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Cover picture: Detail from 'Japanese Internment Camp, Purana Qila, Delhi, India, 1945' by Fua Haribhitak. Collection of the Office of Contemporary Art and Culture, Thailand's Ministry of Culture. Reproduced with permission from Mr Kowit Pakamart, Director General, Office of Contemporary Art and Culture. Tempera on paper, 26.5 x 37.5 cm. See the article by Anoma Pieris in this issue for further discussion of this picture.

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Special Issue:
Prisoners of the Asia-Pacific War

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EDITORIAL*

Welcome to Prisoners of the Asia-Pacific War, a special issue that marks our introduction as Co-editors for the journal. We are most grateful for the work of our predecessors, Richard Grayson and Erica Wald, particularly their assistance in helping us find our feet as editors. We appreciate that the challenge of living up to the standards they have set is a significant one and one that we hope to accomplish. Additionally, the journal could simply not function without the work of colleagues such as Alasdair Urquhart and George Wilton and we are very grateful for their continued support as well.

Daniel Milne, Anoma Pieris, Beatrice Trefalt and Mahon Murphy have compiled and edited a fascinating special edition for our debut issue and we're certain that readers will enjoy the outstanding research that has been brought together for the BJMH. This issue would not have been possible without the intellectual rigour and hard work of Daniel. Anoma and Beatrice who were the guiding minds in developing this topic. Thanks to them for all their hard work on this and to all contributors. We hope you are happy to see your work appear in published form.

This year's widely-publicised Second World War commemorations – the 80th anniversaries of D-Day and of Market Garden – provide powerful reminders of the profound (and long-lasting) effects that war can impose. On-going events in Ukraine make this still further apparent. Scholarship in military history acknowledges this fact; it interrogates what happens on the battlefield, but it does not shy away from also considering diverse matters of cause, impact, and aftermath. With this in mind, our major goal for the journal is to continue the great work of our predecessors by maintaining the BJMH as a forum that engages scholars of military history from as broad a range of backgrounds and perspectives as possible. If any of you have ideas for research articles, research notes, or are interested in reviewing recently published books for BJMH, we would love to hear from you. You can contact us at editor@bcmh.org.uk.

We hope you enjoy this issue.

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Guest Editorial*

It is my very great pleasure to present the following Special Issue Prisoners of the Asia-Pacific War. I was fortunate to be present in February 2023 when Daniel Milne brought together a diverse group of researchers for a workshop at Kyoto University, Japan with the goal of reconsidering the memory of captivity in the Pacific theatre of the Second World War. The fruits of those discussions are on display here.

Studies of captivity have been integrated into the military historical narrative of the Second World War and for many the enduring image of the war's Pacific theatre is that of maltreated Allied Prisoners of War forced to construct the Thai-Burma railway. One of the goals of this issue is to widen our perspective to other captive combatants and captive civilians and to decentre the narrative of the memory of war away from typical national narratives. It offers us new ways of looking at captivity and makes us realise that internment left a broad footprint on post-war memories.

Not only do the papers on display highlight the innovative approaches to the study of the memory of war by mixing global and local narratives to shed light on under-researched areas of the war, but their importance also helps us to understand the conflict as a whole. To further display the health of the field, the issue provides us with introductions to research tools such as the Japanese-language Prisoner of War and Civilian Internment Camp Encyclopedia which was painstakingly created by a group of amateur historians motivated by a desire to understand their local history. It also includes a selection of specially curated book reviews to point our readers towards the latest resources for studying the Second World War in the Pacific.

We are grateful to Daniel, Anoma, and Beatrice for the incredible amount of work they have carried out in creating the intellectual framework and identifying high-quality contributors to bring this Special Issue together into a single coherent and enlightening package.

MAHON MURPHY
Kyoto University, Japan

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Introduction: Prisoners of the Asia-Pacific War – Forgotten Locales, Transimperial Links, and Selective Memorialisation

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ABSTRACT
This introduction explores the major contributions of the special issue in broadening understanding of captivity in the Asian and Pacific theatres during the Second World War. First, it decentralises national narratives, highlighting the transnational and diasporic identities of both military and civilian prisoners and the colonial and decolonialising contexts that shaped their experiences. Second, it foregrounds specific memories of wartime captivity that have been marginalised by dominant war narratives and post-war decolonial struggles. Lastly, it underscores the diverse experiences, institutions, and memory practices of captivity, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of wartime captivity and its memorialization.

Until recent decades accounts of captivity in the Second World War's Pacific and Asian Theatres have focused overwhelmingly on Prisoners of War (POWs) and national memory of the war for specific belligerent nations – most notably Australia, Britain, and America – or on the internment of specific ethnic groups, such as Japanese civilians in the USA. The extreme hardships and dehumanising treatment of prisoners in varied climatic conditions ranging from the tropical jungles of Malaya, Burma, and Indonesia to the freezing winters of Siberia feature prominently both in scholarship and popular

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literature based on diaries and memoir.[1] The focus on major combatants in anglophone and colonial histories has sidelined the stories of other POWs and civilian internees, and of the memory of internment for peripheral nations, communities, and individuals. Their experiences are documented in Japanese or the other languages of non-anglophone captives and are often archived in the host environments in which the camps were located. Their absence from the dominant narratives is explained in part because the Asia Pacific War is often framed dualistically, as a clash between the two nations of Japan and America, or for Commonwealth nations such as Australia, as triadic, as a war alongside Britain and America against Japan. Such conceptualisations of the war have relegated the areas of the Asia Pacific, along with the nations and peoples occupied or controlled by the Japanese, British, French, and other imperial powers, to 'battlefields for the clashes of the great powers.'[2] Such national framing risks overlooking not only marginalised nations and people but also the global processes of imperialism and colonialism that entangled them in this war. The 'clash of great powers' narrative veils the fact that most of the region was under the control of European, American, or Japanese empires, that the belligerents of the war were imperialist powers, and that captives overwhelmingly belonged to imperial armies or were residents of colonial settlements. Focusing on the war as an international conflict that ended with Japan's surrender also risks overlooking its afterlife; the war's end precipitated regional anti-colonial movements while cementing American military power in the region, leading to the Korean War and subsequent Cold War conflicts in Asia.

This special issue builds upon recent research into wartime captivity and its memorialisation that seek to challenge and transcend unified national histories. These studies explore, as Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey White, and Lisa Yoneyama stated in their seminal analysis of memory of the Asia Pacific War, how 'national modes of representation succeed in systematically marginalising or silencing dissonant memories'.[3] The second half of Kevin Blackburn and Karl Hack's *Forgotten Captives in Japanese Occupied Asia* (2008) pioneered an approach to captivity in Japan-occupied Asia through papers that drew on interviews, biographies, and popular media representations to examine the experiences of women, civilian internees, and others

[1]For example, see Sherzod Muminov, *Eleven Winters of Discontent: The Siberian Internment and the Making of a New Japan,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2022); Remco Raben, 'Dutch memories of captivity in the Pacific War' in Kevin Blackburn and Karl Hack (eds.), *Forgotten Captives in Japanese Occupied Asia,* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 94-110.

[2]T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, 'Introduction' in T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama (eds.), *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s),* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 6.

[3]Fujitani, White, and Yoneyama, 'Introduction', p. 7.

'marginalized in the national memory'.[4] In recent years, site-focused research of the architecture, history, and post-war life of wartime prisons in Asia has become another significant method to transcend nationalistic frameworks.[5] Many of these new studies examine wartime captivity and prisons through the movement of people, ideas, and institutions within empires and across imperial, colonial, regional, and national boundaries. They include, for instance, research on Koreans who worked as guards at POW camps throughout the Japanese empire, or on Indians captured as part of the British Indian Army, some of whom joined the collaborationist Indian National Army, to free India of British rule.[6] Such studies challenge concepts of unified national experiences and memories of captivity, clarifying that there was 'no generic experience of captivity' by exploring local, racial, ethnic, cultural, gendered, and individual difference.[7] Many of these studies rely on Japanese Studies scholars able to access Japanese archives and conduct ethnographic work in East Asia. Through them we have gained critical insights into the East Asian theatre of the war through critiques of Japanese imperialism informed by research rather than reactive politics. Two recent publications reviewed in this special issue, Kovner's *Prisoners of the Empire* and Cribb, Twomey and Wilson's *Detention Camps in Asia*, and another explained in a research note, *Prisoner of War and Civilian Internment Camp Encyclopaedia*, exemplify such research.[8]

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[4]Karl Hack and Kevin Blackburn, 'Japanese-occupied Asia from 1941 to 1945: one occupier, many captivities and memories', in Blackburn and Hack (eds.), *Forgotten Captives in Japanese Occupied Asia*, p. 2. For another example, here of Filipino POWs, see Arnel Joven 'Remembering Camp O'Donnell: from shared memories to public history in the Philippines', in *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 20, 11 (3), (June, 2022). https://apjjf.org/2022/11/Joven. Accessed 25 July 2024.

[5]For one such study on Asia, see Shu-Mei Huang and Hyun-Kyung Lee, *Heritage, Memory, and Punishment: Remembering Colonial Prisons in East Asia,* (London: Routledge, 2020).

[6]Aiko Utsumi, 'Korean "Imperial Soldiers": remembering colonialism and crimes against Allied POWs', in Fujitani, White, and Yoneyama (eds.), *Perilous Memories*, pp. 199-217; G. J. Douds, 'Indian POWs in the Pacific, 1941-45', in Blackburn and Hack (eds.), *Forgotten Captives*, pp. 73-93.

[7]Hack and Blackburn, 'Japanese-occupied Asia', p. 2.

[8] Sarah Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire: Inside Japanese POW Camps*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020); Robert Cribb, Christina Twomey, and Sandra Wilson (eds), *Detention Camps in Asia: The Conditions of Confinement in Modern Asian History*, (Leiden: Brill, 2022); POWRNJ Editors Committee, *Horyō shūyōjo, minkanjin yōryūsho jiten: Nihon kokunai-hen*, provisional English title, *Prisoner of War and Civilian Internment Camp Encyclopaedia,* (Tokyo: Suirensha, 2023).

Much of this new work is interdisciplinary, informed by memory studies and critical heritage studies, fields in which ethnographic and site-based analyses of local conditions and experiences extend to the creation and continuation of key memorial sites. Shu-Mei Huang, Hyun Kyung Lee and Edward Vickers' *Frontiers of Memory in the Asia Pacific* approach these sites through theoretical framings of 'difficult heritage' and the 'transnational politics of postcolonial nationalism'.[9] Through such research, a new understanding of postcolonial politics emerges, focused on Japanese imperialism, British withdrawal and Indigenous, First Nations' identity, which offer us a different framing of both 'memory' and 'heritage' based on diverse experiences of modernity in the Asia Pacific.

Primary Themes

Decentring the previously national and imperial histories of the global conflict was an important intention of a conference that prompted this special issue. This intent also informs the selection of books for review, which are comparative in scope. Among them, *The Architecture of Confinement*, *Prisoners of the Empire*, and *Detention Camps in Asia*, make vital contributions to understanding wartime captivity in the Asia Pacific as a much broader phenomenon than that represented by the victorious allies.[10] Many of the articles of this collection also take this approach, especially those of Anoma Pieris, Rowena Ward, Benjamin Ireland, Ernestine Hoegen, and Daniel Milne and Taeko Sasamoto, who focus on specific POW and civilian internment camps. Pieris' paper seeks to understand the experiences of four civilians interned in India primarily through their Buddhist rather than national identification and examines their stories within the context of colonialism in India and its anti-colonial struggles. Tracing German and Italian *bhikkhus* (Buddhist monastics), a Thai artist, and a Thai scholar who lived in India, Pieris highlights the transnationalism and diversity of civilian internees of the war.

Transnational and diasporic identification emerges as an important second theme and approach to these histories. Ward likewise focuses on civilian internees of the war, in this case ethnic Japanese held in New Caledonia and India, allowing her to foreground the diverse communities of the Japanese diaspora, their varied experiences of captivity, and how their experiences were shaped in differing colonial contexts. Ireland's paper also examines the context and experiences of Japanese internees in New Caledonia, though this time by comparing their experiences to those of Jewish internees in

[9]Shu-Mei Huang, Hyun Kyung Lee and Edward Vickers, *Frontiers of Memory in the Asia Pacific: Difficult Heritage and the Transnational Politics of Postcolonial Nationalism,* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2022).

