

# LANGUAGE POLITICS CULTURE

Edited by  
Wacław M. Osadnik & Piotr Fast

Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Lingwistycznej  
Częstochowa 2004

Opiniowali do druku  
MAREK HALTOF

Projekt okładki  
KAROLINA KINDLER

© Copyright by Wacław M. Osadnik, Piotr Fast, Częstochowa 2004  
© Copyright by Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Lingwistycznej w Częstochowie, 2004

ISBN 83-917152-4-8

Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Lingwistycznej w Częstochowie  
ul. Krasieńskiego 14/24, 42-200 Częstochowa  
tel. +48 (34) 366 53 94, 365 48 59, fax +48 (34) 324 59 12  
e-mail: [wsl@wsl.edu.pl](mailto:wsl@wsl.edu.pl)  
Druk: kreator tel./fax (032) 2920919

SPIS TREŚCI

Waclaw M. Osadnik ADAPTATION OR TRANSLATION? THE CASE OF "SOLARIS" BY ANDREI TARKOVSKY .....	7
Alexandra Miekus <i>L'AMANT DE LA CHINE DU NORD</i> : LA COMPLICITÉ COMME LEITMOTIV .....	15
Anna Chilewska AHMAD IBN FADLAN OR THE RECONSTRUCTING OF A CULTURAL INTERPRETER WITH COMMENTARIES ON HIS "RISALAH'S" INFLUENCE ON THE DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE ..	23
Sheena Wilson <i>REMEMBERING</i> : 1970S NARRATIVIZATION OF JAPANESE-CANADIAN INTERNMENT IN <i>THE PIERRE BERTON SHOW</i> (CBC) AND <i>ENEMY ALIEN</i> (NFB) .....	35
Agnes Miekus THE CONGRESS KINGDOM OF POLAND: A HINDRANCE AND A BLESSING FOR POLISH SOCIETY .....	53
Diana Spokiene CENSORSHIP AND THE ART OF WRITING IN THE SOVIET TIME: THE 'OTHER' LITHUANIA .....	61
Margaret Ann Watts STRANDED IN A SEA OF GERMAN — A SAGA OF SORBIAN SURVIVAL .....	71
Nene Ernest Khalema A CRITICAL SYNTHESIS OF THE LEGITIMATION AND DECREOLIZATION OF AFRIKAANS AS A NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE IN LINGUIICISM .....	83

Roman I. Shiyani	
UKRAINIAN FOLK PROSE ON THE ORIGINS OF UKRAINIAN COSSACKS . . . . .	101
Sogu Hong	
ETHNIC SYMBOLS IN UKRAINIAN CANADIAN WEDDINGS . . . . .	123
Andriy Chernevych	
CREATIVE ETHNICITY: MALANKA CELEBRATIONS AMONG UKRAINIANS IN ALBERTA . . . . .	139
Christina Keppie	
THE ACADIAN CHALLENGE: THE ROLE OF MONCTON IN THE NEW BRUNSWICK ACADIAN COMMUNITY . . . . .	151
Lisa DeWaard Dykstra	
CONTRASTIVE RHETORIC: DO NATIVE SPEAKERS OF RUSSIAN TRANSFER THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL STYLE WHEN WRITING IN ENGLISH? . . .	165

SHEENA WILSON

REMEMBERING: 1970S NARRATIVIZATION  
OF JAPANESE-CANADIAN INTERNMENT  
IN *THE PIERRE BERTON SHOW* (CBC) AND *ENEMY ALIEN* (NFB)

INTRODUCTION

This paper represents a work in progress, which will eventually add to the outlining of a method of research for which the literatures of a diversity of Canadian ethnocultural groups can be accessed and more fully understood in their relationship to the identity narration of their communities. As an example, I will use the Japanese Canadian community. I propose that the Japanese Canadian identity revolves around fixed historical moments which can be understood in six different phases: *immigration* (issei<sup>1</sup>), *dangerous alien & internment* (Second World War), *resolution* of the Second World War (late 40s early 50s), *silence & forgetting* (50s, 60s up to mid 70s), *remembering* (70s), *redress* (80s), and *post-redress* (after September 22, 1988<sup>2</sup>). When considering these six phases, it must be recognized that the Japanese-Canadian identity at all of these stages is plural, in that it is not only viewed differently by those within and outside the Japanese Canadian community, but there is also a plurality of views within the community itself. This paper will focus on the narration of the Japanese Canadian community during the fixed historical moment of the 1970s, the decade of *remembering*.

The 1970s marks a significant moment in the history of the Japanese Canadian community, because high-profile Canadians, including Pierre Berton, Wolf Koenig, Stanley Jackson, and Jeanette Lerman, bring the Japanese Canadian internment to the mainstream through *The Pierre Berton Show* and the 1975 NFB documentary *Enemy Alien*. Despite valiant efforts to do justice to the narration of the Japanese Canadian internment, these narrations are flawed by virtue of the fact that authentic representation is typically superior to the imposition of identity by a third, if sympathetic, party; Berton,

<sup>1</sup> *Issei* refers to first generation Japanese Canadian immigrants. *Nisei* refers to second generation Japanese Canadians. *Sansei* is third generation (etc.).

<sup>2</sup> "Among other things the settlement contained the following provisions: a government acknowledgement of the injustice done to Japanese Canadians during the Second World War; a \$21,000 payment to each survivor; \$12 million to the Japanese Canadian community, to be administered by the NAJC, for educational, social, and cultural activities and programs; and \$24 million for a jointly funded Canadian Race Relations Foundation to foster racial harmony and help fight racism. We hoped that the terms of our settlement would help to ensure that other groups in Canada would not have to relive our history" (Omatsu, 19-20).

and the NFB filmmakers belonged to the dominant discourse of their respective generation, and as such, their perspectives and motivations differed from those of the Japanese Canadian community, intersecting and diverging at various junctures. The aforementioned CBC and NFB productions of the early seventies are a significant part of the Japanese Canadian process of *remembering* that leads to the period of *redress*. This paper will explore the political and narrative processes used to narrate the Japanese Canadian internment on the CBC *Pierre Berton Show* and the NFB film *Enemy Alien*, illustrating how they are historically located within the chronological landscape of the 1970s and the political promotion of the multicultural mosaic as the narrative paradigm for the Canadian nation.

