Japanese American experience and a living witness of the camps. In a 2009 documentary on his life for the Dutch art program *Het Uur van de Wolf*, Tajiri remarked that without the war and the incarceration, he would never have come to Holland, yet he still identified as an American because he believed in the need to remain a vocal critic of the United States. The documentary also featured clips of the War Relocation Authority's newsreel "Japanese Relocation." [27] In 2013, Leiden University Press published an edited volume dedicated to the life and work of Tajiri.[28] Whether Tajiri successfully influenced the Dutch to think about the incarceration is unclear. Nonetheless, his presence in the Netherlands is arguably part of the reason why Dutch reportage on the camps was more frequent than other European countries.

United Kingdom

While Shinkichi Tajiri's presence in the Netherlands as one of the most prominent Nisei in Europe made the Dutch story unique, reporting on the camps otherwise followed a similar pattern throughout Europe. Like the Dutch, British media outlets paid close attention to the developing redress movement in the US, and British commentators noted the issues of Asian Americans as part of both international politics and growing fears over racial conflict at home. Because of the growing presence of West Indian and South Asian immigrant communities following decolonization and increasing racism in the UK, discussion of race relations in the US figured prominently in British media outlets. As scholars such as Kennetta Hammond Perry and Robin D.G. Kelley have noted, transnational discussions of race in the British Empire, and racism perpetrated against Black Britons and communities of color by white supremacists in the UK, frequently parallel those in the US.[29]

As early as the 1910s, British newspapers began reporting on anti-Japanese racism in the Western United States and debating the fears of yellow peril as they manifested in California. The majority of coverage on Japanese immigration to the US played into fears of Asians dominating the world. Dozens of articles discussed the "Japanese problem" and reported on incidents of anti-Asian violence—such as white mobs driving out the Japanese community of Ogden, Utah.[30] As Greg Robinson notes in *By Order of the President*, a series of exchanges between British journalist Sir Valentine Chirol and American naval historian Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan appeared in the pages of the *Times of London* in 1913, and introduced British readers to debates over Japanese immigration to the West Coast of the United States.[31] While Chirol argued that anti-Japanese violence needed to end in order to soften tensions between Japan and the United States, Mahan insisted that Japanese needed to be excluded on racial grounds.

As with other European colonizers, British anger towards the Japanese rose drastically following the fall of Britain's colonies of Hong Kong and Singapore to Japanese invaders, who interned their British population in camps, and fear of a takeover of India fueled the war effort in the United Kingdom. Nonetheless, just as the British press failed to cover the mass removal of ethnic Japanese in the Commonwealth nations of Australia and Canada during 1942, British newspapers generally ignored Executive Order 9066. Yet despite this, after 1943, the British press presented Japanese Americans in a positive light, including mention of Japanese American soldiers in war dispatches. War correspondents for *The Times of London* praised the prowess of the 442nd Regiment, noting in particular the success of the unit as part of the 5th Army's offensives in Italy at Monte Cassino and the Gothic Line between 1943 and 1945.[32] In 1947, *The Times* also ran an interview between American Civil Liberties Union director Roger Baldwin, then visiting Tokyo, and the Japanese emperor Hirohito. In an exchange on the state of the occupation, Emperor Hirohito asked about the condition of Japanese Americans, with Baldwin noting the legacy of Japanese American servicemen in helping improve race relations in the United States.[33]

Coverage of Japanese Americans subsided during the immediate postwar years. Tragically, the British press continued to present the Japanese American community as part of an "invasion" of Japan into the United States, thereby stoking older fears of yellow peril from the prewar era. In February 1963, *The Times* reported on rising Japanese tourism in Hawaii, with a bold headline "Japanese Waiting to 'Invade' Hawaii," the word "invasion" serving to remind readers that it was barely two decades since the attack on Pearl Harbor.[34] In a study of nonwhites in the American government that following the election of George Ariyoshi as first governor of Hawai'i and the reelection of Senator Daniel Inouye in 1974, an article in the British press stated that "the Japanese have finally won Hawaii—33 years after Pearl Harbour, Americans of oriental origin now hold every state office there."[35] Whether Senator Hiram Fong, a Chinese American, appreciated being lumped together with Japanese Americans is not clear!

In contrast, very little about the Japanese American experience appeared in British papers until the redress movement. One exception was an article by Julian Makaroff that was published in *The Times of London* in 1971. Makaroff's article, titled "US Racial Precedent," informed British readers about the rising importance of Asian Americans and the mistreatment of Japanese Americans during the Second World War, either as prisoners in camps or under surveillance in Hawai'i. Yet while Marakoff makes efforts to note racial prejudice towards Japanese Americans and the success of Japanese American soldiers, in the end his article reproduced tropes of the model minority myth. It lauds Japanese Americans as more successful than African Americans and states that Japanese Americans were "rehabilitated" as a result of the incarceration experience.[36] Articles such as these not only introduced British readers to the so-called model minority myth but led them to conceptualize race relations in the UK. The

comparison with the US proved a growing topic of interest in the UK a decade before the outbreak of race riots throughout the UK in cities like Brixton.[37]