[10] Anoma Pieris and Lynne Horiuchi, *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration of the Pacific War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire*; Cribb *et al*., *Detention Camps in Asia.*

Algeria. In so doing, Ireland reveals transcolonial links between far-flung French colonies and, in addition, illustrates the diversity among 'Japanese' civilian internees by tracing the denaturalization and displacement of Japanese New Caledonians and their Japanese-Indigenous children. Ward and Ireland's examinations of Japanese diasporas within Indigenous Pacific communities highlight the complexity of social relations in colonial spaces in ways as yet under-researched for this period. Milne and Sasamoto's study, meanwhile, reveals the international and transnational nature of POW memorialisation in post-war Japan, demonstrating that it typically emerged through cooperation between local Japanese and former POWs and their family members, and that this memorialisation occurred across a number of little-known subnational sites.

While colonial, transnational, local, and individual-level research illustrates that national frameworks need not be foremost in conceptualizing captivity in the Asia Pacific, they do not refute the importance of the nation-state. Soldiers fought not only for their empire but also for their country; civilian internees were categorised by nationality; and post-war discussions have typically been shaped by national media, government policy, and national commemorations. National collective memories, therefore, are far from irrelevant. However, while there has been a plethora of research on national memory and POWs in a handful of countries, such as Australia and Britain, and of civilian incarceration in America, there is little on the national narratives of captivity in the many nations in the Asia Pacific. The comparative dearth in this area of research brings us to the third important theme of this collection, namely, the role of local memory and experience in countries unwittingly caught up in the larger imperial conflict, and the reception and representation of these histories within larger narratives. Nipaporn Ratchatapattanakul's study demonstrates that the Thai-Burma railway and POW cemeteries in Kanchanaburi were used to shape official Thai narratives of the war as one in which the Thai nation covertly supported the Allies, displacing narratives about Thailand as a defeated collaborator of Japan. While these sites of memory have received considerable attention in English-language studies of the construction of Australian and transnational war memory, here Ratchatapattanakul offers important insight into their emergence as signifiers in Thai memory of the war. Together with papers by Pieris, Ward, and Ireland, Ratchatapattanakul's research contributes to widening our purview of the significance of captivity in the war by examining the memorialisation of war in India, New Caledonia, and Thailand, that is, in sites and nations that have remained marginal in the scholarship on war and memory in the Asia Pacific war. These studies also allude to the fact that, in many colonial or semi-colonial societies, captivity during the war was often just one of multiple traumatic events, often preceding the more momentous changes of decolonisation. In some cases, the memories of massacre and occupation by the Japanese military were overshadowed by the traumas of post-war anti-colonial

conflicts, civil war, and the tribulations of the search for independence.[11] In that sense, these memories may have become subsumed under wider narratives of nation building that span the decades before and after the war, and so end up featuring only marginally in the collective memory of some Asia Pacific nations.

Behind these vital national memories, however, the research presented in this special issue also highlight the process by which normative masculine figures of citizen-soldiers ends up obscuring intersectional stories and memories of wartime captivity. Since the 1990s, the emergence of extensive research on the experiences of victims of the Japanese wartime brothel system, often referred to by the problematic euphemism of 'comfort women', has suggested ways to expand categories of wartime incarceration beyond male POWs and civilian internees. The broadening of such research beyond its initial focus on the Korean victims of Japanese Imperial Forces' brothel systems to other national subjects such as Chinese, Filipina or Japanese minority Okinawan victims, has also prompted analysis of the post-war forgetting of captivity in countries in East and Southeast Asia.[12] Reviewed in this special issue, Kevin Blackburn's *The Comfort Women of Singapore in History and Memory* explains that national self-construction and patriarchal scripting of memories resulted in the silence of former comfort women in Singapore.[13] The cross-generational impact of POW trauma on the children of former POWs, which is the focus of Terry Smyth's *Captive Fathers, Captive Children* (2022), has often also been overlooked.[14] Examining the experiences of children of British Far East POWs, Smyth illustrates that the trauma of captivity was often inherited by the children of FEPOWs, motivating some to preserve and transmit their fathers' stories.

By paying attention to specific individuals, communities, and organisations, however, we can see that 'national memories' of captivity are far from uniform. Ward and Ireland's papers illustrate the diverse experiences of internment for the Japanese

[11]For foundational studies of this, see Patricia Pui Huen Lim & Diana Wong (eds.), *War and Memory in Malaysia and Singapore*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2000); David G. Marr, *Vietnam 1945: The Quest for Power,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[12]Chou Ching-Yuan, 'A Cave in Taiwan: Comfort Women's Memories and the local identity', in Logan and Reeves (eds.), *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with 'Difficult Heritage'*, (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 114-127; Chungmoo Choi, 'The Politics of War Memories towards Healing', in Fujitani, White, and Yoneyama (eds.), *Perilous Memories*, pp. 395-410.

[13]Kevin Blackburn, *The Comfort Women of Singapore in History and Memory*, (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2022).

[14]Terry Smyth, *Captive Fathers, Captive Children: Legacies of the War in the Far East*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2022)

diaspora. Milne and Sasamoto's study reveals the heterogeneity of opinions and memories of Allied POWs in post-war Japan, but also demonstrates that national pressures – specifically Japanese companies and people sympathetic to executed guards – can limit the memorialization of Allied POWs and Asian forced labourers in ways that likely will be different in the nations that Japan formerly occupied.

Research in English on captivity during the Pacific War has long tended to focus on Allied captives of the Japanese military, rather than on the many varied people of different origins that were held prisoner in areas under Japanese Occupation. It has also tended to homogenise both the experiences of Allied POWs and their treatment by Japan's guards. However, as three books reviewed here – *Prisoners of the Empire, Detention Camps in Asia*, and *The Architecture of Confinement* – remind us, while undoubtably horrendous, on the whole POW camps and the treatment of POWs varied significantly across Japan's vast empire. As explained in the *Prisoner of War and Civilian Internment Camp Encyclopaedia* (see research note), the experience of POWs and civil internees within Japan's home islands also varied. The encyclopaedia also describes, and itself embodies, the ways diverse activists and organisations from across Japan have memorialised Allied POWs in the post-war. Milne and Sasamoto explore the prevalence of such memorials in Japan and how they can be entangled with the memorialisation of executed guards, Korean and Chinese forced labour, and victims of the nuclear bombs. Hoegen's study analyses in detail one such site of memorialisation at a temple near the former Kamioka POW Camp and finds that Allied POWs were long memorialised here alongside Japanese war dead. Examining Japanese diaspora communities in the Pacific, papers by Ward and Ireland further remind us of the diversity of experiences and memorialisation practices among Japanese ethnic communities. Detailed analysis of the content of each research article and the one research note are offered in the following sections.

Part 1: Transnationalism, Diaspora, Colonialism

Three of the articles published here rely on their interdisciplinary training for transnational readings of the incarceration experiences. Anoma Pieris's contribution criticises military historians for emphasising national categories. She uses paintings and photographs interpreted with reference to internee memoirs to convey affective dimensions of the camp experience not legible in the archival records. Pieris focuses on four marginal individuals whose experience of internment in India uncovers a complex picture of a region agitating for political independence and embarking on cultural recovery. A postcolonial scholar sensitised to the political changes underway at the time, she traces the thread of decolonisation as it unravels in the internment storylines of two Thai scholars and a German and an Italian, both *bhikkhus*, the unifying factor being that they are, all four, Buddhists.

As a Sri Lankan-born academic trying to understand the regional impact of the war, Pieris approaches her topic from situated geopolitical and geocultural knowledge rather than memory studies. She is interested in the manner in which these intimate stories and their associated social histories are networked across physical places and camp environments. How did non-Japanese Buddhists from Ceylon, Myanmar and Thailand negotiate internment? India as a point of Buddhist cultural genesis and independence fervour remains central to the internees' experiences, even with the Europeans who become naturalised (to an extent) through ordainment. The Indian Congress leaders, Santiniketan, the Indian National Army, the Bengal Famine, all provide important actors, places and temporal landmarks in the history of the war. Shifting the centre of military history to a nexus in India both unveils the little-known complexity of the Indian incarceration camps and their populations but also provides a different regional reading of transnational memories.

While Pieris's article treats imperial history as a backdrop to decolonisation and cultural recovery in India, Benjamin Ireland has French imperialism's global reach clearly in his sight. He offers a method of using wartime internment to critique colonial pasts, combining his two disciplinary interests in France and Asia. Ireland's article builds on Michael Rothberg's concept of multidirectional memory to test what he defines as 'transcolonial carceralities' through the experience of Jewish internees in Algeria and Japanese internees in New Caledonia. Ireland notes that Nazi-supported Vichy projects, 'unfolded simultaneously with the opening of internment and death camps across Europe'. His focus in New Caledonia is on the penal colony of Nouville, where French officials detained political undesirables and Asian emigrants citing national security. They included all Japanese civilians residing on the archipelago, including Japanese men who were separated from their Melanesian partners and mixed-race children. Central to his argument is how denaturalisation was used as a political strategy for disciplining and victimising marginal subjects.

Ireland's article frames these explorations of juridical policies pertaining to citizenship, incarceration and dispossession in the much broader historical entanglements of Third Reich, Vichy, Free French, and Japanese regimes uncovering multiple micro histories of Indigenous resettlement policies; victimisation of Jews, Nippo-Kanaks, and New Caledonian Japanese. By doing so, his work responds quite explicitly to recent efforts at linking memory studies to decolonial scholarship that firstly seeks a co-relational understanding of a range of historical injustices, in this case imperial violence under the Vichy and Free French regimes. By examining the treatment of Indigenous and minority communities in localities peripheral to the European theatre of the Second World War, in North Africa and the 'French' Pacific, Ireland's approach expands the scope of military histories to encompass colonial places and subjects and come to terms with how colonial violence is compounded by wartime hostilities. Secondly, he

points out that both the Vichy and Free French were equally culpable in their violence towards their victims, because they were an extension of imperial processes, the injustices of which are yet to be fully acknowledged. Wartime internment thus occurs in a continuum of violence that predates the war and is anchored in the denial or limitation of citizenship to colonial subjects. Citizenship is further weaponised through the extraordinary powers afforded to these regimes by the war, and the resulting justification of dehumanisation and statelessness as disciplinary measures. Ireland convincingly demonstrates that the transcolonial lens is a useful tool for uncovering marginalised histories of interment and dispossession that might otherwise escape scholarly notice.

Rowena Ward's article focuses on organic processes of memory making related to the Purana Qila (Old Fort) camp in Delhi and the above mentioned Nouville camp. Whereas Ireland focuses on the French regime, Ward's work compares the French with the British through the lens of Japanese internment in India and New Caledonia. Among the points made at the start of her article is the importance of community presence in-place for sustaining camp history through memory. Purana Qila's history was largely unknown locally and circulated through a former-internee alumni association – the *Indowara-kai* – based in Japan. Nouville's similarly neglected internment history was recovered due to the interest and efforts of *Amicale Japonaise de Nouvelle Calédonie* (Friends of Japanese of New Caledonia) by connecting former-internee's descendants in New Caledonia and through them has entered the wider community's collective memory. Both are 'tangible and visible remnants' of these camps and have on-site museums. Ward's interest, however, is in differences in recollections by their respective internee communities and the processes and efforts of community organisations in sustaining group memories. Her focus, building on the work of Maurice Halbwachs, is on how group memories develop and thereby retain the history of a physical place. The *Amicale Japonaise de Nouvelle Calédonie,* established in 1979, is focused on fostering community awareness, while remembrance among the Purana Qila internees is fostered off-site in Japan by membership of the *Indowara-kai.* Despite the many activities, newsletter and recently published sketch book attracting attention from others dispersed elsewhere in Asia, Ward wonders if the *Indowara*-kai's efforts can be sustained from afar beyond this generation of descendants.

By focusing mainly on the transnational flows of people through internment and highlighting diasporic experiences all three of these articles have avoided national circumscription of their narratives. They capture a moment when these boundaries were yet indistinct or represented as imperial territories. Japanese internees are likewise approached not as national subjects but as part of the colonial circulation of diverse communities seeking new economic or cultural opportunities. They offer a multivalent and polyphonic interpretation of our theme.

Papers Part 2: Commemoration and Contestation

This collection contains three articles that focus precisely on the role, emergence and possible readings of objects of commemoration. All emphasize the contingent nature of the memories embedded in these objects and locales and demonstrate the fluidity of interpretations and the never-ending contests over their significance.

In an innovative analysis of the emergence of the Burma-Thai railway as an object of war tourism, Ratchatapattanakul demonstrates how the history of Thailand's collaboration (whether willing or forced) with Japan during the Asia-Pacific war was overshadowed in the post-war period by an emphasis on closeness with the wartime Allies. This closeness was mediated by new narratives, both fiction and non-fiction, that emphasised wartime support of Allied POWs; by the establishment of war cemeteries for Allied POW victims of the construction of the Burma-Thai railways; and by the role of the railway itself as, first, a vital economic infrastructure and second, an object of tourism both of itself and for the purpose of visiting the war cemeteries. Ratchatapattanakul then traces the development of Thailand's dominant narrative of the war through Thai writing about the railway, including its interaction with western writing and the biographies of the nation's wartime and post-war political leaders. Unlike the majority of previous research, Ratchatapattanakul's focus is not on western perceptions of the famed railroad, but in revealing how the railroad and POW cemeteries became a vital part of Thai narratives of the war and its shift from a collaborator of Japan to an undefeated nation. Ratchatapattanakul's analysis clearly demonstrates the role of places and objects in the establishment of narratives about the war, and their mediation through media and tourism, ahead of the Burma-Thai railways' emergence as a destination for international tourists, including veteran visitors.