The 1970s, the decade I term *remembering*, marks a shift in public awareness about the Japanese-Canadian internment and the injustices of the situation, as well as a rising interest within the Japanese Canadian community, to address their own history. The silence of the 50s and 60s had been peppered by the efforts of a select few: those who were vocal and/or politically active within the community such as Muriel Kitagawa, Ken Adachi and Takeo Ujo Nakano. Muriel Kitagawa's letters, compiled and published by Roy Miki in 1985 as *This is my own: letters to Wes and other writings on Japanese Canadians, 1941-1948* record the reactions of the Japanese Canadian community to the actions of the Canadian wartime government and society. In the 1950s, Ken Adachi had been commissioned by the NJCCA<sup>3</sup> to write the official history of the Japanese in Canada and, although the manuscript was completed much earlier, *The Enemy that Never Was: a history of Japanese Canadians* was not published and made publicly available until 1976 when the Canada Council in association with the Multiculturalism Program of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada provided a research grant. Takeo Ujo Nakano published a Japanese-language-autobiography about his internment in 1969, and his daughter later reworked it into an English book entitled *Within the barbed wire fence: a Japanese man's account of his internment in Canada*<sup>4</sup>. However, the desire of these select few, to write about and explore the experience of the internment, was the exception within the Japanese Canadian community. Forgetting, silence, shame and a willingness to integrate in the larger Canadian community were the markers of these decades. In *Broken Entries*, Roy Miki illustrates the tragic result of that desire to integrate:

<sup>3</sup> NJCCA is the National Japanese Canadian Citizen's Association, which later renamed itself the National Association of Japanese Canadians.

<sup>4</sup> His daughter writes in her preface to the 1980 English publication of *Within the barbed wire fence: a Japanese man's account of his internment*, "This work has a long and varied history. It existed in embryo in Takeo Nakano's diary, interspersed with tanka verse, for the years 1942 and 1943, the time of the events he narrates. In the 1960s, Takeo worked on a prose account based upon the diary. In 1969 his *Sensei* (roughly 'oath of citizenship') was published in Japanese and in Japan, but intended for distribution mainly to Japanese Canadians. [...] By the mid-1970s Takeo had come to think that some of the content of *Sensei* might interest a non-Japanese Canadian audience. In 1975-6, with the aid of the Toronto Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, he applied for and received a translation grant from the multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State" (Nakano, vii).

I would like to say a few words in my weak Japanese. I had a friend help me compose this in Japanese. As a child I spoke only Japanese in the home to my issei grandparents. After they died there was so much pressure on us kids to become proficient in English, that I began to lose my ability to speak in Japanese. It was as if someone has simply entered my mind and erased everything clean. Many sansei, myself included, wanted so much to be integrated into white society that we lost what was closest to us, our mother tongue. During the redress movement, so many times I despaired that I couldn't explain myself in Japanese to the issei, that I had to speak through the barrier of translation. For this I am truly sorry. (22)

By the 1970s this earlier desire to integrate and *forget* was transforming into the desire to know, to understand and to *remember*. In the 1970s the government allowed public access to archival government files pertaining to the Second World War and the Japanese Canadian internment. For the first time, the public was able to review the government's wartime action, and Ann Sunahara exercised this right, out of which came her 1981 book *The Politics of Racism: the uprooting of Japanese Canadian during the Second World War*<sup>5</sup>. What had been long suspected was confirmed. The Japanese Canadians had never been a threat to Canadian national security during the Second World War. The release of these documents coincided with a complex social and political dynamic that had been forming for several years. By the 70s, there was a whole generation of Japanese Canadians (Sansei), who had been children of the internment, or born slightly after the war. They had never understood that period in their family, communal or national history, because it had been a taboo subject. Now, as young adults, they were beginning to ask questions. Trudeau's Liberal Government had passed the Multiculturalism Bill in 1970, and there was a new-found interest on the part of government institutions to promote certain model ethnic groups. The Japanese Canadians were among these model minority groups, having become a highly educated and financially respectable sector of the population in the 50s and 60s; they were also a visible minority and, therefore, they could be referenced by the Liberal government as a viable model for the success of multiculturalism. The desires of many Japanese Canadians, to have their questions

<sup>5</sup>This book is an invaluable resource, because it records information for the public, that was available only for a small window of time and has again become inaccessible. At the May 1987 "Spirit of Redress Conference", Sunahara explained that this is because those documents are now safeguarded "under the guise of 'protection of privacy'". I [Ann Sunahara] saw, for instance, RCMP reports on the men that were picked up immediately on December 8th and taken away. Those would not be available to me, because I would have to have the permission of those men, who are all probably dead, before I got into it. Consequently, if there are any secret documents remaining - and I very much doubt there are, at least remaining in existence, because the shredder was not known in those days as much as it is now - it would be very hard to get them if they mentioned any individual's name in them anywhere at all. The Japanese Canadian *have* the best documented history, by the way, because Alistair Mackenzie, Member of Parliament for Vancouver Centre, got married in 1945, then he died in 1949. His wife didn't really understand the nature of the man's politics, so she just put all of his papers in the archives. She never cleaned them out, so the evidence is all there. Nobody else is going to be so fortunate. I'm sure all the stuff from October 1970 has been shredded already. The odds of any other substantial abuse of human rights in this country being very well-documented is pretty minimal" (Sunahara, 1989, 33-34).

answered, to break the silence, erase their shame, explore their position in the Canadian nation, coincided with the political agenda of the Trudeau government, which was positing multiculturalism as the answer to and erasure of racism, while simultaneously racializing<sup>6</sup> ethnic groups.

#### THE 1970S CBC NARRATION OF THE JAPANESE CANADIAN INTERNMENT BY PIERRE BERTON

The narration of the Japanese Canadian internment using television and film began with the public breaking of silence by white Canada<sup>7</sup>, because a large sector of the Japanese Canadian community, specifically among the Issei and Nisei<sup>8</sup>, were determined to leave the shame of the internment behind them. These older Japanese Canadian generations were focused on creating a future for their Sansei children, many of whom were virtually ignorant of their Japanese heritage, customs and language by the choice of their Issei and Nisei parents who wanted their children to assimilate, thereby avoiding the dangers inherent in being Other. Pierre Berton explored the Japanese Canadian internment on *The Pierre Berton Show* in the early 1970s. In 1973 this episode was transcribed by Janice Patton, and published as a book entitled *The Exodus of the Japanese*. For its time, *The Pierre Berton Show*, and its companion book gave the Japanese Canadian internment a representation that seemingly tried to take into account the Other. It favored the Japanese Canadian community, upholding their innocence and condemning the actions of the wartime-Canadian-government. However, while Pierre Berton was sympathetic to the plight of the wartime Japanese Canadian community, his representation did both a service and a disservice to the Japanese Canadian community of the 1970s.

Produced for television, *The Pierre Berton Show* mixed history with the dramatic and pulled at the heartstrings of the Canadian population, showing how Japanese Canadians had been subject to systematic racism. Ironically, however, by presenting the injustices of racism Berton was setting up a dynamic through which the Japanese were also being narrated into the Canadian nation as a racialized group, identified as a minority in the multicultural landscape. Thus, they were not being incorporated into the founding-fathers-

<sup>6</sup>"Multiculturalism can be understood as an ideology panoply whose ultimate goal is to distribute the dominant or elite discourse. Indeed, it is an apparatus in which political, economic, social and cultural tensions are controlled through fragmentation, contradiction and the existence of bureaucracies. The virtual hegemony of multicultural ideologies, emphasized by increasing fragmentation and discrimination, contributes to the growth of a new socio-cultural group: the dominated ethno/racial elites" (Anselmi & Gouliamos 44).