As in other European countries, significant interest in the Japanese American experience in the UK arose during (and because of) the redress movement. On July 23, 1982, the British public television station BBC 2 aired a fifty-minute documentary titled "Yesterday's Witness in America: A Question of Loyalty," which profiled Manzanar and the incarceration experience.[38] A year later, following the release of the Commission of Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians's findings and recommendation for redress payments, *The Times of London* noted that incarceration "has been a blot on the American consciousness," alongside Dorothea Lange's famous photo of the Mochida family awaiting imprisonment near Hayward, California.[39] *The Guardian's* Christopher Reed covered the Los Angeles redress hearings, and underlined the tensions felt by former prisoners over the question of compensation, with conservative voices like S. I. Hayakawa receiving boos from the audience.[40] Over the following years, headlines that referenced the shame of the incarceration experience became more pronounced. In July 1985, following the announcement of Gordon Hirabayashi's appeal to overturn his 1942 conviction, *The Times* compared the treatment of Japanese Americans to "the hounding of Jews in Germany" and pointed out the military's coverup of crucial evidence showing the lack of military necessity.[41] The British press responded to the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 with mixed sentiments while most articles noted the historical importance of redress, headlines such as "cash for internees" in conservative journals such as *The Times* evoked the sense of an unearned handout as argued by a number of conservative critics of the bill.[42] Conversely, left-leaning newspapers such as *The Guardian* presented a more positive take on the Civil Liberties Act than their conservative counterparts in Britain. Two articles published by *The Guardian* cited the Civil Liberties Act as precedent for compensating the descendants of enslaved persons, with one article poignantly entitled "Paying for Our Crimes." Likewise, Reed, as *The Guardian*'s US correspondent reporting on the redress movement, presented emotionally detailed descriptions of camp life and the suffering of Japanese Americans.[43]

In the wake of the redress movement, another moment of engagement among the press in the UK concerning the Japanese American experience came as a result of British director Alan Parker's film *Come See the Paradise*.[44] Parker, who had already established himself as director of civil rights films such as *Mississippi Burning*, later recounted in an interview with *The Times of London* what had inspired him to direct *Come See the Paradise* and explained his emotions in making the film. He recalled having been in the University of California Los Angeles's Charles Young Library one day and coming across photos of Japanese Americans taken by Dorothea Lange. This in turn had led him to read through a larger collection of books housed in the UCLA library relating to Japanese Americans.[45] Parker noted in particular the personal relationships he had formed with the individuals who had been photographed by Lange while they

were being sent to the camps, and his own journey towards understanding the camp experience through these inmates.

Yet among European states, the United Kingdom exhibited the strongest conservative backlash to the news of redress. The first reason for this was the association of Japanese Americans with memories of the Japanese takeovers of Hong Kong and Singapore. Although the Civil Liberties Act was primarily a domestic issue and part of the racial politics of the US, it ultimately contributed to a separate movement in the UK by and on behalf of British prisoners of war. In a letter responding to the passage of the US Civil Liberties Act of 1988, a representative of the Citizen Advice Bureau argued that if Japanese Americans could receive payments, "it is time to raise the matter of compensation for victims of the Nazi occupation in Europe during that time," and it cited the case of a Polish woman who was tortured by the Gestapo, but who only received a five hundred and fifty–pound payment *ex gratia* from the United Nations.[46] Similar calls also began in the UK for redress payments to British internees of war from Hong Kong and Singapore. British war victims pressured the British government to demand that the compensation come from Japan, exacerbating tensions between the UK and Japan during the Japanese emperor Akihito's state visit to the UK in 1998. Former prisoners of war and internees led protests during the arrival ceremonies of the emperor. English prime minister Tony Blair opposed the protestors, arguing that UK–Japan relations should not be "defined solely by the past."[47] On November 10, 2000, the British Parliament announced that the War Pension Agency would administer *ex gratia* payments of ten thousand pounds for survivors of Japanese prisoner of war camps. The next day Rev. Graham St. John-Wiley published a letter in *The Times* demanding that British civilian internees be accorded the same payment.[48] Three years later, a British court ruled that the British civilian internees also qualified for the *ex gratia* payment, but limited it only to those subjects "born in the United Kingdom, or those with a parent or grandparent born in the UK," intentionally excluding the colonial subjects who had suffered in the camps. Instead, an apology and a significantly smaller payment of five hundred pounds was offered to those excluded by the court ruling in 2005, being dubbed "[p]itiful" by *The Times* and the Liberal Democrats. While British journalists did not cite the redress movement in their reports on British internees of war, it is important to note the parallels with Dutch conservatives who compared the Civil Liberties Act with the demands for war claims from the Japanese government. The intentional exclusion of colonial subjects had the opposite effect of the US Civil Liberties Act by alienating nonwhite subjects in the UK from the government.

Conservative British critics of the redress movement also promoted claims that either the payments to surviving Japanese Americans were unjust or set bad precedents. Especially extreme was an article in *The Times*, which pointed to the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 as part of a rising trend of "compensation culture," a term coined in 1993 by *The Times* journalist Bernard Levin, as part of which anyone feeling victimized could use history as a means of leveraging money from the government.[49]

Attacks on "compensation culture" became a constant talking point of conservatives arguing against what they saw as the rise of the welfare state. The debate over "compensation culture" arose again in the 2000s following a refusal by the Japanese government to make apology payments to British citizens who suffered internment by the Japanese and arguments among conservatives of a "double standard." Reportage of protests by US veterans against the opening of the Manzanar Historical Site in December 2002 captured this sentiment of conservative backlash, with one protestor arguing that the museum overstated the suffering in the camps and that "it's too bad history doesn't tell it like it is."[50] Although British news accounts that cited the redress law reflected a range of interests, discussions of the Japanese American experience were rarely born out of genuine interest in American racial politics. Rather, fascination with the Japanese American experience often came as a result of cultural pride, as in the case of *Come See the Paradise*, or as a means by conservatives to exploit fears of growing nonwhite rights and relive bitter memories of the Pacific War.[51]

West Germany

In West Germany, however, conservative voices were much more silent.[52] While most Western European countries discussed Japanese Americans in the context of their own colonial histories or as part of revisiting historical memories of the Pacific War, in Germany, whose citizens faced historical legacies of war guilt for the Holocaust and reparations to Jewish victims, press accounts were more willing to compare the camps in the US to memories of the Holocaust and were unified in supporting redress.