Daniel Milne and Taeko Sasamoto's analysis of twelve POW camp memorials in Japan highlights the contribution of the POW Research Network Japan (POWRNJ) to the documentation of former Allied POW camp and work sites in Japan. Milne and Sasamoto provide a nuanced analysis of the many factors and actors at play in the establishment of memorials to Allied POWs in various sites in Japan. The examples they choose demonstrate how some memorials are established to protect reputations and deflect blame; how others create tension between those who want to commemorate Allied prisoners and those who remember that the POW camp led to local prison guards being executed in war crimes trials; and how some truly function as sites of reconciliation, in some of which both victims and perpetrators can be remembered. Many of these memorials were born of the collaboration between Japanese inhabitants of the villages where the POW camps were located, and the former POWs or their families. They are not only sites to memorialise POWs, but also places to affirm friendship and alliances between nations – such as those between the American and Japanese militaries – and between localities like Cowra and

Noetsu/Joetsu, and build transnational networks between Japanese activists and organisations and former POWs, family, and others from former Allied nations. At the same time, the stories of these memorials reflected histories of silence and suppression of certain histories, such as the abuse of Korean labour and of Allied POWs themselves. Milne and Sasamoto's analysis thus demonstrates the breadth of activities related to POW commemoration in Japan, and the role of the POWRNJ in providing new levels of understanding of the variety of these sites.

Another, more focused analysis of a POW camp in Japan is Ernestine Hoegen's article on the former POW camp at Kamioka, where American, British but also Dutch prisoners laboured in coal and tin mines. Drawn to Kamioka because of the experience of the subject of a biography, former Dutch POW Herman Adriaan Bouman (1909-1968), Hoegen provides both a short history of POW experiences at Kamioka, and a theoretically informed reflection on the processes of memory, and of the tensions between places, objects, and people in the ways that experiences were recounted and are remembered. Similar to Ward, Hoegen draws on foundational concepts of memory, here Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoires*, to understand the complex and evolving networks of remembering the Dutch POWs, though Hoegen's focus is not primarily on collective memory but on the relationship between individual and collective remembrance. Hoegen reads these memories through a diversity of materials, including diaries, a novel, a cenotaph and book dedicated to the dead, and contemporary memorial websites. Like Milne and Sasamoto earlier, Hoegen's work demonstrates the variety of actors and interests in the processes of commemoration, such as the Japanese man whose commemoration of POW victims at Kamioka was prompted by his grief on the loss of his brother in the war, and his conviction that all victims, regardless of their nationality and the circumstances of their death, deserved recognition and reflection. This study finds, however, that memorialisation changes with time, as POWs have not been memorialised in annual services there since the 1990s. In analysing how the ashes of deceased POWs were transported here and there in the wake of the war to find an appropriate site of repose, Hoegen also draws our attention to the complicated processes of repatriation of remains.

Research Note

Taeko Sasamoto's research note introduces the background, sources, and content of the POWRNJ's Japanese-language publication, the *Prisoner of War and Civilian Internment Camp Encyclopaedia* (2023). The encyclopaedia builds on over twenty years of research by members of the network and is the first detailed account of POW and civilian internment camps that were located in Japan's home islands during the war. Sasamoto, a POWRNJ cofounder, explains that many members became motivated to research about camps in their area due to a lack of understanding of them as part of local and national history. Many were surprised at the extent of trauma caused by wartime incarceration, especially on former POWs and family members but also on

the families of Japanese guards executed for mistreating POWs. Sasamoto explains that the encyclopaedia was written by over twenty volunteers who gathered information from archives in Japan and abroad and through interviews with former POWs and family. Among a wealth of information, the encyclopaedia has articles on Japan's imprisonment policies and treatment during the Asia Pacific War, and describes more than 150 camps for POWs and civilians located in Japan's home islands in detail, including wartime conditions, the treatment and fate of internees, and - for some - the camps' post-war transformations.

Background to the Special Issue

This special issue builds on a two-day online symposium and a workshop held in 2023 that collectively brought together over twenty scholars and activists from within and outside the academic world.[15] Like this special issue, the symposium was free and open to all in order to encourage the involvement of independent scholars and research associations and offer our research to the widest audience possible. Our primary goal has been to explore the reverberations of wartime internment on a diversity of people strewn across the Asia Pacific region, including Allied POWs, the bereaved, children and grandchildren, Thai, Japanese, German, and Italian civilians, Korean labourers, executed war criminals and their families, and activists, local historians, and research networks in Japan and across the region and globe. The POWRNJ, an excellent example of a research organisation that crosses national boundaries, has been a source of inspiration from the beginning. The POWRNJ has facilitated visits to Japan by former POWs and families and international scholars for over two decades, and, as described in Sasamoto's research note, has drawn on twenty years of research to publish the most detailed account of POW camps in Japan's home islands.

The authors and papers highlight the diversification of scholarship about the war and captivity in general as well as the evident fact that the effects of the war and wartime imprisonment went far beyond the (Caucasian) Allies. Their insights, based on lived experiences in the host countries for camps and their memorials are particularly important for non-Eurocentric representations of the global conflict that are especially sensitised to the tensions between imperial/colonial, national and minoritarian representations of conflict as well as the many intersections of race, class, culture and gender encountered across a range of themes. We hope that their efforts will encourage future endeavours at constructing inclusive and relational perspectives on the Second World War in the Asia Pacific region as well as other global conflicts. To this end, we thank the editors, reviewers, and board of the BJMH, especially Mahon Murphy, not only for their excellent review and editing but also for supporting our

[15]'Prisoners of the Asia-Pacific War: History, Memory, and Forgetting.' See the following link for more: https://sites.google.com/kyoto-u.ac.jp/papw?usp=sharing (Accessed 26 August 2024)

goals and making our research freely available. We would also like to thank all those who presented or otherwise participated in our two-day online symposium in 2023. The presentations, discussions, and feedback were invaluable for many of the authors of this volume and for the discussions presented here.

Civilian Internment in India – Omissions and Exceptions

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ABSTRACT
This essay explores civilian internment in India through the experiences of a small cast of characters unwittingly drawn into and implicated in the imperial conflict. They include a Thai artist and a Buddhist novice, incarcerated with Japanese internees at the Purana Qila, New Delhi, and later at Deoli; a German bhikkhu (Buddhist monk) sent to Dehradun camp from Ceylon, and an Italian bhikkhu who passed through numerous camps. Addressing themes of mobility, displacement and incarceration of individuals with natal or adopted Buddhist identity it uncovers neglected Asian realities and postcolonial sentiments pertaining to internment in British India.

At a 2007 Japan Foundation exhibition on *Cubism in Asia*, the author noted in the catalogue a remarkable drawing by the esteemed Thai artist Fua Haribhitak (Figure 1).[1] Entitled, The Japanese internment camp at Purana Qila and Deoli (1943-45), the painting conveyed, through angular geometries – familiarised by Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque during the early twentieth century – the congestion, ennui and pathos of Japanese internment in India. An article in *Granta* magazine entitled 'Ghost in a Kimono' featured this and a subsequent version of the image that Fua had painted after the war.[2] The original painting, a graphite sketch on paper is regarded as Thailand's first cubist work by the celebrated, Italian-trained modernist. A subsequent tempera-on-paper painting by Fua, executed after the war, accentuates the composition's poignancy (Figure 2).

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DOI: 10.25602/GOLD.bjmh.v10i2.1812
[1]Sutee Kunavichayanont, 'La Thailande: du cubism à l'abstraction, *Cubism: l'autre rive – Résonances en Asie*, 16 May – 7 July (Paris: Maison de la culture du Japon à Paris, 2007), p. 195.
[2]Raghu Karnad, 'The Ghost in a Kimono', *Granta* 130 (2015), pp. 148-166.

Figure 1. Fua Haribhitak, Sketch of the Japanese internees at Purana Qila.[3]

A crowd of anonymous figures, many of them women in brightly coloured kimonos carrying or holding onto children, huddle together in an enclosed space. Their bodies curl inward as if warding off some unseen evil, the repetitive geometric patterns amplifying their distress. The background silhouette is of Humayun's Gate at Delhi's Old Fort.

While his depiction suggested the concentration of a specific national and cultural group, Fua's Thai identity, and his presence in the camp, as well as his sympathetic rendering of the civilians' plight raise multiple unasked questions regarding the demographic composition and social experience of internment India.

[3]Reproduced with permission from Sirinthorn Haribhitak, Courtesy Tira Vanichtheeranont. Graphite on paper.

Figure 2. Fua Haribhitak, Japanese Internment Camp, Purana Qila, Delhi, India, 1945.[4]

Focusing mainly on biographical materials recounting intimate wartime experiences, this essay questions the categorisation of 'enemy' internees as 'Germans', 'Italians' and 'Japanese' in anglophone military histories of the Second World War. These narrow military classifications applicable to prisoners of war (POWs) mask the civilian population's heterogeneity. This tendency is compounded by the naturalisation of post-war national boundaries in area studies or the privileging of imperial perspectives in military histories. Attention to diasporic community stories have, despite humanising and differentiating national narratives, reproduced and reinforced these military categorisations. By doing so, they absorb other intersectional identities with potentially different insights. For instance, the nominal roll of 'German' internees and parolees in India, in July 1943 at Dehradun, Deoli, Satara and Purandhar included many European nationals from Africa and Asia of various persuasions, including

[4]Collection of the Office of Contemporary Art and Culture, Thailand's Ministry of Culture. Reproduced with the agreement of Sirinthorn Haribhitak and permission from Mr Kowit Pakamart, Director General, Office of Contemporary Art and Culture. Tempera on paper, 26.5 x 37.5 cm.

missionaries.[5] The list of 'Japanese' interned in India likewise included one Korean, several Chinese, and a number of Taiwanese. Women of other nationalities accompanying their Japanese husbands included a Thai, a Chinese and a Russian woman, as well as a couple of Chinese servants, perhaps accompanying their employers. Internee occupations ranged from Okinawan fishermen to bank and company executives, plantation owners, professionals, tradesmen, small business owners and domestic workers – occupations indicative of a society that had industrialised half a century earlier.[6] Taiwanese actors and an actress, captured in Singapore and Malaya, point to the incarceration, possibly, of touring operatic troupes.[7]

Conversely, in International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) correspondence on repatriation in 1946, internee classifications appear erratic; categorised by nationality, colour and political affinity with state of health as a variable.[8] The 4710 'Japanese' are divided into POWs and civilian internees differentiated by gender and whether adult or child under five main categories:

> [a] 268 Non-Japanese – Internees from Deoli and POWs from Bikaner – including Siamese, Formosans and Koreans and including chronically sick persons among them;
> [b] 109 Chronic Sick – Internees from Deoli and POWs from the British Indian Military Hospital (IMH) Delhi and Combined Military Hospital (CMH) Quetta;
> [c] 1,592 Whites – Internees from Deoli and POWs from Bikaner – the latter including army and navy officers, other ranks, and civilians attached to the military;
> [d] 2,671 Blacks – Internees from Deoli and POWs from Quetta;

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[5]British Library (hereinafter BL) IOR L/PJ/8/31, Coll.101/10AA, Nominal Roll of Internees and Paroles in India, July 1943. Bulgarians, Belgians, Hungarians, Austrians, Danes, Rumanians, those from Straits Settlements, the Middle East, Burma, India, Ceylon, Hong Kong; Italians from North Africa, Somali-land, Aden, Eretria, and India.
[6]Christine de Matos and Rowena Ward, 'Forgotten forced migrants of war: civilian internment of Japanese in British India, 1941-6', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 56, 4 (2021), pp. 1102-1125, p. 1102.
[7]Shu-ming Chun, *Taiwan Gazette*, 25 May 2021, 'Captured by War, Lost Before Liberation: Taiwanese in World War II Internment Camps,' https://www.taiwangazette.org/news/2021/5/11/captured-by-war-lost-before-liberation-taiwanese-in-world-war-ii-internment-camps. Accessed 22 July 2024.
[8]ICRC Archives, Geneva, D AO INDE1-23, General correspondence concerning the Japanese prisoners of war and civilian internees in British India, 30 March 1942-14 September 1946.