<sup>7</sup>I have chosen to use the term white Canada, because, white Canada, or Caucasian Canada are two terms (dependant on the date of publication) used in the textual productions of the Japanese Canadian community to identify the 'imagined majority', their oppressors.

<sup>8</sup>*Nisei* refers to second generation Japanese Canadians born in Canada.



pioneer narrative/myth of the nation's formation. Miki states that, "The 'normally' benign rhetoric of 'national identity' has worked to cover over the nation-building role of an exclusionary 'identity' in the neo-colonial shadows of cultural sovereignty. The ethnocentricity of the quest to possess colonized space, operating through a masking of motive and power, has been disguised in the compulsive will to reify the authority of one's own nation as a sign of liberation" (130). Pierre Berton took the internment and filtered it to meet his own political ends, which included both weaving an entertaining tale, and showing how multicultural and open Canada had become by the 70s. Berton's style manipulated the audience at the phatic level, using not only objective facts, but personalized examples to arouse sympathy and guilt. Berton narrated that:

The war with Japan brought the prejudice to the surface. On the day Pearl Harbor was attacked, a young Vancouver girl named Yoshiko Kurita was walking home when an old man came up and spat in her face. That afternoon, when Yoshiko's mother boarded a streetcar, a white passenger tore off her hat and stamped on it (Patton, 20-21).

Due to the dramatic flare of his narration, Pierre Berton created public awareness and educated his audience about the Japanese Canadian internment. After the demonization of the community by the Canadian media in years surrounding the Second World War, Berton's sympathetic presentation was a welcome respite. Nevertheless, his message about internment was not entirely beneficial to the creation of open dialogue about the Japanese Canadian internment, or the mistreatment of any minority group in Canada. Berton treated the injustices done against this minority group as an historical wrongdoing on the part of the wartime government, for which the Trudeau government was readily willing to confess through the government regulated institution of the CBC; this medium allowed Canadians to participate in the government confession and to subsequently repent and absolve themselves of their guilt. The attitude of *The Pierre Berton Show* reflected white-protestant rhetoric, functioning to promote the official position of the Liberal government of the times, which promoted the multicultural mosaic as the solution to discrimination and prejudice.

Berton addressed the issue of anti-Japanese sentiment in Canada, as it had manifested itself in the years surrounding the Second World War, and he criticized the historical role of the media in creating and perpetuating that racism. The wartime BC newspapers had given forum to anti-Japanese propaganda, feeding the irrational fears of the population.

Its [the B. C. press] discussion of the Japanese problem centred on the question of whether Japanese Canadian should be allowed to continue fishing. Generally the press supported the demands of the United Federal Fishermen's Union that the Japanese be expelled from the fishing industry. Demands for the internment of all or part of the minority were confined almost exclusively to the often unsigned letters-to-the-editor. (Sunahara 1981, 30)

Fear is a powerful tool in creating patriotic fervor and racist BC politicians, who had campaigned on a platform of ridding BC of the Japanese problem, such as Ian Mackenzie,

and George Pearson, saw the war as an opportunity to achieve their goal. The interworkings of the media and the BC politicians created a vicious cycle in which the papers printed anti-Japanese articles and editorials and these were simultaneously used to promote anti-Japanese sentiment in the population, while representing the opinions of that self-same BC population to the Federal Government.

The arguments of the member of the British Columbia delegation [of provincial politicians] were based on their assessment of B. C. public opinion. They took no surveys but presumed that public opinion conformed with their own prejudices and with the rhetoric of their previous election campaigns. They therefore concluded that all British Columbians were smouldering with hatred for, and fear of Japanese Canadians. (Sunahara 1981, 36)

The anti-Japanese articles and editorials provided them with written affirmation of that belief, and spurred on anti-Japanese government policy. Using the forum of government funded CBC television to criticize the media and the Canadian government of the 40s and 50s simultaneously gave Berton's program credibility as a critical piece questioning the very form from within which it operates, while positing the 1970 government, their politics, the correlating social dynamics and contemporary media as historically distant from the wartime biases and injustice.

When narrating the wartime-government's policies regarding Japanese Canadian Berton frames the issues to reflect the political position of the CBC and the Trudeau government. The following narration illustrates a political dynamic that both racialized Japanese Canadians, while invalidating the suffering of the Germans and the Italians:

The way the Japanese were treated was different from the way Germans and Italians in Canada were treated and the only possible reason was that their skin was a different colour. To be blunt they were victims of racism. (Patton, 14-16).

The wartime racism to which Berton refers had gained momentum in the press and become policy because of Ian Mackenzie and other key politicians who had long been adamantly against the presence of the Japanese in British Columbia. Berton's own mediated presentation perpetuates a new racialized social dynamic inherent to multiculturalism. Pierre Berton's narration serves the Canadian state in its claim that discrimination and injustice are issues of colour. The result of this process is a racialized binary where those of colour make up the ethnic minorities and are excluded from the mainstream narrative. These groups are thus privileged in that their past suffering is recognized, and this gives them temporary advantages in terms of government sponsorship for arts and culture. This serves the state in two ways. It creates a space in the narration of the nation that recognizes the diversity of the country, but it does so in such a way that the space created is a marginalized one with truncated power in relationship to the dominant, white population. This colour line also anticipates and preempts any claims by white communities - Italians and Germans in the case of the Second World War internment - to seek redress or recognition for the injustices they had suffered as ethnic minorities. Already

in the early 1970s, the government was subtly instituting a hierarchy of suffering and discrimination based on colour. Indirectly multicultural policy implies the preservation of a colour line, while helping to minimize the hierarchy within white cultural groups. Imagined white homogeneity not only fosters colour based ethnicity, but disempowers white minority groups subject to discrimination. The impacts of this new definition of ethnicity become very clear in the 1980s when Italians Canadians are unable to achieve a monetary settlement comparable to the redress agreement awarded to the Japanese Canadians; the German Canadians have never lodged any formal complaint against the government, silently integrating in a way Japanese Canadians never could, fundamentally because of the colour line maintained through multicultural policies.