Media reports in West Germany on the American camps were quite limited before 1980. One of the first mentions of the camps in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* appeared in an article detailing the story of Iva Toguri D'Aquino, better known as Tokyo Rose, following President Gerald Ford's pardon of her in 1977.[53] Three years later in August 1980, John Korty's film *Farewell to Manzanar* premiered on German television to positive reviews. *Der Spiegel* described the film as a story of "one of the darker chapters in American history," while a longer review by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, perhaps implicitly comparing it to the Holocaust, described it as a story of "limited human suffering" in "ghettos of the desert."[54]

The most vivid details of the camp to appear in the German press arose in 1983 following the report of the CWRIC. *Der Spiegel* titled its report on the commission, "Open Season"—a reference to the "Jap Hunting Licenses" sold by stores on the US's West Coast shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor.[55] The article described the forced removal of one hundred twenty thousand people "by Greyhound buses" to internment camps in the desert. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* noted how former prisoners of the camps referred to them as "concentration camps," and stated the release of the report coincided with a backlash toward Asian Americans, including rising popular hostility towards Japanese companies and the murder of Vincent Chin in Detroit.[56]

Although the number of articles on the camps was relatively small, what differentiated German reports from that of other countries was the amount of detail dedicated to describing the camps and wartime racism against Japanese Americans. In an insightful article in *Der Spiegel* in 1983, entitled "America Lies in California," German journalist Michael Naumann stated that "the first war casualties of California were Japanese Americans … with 110,00 Japanese Americans sent to concentration camps (albeit not in the style of Germany's murder machines)."[57] Interestingly, Naumann himself would go on to become Germany's culture minister from 1998 to 2001, overseeing the construction of Germany's first major Holocaust museum and later serving on the board of the Jewish Museum Berlin. A similar article for *Der Spiegel* from 1988, titled "A Market of Beautiful Lies," recounted the story of Hollywood during World War II and the hypocrisy of American ideology. While Hollywood worried about production numbers, Otto Friedrich argued, it was dwarfed by the rise of racialized hysteria that led to the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans. A segment of Friedrich's article included the testimony of Norman Mineta, who recounted the loss of his family's possessions and journey from Santa Anita Racetrack to the Heart Mountain Concentration Camp in Wyoming.[58]

The story of the incarceration was not only limited to the voices of those confined. German journalists dedicated particular attention to the story of John J. McCloy, both one of the key advocates for the incarceration of Japanese Americans and later the American High Commissioner for Occupied Germany. During the CWRIC hearings, McCloy's testimony was highlighted by German newspapers because of his role as high commissioner. In 1988, McCloy's infamy appeared before European audiences in Marcel Ophüls's documentary on SS officer Klaus Barbie, *Hôtel Terminus*.[59] During an interview with the Allan A. Ryan, Jr, the attorney who authored the report on the US's shielding Barbie from extradition to France for his crimes in Lyon, Ophüls asks Ryan about the role of McCloy in hiring Barbie. Ryan retorted: "If you want to take a shot at John McCloy in the United States these days, you have to get a number and stand in line. Because he's being pilloried for the decision to bomb Hiroshima, the decision not to bomb the death camps, [and] he's being criticized for interning the Japanese Americans in California. He's hardly a sacred cow."[60] (Ophüls will be featured again in this paper in relation to his own experiences with Japanese Americans). And while German newspapers such as *Die Zeit* acknowledged McCloy's dubious roles as an advocate for the incarceration and for his refusal to bomb Auschwitz upon his death in March 1989, they lauded him for his role in the rebuilding of West Germany as part of the *Wirtschaftswunder*—or "economic miracle."[61]

As with *Farewell to Manzanar*, German audiences warmly received the 1990 British film *Come See the Paradise*—dubbed *Komm und sieh das Paradies*—for its blend of history and drama, and served as a popular reference for the camp experience, as did later the translation of David Guterson's *Snow Falling on Cedars*.[62] In some cases, articles appearing in German news outlets such as *Der Spiegel* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* referred to camps like Manzanar as "Konzentrationslager," albeit

with the clarification that they were not murderous as in the case of Germany's camps. More often, the term "Internierungslager" was used to refer to the camps, alongside notes that the confined saw them as "concentration camps." Interest in such terminological questions arose in 1998 following a debate sparked by the Japanese American National Museum's use for their Ellis Island Exhibit of the term "American concentration camps," with *Der Spiegel* releasing an article titled "Remembering the Camps."[63]

German media outlets continued to cite the example of Japanese American incarceration as context for anti-Muslim sentiment during the post-9/11 era. In academia, the German Institute of Japanese Studies released perhaps the largest bibliography of works on Japanese American history in European languages—*Japaner in der Neuen Welt*.[64] As media outlets continue to write about the work of activists such as George Takei, academics have begun to undertake their own studies of the Japanese American experience—albeit often under the guise of East Asian studies. Likewise, a German translation of the novel *No-No Boy* appeared in 2018. And in 2015—five years before the release of the Emmy prizewinning documentary *Masters of Modern Design* that profiled artist Ruth Asawa—the Berlin daily *Der Tagesspiegel* profiled Asawa's life and work in the context of her imprisonment—"A Form of Freedom."[65] Although German media outlets published fewer articles than Dutch and British news outlets, the few examples are noteworthy because of their open comparison of the Japanese American experience to the Holocaust—a topic considered taboo in the United States.