> [e] 70 Collaborators also identified as officers, other ranks and civilians from General Staff Intelligence GSI(n) the IMH Delhi and Bikaner camp.[9]

The collaborators were evidently removed from the main body of prisoners/internees after which non-Japanese, 'whites' and 'blacks' were grouped. While Jewish internees and Christian/Roman Catholic missionaries were segregated in some internment camps, *bikkhus* (Buddhist monks) or Hindu *swamis* (ascetics) were not differentiated in this way. The 'Japanese' internees who presumably followed Shinto or Buddhist practices included eleven priests, monks and novices: six Japanese, one Formosan and four Thais. Although not this article's focus, there is evidence of the internment of four Nipponzan-Myōhōji monks and another connected to the Mahatma Gandhi ashram at Wardha.[10] Though inconclusive, at least seven Buddhist monks have been identified among the European internees at Deoli and Dehra Dun.

Focusing primarily on the non-Japanese Buddhists, this essay's cast of marginal characters offer unique perspectives on internment in India. Two individuals, the *samanera* (Buddhist novice) Karuna Kusalasaya and artist Fua Haribhitak, were studying at Visva Bharati University at Santiniketan, and following the Japanese invasion of Thailand and Field Marshall Plaek Phibunsonkhram's Alliance Pact with Japan (21 December 1941), they were arrested and interned at Delhi's Purana Qila. The two internees were later moved to Deoli Internment Camp in Rajasthan. Fua's artworks and Kusalasaya's 1991 memoir, *Life Without a Choice*, uncover formative prewar inter-Asian networks centred in India. The experiences of interned European *bikkhus* bring focus to India's immediate neighbours.[11] A German *bikkhu* transported to India from Ceylon, Ñānatiloka Thera (Anton Gueth) and an Italian-American *bikkhu* captured in Burma, Lokanatha (Salvatore Cioffi) offer fascinating if unorthodox perspectives on Premnagar and other Indian internment camps.[12] Unlike the more complex alliances of German- and Italian- Christian and Roman Catholic missionaries and priests, studied by Paul Von Tucher, private accounts of these several individuals who identify as

[9]Ibid.

[10]Thomas Weber and Akira Hayashi, 'Mahatma Gandhi: The Japanese Connection', https://www.mkgandhi.org/articles/mahatma-gandhi-the-japanese-connection.html. Accessed 22 July 2024 - with reference to Takashi Kaite, 'An Account of War Internment in India,' *Doumei Graph*, 1943, vol.11, no.1, pp. 65-69 p.66.

[11]Karuna Kusalasaya, *Life Without a Choice* (Bangkok: Sathirakoses-Nagradipa Foundation, 1991).

[12]Ñānatusita and Helmuth Hecker eds. *The Life of Ñānatiloka Thera: A Western Buddhist Pioneer* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 2008); Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', pp. 291-294. R.L. Soni, 'The Venerable Lokanatha', *The Mahabodhi Journal*, 35, 7-8 (July-August 1966), pp. 177-179.

Buddhists reveal how incipient processes of decolonisation in the wider colonial context percolated into the camps.[13]

The Wider Context for Civilian Internment in India

Some 2.5 million Indian troops fought in the British Indian Army in North Africa, Europe, and Asia, including the crucial Burma campaign.[14] Over 50,000 were captured.[15] Indian POWs endured among the worst physical conditions and treatment under the Japanese Imperial Army. Conversely, throughout the Second World War, India was a hotbed of anti-British resistance. Following the *Quit India* resolution passed in August 1942, Indian Congress leaders were jailed for non-cooperation, and for the war's duration, their politics influencing Southeast Asia's Indian diaspora and Indian troops caught up in the 1941/2 fighting in Malaya and Singapore. The pro-Japanese Indian National Army (INA) under Subash Chandra Bose was formed in Singapore after the British capitulation in February 1942. The catastrophic Bengal famine of 1943 which saw mortalities of somewhere between one and four million people has been linked by several Indian scholars to wartime expenditure and inflation.[16] Understandably they reframe these many events empathetically with reference to oral and local language histories, most notably, in Diya Gupta's 'emotional history' of the Second World War.[17]

When compared with these disasters and challenges to imperial authority, wartime incarceration in India occurred backstage, as a transit zone between the European and Asian theatres of conflict. Tilak Sareen's *Japanese Prisoners of War in India, 1942-46*

[13]Paul Von Tucher, *Nationalism: Case and Crises in Missions*, *German Missions in British India* 1939-1946 (Erlangen: Paul Von Tucher, 1980), http://www.gaebler.info/politik/tucher.pdf. Accessed 22 July 2024. Provides 38 interviews of German missionaries.

[14]Commonwealth War Graves Commission, How to Find and Visit Indian War Dead from the World Wars, India and the Two World Wars, https://www.cwgc.org/our-work/blog/how-to-find-and-visit-indian-war-dead-from-the-world-wars/. Accessed 30 November 2023.

[15]G.J. Douds, 'The men who never were: Indian POWs in the Second World War', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 27, 2 (2004), pp. 183-216, p. 185.

[16]Senjuti Mallik, 'Colonial Biopolitics and the Great Bengal Famine of 1943' *GeoJournal*, 88, 3 (2023), pp. 3205-3221; see also most famously, Amartya Sen, 'Chapter 6: The Great Bengal Famine' 52-85 in Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1981).

[17]Diya Gupta, *India in the Second World War: An Emotional History* (London: Hurst, 2023).

offers a comprehensive account of Japanese military prisoners.[18] Bob Moore enumerates British India's Italian POWs, several thousand of whom were subsequently transported to Australia for wartime agricultural and infrastructural labour.[19] Civilian internment in India has likewise attracted attention with Lubinski et al. writing on interned employees of German multinational firms, and Paul von Tucher on German missionaries in India.[20] A detailed account of Japanese internees in British India is given by Christine de Matos and Rowena Ward.[21] They combine official records with three individual narratives from (a) a diary of Japanese businessman, Fukuda Kurahachi, (b) an oral recording of Nora Newbury Inge, a British woman and former camp guard at both Delhi and Deoli camps, and (c) the memoir of a Thai internee, Karuna Kusalasaya. Kusalasaya is our link to the artist Fua Haribhitak.

Responses to the allied war effort were markedly different in India's neighbouring countries from which internees were drawn. For example, Thailand's historical progression was relatively uninterrupted by European colonisation, unlike Ceylon, Burma or India. Buddhist religious culture flourished and was protected by a constitutional monarchy established in 1932. The country had defended its autonomy by negotiating unequal treaties with its British and French colonial neighbours, and focused on self-preservation, a strategy that continued with the outbreak of war.[22] Entering into an Alliance Pact with Japan on 21 December 1941, Thailand provided a safe staging point for Japanese entry into Southeast Asia and rallying point for the pro-Japanese Burma Independence Army as well as the INA. The British colony, Ceylon, conversely, was declared a war zone following the 15 February 1942 Fall of Singapore and assumed a 'surrogate' role as a new imperial base camp. From November 1943, Kandy was also the headquarters for the Southeast Asia Command (SEAC).[23] The

[18]Tilak Sareen, *Japanese Prisoners of War in India: Bushido and Barbed Wire* (Kent: Global Oriental, 2006).

[19]Bob Moore, 'Enforced Diaspora: The Fate of Italian Prisoners of War during the Second World War.' *War in History*, 22, 2 (2015), pp. 174–190, p. 177.

[20]Christina Lubinski, Valeria Giacomin, and Klara Schnitzer, 'Countering Political Risk in Colonial India: German multinationals and the challenge of internment 1914-1947', Harvard Business School Working Paper, 18-090, 2018. https://www.hbs.edu/ris/download.aspx?name=18-090.pdf. Accessed 22 July 2024; and Paul Von Tucher, *Nationalism: Case and Crisis in Missions*, *German Missions in British India* 1939-1946 (Erlangen, Elbstverlag, Paul von Tucher, 1980), http://www.gaebler.info/politik/tucher.pdf. Accessed 22 July 2024.

[21]de Matos and Ward, 'Forgotten Forced migrants'.

[22]E. Bruce Reynolds, *Thailand and Japan's Southern Advance*, *1940-45* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994). *Thailand*, pp. 3-4.

[23]Ashley Jackson, *Ceylon at War 1939-45* (Warwick: Helion and Co. 2018), p. 27, p. 119.

conservative Ceylon National Congress backed Britain's war effort, in return asking for self-determination after the war.[24]

Scholars and literati in both these countries were additionally influenced by Indian *swadeshi* (self-rule) fervour ignited by half a century of social and political activism and intellectual culture emanating from Bengal. The 'Bengali Renaissance' produced an organic but equally transnational modernity. Its institutional embodiment was Visva Bharati, literary giant Rabindranath Tagore's university at Santiniketan in West Bengal. An Eastern model of education, with classes held outdoors or in buildings refashioned after Asian historical precedents attracted students from all over Asia, including Fua and Karuna.

The Thai Internees, Fua and Karuna

Frustrated by the rigidity of Thailand's Arts and Crafts School, Fua Tong Yoo's (Fua Haribhitak's original given name), departed for Visva Bharati in 1941 with recommendations from his professor Silpa Bhirasri (the Italian-born sculptor Corrado Feroci).[25] Travelling through northern Thailand and colonial Burma, he arrived in Calcutta before war broke out. The then elderly Tagore had experimented with Continental trends, which following the 1922 Calcutta Bauhaus exhibition, had radicalised art practice. His methods appealed to Fua.

During his brief sojourn at Santiniketan, starting from 20 July 1941, Fua produced numerous sketches and water colour renderings of people and landscapes and studied fresco painting under the pioneering modernist Nandalal Bose, a skill that ignited his later interests. He also suffered two personal tragedies, the death of his beloved grandmother Tabtim and the illness of his wife M.R. Thanomsakdi Kridakara.[26] A sketch of a weeping Fua and four treasured letters hidden away throughout internment, and archived by Tiravan Vanichtheeranont, are indicative of his emotional state.[27] The escalating war in Europe was felt in British India. Police permission was needed to travel to Calcutta for books and supplies. Arrested as an enemy national by the Bolapur District police on 8 February 1942, Fua was interned at the Purana Qila camp. The techniques of interwar Cubism that Fua had learned at Santiniketan effectively conveyed the internee's powerlessness against that iconic backdrop. His biographer Somporn Rodboon notes that religion and art were Fua's only consolations, and that he spent his last 600 rupees on a book on spiritualism by Swami

[24]Ibid., pp. 210-212.
[25]Somporn Rodboon, *The Life and Works of Fua Hariphitak* (Bangkok: SITCA Investment & Securities, 1993), p. 27, p. 33.
[26]Ibid., p. 35.
[27]Tira Vanichtheeranont, *111th Anniversary of Fua Hariphitak: The Untold Stories from Fua's Archive* (Bangkok: Vision PrePress, 2023), p. 73.

Sivananda of the Himalayan Ruese-Ghaet Hermitage and sought membership in his Divine Life Society.[28] The practice offered him peace of mind through various hardships including malaria, anaemia, and dysentery.[29]

Fua drew the people around him, including the prize-winning 'Japanese Internment Camp' and 'The Floral Garden' for an art exhibition organised by internees.[30] Many of these drawings were executed after the internees moved from Purana Qila to Rajasthan's Deoli Internment Camp. After the war the original colour rendering was left behind and the drawing replicated based on the graphite sketch.[31] Meanwhile, conditions in Thailand under the new alliance were precarious for the families of the internees, although not as severe as in the Japanese-occupied former British and Dutch colonies. The Seri Thai (Free Thai) movement went underground, and political figures and military officials were forced to take sides. Many Chinese Thais maintained risky alliances with China. Fua's family, including his young son, evacuated and settled in Battambang, Cambodia.[32]

Compared to Fua, the thirteen-year-old orphan Kimhong (Karuna Kusalasaya's given name) followed a different path, accompanying the Venerable. Lokanatha (Salvatore Cioffi), an Italian Buddhist missionary from Brooklyn, in 1933.[33] This opportunity proved transformative for the young Chinese boy eager to leave his relatives raft house and resume his education. He shaved off his pigtail, was ordained as *samanera*, Karuna Kuslalasaya and travelled with 200 others to Buddhist pilgrimage sites in Burma and, in a smaller group, to India.[34] The tour ended when several in the group contracted malaria, including Karuna, who remained convalescing in Calcutta, cared for by a Lankan delegation.[35] Karuna followed them to Sarnath where he studied Hindi, English and Pali before seeking a secular education at Visva Bharati University with the Maha Bodhi Society's permission.[36]

Influenced by his teachers, Karuna observed the politicisation of Indians, meeting and visiting Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and attended a meeting of the National Congress at Sarnath.[37] He corresponded with Nehru when the latter was imprisoned at Dehradun.