The wartime-media and government used fear to create patriotic fervor, and Berton's representation of the Japanese Canadian internment creates complacency. The Pierre Berton show, while educating the population about the historical internment, minimizes the contemporary relevance of the issue, remaining vague about whether the impact of the internment was for better or for worse; instead it emphasizes the emotional but abstract threat of one's own fears. Berton ends the programs by saying,

Panic explains our actions, but it doesn't excuse them. We were supposed to be fighting a war to save democracy. The ugly core of Hitler's campaign was a vicious determination to destroy the whole Jewish race. Recognizing this as a monstrous insanity, we still allowed our racial prejudice to dictate national policy. / For the Japanese in Canada, the exodus of 1942 changed the course of history for better, for worse, and forever. / For all Canadians, it was a bitter reminder that we carry seeds of envy and contempt that grow swiftly whenever we are too frightened to be fair. (Patton, 44).

Pierre Berton's segment brought the Japanese Canadian internment into the public arena as a topic for discussion and debate, retelling one version of the injustice that had taken place. However, his presentation is influenced by Liberal Canadian multicultural politics of the 1970s and what he presented was a recuperated version of the internment by white Canada (the English CBC) which was more sympathetic than anything to date had been; it was not, however, a representation of the internment from the community's perspective.

What Japanese Canadians believed about their historical treatment was unclear, because they had never been, nor were they in the 1970s, united as the homogeneous group they were seen to be by the larger white community; what was clear, was that Berton viewed the internment as a closed chapter in Canadian history when, in fact, the Japanese Canadian community had not yet come to terms with it and were only beginning to address it. Nevertheless, Berton lumped all Japanese Canadians together in statements such as the following.

Later, much later, many Japanese Canadians came to feel that the result of the evacuations were not wholly unfortunate. Cruel as it was at the time, the dispersal of the Japanese across thousands of miles forced them into the mainstream of Canadian life. (Patton, 43)

Encouraging sympathy and guilt in his mainstream audience, Berton avoids controversy by muting any resentment on the part of the Japanese Canadian community and, instead,

presents them as historical martyrs. The acceptance reflected in the above citation have been the opinion of at least one Japanese-Canadian, but it does not take consideration the complexity of perspectives, which were the reality of the situa within the community during the 1970s. The 1970s Japanese Canadian community divided by politics, religion, ken<sup>9</sup>-ties and generational differences.

Despite the fact that Berton considered himself an ally of the Japanese Canadians, interviewed them when researching the show, his narration reveals his limitations: restrictions of television entertainment and the limitations of his own political perspective which allowed for multiculturalism to stand as the ultimate solution for past racism Canada. The narration is his own compilation. It represents what he selected to present from the plethora of information that had been gathered, and in the absence of a unification of personal and communal experience (identity) on the part of the Japanese Canadians, he drew his own conclusions. The result was that he created a limited view of the Japanese Canadian community, and through his narration he was imposing another version of Japanese Canadian identity on the community. Flawed as it inevitably was, Berton's representation was an important milestone in what would culminate in a campaign of public awareness about the Japanese Canadian internment by the Japanese Canadian community. However, before that would happen, the NFB would narrate another version of the internment.

#### THE 1975 NFB NARRATION OF THE JAPANESE CANADIAN INTERNMENT

Presenting the Japanese Canadian internment from a similar political and social perspective to that of *The Pierre Berton Show* and the 1970s Liberal government, the National Film Board of Canada released the documentary *Enemy Alien* in 1975. The filmmakers involved in the production of *Enemy Alien*, like Pierre Berton, were sympathetic to the Japanese Canadian community. Wolf Koenig, the producer of *Enemy Alien*, was from a Germany family who had fled Germany for Canada when he was only nine years old. (Evans, 69) He had an empathy for those displaced by the prejudice and politics of the Second World War.

A reticent person publicly, Koenig conveyed through example his beliefs that the Film Board was an ethical company where human relations took precedence and responsibilities to each other underscored the higher purpose of commitment to humanist (Old Testament) ideals. (Evans 69)

Koenig had the interest of the Japanese Canadian community at heart even if his opinion was mediated by his own moral standards, which were not synonymous with those of the Japanese Canadian community. The film's strength is its masterful presentation of

<sup>9</sup> Japan is divided into many *ken*. Japanese Canadian immigrants often formed social ties with other immigrants from their *ken* (prefectural *heimat*) in Japan.

the contradictions inherent in the biased beliefs of the BC population, and its cryptic criticisms of the media and politicians that propagated these biases until they were institutionalized as Canadian policy; this narrative played a significant role in creating public awareness about the Japanese Canadian internment. However, this narration is yet another version of internment imposed on the Japanese Canadian community; its Western hero paradigm, combined with the aesthetics of Unit B NFB filmmaking more effectively narrates the politics of the contemporary Liberal government and the multicultural Canadian nation, than the position held by the Japanese Canadian community on internment. *Enemy Alien* captures the politics of the 1970s and illustrates how multiculturalism simultaneously narrates ethnic minorities both positively and negatively into a Canadian nation that includes them as the Other, necessary to define Canadian.

*Enemy Alien* was produced by Wolf Koenig, directed by Jeanette Lerman, scripted by Stanley Jackson and Jeanette Lerman, and narrated by Stanley Jackson. David Suzuki was a researcher and consultant on the project. Wolf Koenig and Stanley Jackson had been members of the Unit B division of the NFB. Koenig and Jackson brought the Unit B hallmarks of voice-over narration and suspended judgment to the much later 1975 project, *Enemy Alien*; this framing, reflective of a certain ideology popular in the 1950s, is used to portray Japanese Canadian internment and in so doing, inherently imposes a certain aesthetic and conveys a particular social and political perspective.

Stanley Jackson, had been the mastermind behind the difficult art of creating effective voice-over scripts in the Unit B films, and he brought his expertise to *Enemy Alien*. His seamless voice-over technique, combined with the practice of suspended judgment often used by the NFB<sup>10</sup>, was employed to narrate *Enemy Alien*, and thus Japanese Canadian identity. Suspended judgment is used predominantly in this film to juxtapose the divergent interpretations of events by the biased public and the Japanese Canadian community. Directorial judgment is never directly stated in the narration of *Enemy Alien*, but it is implied through the voice-over narration that favors the historical plight of the Japanese Canadian community in its vocabulary choices and narrative subject, while enticing the viewer to consider the issues and formulate their own conclusions. The rhetoric of the following quote illustrates well how the logic of the wartime majority contradicted itself:

The crying need was for manpower. Some tender hearts felt that it was not quite right for 12 year olds to work 10 hours a day, but no one questioned the shrewdness of employing Chinese and Japanese. True, they were protected by a minimum wage ruling. It was half that of their white fellow workers, [...]. Japanese fishermen were being recruited by the big canneries along the west coast but early on the unions were protesting the cheap wages and long hours. These Orientals are undermining the work industry. They were unfair competition. Women worked all night when the

<sup>10</sup> Daly, the head of Unit B, "believed that film should be something educational that served the public's needs. The challenge was twofold: first, to speak comprehensibly with images to which people related, and second, to understand that one's own relation to the whole preceded understanding the particular. From this philosophical approach derived the hallmark of Unit B's films - the leitmotif of suspended judgment" (Evans, 69).