France

Finally, it is worth mentioning the coverage of Japanese Americans in the French press despite the limited number of French publications on the subject. As Greg Robinson notes in his article on French articles on the anti-Japanese movement in the early twentieth-century United States, very little writing exists in French on the Japanese American incarceration beyond translated works such as Miné Okubo's *Citizen 13660* and David Guterson's novel *Snow Falling on Cedars,* with Robinson's own studies being among the few scholarly works on Japanese Americans translated into French.[66] As with literature, French news outlets paid significantly less attention to the redress movement compared to their Dutch and British counterparts. Nonetheless, the few mentions in the French press are worth examining because of their commentary on memories of the Holocaust and for their use of the story as a means of understanding American politics and culture.

One of the earliest mentions of Japanese Americans in *Le Monde* was a 1961 article recounting the story of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team's liberation of Bruyères. The author incorrectly stated the 100th Battalion was a Texas unit and labelled the 442nd as a unit of "Hawaiians."[67] Beyond noting the milestones of the movement such as the passage of Senate Resolution 442 and the signing of the Civil

Liberties Act of 1988, commentary on redress was more limited in France.[68] French historian Philippe Franchini, noted for his work on French Indochina, penned an article on the "Savage War of the Pacific" in May 1985 for *Le Monde* that described the incarceration as part of the brutality of the Pacific theater and the racialized anxiety of whites in the United States. While Franchini rightfully shows the importance of racialized fears among whites in legitimating the incarceration process, he does not argue against the legality of the incarceration.[69] The most surprising article to appear in *Le Monde* was a story from August 22, 1990, which discusses the history of Japanese American incarceration as part of a story on a speech delivered by Saadi Mehdi Saleh, the speaker of the Iraqi Parliament under Saddam Hussein. In response to confining all Westerners to hotels during the early days of the First Gulf War, Saleh reminded audiences "that the United States also imprisoned thousands of Japanese Americans in special camps in preparation for an attack on the West Coast."[70]

At the same time, the importance of the incarceration experience was largely ignored in France. When famed Nisei sculptor Isamu Noguchi died in December 1988, *Le Monde* made no mentions of his Japanese American ancestry beyond reference to his early childhood, nor did it reference his time spent at Poston during World War II. Ironically, an October 1989 article titled "The Rise of 'Nippophobia,'" or anti-Japanese sentiment, spoke directly of anti-Japanese sentiment in the West as a result of the trade wars between Japan and the US but made no reference to Japanese American incarceration. Rather, it pointed to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference and the maligning of the Japanese delegation as the beginning of historic tensions between Japan and the West.[71]

In the arts, book and film reviews in French papers served as a segue for discussing the Japanese American experience. One of the few references to *No-No Boy*, John Okada's masterpiece, in the French press was a translated article written by the famed African American writer Ishmael Reed about multiculturalism in American literature. Cited alongside well-known writers Lawson Inada and Frank Chin, Okada's book was described as a "roman de feu" by Reed within the canon of Asian American literature.[72] *No-No Boy* would not be translated into French until 2020 and it was preceded with translations in Japanese and German.[73] A review by Alfred Smoular, the French chief of the Tokyo bureau of Agence France-Presse, of *No-No Boy* in 1957 compared the experience of Japanese Americans to the experiences of racialized citizens in France, stating Okada's story is truly American because former colonial subjects in Europe would have little regret refusing to serve the colonizing power.[74]

Like in the Netherlands, Germany, and the UK, the most descriptive exposé on the camp experience—and one of few to label the camps as "concentration camps"—was a review of Alan Parker's 1990 film. Although *Come See the Paradise* was a box office failure in the United States, it was warmly received by European audiences, with Parker nominated for the Palme d'Or at the 1990 Cannes Films Festival.[75] More startling than French interest in the film is the use of the term "camp de concentration," or concentration camps, a term strongly associated with the Holocaust. The use of

concentration camp is also startling because of the highly politicized debates occurring over the importance of the Holocaust thanks to populist leaders such as Jean-Marie Le Pen, who three years before argued the Holocaust was an insignificant event in the history of World War II.[76]

Yet perhaps the most powerful connection between France and the Japanese American experience is the story behind Marcel Ophüls's famous film *The Sorrow and the Pity*. The son of German Jewish film director Max Ophüls, Marcel Ophüls and his family left Nazi Germany for France in 1933 to evade persecution. After the fall of France in 1940, Ophüls and his family fled again to the United States, arriving in Los Angeles in December 1941. It was shortly thereafter that Ophüls enrolled at Hollywood High School. In an interview with Studs Terkel, Ophüls stated part of his own motivation for making the film drew from his own guilt of not speaking out in defense of his Japanese classmates:

> When I made movies—like *The Sorrow and the Pity*—about the behavior of ordinary people in crisis situations, one of the things that kept me from being too self-righteous is my memory of the Japanese kids who were in my class one day and gone the next. I have absolutely no recollection of protesting or questioning. I wasn't a six-year-old child. I was fourteen, fifteen at the time. Why didn't I react with more sensitivity? So, in my films, I can't be a prosecutor or a hanging judge.[77]

Ophüls's remarks are revealing for two reasons. First, Ophüls's comparison of individual silence during the incarceration and the Holocaust, despite the vast differences of these two tragedies, illustrates the themes of silence that was present in both cases. Second, by using his own experiences as a witness of the Japanese American incarceration to teach the Holocaust, it underscores the transnational usage of the Japanese American story in different contexts despite it being framed as an "American story."