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[28]Rodboon, *Hariphitak*, p. 39; Wanichteeranon, *111th Anniversary*, p. 92.
[29]Ibid., p. 35.
[30]Ibid., p. 35.
[31]Wanichteeranon, *111th Anniversary*, pp. 89-90.
[32]Rodboon, *Hariphitak*, p. 39.
[33]Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 70-72.
[34]Ibid., p. 73-79.
[35]Ibid., p. 85-87.
[36] Ibid., p. 91.
[37]Ibid., p. 93.

At Santiniketan he studied Sanskrit and 'Indology' in curricula influenced by the elderly Tagore who passed away in August 1941.[38] He worked predominantly under Tan Yun Shen at *Cheena Bhavan*, Visva Bharati's institute for Chinese studies.[39] Karuna addressed Fua, the only other Thai at the university, as elder brother (*phee*).[40] Following Japan's invasion of Thailand, Karuna too was arrested as an enemy national on 8 December 1941, and interned at the Purana Qila camp, recently vacated by evacuees.[41] He was joined by Fua, and a Thai *bhikkhu* named Phra Baidika Sod Sinhaseni, who had been living in an Assamese Namphake village among the Indigenous Tai-Ahom since 1941. There were two student-*bhikkhu*, Maha Sawaeng Na-Angthong and Kambir Khadthongkha, both were arrested in Colombo, Ceylon on 12 March 1942.[42] The five of them were now held alongside the Japanese internees.

Purana Qila Camp, New Delhi

Official Red Cross correspondence from April 1942 enumerates the Japanese incarcerated in Delhi's Purana Qila as totalling 2,811 persons; 1841 men, 727 women, 243 children.[43] Some 2,598 were sent from Malaya, Singapore and North Borneo, seventy-four from Burma and Iran and 139 from within India.[44] The transfer of camp management from British India's Defence Department to the Home Department, a

[38]Ibid., p. 92.

[39]Tan Shun ed., *In the Footsteps of Xuanzang: Tan Yun-Shan and India* (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi 1991), p. 23. https://ignca.gov.in/divisionss/kalakosa/kalasamalocana/in-the-footsteps-of-xuanzang-tan-yun-shan-and-india/. Accessed 22 July 2024.

[40]Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 95.

[41]BL IOR: L/PJ/8/64, Coll.101/11G, 1942-43 Internment of Japanese in India, Telegram from Swedish Consul General at New Delhi to Ministry of Foreign Affairs Stockholm, 11 December 1942.

[42]Lipi Ghosh, 'Ethnicity, Cross-Border Migration vs. Identity and Cultural Matrix – A Study of Tai-Ahoms in Northeast India, https://www.academia.edu/6065300/Ethnicity_Cross_Border_Migration_vs_Identity_and_Cultural_Matrix_A_Study_of_Tai_Ahoms_in_Northeast_India. Accessed 30 November 2023. The colonial government had forced this group to assimilate into a broader indigenous identity. Karuna mentions Ismail Ahmed, arrested in Moradabad, but his name is not in the official record.

[43]BL IOR: L/PJ/8/64, Coll.101/11G, 1942-43 Internment of Japanese in India 'Treatment of Japanese Internees in India'. Japanese Interned in India, Complaint About Food and Money, 6 April 1942.

[44]BL IOR/I/PJ/8/34, Coll.101/10/AB, Aliens-reports of internment camps in India, Government of India, Home Department, Administration of Internment Camps in India-General, 12 January 1943.

civilian authority, had occurred earlier in December 1941.[45] Although the government insisted that camp conditions were no different to 'native' troop quarters elsewhere in India, the rudimentary accommodation and inadequate rations suggests that the Japanese were seen as an inferior and backward culture when compared with the European internees. Any problems were attributed to climatic factors with suspicion that the issue was being politicised to counter accusations of maltreatment by Japanese armies elsewhere.[46] Temporary conditions persisted beyond twelve months, until the barracks at the Deoli Camp, at the time occupied by European internees, were vacated.[47]

The fortified enclosure of Purana Qila included a hospital, 468 military tents with a brick floor and thatch covering accommodated 2,561 internee men, while 250 internee women and children slept within the fort's stone arcades.[48] Each tent was equipped solely with cots fitted with mattresses and woollen blankets. Karuna recollected; 'our hands, feet and faces – especially our lips – were cracked and blistered on account of the cold.'[49] The neglected thick undergrowth had also made the Fort a mosquito breeding ground.[50] Beriberi and malaria took a heavy toll, and by May 1942 there had been sixteen deaths, eleven of them women.[51]

With his knowledge of Hindi, Karuna became a go-between; bartering precious personal items for food and clothing with the collusion of the sympathetic Indian guards.[52] When a Japanese businessman departing the camp on a prisoner exchange in August 1942 gifted him a gold buckle, Karuna bought new clothing and abandoned his novitiate.[53] By January 1943, after the repatriation of 720 civilians there were 2,072 internees (1,302 males, 563 women and 207 children) in the camp.[54]

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[45]Ibid.
[46]Ibid., Swedish Delegation a Protecting Power, telegraphic communication to Foreign Office, London, 13 November 1942. Government of India Telegram, 5 December 1942.
[47]Ibid., Prisoner of War Department, Harold Satow to R.N. Gilchrist, India Office, 30 December 1942; Telegram from Swedish Consul General at New Delhi to Ministry of Foreign Affairs Stockholm, 11 December 1942.
[48]Ibid., Government of India, Home Department, Telegram, 26 October 1942.
[49]Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 96.
[50]Ibid., 98.
[51]BL IOR L/PJ/8/31, Coll.101/10AA, Nominal roll of Internees and paroles in India, July 1943.
[52]Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 98.
[53]Ibid., p. 97, p. 99.
[54]BL IOR: L/PJ/8/64, Coll.101/11G, 1942-43, Internment of Japanese in India, Telegram from Swedish Consul General at New Delhi, 11 December 1942.

By April 1943 there were five civilian internment camps in India that were controlled by the Home Department: the Central Internment Camp at Premnagar, Dehradun, internment camps respectively in Deoli, and Delhi, and two internment camps for families, and parole centres at Purandhar and Satara with the expectation that the majority in Delhi would be moved to Deoli.[55] The Purandhar and Satara camps concentrated parolees from seven recently closed parole centres throughout India.[56] The former had held many Jewish or mixed-race-Jewish internees, and the latter mainly women. By 29 June 1943, the internee population across the four remaining camps following New Delhi's closure was 5,716 persons.[57]

Deoli Camp, Ajmer

Once the European internees were removed from Deoli to Dehradun, three vacated wings (1, 2 and 4) were dedicated to 'Japanese internees' from Delhi, as well as 287 Javanese seamen detained on behalf of the Dutch authorities.[58] Karuna describes the barracks as 'one-storeyed, brick walled, lime-plastered and roofed with stone tiles…[each as]…long as three or more railway compartments put together, and each housing 100-200 persons'….' durable and protective' when compared to the tented Purana Qila camp.[59] When they arrived in April 1942, he observed thousands of German and Italian prisoners cheering at a distance from their respective wings. The newcomers were disheartened by the desolate desert location, seemingly proof that the war would drag on. They would remain there until repatriation in May 1946. By February 1945, the Japanese Wings held 2,125 internees: wings 1 and 2 held 743 Japanese males, and 576 females and children; Wing 4 held 784 Japanese males, an 'A' isolation unit, and a hospital for twenty-two Japanese and Korean ex-'Comfort Battalion' women (enslaved sex workers) left behind by the Japanese in central Burma.[60]

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[55]Ibid., R.N. Gilchrist, India Office to Harold Satow POW Department, 12 April 1943.
[56]UK National Archives (hereinafter TNA) FO916/572, Internment camps in India and Ceylon Administration of Internment Camps in India General, 12 January 1943, Extract from Government of India Express letter. They were at Shillong, Katapahar, Nainital, Subathu, Hazaribagh, Yercaud, and Kodaikanal.
[57]BL IOR/L/PJ/8/30B, Coll.101/10A-Pt1, Aliens-treatment in India. Administration of internment camps India General, 3 August 1943.
[58]BL IOR/L/PJ/8/64, Coll. 101/11/G, Internment of Japanese in India -Conditions of Camps, Administration of the Internment Camps in India, General, 3 August 1943.
[59]Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 100
[60]BL IOR/L/PJ/8/64, Coll. 101-11G, Civil Internment Camp, Deoli Adjmer, 10-13 February 1945, Visit by JA Rikli and H Frei.

Official correspondence boasts of a well-run establishment; an excellent climate from October to April, and an 'outstanding' increase in gardening activity, not only around the barracks, but in a large plot outside the camp.[61] A variety of flowers and vegetables were judged and awarded prizes at the camp horticultural show. There was fishing in the nearby lake, educational classes for adults and children and sewing groups run by the Camp Commandant's wife. In fact, Fua's second painting of a floral garden makes more sense given this depiction of Deoli.[62] The detailed individual flowers he depicted suggest the minute practices of care and diversion, entirely different from Japanistic landscapes and military shrines. They countered the intolerable ennui and austerity and were created in each locality with materials at hand. A photograph in the ICRC collection shows an entrance to a military building with a statue of a lion poised before a miniature garden with bridge and pagoda (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Deoli – India, Miniature Garden.[63] The pedestal is inscribed on the right with *Shōwa 18-nen 8-gatsu* (Year 18 of Shōwa period (the era of the contemporary emperor – 1943), July) which was built by Japanese. The inscription under the lion mentions 'garden'.

[61]Ibid.
[62]Dhep Chuladul, *Journey to Homeland* (Bangkok: Office of Contemporary Art and Culture), undated catalogue, 'Floral Garden', 1945, plate 4.
[63]ICRC Archives (ARR) V-P-HIST-03480-14A.

Another shows pebbled patterning around plants, a smiling girl and baby, and an onlooker on the veranda (Figure 4). The ICRC noted 230 rock gardens – which labour alleviated depression, they thought.[64] These culturally inflected gardens challenged the punitive environment's overall banality enabling collective resilience and group cohesion. Internment gardens were an exceptional, temporary phenomenon sprouting across the war's broader carceral landscape, including in Australia and North America, and not only amongst Japanese internees but also the Italian POWs who built altars and grottos in India.

Figure 4. Deoli, India, Miniature Garden.[65]

The barrack environments were likewise comparable to military style internment camps, imposing their regimental uniformity, with separate barracks for families, widows and orphans, shops and trades.[66] Notably, there was a Buddhist temple in

[64]BL IOR/L/PJ/8/30B, Coll.101/10A-Pt1, Aliens-treatment in India. Japanese Civil Internment Camp at Deoli/Ajmer. Visit by J.A. Rikli and A. de Spindler from 24-26 August 1943.
[65]ICRC Archives (ARR) V-P-HIST-03480-13A.
[66]BL IOR/L/PJ/8/64, Coll.101/11/G, Civil Internment Camp, Deoli/Adjmer, 22-24 August 1944. Visit by Charles Huber and A de Spindler.

Wing 2. Like at family camps elsewhere in North America or Australia, education was continued.[67] The diet too was expanded to include bean-paste soup and pickled vegetables with requests for *kombu* and *wakame* (types of seaweed). Malaria at 362 cases was the main medical concern followed closely by dysentery and diarrhoea, with 15 deaths across all three wings in 1944.[68]

Karuna's memoir mentions acute water shortages caused by the desert location and searing summer wind with fine wind-borne sand – the *loo* – that confined them to the barracks from 12 a.m. to 5 p.m. Fua's evocative 1942 watercolour on paper drawing 'Awning' depicts skeletal trees in a windswept desert landscape. The drawing style is attributed to Bose's influence closely following the wash techniques of Abanindranath Tagore, but the subject matter – the sensation at the centre of a storm is more evocative, perhaps, of Fua's emotional state.[69] Conversely, during winter nights, Karuna complained of intolerable hunger pangs. Their rations, depleted by the devastating Bengal famine, had to be supplemented by eating dogs' and cats' meat supplied by Okinawan internees. Karuna, once again, appealed to sympathetic Indian guards who 'furtively' supplied him with a portion of their *rotis*.[70] The expanded 'European' Premnagar Internment Camp at Dehradun, in the Himalayan foothills was envied, and is indicative of preferential treatment for European internees.