boats came in, sometimes with their kids on their backs. Being made to feel unwelcome, except by their exploiters, they formed their own communities. This is Steveston. Here they could feel at home, and here they were blamed for forming a Japanese ghetto. (*Enemy Alien*)

The narrative uses irony, and plays with the delicate balance between the didactic and the esoteric to illustrate how the white community was simultaneously exploiting the Japanese while claiming that they were undermining industry. The white communities made certain that Japanese Canadians were ghettoized, and the ghetto, being a space designated only for aliens, thus, itself becomes alien; exclusion complete, and the ghetto established, the white B. C. population then claimed that Japanese Canadians were refusing to integrate. By juxtaposing versions of 'truth', the film suspends judgment and allows the viewer to conclude for him or herself that the desire to keep the Japanese out, came from within the white community and not vice versa. Jackson's narration also emphasizes the disparity between the reality of the internment and the public perceptions of internment promoted in the newspapers. Visually, still-archival photos of the shanty towns, some of them showing rows of tiny shacks that look more like four walled tents than houses, accompanies the following voice-over.

21,000 were sent to camps in the interior. New Denver. Slocan City. Tashme. They were billeted two families to a shack. There was no privacy. It was uncomfortable. The first winter was unusually severe. Worse was the humiliation. The dream had been shattered. They were displaced persons in their own country. They worked when they could at odd jobs in nearby towns, but the newspapers complained that these people were being supported by public funds, living in the lap of luxury in the midst of a war of austerity. They should support themselves. They still had equity stored with the Custodian of Enemy Property. Sell it, they demanded. [Visually, the film presents stills of old newspaper clippings advertising the sales.] It was auctioned off for a fraction of its face value. It was used to pay rent and buy food, injecting new life into almost bankrupt mining towns. (*Enemy Alien*)

Like in Berton's representation, there is the implicit criticism of the public fears and misconceptions that the media perpetuated through the editorial pages of the newspapers. The narration also highlights public fears about social class. The Japanese Canadians were being forced into the proletariat. BC's racist community feared the Japanese Canadian presence in B. C., not only as a potential threat to national security, but as a threat to their own economic security. The selling of Japanese Canadian private property ensured that the Japanese community was not a threat to the position of white-Canada in the social hierarchy. *Enemy Alien* also questions the role the Christian churches played in maintaining the class hierarchy of British Columbia.

Schooling was haphazard. Children were taught by older brothers and sisters. High schools were organized by Catholic or Anglican missionaries but students had to pay tuition to go. [...] It was hard on the young. They were Canadian, in fact if not in law, and Canada had rejected them. Who are we? Where do we belong?

During the internment, the churches provided an education to the Japanese Canadians at a price. If they could not afford an education, they would be forced to remain in low

paying jobs after the war. Either the profits were the easily tabular of the white-Christian-majority

Despite what the Japanese C. displacement and confinement illustrates that the fears of the v

British Columbians were get the interior? The provincial go labour produced and answer. I Japanese ancestry now living in war, or sooner, where this can t

The Japanese Canadians coul entity, a virus, infecting the Eng about the purity of ethnicity and War, was not far from the reality to public opinion, the virus was no but racism itself. In the introducti Findley eloquently summarizes t

When he speaks of virulence, A viral infection that spreads fr infected person. When he speaks imprisonment there are devastatin and the politic benevolence of ot we Canadians have so far cared t

In the case of the Japanese Can with the war. Betrayed, the Japai once Japan had surrendered. They Court later ruled, on a technicality committed no crimes was legal. F vote, but that could not undo what the years thereafter did not inspire

Although *Enemy Alien* is an ho Canadian community, the film is v form, which reveal the pervasive Unit B had been between 1957-1 educational films. Its members w experiment with candid portraits by characters, caught up in circumsta universally significant and fascin documentary filmmaking is eviden *Enemy Alien*. The 'naturally interest

s. Being made to feel unwelcome, except by  
is Steveston. Here they could felt and  
netto. (*Enemy Alien*)

ate balance between the didactic and  
was simultaneously exploiting the  
ng industry. The white communities  
ized, and the ghetto, being a space  
; exclusion complete, and the ghetto  
hat Japanese Canadians were refusing  
film suspends judgment and allows  
esire to keep the Japanese out, came  
. Jackson's narration also emphasizes  
d the public perceptions of internment  
photos of the shanty towns, some of  
like four walled tents than houses,

ver. Slocan City. Tashme. They were billeted  
ncomfortable. The first winter was unusually  
en shattered. They were displaced persons in  
dd jobs in nearby towns, but the newspapers  
public funds, living in the lap of luxury in the  
selves. They still had equity stored with the  
usually, the film presents stills of old newspaper  
a fraction of its face value. It was used to pay  
aining towns. (*Enemy Alien*)

licit criticism of the public fears and  
the editorial pages of the newspapers.  
ocial class. The Japanese Canadians  
ist community feared the Japanese  
ial threat to national security, but as  
of Japanese Canadian private property  
eat to the position of white-Canada in  
re role the Christian churches played  
mbia.

older brothers and sisters. High schools were  
students had to pay tuition to go. [...] It was  
t in law, and Canada had rejected them. Who

education to the Japanese Canadians at  
y would be forced to remain in low

paying jobs after the war. Either way, the Christian community profited. In the short term, the profits were the easily tabulated tuition costs. In the long term, the economic dominance of the white-Christian-majority was not threatened by an educated-racial-minority.

Despite what the Japanese Canadian community was forced to endure through their displacement and confinement in the internment camps of the interior, the documentary illustrates that the fears of the wartime-public were still not alleviated.

British Columbians were getting nervous. What if the Japanese were entrenching themselves in the interior? The provincial government demanded that Ottawa do something. The department of labour produced and answer. It was in the form of an invitation to be deported. All persons of Japanese ancestry now living in Canada are invited to now volunteer to go back to Japan after the war, or sooner, where this can be arranged. (*Enemy Alien*)

The Japanese Canadians could not escape the fact that they were seen as a foreign entity, a virus, infecting the English Canadian body populace. The hygienic discourse about the purity of ethnicity and race attributed to Nazi Germany post-Second World War, was not far from the reality of Canadian public sentiment during the war. Contrary to public opinion, the virus was not the foreign entity of the Japanese Canadian community, but racism itself. In the introduction to Ken Adachi's *The Enemy That Never Was*, Timothy Findley eloquently summarizes the outcome of this infectious disease:

When he speaks of virulence, Adachi reminds us that racism is a parasitical disease. A sickness. A viral infection that spreads from person to person. It can even bring death – but never to the infected person. When he speaks of being one of an unpopular minority, he is telling us that beyond imprisonment there are devastating, lifelong consequences rising from the arrogance, the insensibility, and the politic benevolence of others. These attitudes, I fear, are far more prevalent in Canada than we Canadians have so far cared to admit and examine. (Findley)

In the case of the Japanese Canadians the virulence of wartime prejudice did not end with the war. Betrayed, the Japanese Canadians were not safe from persecution even once Japan had surrendered. They were pressured to return to Japan, and the Supreme Court later ruled, on a technicality, that deportation of Canadian-born Japanese who had committed no crimes was legal. Finally, in 1949, Japanese Canadians were granted the vote, but that could not undo what had been done. The internment and their treatment in the years thereafter did not inspire their trust in the Canadian government.