Although France exhibited less interest than its neighbors in the topic of Japanese American incarceration and redress, the few works to draw directly from the subject provide great insight into French race politics. In particular, the referencing of the incarceration story as "hidden" is comparable to darker chapters of French history, such as collaboration under the Vichy Regime and divisions in France over the Algerian War of Independence. Although French audiences rarely made the connection between the history of the camps and the history of the Algerian War, the connections made to the Holocaust by artists like Ophüls present the potential for using the history of Japanese Americans as a lesson in reconciling the past.

Conclusion

As with scholars in the United States, European media returned to the example of Japanese American incarceration during the post-9/11 era as evidence of the limits of

civil liberties in the United States during wartime. In France, the French national television channel ARTE screened a French-language version of Emiko and Chizu Omori's *Rabbit in the Moon*, a powerful documentary on the camp experience a year after 9/11.[78] As the redress movement succeeded in teaching Americans an important lesson about the fragility of civil liberties, it simultaneously became a lesson for international viewers of both the prominence of racism within American history and a model for confronting past crimes. While the message of confronting the past did not always resonate with the general public in most European states, the Japanese American experience nonetheless found a wider audience in Western Europe, and underscores both the popularity and applicability of American history abroad. Although European reactions to the redress movement are relatively unknown, as an outsider's perspective these reactions make fascinating arguments about the camps, such as being integral to the identity of the Western United States, that are absent within the US.

Today, the parallel rise of conservatism and antiimmigrant sentiment in the Netherlands, UK, Germany, and France is a sobering reminder that what we can learn from the incarceration is not limited to the United States and offers an important lesson for other nations. At the same time, European interest in the subject provides Americans an opportunity to address the nation's own failures and struggles over equality as a way of furthering the cause of openness and acceptance. Although the United States is at times depicted as a role model for its ability to confront its own past, the rise of conservatism in the US mirrors its parallel rise in Europe. Shortly after the election of Donald Trump in 2016, journalists on both sides of the Atlantic compared Trump to rising European conservatives like Marine Le Pen in France and Geert Wilders in the Netherlands, with Le Pen quoted as saying that Trump "made the impossible possible."[79] Historical debates in the United States seem to most Americans to occur within their borders, yet European press accounts on Japanese American history illustrate their global implications. And while these debates continue, European papers continue to print articles on Japanese American incarceration. Shortly after the Trump Administration's announcement of the "Muslim Ban" in 2017, the *BBC* and *Le Monde* both echoed US comparisons of the ban to the incarceration of Japanese Americans.[80] As demonstrated by *Le Monde* in 2019, the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 remains cited as a point of reference during the current debates over reparations for the descendants of persons who were enslaved in the United States.[81] As of October 2020, John Okada's *No-No Boy* has been translated into French and popularly received throughout France.[82] With articles discussing California's apology to Japanese Americans in February 2020 and the death of Yuki Hayakawa Llewelyn reported extensively in the European press, the Japanese American experience is not only a part of United States history, but is an important lesson for the world.[83]

Notes

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[1] Jan Donkers, "Boven de barakken zweeft de berg Fuji," *NRC Handelsblad*, October 30, 1992. Los Angeles on October 13, 1992, and ran until December 6, 1992.

[2] *The View From Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942–1945*, curator Karin Higa, UCLA Wight Art Gallery, Los Angeles, October 13 to December 6, 1992 (organized by the Japanese American National Museum/UCLA Wight Art Gallery/UCLA Asian American Studies Center). John Okada, *No-No Boy* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1957).

[3] In addition to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, there were multiple acts passed by US Congress that expanded upon the Chinese Exclusion Act, such as the Smith Act of 1888 and the Geary Act of 1895. The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed by the Magnuson Act of 1943, while the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, which banned immigration from Asia in general, was repealed by the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965.

[4] See Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Lon Kurashige, *Two Faces of Exclusion: The Untold History of Anti-Asian Racism in the United States* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

[5] See C. Harvey Gardiner, *The Japanese and Peru: 1873 – 1973* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975); Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: Morrow, 1976); Brian Masaru Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); and Greg Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

[6] See "National and Worldwide Trends," in Eric K. Yamamoto, *Race, Rights, and Reparations: Law and the Japanese American Internment* (Gaithersburg: Aspen Law and Business, 2001), 422.

[7] A previous version of this section appears in the following: Jonathan van Harmelen, "Dutch Newspapers and Nikkei Stories—Lessons from Japanese-American Incarceration and Redress from Afar," *Discover Nikkei,* June 27, 2019, http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2019/6/27/dutch-articles/.

[8] "Deze Japanners spelen een groote rol in het zakenleven op Hawaii. Hierdoor zouden bij interneering zeer ongewenschte storingen optreden" ("De Japansche Bevolking op Hawaii," *De Telegraaf*, January 29, 1942).

[9] "Generaal Dewitt, opperbevelhebber der Amerikaansche verdedigingslegers van het Westen, heft de interneering bevolen van 2.000 Japansche staatsburgers, die in de stad Portland (Oregon) wonen" ("De Citadel Der Beschaving," *Het Nationale Dagsblad*, April 30, 1942).