The German *Bhikkhus* at Premnagar Internment Camp, Dehradun

Although a minority when compared with the large numbers of Christian and Catholic missionaries at the camp, Premnagar's European *bikkhus* shared the Buddhist theological foundations of Burmese, Thai and Ceylonese-Sinhala cultures that see India as their point of genesis. They were guided, however, by their different missions and were cosmopolitan in the sense that already, before the war, they had become naturalised through ordainment, learning ancient and modern Asian languages. They had embarked on pilgrimages across Asia's Buddhist sites recruiting disciples and establishing centres - as well as, in some cases, engaging with independence activists. Debates regarding changes in Buddhist practice from the nineteenth century onwards – from transmission towards proselytization – are important for understanding both the instrumentality of modern Buddhist agents in resisting Christian hegemony in

[67]Ibid., Civil Internment Camp, Deoli/Adjmer, 22-24 August 1944.
[68]Ibid.
[69]Sirintorn Haribhitak and Yin Ker, 'Conjugating Legacies: Fua Haribhitak (1910-1993), Bagyi Aung So 1923-1990): from *Śāntiniketan* to Bangkok & Yangon', Hypotheses, Papers from the School of Doctoral Studies in Art History and Archaeology, Sorbonne, Paris, 4 May 2021, https://124revue.hypotheses.org/6131. *Accessed 22 July 2024.*
[70]Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 102.

British colonies and of Western converts for translating Buddhist scriptures with the aim of countering atheism in the West.[71]

Moved there from Ceylon's Diyatalawa camp, after Ceylon was declared a security zone, Ñānatiloka Thera, spent the war at Premnagar internment camp.[72] The first Continental European to be ordained as a monk, he had travelled in Burma and Malaya before setting up the Polgasduwa Island Hermitage, in southern Ceylon in 1911 (Figure 5). The Hermitage was dedicated to the study of Theravada Buddhism and attracted a consistent flow of Western converts as well as some among the marginalised Rodiya. Ñānatiloka was arrested and interned during the First World War, initially in the Hermitage and later at Ceylon's Diyatalawa Camp (Figure 6) before transportation to Australia's Liverpool Camp and then to Trial Bay Prison, both in New South Wales.[73] By the time of his second internment at Diyatalawa Camp during the Second World War, he and his four German disciples distrusted the British.

Figure 5. Polgasduwa Island. Photographed by author March 2024.

[71]See Linda Learman, *Buddhist Missionaries in the Age of Globalization* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2005).
[72]Ñānatusita and Hecker, *Ñānatiloka*, pp. 45-63 and pp. 138-152.
[73]Ibid., p. 63.

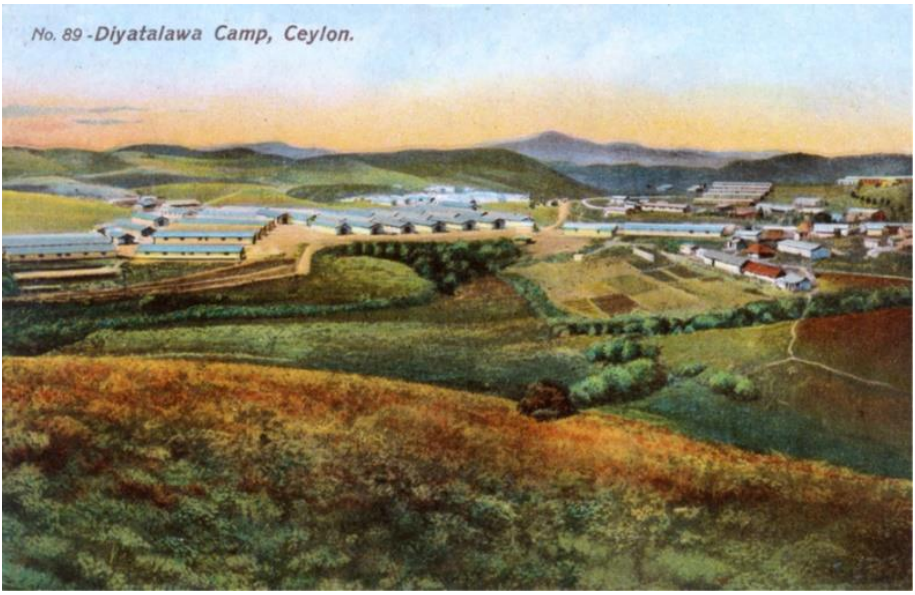

Figure 6. Ceylon's Diyatalawa Camp.[74]

Dehradun in the Himalayan foothills, surrounded by tea plantations reminded Ñānatiloka, of southern Switzerland.[75] Seven separate barbed wire enclosed camp 'wings' were divided between Germans and Italians, but firstly according to their political affiliations: anti- or pro-National Socialist.[76] A 1943 drawing by the formerly Bombay-based German interior designer and then internee Ernst Messerschmidt, depicts '*Campus Teutonicus* (Latin for German)', at the centre of a Roman-like encampment with the buildings named after their associations and uses for the internees. The drawing, titled a 'sad place of exile for Mortimer de Belling' is an invitation for a fellow German internee's thirtieth birthday party (Figure 7). Wing 1, at the centre and flanked by the Jewish section on the right and the Italians on the left. housed 'bara sahibs' – representatives of German trading companies, independent traders, doctors, missionaries, teachers, scientists, and the *bhikkhus* at first among them, and four members of a Himalayan mountaineering expedition; Wing 2 housed German rubber planters arrested by the Dutch in Sumatra; Wing 5 was for Germans from Ceylon and Wing 4 for all remaining others. In short, the wings were additionally divided by place of arrest and class. The Italian wings were likewise divided into Fascist

[74]Alamy Stock photo.
[75]Ibid., p. 139.
[76]Ibid., p. 139. Note that the number of wings changes in different records to 6, 7 and 8, as new wings were allocated for different groups.

and anti-Fascist sections; for generals arrested in North Africa, for Catholic missionaries, for others and a dedicated hospital wing. Similar internal divisions were apparent in the Purandhar and Satara camps.

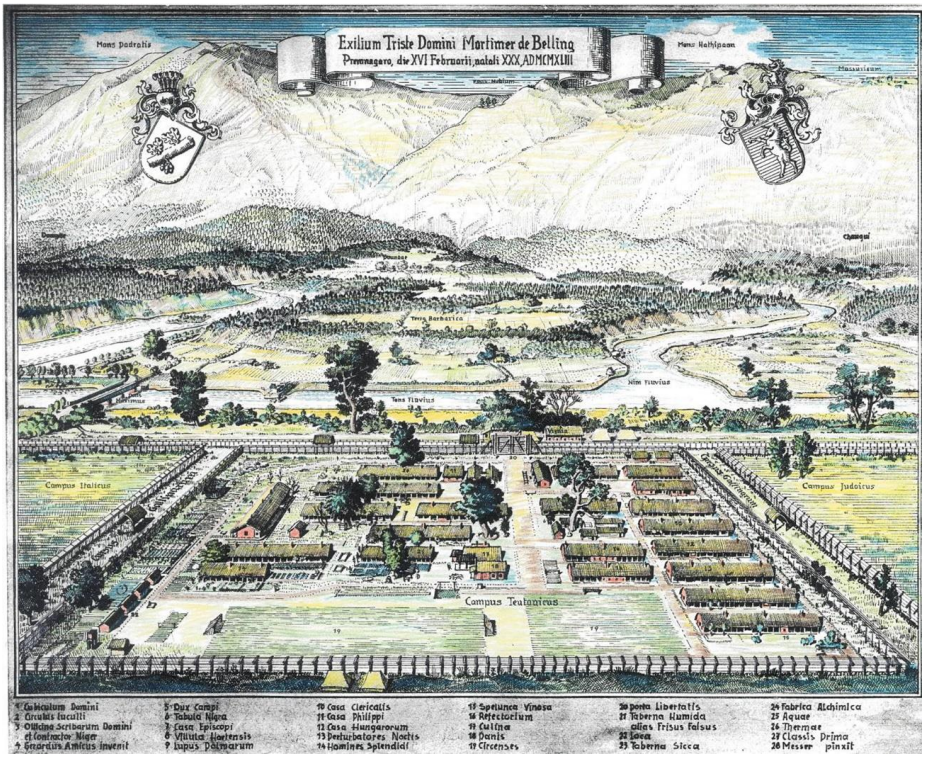

Figure 7. Campus Teutonicus with the False Frisian, drawn by Ernst Messerschmidt, 1943.[77]

Although not interned together, Ñānatiloka's biography depicts the Hermitage's *bikkhus* seated in the garden at Dehradun Camp. Ñānatiloka and Vappo (Ludwig Stolz) remained in the pro-Nazi Wing 1 and his disciples the Jewish *bhikkhus* Ñānaponika (Sigmund Feniger), Ñānakhetta (Peter Schönfeldt) and his brother Ñānamalita (Malte) moved to the newly completed anti-Nazi Wing 5. With them was Anagarika Govinda (Lothar Hoffman), a German *bhikkhu* with British citizenship interned for his

[77]Image copy by Walter Buelle, 2013. Reproduced with permission from Christoph Gäbler

associations with the Nehru family.[78] Ñānatiloka's biographers surmise that previous (mis)treatment by the British, and in Australia, including a bad experience with a pro-Communist crew on a Ceylon-bound ship, may have informed his choice. The presence of Jewish *bhikkhus* at his Ceylon hermitage and accompanying him to internment seemingly absolve him of Nazi leanings. Westerners in Wing 1 were treated well so as 'to preserve the natives' esteem for the whites'.[79] In fact:

> The camp was like a little town with a cinema, a soccer field, and two tennis courts. There was a workshop, library, hospital, a canteen, an orchestra, and even a school with authorisation to give diplomas. Many internees kept animals and made gardens in front of their barracks. The internees were also given holidays once or twice a week on word of honour, so that they could go for walks in the beautiful surroundings.[80]

Ñānatiloka's internment was productive. He wrote his famed Buddhist Dictionary, and prepared German translations of his English works while Ñānaponika completed German translations of several Pali texts. There were compromises. The crowds, the noise, and the intolerance of inmates prevented their meditation activities. The mainly meat-based camp rations of roast beef, cabbage, potatoes, goulash and dumplings, did not anticipate their vegetarianism.[81] Like Karuna, both Ñānakhetta and his brother Ñānamalita disrobed, the latter to become a Hindu Swami, but equally Friedrich Möller (later Ñānavimala, a postwar disciple of Ñānatiloka) embraced Buddhism in the Premnagar camp.[82]

There was considerable national diversity in the internee population. Wings 2 and 4 held Germans, Austrians, Italians, Englishmen (or British citizens), Czechs, Estonians, Costa Ricans, Finns, Greeks, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Poles, Romanians, Russians, Yugoslavs, and French.[83] Italians unwilling to be housed with their countrymen were with the Germans in Wings 2 and 3 and the latter included a Roman Catholic chapel. The sixty-five persons in the Wing 5 Ceylon group included Germans and Hungarians, while Wing 1 included two Danes. Wing 6 was for German sailors, considered POWs.

[78]Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds*, (London: Rider, 1966).
[79]Ñānatusita and Hecker, *Ñānatiloka*, p. 140.
[80]Ibid.
[81]Ibid., p. 144.
[82]Ibid., p. 158.
[83]IOR/I/PJ/8/34, Coll.101/10/AB, Aliens-reports of internment camps in India, Central internment Camp, Premnagar/Dehradun, visit by Charles Huber and A. de Spindler, 5 May 1942.

Upon arrival, internees complained through the Swiss ICRC delegates of poorly thatched roofing, and deplorable and unsanitary conditions, with Wing 5's Hong Kong, Shanghai and Ceylon businessmen, used to privacy and furnishings at the Diyatalawa Camp, the most incensed.[84] When the Home Department defended their actions, the agency responded that, 'the situation in prisoner of war camps in India has given rise to some complaint…[85]

Resistance and Unrest

Protests and civil disobedience augmented the complaints. The much publicised escape from an Indian internment camp of seven 'Germans' from Premnagar in April 1944 included two Himalayan mountaineers, and two Austrian nationals Peter Aufschnaiter and Heinrich Harrer.[86] Their escape has been popularised in the 1997 Hollywood film *Seven Years in Tibet*.[87] The *bhikkhu* Ñānakhetta, likewise, briefly, escaped and befriended a Hindu yogi in the mountains who helped him achieve *samadhi*, a state of deep meditation, before returning to camp.[88] He became the Hindu Swami Gauribala at the end of 1944 and settled in Jaffna, Ceylon. Karuna Kusalasaya never tried to escape, but got caught during a lockdown at Deoli, while visiting his Japanese sweetheart, Yoko Morimoto, in the women's section of Wing 1.[89] The romance ended with her repatriation to Japan. He spent 28 days in detention in the camp punishment cells. Fua's graphite sketch of Yoko is among Karuna's mementos.