Although *Enemy Alien* is an honest attempt to sympathetically portray the Japanese Canadian community, the film is working within the limitations of its Western narrative form, which reveal the pervasive Trudeau politics of the period. The golden years of Unit B had been between 1957–1963. This unit focused on animation, art films, and educational films. Its members were encouraged by the group leader, Tom Daly, “to experiment with candid portraits by seeking a naturally interesting character or group of characters, caught up in circumstances that involved the whole person in some kind of universally significant and fascinating situation (Evans, 72). Daly’s philosophy on documentary filmmaking is evident in the chosen subject and narrative organization of *Enemy Alien*. The ‘naturally interesting characters’ in this case are the Japanese Canadians

and they are caught up in the *universally significant and fascinating situation* of oppression by the Canadian government. One of the agendas of *Enemy Alien*, like *The Pierre Berton Show*, was to weave an entertaining tale. To do so, the documentary requires a hero, as that term is understood according to the Western literary tradition, who must face almost insurmountable challenges and overcome them. The frame story of the documentary provides just such a hero.

The frame story of *Enemy Alien* opens and closes with the visual of a lake in the mountains. Cutting to shots of presently abandoned shacks and focusing on a nameplate that says 'N. Nakash', the narration addresses how old silver mining ghost towns were suddenly filled in 1942, because of the Japanese internment. Then we see the elderly Mrs. Horiouchi, our hero, working in her flower garden, apparently oblivious to the presence of the camera. The voice over says the following,

In the summer of 1974 we crossed the country looking up people who once had lived here. The story that came out of their photograph albums and out of their memories was about how it is to be a small group trying to become part of Canadian society. In New Denver a few people chose to live out their lives in the place where they had been interned. Mrs. Horiouchi is now 80. Her journey to this place began on December 7<sup>th</sup> 1941, the day the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour. (*Enemy Alien*)

At this moment, the visual reverts to archival footage of fighter planes, bombed European cities and the war torn world of the 1940s. The chronological narration of the documentary continues from there. Then the documentary ends with footage of Mrs. Horiouchi chopping wood in her yard, which is meant to illustrate the strength and resilience of this old woman. The visual is accompanied with the following narration,

It is over for Mrs. Horiouchi. She was too old to resettle in Toronto. She returned to New Denver where she could live cheaply and in peace in one of those shanties in the lovely valley. It is important that the long story of frustration and injustice, mistrust and hate, and eventual triumph should be remembered. (*Enemy Alien*)

The film ends with another shot of a pristine blue lake in the Rocky Mountains on the other side of which is a rather large home which looks like Mrs. Horiouchi's home from the beginning of the film.

Like the hero Aeneas, Mrs. Horiouchi must face a lifetime of struggles, not for her own rewards, but in order to establish roots in a land where her descendants can live. *Enemy Alien* uses a western myth-making hero paradigm to narrate a clash between the cultures of East and West. This clearly creates a much different narrative than would have been produced using the paradigm of *The Tale of Genji*, in which the aging Genji must experience the transgressions of his own youth enacted against him, in order to fully understand the suffering he caused his own father.<sup>11</sup> Such a Buddhist lesson applied

<sup>11</sup> The reference here is to Genji's affair with Fujitsubo, which produced a child and disrupted the royal lineage. Genji was never certain if his father knew about the affair, but he is remorseful for own his youthful indiscretions when late in his life the son of his friend To no Chujo has an affair with one of his young wives.

to the narrative paradigm Canadian internment would *Alien*. This illustration - *The* reminds one of the radical and Eastern literary tradition East and West, and the struggle balance not reflected in the paradigm on the Japanese Canadian not narrating Japanese Canadian and a Western ideology, to reflect of its past and representing the of recuperation is a reflective encouraged public, artistic multiculturalism as a social

The frame story is problematic has dealt with the internment forgetting and a desire to come to terms with the history against her, her family, and Canadian internment is a clear 1980s, as the Japanese Canadian apparent that this was not the Canadian multiculturalism somehow absolved Canadian for past atrocities. Mrs. Horiouchi example of that nad've position

The narrative of *Enemy Alien* town where she was interned in peace in one of those shanties New Denver. Thus, it is clear be displaced twice - first from to return to the location of the terms with the original displacement. There is the implication that Horiouchi would not have returned in a lovely valley, to which she displaced, interned indefinitely who was made to pay their own

<sup>12</sup> This is a reference to the fact a fraction of what it was worth in themselves and alleviate the financial



and fascinating situation of oppression in *Enemy Alien*, like *The Pierre Berton* the documentary requires a hero, as literary tradition, who must face almost The frame story of the documentary

oses with the visual of a lake in the d shacks and focusing on a nameplate v old silver mining ghost towns were internment. Then we see the elderly garden, apparently oblivious to the following,

king up people who once had lived here. The ut of their memories was about how it is to be ety. In New Denver a few people chose to live ed. Mrs. Horiouchi is now 80. Her journey to panese attacked Pearl Harbour. (*Enemy Alien*)

ge of fighter planes, bombed European ological narration of the documentary ids with footage of Mrs. Horiouchi rate the strength and resilience of this following narration.

ettle in Toronto. She returned to New Denver nties in the lovely valley. It is important st and hate, and eventual triumph should be

e lake in the Rocky Mountains on the oks like Mrs. Horiouchi's home from

e a lifetime of struggles, not for her and where her descendants can live. adigm to narrate a clash between the much different narrative than would *le of Genji*, in which the aging Genji uth enacted against him, in order to her.<sup>11</sup> Such a Buddhist lesson applied

ich produced a child and disrupted the royal the affair, but he is remorseful for own his nd To no Chujo has an affair with one of his

to the narrative paradigm of a Canada haunted by the transgression of the Japanese Canadian internment would have been thematically distant from the message of *Enemy Alien*. This illustration - *The Aeneid* and *The Tale of Genji* - while merely speculative, reminds one of the radically different worldviews and narrative devices used in Western and Eastern literary traditions. The Japanese Canadian experience is a complex fusion of East and West, and the struggle to narrate this process requires a sensitivity to that delicate balance not reflected in the narration of *Enemy Alien*. The imposition of the western-hero-paradigm on the Japanese Canadian internment is reflective of the fact that the NFB was not narrating Japanese Canadian internment but was, in effect, using a government institution and a Western ideology, to narrate the Canadian nation by recuperating the transgressions of its past and representing them in a form ready for mainstream consumption. This process of recuperation is a reflection of the social and political dynamics of the 1970s, which encouraged public, artistic representation of model minority groups in order to promote multiculturalism as a social sensibility and not merely a political policy.