[10] "De Japanse aanval op Pearl Harbor was voor en jonge man in een welgebouwde 'ivoren toren,' die een vredig bestaan leidt in San Diego, vrij gemakkelijk te digereren en het was niet dan na enige maanden, dat de volle betekenis en het gewicht ervan tot mij doordrongen. De gebeurtenis werd toen voor mij vertaald in dreigende termen, die mijn ivoren toren deden wankelen en tenslotte vernielden. Ik werd voor het alarmerende feit gesteld dat iemand wiens bestaan ik niet had vergoed, de internering had bevolen van alle personen van Japanse afkomst die aan de Westkust van Amerika woonden" ("Alles voor Alles," *Het Parool*, May 11, 1955).

[11] "Van de honderdduizend geïnterneerden bezat 75 percent het Amerikaanse staatsburgerschap. Niet een van die mensen heeft men een daad van spionage of sabotage ten laste kunnen leggen, zegt hij" (*Het Vrije Volk*, March 27, 1958).

[12] "*Er op of en onder*! Deze film geeft de geschiedenis weer van Japanse Amerikanen, die in de laatste wereldoorlog—samengevoegd in het 422e Regiment—talloze heldendaden hebben verricht en derhalve herhaaldelijk zijn onderscheiden" (*Nieuwsblad van het Zuiden*, February 16, 1952). Note the author incorrectly references the 442nd Regimental Combat Team as the "422nd."

[13] "Tijdens de hoogtijdagen van het studentenprotest in Amerika gingen er in het kamp van de buitenparlementaire oppositie de geruchten dat de regering van plan was politieke activisten over te brengen naar concentratiekampen. Het gerucht was niet waar, maar de mogelijkheid bestond wel. Het congres gaf—ondanks een veto van de president—in 1950 de regering namelijk de macht Amerikanen in gevangenkampen te plaatsen en er werden zelfs ze van deze kampen gebouwd. Deze wet is niets meer—en miets minder—dan een concentratiekampwet. riep afgevaardigde Spark uit, die het hoog tijd vindt deze gevaarlijk wet in te trekken en daarbij de steun heeft van 160 collega's. De boosheid van Matsunaga is te begrijpen want hij was een van de 110000 Amerikanen van Japanse afkomst, die tijdens de tweede wereldoorlog in relocatie-kampen bijeengedreven werden" ("Globaal gezien," *Trouw*, November 12, 1971).

[14] *Farewell to Manzanar*, dir. John Korty, Korty Films/Universal Television, USA, 1976. Adapted with the help of the Houstons from the biography by Jeanne Watsunaki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American Experience during and after the World War II Internment* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).

[15] "Voormalige geïnterneerden in VS mogen schade claimen," *NRC Handelsblad*, January 22, 1986.

[16] "Vergoeding voor Japanse-Amerikanen," *NRC Handelsblad,* June 17, 1983.

[17] *NRC Handelsblad,* August 5, 1988.

[18] "Stichting eist 20.000 dollar voor Japan slachtoffers," *De Telegraaf*, October 25, 1990. During the post-World War II period, a number of Dutch writers published popular accounts of Dutch civilians imprisoned by the Imperial Japanese Army in Indonesia. For example, see Willem Brandt, *Binnen Japansch Prikkeldraad* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Campen, 1946).

[19] Jan Mirejovsky, "Neger, die boek bij zich had, kreeg zweepslagen" (*Leeuwarder Courant,* February 16, 1980). According to the article, the author argues that the success of Japanese Americans can be traced to the preservation of Japanese work ethic, whereas enslaved Africans were stripped of their culture and unable to adapt and left unprepared for the capitalist society of the US. "In zijn derde en afsluitende artikel over minderheden in Amerika zoekt Jan Mirejovsky nog steeds een bevredigend antwoord op de vraag hoe het komt dat de ene minderheid zoveel beter heeft geboerd dan de andere. Japanners, in de Tweede Wereldoorlog nog zwaar gediscrimineerd, zijn nu geheel in de bevolking opgenomen. Veel zwarten daarentegen niet. Hoe dat komt? Op de plantages werden de slaven als het ware geprogrammeerd voor en mislukking in een open, kapitalistische maatschappij … In het kort gezegd, werden de slaven als het ware geprogrammeerd voor een mislukking in de open, kapitalistische maatschappij. Geen wonder dat zij het moeilijker hadden dan andere minderheden."

[20] Gloria Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

[21] "Brieven," *NRC Handelsblad*, March 31, 1991.

[22] "Brieven," *NRC Handelsblad*, March 31, 1991.

[23] "Yankee Samurai," *De Telegraaf*, August 25, 1985.

[24] *Come See the Paradise*, dir. Alan Parker, Twentieth-Century Fox: USA, 1990.

[25] See Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*, 139–67.

[26] "Sentinels on the Bridge," biography, *Shinkichi Tajiri Estate*, https://www.shinkichi-tajiri.com/biography?lightbox=dataItem-j2ailbla.

[27] "Shinkichi's Labryrinth," *Het Uur van de Wolf,* May 17, 2009.

[28] Shinkichi Tajiri, Helen Westgeest, Giotta Tajiri, and Ryu Tajiri, *Shinkichi Tajiri: Universal Paradoxes* (Leiden: Leiden Publications, 2015).

[29] See Robin D. G. Kelly and Stephen G. N. Tuck, *The Other Special Relationship: Race, Rights, and Riots in Britain and the United States* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); and Kennetta Hammond Perry, *London is the Place for Me: Black Britons, Citizenship and the Politics of Race.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[30] "California and the Japanese," *The Times of London*, April 23, 1913.