Compared to these isolated episodes, civil disobedience was a ritual practice for the Italian *bhikkhu* from Brooklyn. Philip Deslippe observes that although his scientific training as a chemist diverted Ven. Lokanatha away from his Roman Catholic faith and towards Buddhist theology, he nevertheless possessed a Catholic-like missionary zeal.[90] Following his ordainment in Rangoon in 1925 Lokanatha had organised several group pilgrimages to Buddhist sites in India, Burma and Ceylon, including the one for which Karuna was recruited.[91] Facing internment in 1941, he appealed to his siblings

[84]Ñānatusita and Hecker, *Ñānatiloka*, p. 140.
[85]IOR/I/PJ/8/34, Coll.101/10/AB, Aliens-reports of internment camps in India, Government of India, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, London, 9 March 1943; and IOR/I/PJ/8/34, Coll.101/10/AB, Aliens-reports of internment camps in India, Government of India, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, London, 9 March 1943.
[86]Ñānatusita and Hecker, *Ñānatiloka*, p. 142.
[87]The film was directed by Jean-Jacques Annaud.
[88]Ibid., p. 143.
[89]Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 106.
[90]Philip Deslippe, 'Brooklyn Bhikkhu: How Salvatore Cioffi Became the Venerable Lokanatha', *Contemporary Buddhism*, 14, 1 (2013), pp. 169-186, p. 169.
[91]Ibid., 'Brooklyn Bhikkhu', p. 171.

for an affidavit proving his US citizenship, but chose internment when they made it conditional on his reconversion to Catholicism.[92]

Lokanatha's race, citizenship and philosophical orientation confounded the authorities. Or perhaps they equated Italian birth with Fascist ideology. He was suspected of anti-colonial agitation, possibly due to his advocacy in Burma for separate hospital wards and male orderlies for *bhikkhus*.[93] Or was it due to his prewar associations with the Burmese independence leader Aung San and anti-caste social reformer Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar? The latter had renounced Hinduism and was being courted by various religious groups at the time.[94] Whatever the reason, Lokanatha's request to serve parole in Burma was denied on political grounds.[95] Records indicate his internment at Deolali in Maharashtra, Ramgarh in Patna, and Deoli in Rajasthan. Correspondence in 1945 discusses his transfer to the psychiatric hospital at the Bhopal POW camp.[96]

Deslippe, drawing from Italian sources, writes that Lokanatha came into 'dramatic conflict' with his jailors at Patna.

Unable to practice his Buddhism fully and to his satisfaction within the camp's rules, Lokanatha sat immobile in the open air during a 96-day hunger strike, returning to the same place each time the soldiers dragged him away. Once the British gave into his demands, Lokanatha stood up and silently returned to his barracks surrounded by the applause of his fellow prisoners.[97]

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[92]Philip Deslippe, 'From Catholic to Chemist to Buddhist Missionary' Tricycle, *The Buddhist Review*, Winter 2017, https://tricycle.org/magazine/catholic-chemist-buddhist-missionary/. Accessed 22 July 2024.
[93]Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 294.
[94]Deslippe, 'From Catholic to Chemist', pp. 172-3.
[95]National Archives of India, Abhilek Patal, Home Political EW/1941, NAF/10/108, 26 May 1941. Application For Transfer to Burma on Parole from Lokenatha [sic], Alias Salvatore Cioffi, Italian Buddhist Monk, on Behalf of Himself and Three Other Italians, V Cusmaroli, V Cignetti and L Galimerti, Interned in Deolali from Burma. Accessed 22 July 2024.
[96]Ibid., Home Political, Medical Section 1945, Progs. No. 46-20/45-M, Italian Internees 'Arnone Salvatore' and Cioffi Salvatore' who are suffering from mental disorders - Question of their transfer from Internment Camp Deoli to the Mental Hospital in the Prisoners of war camp at Bhopal.
[97]Deslippe, 'From Catholic to Chemist', p. 174. He cites, Paolo Pardo, Il bonzo Napoletano/The Neopolitan monk, *L'Espresso*, April 4, 1984, 50–58. Bernadino Del Boca, Birmania: un paese da amare/Burma: a country to love (Torino: L'Eta` dell'Acquario, 1989).

In this way, he practiced *satyagraha* (truth force) – politicised by Mahatma Gandhi. When Ramgarh was evacuated to accommodate soldiers of the Chinese Expeditionary Force towards the end of 1944, Lokanatha was sent to Deoli where he was reunited with Karuna.[98] Speaking to him through Wing 3's barbed wire fence, Lokanatha claimed several conversions of fellow Christian prisoners.[99]

The Jewish-Austrian writer Vamandas (Walther Eidlitz), quoted in Ñānatiloka's biography, describes Dehradun as torn by political factions, a microcosm of the hostilities in the world outside.[100] The National Socialists with their Gestapo-like hierarchy built on fear and suspicion; the anti-National Socialists agitating for democratic elections; a Church state in the Catholic wing, and Fascist and anti-Fascist divisions among the Italian military – the one group chanting provocative political slogans, and the other burning an effigy of the Duce.[101] Politically dominant Axis supporters even monopolised the cemetery so that anti-Nazis and anti-Fascists had to be buried in the next town.

Karuna likewise intimated a serious split within the Japanese internee population at Deoli in the months following the war's end, observing how internee emotions alternated between patriotic outbursts and deep despair, and how the surrender and the atomic bombings pitted patriotic youths (*kachi-gumi*/victory group) against realists (*make-gumi*/defeat groups).[102] He was sensitised to these events because Yoko's father was from a town near Nagasaki.[103] The anti-surrender internee faction attacked their rivals with knives and sharpened lathis (iron-bound bamboo stick).

Matos and Ward write that 'two aspects, defeat/victory and the desire to leave, fused to create a toxic environment.'[104] They discuss what is known as the '226 incident',

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[98] Cao Yin, 'An Indian Town's Entry into the Second World War: Holding Together the Congress Party and Training Chinese Soldiers in Wartime Raj'. Accessed 22 July 2024. *China Report* 57, 1 (2021), pp. 95-110.

[99]Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 107.

[100]Ñānatusita and Hecker, *Ñānatiloka*, pp. 143-151. Walther Eidlitz became a disciple of Sadananda Swami Dasa (Ernst-Georg Schulz) during his internment.

[101]Walther Eidlitz, *Journey to an Unknown India,* (Mandala Publishing Group, 1999) p. 87. Originally published in 1951 as *Bhakta: Eine indische Odysse*.

[102]Matos and Ward, 'Forgotten Forced migrants', 1106. Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 112.

[103]BL IOR: L/PJ/8/64 Coll.101/11G, Internment of Japanese in India, From Government of India, Home Department to Secretary of State for India, confidential telegram, 3 March 1946.

[104]Matos and Ward, 'Forgotten Forced migrants', p. 1106.

when the internees barricaded their wing, and the Commandant called in the Ajmer military. An official communication on 26 February 1946 reports that the internees stoned the military when they arrived.[105] Some sixty-seven rounds were fired, seventeen internees were killed and twenty-one were wounded, according to the report.

Delineations of Sovereignty

Our small cast of characters encountered varied territorial and ethnocultural interpretations of sovereignty that informed their identification as individuals, but also in relation to the place of capture, arrest or incarceration, as distinct from other forms of idealised place belonging. Focus on their experiences produces a more heterogeneous social history of the war than that in official imperial records. Fua's emotive artworks, and both Kusalasaya's and Ñānatiloka's memoirs offer culturally attenuated reflections on the camps. Lokanatha, in contrast, remains a controversial figure whose voice is mediated by academic interpretation, however, like these others, he too defies categorical essentialisation. Their stories help diffuse and disrupt taken for granted national boundaries even of postcolonial territories after the war. For all four internees and others who accompanied them, territorial or cultural sovereignty was multi-facetted and negotiated across several intersections of race, culture, nationality, and location and were related to diasporic belonging or the already fermenting anti-imperial political consciousness of dissent. Some were affected, by the specific wartime vulnerabilities caused by the perceived indeterminacy of their political affiliations at the time of their incarceration, which marked them as potentially subversive. At the war's end they were redistributed across Asia's newest delineations of political sovereignty and made choices largely shaped by their internment.

The spaces of internment in India likewise were transformed by decolonisation and the greater humanitarian catastrophe of Partition in 1947, when the vacated Purana Qila, Deoli, Dehradun and other camps were repurposed for uprooted refugees. Deoli would be reused fifteen years later for diasporic Chinese internees during the 1962 Sino-Indian conflict. These border struggles were the latest dramatic performances of nation-state sovereignty through which individual interests were realigned.

Internment deepened the Thai internees' longing for their homeland; released from its coercive alliance with Japan. Repatriated in September 1946, they passed via Singapore's Jurong Internment Camp for surrendered Japanese civilians to the Waterloo Street displaced persons camp for Asian *romusha* (forced labourers). They were no longer categorised alongside the Japanese internees. Karuna described it as a 'camp for cripples', an indictment on Japanese treatment of Asian labourers, and anxious to leave it, found the means to return to Bangkok with his fellow Thai

[105] Ibid.

internees.[106] Although invited back to Santiniketan, he chose to remain in his homeland, maintaining his affiliation with India through work with the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge and Indian Consulate. Later with his wife, Mae, Karuna translated several Indian works into Thai – including by Gandhi, Nehru and Tagore.[107] Internment had inspired a desire to translate and communicate his appreciation of India, not merely as a place of cultural origins but of political change – to his fellow Thais. Meanwhile Fua, malarial and anaemic, returned to his ruined Bangkok home. He soon set off to study at the Academy of Fine Art in Rome, becoming an acclaimed modernist artist who, nevertheless, once back in his homeland, focused on the restoration of Thai Buddhist frescoes. For this work, he was awarded the 1983 Ramon Magsaysay Award.[108] While we can only speculate on Fua's changed focus, his study of fresco paintings at Santiniketan were certainly influential, along with a desire for a culturally more grounded practice.

The German *bhikkhus*, in contrast, faced the generalised requirement that all Germans be repatriated to a divided homeland, although their adopted homes were in Asia and their ordainment for them served as a rebirth. Their foster communities intervened and D.S. Senanayake, the first Prime Minister of the soon to be independent Ceylon invited them back to their Island Hermitage. They remained in Asia, unlike thousands of fellow Europeans, prisoners, soldiers and colonists who went to a war-damaged Europe from a demilitarised Asia. Their presence demonstrated a unique instance of Europeans embracing Asian cultural practices alongside other indigenous efforts at cultural recovery. Both Ñānatiloka and Ñānaponika were granted Sri Lankan (Ceylon) citizenship in 1951 and assumed significant roles in the translation and dissemination of the Pali canon in German and English.[109] They were patrons of the Lanka, later 'German', Dhammaduta Society (1952), a Buddhist foreign mission to their former homeland. A similar mission animated Lokanatha whose multivalent identification with the USA, Burma and Italy had fed his prewar ambition of mass conversions, now resumed after repatriation to Burma. His world tours attracted publicity redirected towards achieving world peace by his horror of the atomic bombings, comparable to Nipponzan-Myōhōji's peace pagodas, including in Rajgir, India. Lokanatha was featured in the *New Yorker* of March 1949.[110] Deslippe credits him for influencing Ambedkar's eventual embracing of Buddhism along with half a million Dalit converts in 1956.[111]

[106] Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', pp. 124-5.
[107] Ibid., p. 134, pp. 195-200.
[108] Rodboon, *Hariphitak*, pp. 58-69.
[109]Ñānatusita and Hecker, *Ñānatiloka*, p. 165.
[110]Lokanatha, *The New Yorker*, March 5, 1949, p. 23.
[111]Deslippe, 'From Catholic to Chemist', p. 176.

They all, including Ambedkar, attended the inaugural 1950 Ceylon conference for the World Fellowship of Buddhists.[112]

Wartime experiences undoubtedly influenced the post war choices of these individuals, shaping the Thai internees' efforts in cultural recovery, which in the case of the Ceylon *bhikkhus* extended to changed citizenship. Unlike many wartime internees' stories that are recounted as a past episode in India, their endeavours were integral to postwar decolonisation processes. They figured prominently in the co-construction of modern Buddhism through social and spiritual interactions between Asian and European Buddhists.[113] Whereas previously, these interactions occurred under the imperial radar, the countries to which they now returned – Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, by advocating for state protection of Buddhism, advanced postcolonial cultural recovery through majoritarian claims. Both Ñānatiloka and Lokanatha were venerated in their adopted homelands and their remains enshrined upon their deaths. Ñānatiloka was given a state funeral at Sri Lanka's Independence Square in 1957 and his ashes were interred at the Hermitage.[114] Following his untimely death in 1966, Lokanatha's remains were enshrined in the Sagaing, Taw Taung Bi Luu Chaung monastery near Mandalay.[115]

[112]Report of the Inaugural *Conference* and Proceedings of the. First Sessions of the *World* Fellowship of *Buddhists* held in Ceylon, from the 25th May to the 6th June, 1950.

[113]Alice Turner, Laurence Cox, and Brian Bocking, ' Introduction' in Brian Bocking, Phibul Choompolpaisal, Laurence Cox, Alicia M Turner, *A Buddhist Cross Roads: Pioneer Western Buddhists and Globalizing Asian networks, 1860-1960*, (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 1-13, p. 2.