The frame story is problematic for other reasons as well. It suggests that Mrs. Horiouchi has dealt with the internment, and that she has triumphed over her past. Silence, shame, forgetting and a desire to integrate and become invisible are mistaken as her having come to terms with the historical mistreatment enacted by the Canadian government against her, her family, and her community. According to this narration, the Japanese Canadian internment is a closed chapter in Canadian history. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, as the Japanese Canadian redress movement began to take shape, it became apparent that this was not the case. Nevertheless, in the early 1970s the nad've belief that Canadian multiculturalism eliminated the possibility for institutionalized discrimination somehow absolved Canadian society and the Canadian government of their responsibility for past atrocities. Mrs. Horiouchi's continuous displacement in *Enemy Alien*, used as an example of that nad've position, undoes itself as it is based on a faulty assumption.

The narrative of *Enemy Alien* states that Mrs. Horiouchi chose to move back to the town where she was interned - New Denver - because there she could "live cheaply and in peace in one of those shanties in the lovely valley" (*Enemy Alien*). She moved back to New Denver. Thus, it is clear that she did leave New Denver after the war. However, to be displaced twice - first from the coast and then again from the internment camps - and to return to the location of the second displacement does not signify that one has come to terms with the original displacement, which is what the narration of *Enemy Alien* implies. There is the implication that the internment must not have been very bad, or Mrs. Horiouchi would not have made it her home. Suggesting that the internment was spent in a lovely valley, to which anyone would want to retire, minimizes the horror of being displaced, interned indefinitely with no outside contact, and being treated like a prisoner who was made to pay their own way<sup>12</sup>. To return freely, and to be interned are potentially

<sup>12</sup> This is a reference to the fact that the Custodian of Enemy Property sold all Japanese property at a fraction of what it was worth in order to provide cash flow to the internees, such that they could support themselves and alleviate the financial burden internment was creating for the state.

one and the same thing. She is the prisoner of her own history, and she lives out her life in the place of trauma.

This documentary also holds up Mrs. Horiouchi - who never speaks for herself and on whom an identity is imposed by the narrator - as the representative for the entire Japanese Canadian population. When the film implies that she has forgiven and moved on, it insinuates that the rest of the community has done the same. Subsequent first-person narrations of the internment reveal that this was far from the reality of the 1970s. The community was scarred by what had happened to their families and their communities, and ashamed of the treason that was implied by having been interned. In the context of Canadian society, Japanese Canadians were guilty until proven innocent. The narrative of *Enemy Alien* imposes the idea of achieved closure onto the Japanese Canadian community; the internment as historical neglects that the War Measure Act and the Charter of Rights in 1975 remained the same as they had been during the Second World War<sup>13</sup>; this meant that there was the danger of history repeating itself. In fact, the War Measures Act had been invoked during the FLQ crisis in Quebec in 1970. There is an embedded politic at work in the film, as much through what is said, as through what is not said. As a government institution, it was not the goal of the NFB to warn or excite the public about the transparency of their constitutional rights, just as it was not a part of the filmmakers agenda to inspire the uprising of minority groups against the Canadian government for marginalizing them through the policies of multiculturalism that claimed to include them within the Canadian mosaic.

The message of the film speaks very powerfully to the public desire to abdicate their responsibility for the perpetuation of discrimination, past, present and future. The Canadian population of the Trudeau era wanted to believe in the success of the Multiculturalism Bill for that reason. *Enemy Alien* does warn that as Canadians we should be cognoscente of our racist practices, but it comfortably suggested that these concerns are largely a part of our history, and not our present or our future. The film indicates that Japanese Canadians had attained the vote, making them legally Canadian, and the vote is the provided proof of equality. The concluding lines of the narration (just before the frame story of Mrs. Horiouchi) reinforce that idea: "and at last, in 1949, they got the right to vote. **Can Japanese be Canadians?** [an archival newspaper headline shown on the screen] Their question had been answered". (*Enemy Alien*). The implicit answer to the archival headline is yes. The complexities of living as a minority group, racialized by the very process of multiculturalism touted as the means of emancipation, are completely ignored.

<sup>13</sup> Ann Sunahara, in a conference talk in 1987, expressed her concern that our Charter looks great in peacetime, "but in time of emergency may not provide protection. It may prevent some of the things that happened to Japanese Canadians, particularly it would prevent the deportation of the Japanese Canadians, [...] [but] there's nothing to stop them from taking property again; there's nothing to stop them moving people out of an entire province"; and there's nothing to say that they could not infringe upon individual rights by claiming a state of emergency. She claims that the internment of the Japanese Canadians "is a precedent, it is a very dangerous precedent" (Sunahara 1989, 28).

Pierre Berton and the CBC cinematically present the Japanese suffered by the Japanese Canadian the Japanese Canadian community. However, one must remain cognate the larger historical narrative of the Japanese as NFB or CBC productions they of the internment during a specific of their creators and of their time everything was resolved when, in the 1970s the issue of internment clearly did not have the closure. Both of these productions present World War, without recognizing the message is highly political, as the employees were working within multiculturalism and equally colonized and persecuted communities calls "the Liberals- longtime experience the Liberals summarily would have process our [Japanese Canadian] [through proper redress reparations survivors would have continued minorities would have remained a of identity discovery and formation. The identity imposed on the Japanese war years, the wartime, and the *Enemy Alien* and *The Pierre Berton* Japanese Canadian community we narration and identity in the late 70s the Japanese Canadian community

<sup>14</sup> *Shikataga-nai* translates as something Imai and his followers who were predicted president of the NJCCA who had made in the early 80s, he had been in secret negotiations included acknowledgement and a mere \$5 million. When the larger community discovered this simply erased one historically autocratic lump sum and an acknowledgement of it deemed an acceptable settlement.

wn history, and she lives out her life

never speaks for herself and on representative for the entire Japanese she has forgiven and moved on, it e the same. Subsequent first-person r from the reality of the 1970s. The heir families and their communities, ving been interned. In the context of until proven innocent. The narrative osure onto the Japanese Canadian the War Measure Act and the Charter een during the Second World War<sup>13</sup>; ting itself. In fact, the War Measures ebec in 1970. There is an embedded said, as through what is not said. As e NFB to warn or excite the public ts, just as it was not a part of the ority groups against the Canadian cies of multiculturalism that claimed

to the public desire to abdicate their ast, present and future. The Canadian e success of the Multiculturalism Bill ans we should be cognoscente of our es concerns are largely a part of our tes that Japanese Canadians had nd the vote is the provided proof of ore the frame story of Mrs. Horiouchi) the right to vote. **Can Japanese be n on the screen**] Their question had r to the archival headline is yes. The y the very process of multiculturalism ignored.

ter concern that our Charter looks great in ion. It may prevent some of the things that the deportation of the Japanese Canadians, again; there's nothing to stop them moving hat they could not infringe upon individual internment of the Japanese Canadians "is 28).