[31] Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 20.

[32] "Useful Progress in Italy," *The Times*, April 9, 1945.

[33] "Emperor and the Occupation of Japan," *The Times*, May 28, 1947.

[34] "Reports from America," *The Times*, February 26, 1963.

[35] "Minorities are Favoured by Voters," *The Times*, November 7, 1974.

[36] Julian Makaroff, "US Racial Precedent," *The Times*, June 5, 1971.

[37] See Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't no Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London: Routledge, 2002).

[38] "Today's Television and Radio," *The Times*, July 23, 1982.

[39] Nicholas Ashford, "The Japanese on U.S. Conscience," *The Times*, June 18, 1983.

[40] Christopher Reed, "Rights Issue: Christopher Reed in San Francisco on an American-Japanese Claim," *The Guardian*, August 6, 1981.

[41] Trevor Fishlock, "US Relives Shame of Internment Hysteria," *The Times*, July 5, 1985.

[42] "Cash for Japanese Jailed by Roosevelt," *The Times*, August 6, 1988.

[43] Joan Bakewell, "Paying for our Crimes," *The Guardian*, March 21, 1994.

[44] *Come See the Paradise*, dir. Parker.

[45] Alan Parker, "Whose Paradise Lost after Pearl Harbour?" *The Times*, November 30, 1990.

[46] Valmai Parry, "Letters to the Editor: War Compensation," *The Times*, August 12, 1988.

[47] Alan Hamilton, "Veterans Defy Blair's Plea over Emperor," *The Times,* May 26, 1998.

[48] Reverend Graham St. John-Wiley, "POW's Suffering Acknowledged," *The Times*, November 11, 2000.

[49] Hywel Probert, "Compensation Culture," *The Times*, September 3, 2001.

[50] Chris Ayres, "Veterans Protest at Restoration of Japanese Detention Camp," *The Times*, December 14, 2002.

[51] Obituaries in British newspapers for prominent Japanese Americans included Daniel Inouye, S. I. Hayakawa, and Violet de Cristoforo. S. I. Hayakawa's obituary in particular mentioned his punitive actions taken against protestors at San Francisco State University and transformation into a Republican stalwart ("Obituary: Samuel Hayakawa," *The Times*, February 29, 1992). In September 2001, two weeks after the 9/11 attacks, *The Economist* prominently featured a review of historian Greg Robinson's forthcoming book *By Order of the President* in what may have been an expression of concern of civil liberties during wartime ("The Consequences of Terror," review of Robinson, *By Order of the President*, *Economist*, September 20, 2001, https://www.economist.com/books-and-arts/2001/09/20/the-consequences-of-terror).

[52] For this article, I will be examining news accounts from specifically West Germany and later Unified Germany.

[53] Sabina Lietzmann, "Ein spätes Pardon für 'Tokio Rose, '" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 24, 1977.

[54] "Vorschau: 'Abschied von Manzanar,'" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 8, 1980.

[55] "Mit Greyhound-Bussen und Sonderzügen wurden damals insgesamt 109347 Amerikaner japanischer Herkunft aus den Küstenstaaten Washington, Oregon und Kalifornien sowie aus Süd-Arizona auf zehn Internierungslager fern der Pazifik-Küste verteilt" ("Jagd eröffnet," *Der Spiegel*, February 21, 1983).

[56] "Was damals Anfang 1942 geschah, war die Internierung einer ausgesonderten Volksgruppe in 'Umsiedlungslagern,' welche die Insassen als Konzentrationslager bezeichneten … Viel wichtiger als der materielle Effekt ist die symbolische Bedeutung für Amerika, sowohl was die Verarbeitung vergangenen Unrechts betrifft wie als Warnung vor gegenwärtigen Rasse oder national Vorurteilen … Tragischer ist der Fall eines jungen Amerikaners chinesischer Abstammung, der im vergangen Sommer in Detroit von einem arbeitslosen Automobilarbeiter und dessen Sohn zu Tode geprügelt worden ist, 'weil wir es euch zu verdanken haben daß wir ohne Job sind'" (Sabina Lietzmann, "Fairneß für japanische Amerikaner," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 2, 1983).

[57] "Die ersten kalifornischen Kriegsopfer waren Amerikaner japanischer Herkunft. Am 19. Februar 1942, kurz nach dem Überfall auf Amerikas Pazifikflotte in Pearl Harbor, unterzeichnete Franklin D. Roosevelt den Exekutiv-Befehl Nr. 9066—und 110 000 amerikanische Staatsangehörige japanischer Herkunft verschwanden in Konzentrationslagern (freilich waren dies keine Mordmaschinen nach deutscher Art). Der Kommandeur der westlichen Verteidigungsregion, General DeWitt, erklärte: 'Japs bleibt Japs. Die japanische Rasse ist eine feindliche. Und wenn auch viele Japaner der zweiten und dritten Generation auf amerikanischem Boden geboren sind, so sind ihre rassischen

Eigenschaften doch unverdünnt.' Zwei kalifornische Deportationszentren lagen im Owens Valley; das ehedem grüne Tal war inzwischen, dank der Wasserabfuhr für Los Angeles, wieder glühend heiße, staubige Wüste" (Michael Naumann, "Amerika liegt in Kalifornien," *Der Spiegel*, November 11, 1983).