## CONCLUSION

Pierre Berton and the CBC along with Koenig, Lerman, and Jackson at the NFB, cinematically present the Japanese Canadian internment and give a voice to the injustices suffered by the Japanese Canadians; it is their work, in part, that helped pave the way for the Japanese Canadian community to publicly address and narrate their own history. However, one must remain cognoscente of the role that these narrations plays within the larger historical narrative of the Japanese Canadian internment, and despite their credibility as NFB or CBC productions they should not be given authority beyond their representation of the internment during a specific historical moment. For, they are marked with the politics of their creators and of their time. They are multicultural propaganda that hastily claimed everything was resolved when, in fact, it has not yet been addressed. For Japanese Canadians in the 1970s the issue of internment had never really been dealt with and the community clearly did not have the closure suggested by *The Pierre Berton Show* or *Enemy Alien*. Both of these productions present the internment as another historical atrocity of the Second World War, without recognizing the lasting impact that it was having on the present. This message is highly political, as the CBC and the NFB are government institutions whose employees were working within the context of a Liberal government keen to promote multiculturalism and equally concerned with avoiding redress action from historically marginalized and persecuted communities. Maryka Omatsu in her book *Bittersweet Passage* calls "the Liberals- longtime experts in ethnic control [...]. Catching the NAJC off guard, the Liberals summarily would have signed a deal with the shikataga-nai<sup>14</sup> faction. In the process our [Japanese Canadian] community would have lost its last chance at rebirth [through proper redress reparations and apologies]. The psychic lesions of the internment survivors would have continued to fester under the skin, and the rights of all Canadian minorities would have remained at risk" (128-9). The process of redress was also a process of identity discovery and formation necessary to the healing process.

The identity imposed on the Japanese Canadian community by the media of the pre-war years, the wartime, and the post-war era was detrimental; while the narrations of *Enemy Alien* and *The Pierre Berton Show* were the most positive press to date, the Japanese Canadian community would see the need to take control of their own community narration and identity in the late 70s. 1977 would mark a significant turning point, within the Japanese Canadian community.

<sup>14</sup> *Shikataga-nai* translates as something akin to *resignation*. Omatsu uses the term to refer to George Imai and his followers who were predominantly from the older generations. Imai is a nisei and past-president of the NJCCA who had made it a habit to speak for the community without consultation. In the early 80s, he had been in secret negotiations with the Liberal government for a redress settlement that included acknowledgement and a mere \$5 million fund, which was not exclusively for Japanese Canadians. When the larger community discovered this, they were forced to get organized before the Liberal government simply erased one historically autocratic move - the internment - with another, by handing them a small lump sum and an acknowledgement of injustice without conferring with the community about what they deemed an acceptable settlement.

The idea of redress was [...] occasioned in 1977 by the community's celebration of our first hundred years in this country. In our remembrance, the sweet memories were darkened by long shadows. The speeches were laced with coded references to pain and anger. For the first time curious sansei demanded an explanation. The sansei, holding the issei's soft hands or looking deep into the nisei's avoiding eyes, could sense that lying just below the surface was a bitter truth. A committee to consider appropriate forms of redress was formed. (Omatsu 96)

At this historical juncture, Japanese Canadians would begin to discover what their history was and decide for themselves how it should be narrated. They would also have to decide as a community how they would address the past injustices and their contemporary dilemmas. One of the challenges would be to present a united front to the government in order to win the redress movement. Another would be to rediscover, redefine and rewrite themselves in a multicultural country that 'included' them as ethnic, marginalized citizens. These struggles would be part of the *redress* stage of their battle for emancipation. That process would allow the Japanese Canadian community to reclaim their history and eventually manage their identity in the *post-redress* period.

"we" say what's left  
until all's said

for the sake of story  
in our telling times

(Miki 1995, 33)

#### WORKS CITED

- Anselmi, William and Kosta Gouliamos. *Elusive Margins: Consuming Media, Ethnicity, and Culture*. Toronto: Guernica Editions Inc. , 1998.
- Enemy Alien*. Dir. Jeanette Lerman. Exec. Prod. Wolf Koenig, Narr. Stanley Jackson. National Film Board of Canada, 1975. (VHS: 27 min. )
- Evans, Gary. *In the Nation Interest: A Chronicle of the National Film Board of Canada from 1949 to 1989*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Findley, Timothy. Introduction. *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians*. By Ken Adachi. Toronto, Canada: McClelland & Stewart Inc. in association with the Multiculturalism Program, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada and the Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada, 1991.
- Miki, Roy. *Random Access File*. Red Deer, Canada: Red Deer College Press, 1995.
- Miki, Roy. *Broken Entries: Race Subjectivity Writing Essays*. Toronto, Canada: Mercury Press, 1998.

Omatsu, Maryka. *Bittersweet Pass Between the Lines*, 1992.

Patton, Janice. *The Exodus of the .*

Sunahara, Ann. "Illusory Protect Conference. Ed. Cassandra Kc

Sunahara, Ann Gomer. *The Polit World War*. Toronto: James Lc

the community's celebration of our first sweet memories were darkened by long pain and anger. For the first time the issei's soft hands or looking deep just below the surface was a bitter truth. is formed. (Omatsu 96)

ould begin to discover what their be narrated. They would also have ss the past injustices and their d be to present a united front to the Another would be to rediscover, ntry that 'included' them as ethnic, of the *redress* stage of their battle se Canadian community to reclaim he *post-redress* period.

ing Media, Ethnicity, and Culture. Toronto:

rr. Stanley Jackson. National Film Board

ilm Board of Canada from 1949 to 1989.

story of the Japanese Canadians. By Ken iation with the Multiculturalism Program, ing Centre, Supply and Services Canada,

ollege Press, 1995.

onto, Canada: Mercury Press, 1998.

Omatsu, Maryka. *Bittersweet Passage: Redress and the Japanese Canadian Experience*. Toronto, Canada: Between the Lines, 1992.

Patton, Janice. *The Exodus of the Japanese*. Toronto, Canada: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973.

Sunahara, Ann. "Illusory Protection: The Enemy Within". *Spirit of Redress; Japanese Canadians in Conference*. Ed. Cassandra Kobayashi & Roy Miki. Vancouver: JC Publications, 1989. (24-38)

Sunahara, Ann Gomer. *The Politics of Racism; the uprooting of Japanese Canadian during the Second World War*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1981.