[58] "'Mein Paps hatte gerade einen 1941 er packard gekauft—wahrscheinlich für 1400 Dollar—und mußte ihn für 700 Dollar verkaufen,' erzählte Norman Mineta, ein demokratischer Kongreßabgeordneter, der zur Zeit von Pearl Harbor zehn Jahre alt war" (Otto Friedrich, "Markt der schönen Lügen," *Der Spiegel*, April 4, 1988).

[59] Marcel Ophüls, *Hotel Terminus: The Life and Times of Klaus Barbie* (Los Angeles: Virgin Vision, 1989).

[60] Ophüls, *Hotel Terminus*, 2:15:30.

[61] "Freund der Deutschen," *Die Zeit*, March 17, 1989.

[62] Verena Lueken, "Tragödie mit Happy-End. Im Kino: "Komm und sieh das Paradies" von Alan Parker; Die Internierung japanischer Immigranten im Amerika der Kriegsjahre." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 2, 1990. The German translation of *Snow Falling on Ceders* is David Guterson, *Schnee, der auf Zedern fällt*, trans. Christa Krüger (Berlin: Berliner Taschenbuch Verlag, 2006).

[63] "Ausstellungen: Lagerdenken." *Der Spiegel*, March 16, 1998. The German title might also mean "thinking of/about the camps."

[64] Hans Dieter Ölschleger, and Eva König, with Barbara Ölschleger, *Japaner in der Neuen Welt: Eine teilannotierte Bibliographie von Werken zu japanischen Einwanderern in Nordamerika in europäischen Sprachen* (Munich: iudicium Verlag, 1997).

[65] *Masters of Modern Design: The Art of the Japanese American Experience*, episode 1, season 10 of *Artbound*, KCET/PBS SoCal, 2019; and Susanne Kippenberger, "Eine Form von Freiheit," *Der Tagesspiegel,* September 21, 2015.

[66] Miné Okubo, *Citoyenne 13660*, trans. Thierry Groensteen (Paris: Actes Sud L'An 2, 2006); and Greg Robinson, "The Debate Over Japanese Immigration: The View from France," *Prospects* 30 (2005): 539–80, doi:10.1017/S0361233300002179.

[67] "Honolulu à Bruyères," *Le Monde*, October 17, 1961.

[68] "États-Unis, plus de quarante six ans après Pearl Harbor, le gouvernement va accorder des compensations aux Japonais Américains abusivement internes," *Le Monde*, May 14, 1988.

[69] Philippe Franchini, "La Guerre Sauvage du Pacifique," *Le Monde*, May 20, 1985.

[70] "L'internement des nippo-américains au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale," *Le Monde*, August 22, 1990.

[71] "La Montée de la nippophobie," *Le Monde*, October 18, 1989.

[72] Ishmael Reed, "L'écrivain multiculturel: Le club des métèques," *Le Monde*, June 11, 1976.

[73] Two other books—*Citizen 13660* by Miné Okubo (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946, reissued Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014) and Guterson's *Snow Falling on Cedars* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1994)—were translated into French, with *Snow Falling on Cedars* being translated into twenty languages in total. See Okubo, *Citoyenne 13660*, and David Guterson, *La neige tombait sur les cèdres*, trans. Claude and Jean Demanuelli (Paris: Seuil, 2000).

[74] A. Smoular, "Books" *Asahi Evening News*, June 12, 1957. As discussed in Greg Robinson, *The Unsung Great: Stories of Extraordinary Japanese Americans* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020), 52–57.

[75] "Les camps de concentration nippo-américains recrées dans "Come See the Paradise." L'histoire n'appartient à personne" (*Le Monde*, May 10, 1990).

[76] "Jean-Marie Le Pen a fait l'objet de multiples condamnations en justice pour différents propos publics. Il avait ainsi déjà été condamné à verser 1,2 million de francs (environ 180 000 euros) à onze associations pour avoir déclaré en 1987 que les chambres à gaz étaient un '*point de détail*' de l'histoire" ("Jean-Marie Le Pen définitivement condamné pour ses propos sur les chambres à gaz," *Le Monde*, March 27, 2018).

[77] Studs Terkel, *The Good War* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 252.

[78] *Les camps de l'Oncle Sam* (*Rabbit in the Moon)* 57 min 57 sec., prod. Emiko Omori for PBS, September 4, 2002, ARTE–les mercredis de l'histoire.

[79] Andrew Marr, "Marine Le Pen: Trump Made the Impossible Possible," *BBC News*, November 13, 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-37961391.

[80] "Trump travel ban: Hawaii files first legal challenge," *BBC News*, March 9, 2017; and Philippe Pons, "Au Japon, le 'Muslim Ban' réveille de mauvais souvenirs," *Le Monde,* February 23, 2017.

[81] Stéphanie Le Bars, "Aux États-Unis, le retour du débat sur les réparations de l'esclavage," *Le Monde*, May 10, 2019.

[82] For the German edition, see John Okada, *No-No Boy*, trans. Susann Urban (Frankfurt: Büchergilde, 2018). For the French edition, see John Okada, *No no boy*, trans. Anne-Sylvie Homassel (Paris: Les Éditions du Sonneur, 2020). Also see Marina Da Silva, "L'ennemi de l'intérieur: *No-No Boy* de John Okada," *Le Monde diplomatique*, March 2021.

[83] Philippe Pons, "Yuki Okinaga Hayakawa Llewellyn, la 'petite fille à la pomme,' symbole de l'internement des Japonais aux Etats-Unis, est morte," *Le Monde*, July 24, 2020; and Mario Koran, "California Formally Apologizes to Japanese Americans for Internment Camps," *The Guardian*, February 20, 2020.

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