[114]Ñānatusita and Hecker, *Ñānatiloka*, p. 167.

[115]Kusalasaya, '*Life Without...*', p. 203.

Transcolonial Carceralities: Memories of Algerian and Japanese Civilian Internment and Denaturalisation

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ABSTRACT
This article examines the overseas French empire's denaturalisation, civilian internment, and carceral policies vis-à-vis Algerians in North Africa and the Japanese in New Caledonia during and after the Second World War. Illuminating the histories of Algerian and Japanese civilian internment, this article analyses how overlapping, uneven colonial policies pertaining to incarceration spanning multiple empires produced complex settler-colonial entanglements with racial implications. This article reveals how multifarious colonial policies gesturing to a global, carceral, and colonial continuum against Algerians and Japanese reinforced parallels between diasporic and ideological movements from francophone North Africa to Oceania.

'The first essential step on the road to total domination is to kill the juridical person in man.'
Hannah Arendt[1]

By April 1941, the Vichy French government in Algeria had established networks of internment camps, including the infamous Bedeau and Télergma labour camps, to which authorities would begin the transportation of Algerian Jews and political prisoners. These internees would work for the French empire as forced labourers under insalubrious conditions until 1943.[2] By the same year, French authorities detained over two thousand Algerian Jewish internees in camps with political

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[1]Hannah Arendt, *On Totalitarianism*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1968), p. 447.
[2]Norbert Bel Ange, *Quand Vichy internait ses soldats juifs d'Algérie: Bedeau, sud Oranais, 1941-1943*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006).

prisoners, totalling approximately twenty thousand subjects across camps in Algeria.[3] Displaced refugees whom officials qualified as internees and labourers would arrive in freighters along routes extending from Oran to Algiers. According to former Bedeau prisoner Charles Malka, the Nazi German leadership recognised and praised the creation of these camps under the control of the Vichy French authorities.[4] According to Malka, shaven-headed internees were destined to endure deplorable physical and sanitary conditions, often leading to severe illness and death. Camp Hadjerat M'Guil in South Oran, most infamously known by survivors as the 'French Buchenwald', housed prisoners whom Vichy authorities tortured and murdered. Prisoners at Hadjerat M'Guil were mainly foreign workers, and camp guards included German Nazis and French Vichy collaborators.[5] Nazi-supported Vichy projects, such as the creation of internment camps in the Maghreb, unfolded simultaneously with the opening of internment and death camps across Europe. Strict censorship policies prohibited reports on these Algerian camps until the liberation of North Africa – a fact that would enshroud the existence of North African labour camps in darkness until nearly a decade after the Second World War.

Nearly twenty thousand kilometres from these Algerian camps lies Oceania's New Caledonia where historians can locate another neglected history of the overseas French empire's use of incarceration camps. Although incarceration spaces in the penal colony of Nouville, New Caledonia, were not labour camps connected to the Third Reich, French officials collectively detained political undesirables and Asian emigrants for national security reasons. Understanding the place that internment camps occupy in New Caledonian history entails analysing its unique settler-colonial status and the presence there of indentured Japanese labourers. Having arrived in New Caledonia in 1892, Japanese settlers served the overseas French empire as indentured labourers whom French officials, liaising with the Japanese government, contracted to work in the archipelago's valuable nickel mining industry. Nearly fifty years later and fearing imminent threats from an imperial Japanese attack after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the French governor of New Caledonia Henri Sautot received orders from Charles de Gaulle on 8 December 1941, that the colonial authorities were to detain all

[3]Susan Slyomovics, 'Other Places of Confinement: Bedeau Internment Camp for Algerian Jewish Soldiers', in Aomar Boum and Sarah Abrevaya Stein (eds.), *The Holocaust and North Africa*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), pp. 95-112 (p. 99).

[4]United States Holocaust Museum, RG-50.030.0610, Charles Malka, 'Oral History Interview with Charles Malka,' https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn42308 Accessed 10 July 2022.

[5]Cristina Bejan, 'Hadjerat M'Guil', in Geoffrey P. Megargee, Joseph R. White, and Mel Hecker (eds.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945, Vol. 3*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), pp. 270-272.

Japanese civilians residing on the archipelago and send them to the Nouville penal colony.

The French empire maintained *de facto* all of its overseas Vichy colonies when Germany occupied France in May 1940. New Caledonia, unlike Vichy North Africa, changed support from Vichy to Free France in September 1940.[6] This Vichy-to-Free French transition characterises New Caledonia as a unique territory that claimed both Vichy and Free French allegiances within such a short period. Beginning on 8 December 1941, French officials in the Free French territory of New Caledonia conducted unannounced door-to-door raids, arresting 1,152 Japanese subjects and detaining them under austere conditions.[7] These raids transpired throughout the French Pacific empire with the objective to rapidly expel the Japanese and thwart any surprise Japanese attack on Free French Oceanic territories. Cabled reports at the time indicated that the Japanese empire planned to occupy New Caledonia and other overseas French territories.[8] New Caledonian Japanese who were naturalised French citizens were stripped of their French citizenship. Collaborating with the Australian government, French authorities in New Caledonia deported 1,126 Japanese civilians held at the Nouville internment camp in Nouméa to various internment camps throughout Australia. While French authorities detained nearly all of the Japanese in New Caledonia, they exempted the mixed-race children of Japanese civilian detainees. Most of these children were from Japanese-Indigenous New Caledonian families, also referred to as Nippo-Kanak, and were excluded, along with their Melanesian mothers, from this mass deportation. Divested of their citizenship by French colonial authorities, these mixed-race children witnessed their Japanese fathers' arrest not knowing that this would be the last time they would see them. Nearly all of the Japanese detainees were unable to return to New Caledonia immediately after the Second World War due to financial hardships and preventative legislation. The French

[6]On New Caledonia's decision to align with Free France, see Kim Munholland, *Rock of Contention: Free French and Americans at War in New Caledonia, 1940-1945*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 33-42.

[7]This figure is an average across various archival sources that disclose different numbers. The total figure appearing in this article is based on (1) the official number of New Caledonian Japanese detainees, including female Japanese under house arrest, whom French officials deported and (2) the number of detainees who were exempted from deportation. On this point, see Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland, 'The Japanese in New Caledonia: Histories of Citizenship, Incarceration, and Nippo-Kanak Identity', *French Historical Studies*, 43, 4 (2020): pp. 667-703 (p. 690).

[8]Personal archives of Paul Paturel, 'Note de renseignements: Espionnage japonais', 1941: Poindimié, New Caledonia.

government's refusal to allow New Caledonian Japanese to re-enter the country after the war further hindered their ability to reunite with the families left behind.[9]

Focusing on this transnational framework, the author has examined critically neglected histories in Japanese, French, and Algerian contexts, in which colonial officials in the overseas French empire manipulated the juridical statuses and ordered the physical incarceration of civilian subjects. This article considers the time frame of the Second World War in New Caledonian and Algerian contexts, as well as the years leading to the war in both locations. In this article's North African context, the author's focus on denaturalisation policies and displacement also concerns the years spanning the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962). French officials adopted these policies to safeguard its French colonies in North Africa and Oceania. The article thus explores the French empire's denaturalisation and carceral policies aimed at the Japanese in New Caledonia, including their Nippo-Kanak children, situating the case of the Japanese in New Caledonia against carceral and sociolegal policies operating in Algeria both during and after the Second World War. In so doing, the article shows that denaturalisation and carceral practices in these geographies were interrelated colonial mechanisms. The French empire employed these mechanisms to reproduce what Hannah Arendt describes as 'statelessness'. Namely, stateless individuals are denied their human personhood when a regime prevents them from partaking in an organised political body and citizenship within a nation-state.[10] For Arendt, when colonial bureaucracies deny individuals their citizenship within a nation-state, the individuals are fundamentally 'stateless': dehumanised, deprived of their human agency, and subjected to pervasive surveillance. Considering carceral practices and statelessness, historians can orient Japanese and North African emigration and internment in the overseas French empire around 'transcolonial carceralities' – a concept referring to the overlapping yet uneven policies of incarceration, dehumanisation, and dispossession spanning multiple empires and temporalities. This study illuminates the parallels between diasporic, ideological movements across empires in a global carceral continuum on which historians can place French colonial policies in North Africa and Oceania.

[9]Ireland, 'The Japanese in New Caledonia', p. 698. See also Rowena Ward, 'Repatriating the Japanese from New Caledonia, 1941-46', *Journal of Pacific History*, 51, 4 (2016), pp. 392-408.

[10]Arendt, *On Totalitarianism*, p. 596. Although Arendt's commentaries reference historical atrocities beyond this article's geocultural framework, her commentaries on the demonisation of targeted, oppressed populaces by colonial bureaucracies can extend to any regime, including the French empire, that regarded its legally precarious subjects as an expendable surplus population.

Specifically, the article examines the impact that incarceration and legal policies had on Indigenous and Algerian Jewish communities, on the one hand, and settler-colonial Japanese and racially hybrid Nippo-Kanak communities in New Caledonia, on the other. This article does not posit or intimate there was any causal relationship between the French empire in North Africa and in the Asia Pacific. The objective is to examine the similar carceral policies in North Africa and the Pacific Islands to dismantle the notion of a monolithic French empire. The article is also cautious not to employ any comparative frameworks that could problematically minimise or equate the lived experiences of Algerian Jews, non-Jews, Japanese, and Japanese-Indigenous subjects when all were impacted by the French empire. The productive juxtaposition of asymmetrical Algerian and New Caledonian histories represents a heuristic allowing historians to uncover violently marginalised, silenced transnational histories. Michael Rothberg qualifies this interpretive methodology as an 'emergent model of multidirectional memory' – one that serves as a mode of transnational remembrance evincing the racialised, colonial violences against persecuted civilian populaces.[11] As suggested in this article's conclusion, this multidirectional memory is noteworthy because it allows historians to explore the traumas embedded in 'complex and uncertain moral and ethical terrain'.[12] This article's multidirectional engagement invites historians to move across temporalities and geographies to promote an active decolonial solidarity with the victims of this French colonial history.

After German soldiers marched down the Champs-Élysées in June 1940, German and French officials signed an armistice at Compiègne. This divided France into a German-occupied zone in northern France and an unoccupied zone (*zone libre*) in south-eastern France under Marshal Philippe Pétain's authority. Establishing his collaborationist government in the spa town of Vichy, Pétain assumed leadership on 16 June 1940 after the resignation of Prime Minister Paul Reynaud. Notably, Germany did not confiscate France's colonies and allowed France to keep 150,000 men in the country's overseas colonies for defence purposes.[13] French colonies, such as North Africa and the French West Indies, would support Pétain's regime until 1943, while others, such as francophone territories in the South Pacific, would quickly rally to de Gaulle's

[11]Michael Rothberg, 'On the Mbembe Affair: The Specters of Comparison', *Zeitgeister: International Perspectives from Culture and Society*. https://www.goethe.de/prj/zei/en/pos/21864662.html. Accessed 11 May 2020.
[12]Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), p. 40.
[13]Brian L. Herder, *Operation Torch 1942: The Invasion of French North Africa*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 5.

leadership.[14] Pétain was actively complicit in advancing antisemitic legislation that the Third Reich had moulded. The Marshal also supported the operations of numerous transition camps located in the outskirts of Paris where French Jews were incarcerated and then sent on to extermination camps. Approximately 76,000 Jews in France were deported to concentration camps in Poland.

Vichy France was under the influence of the Third Reich, which meant that most of France's overseas territories became Vichy colonies, including North Africa and French Indochina. New Caledonia and Tahiti which had rallied to the Free French cause in September 1940 were noteworthy exceptions, although they had briefly been Vichy colonies before the Gaullist *coup*. New Caledonia is a unique French 'collectivity' that transitioned from Vichy to Free French status, and both Vichy and Free French regimes, although seemingly antagonistic, maintained close relations with the pro-Axis, imperial Japanese government. Perhaps most noteworthy was de Gaulle's continued reliance on Japanese-owned nickel mines in New Caledonia for France to procure its own natural resources. New Caledonia's relations with Japan meant that de Gaulle's Free French empire of New Caledonia was also complicit in allowing nickel exportation to continue to 'Japan [then] to Vladivostok, across the Trans-Siberian railway, and into German armaments factories before Hitler invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941'.[15]

New Caledonia's interest in Japan began in 1892 when Japan sent its initial convoy of indentured labourers to work in New Caledonia's nickel mines. The French Empire recruited the Japanese for their favourable reputation as hard workers, and offered them three year contracts as immigrant labourers. The initial three-year period of the Japanese presence in New Caledonia evolved into nearly five decades of residence on the archipelago. The Japanese in New Caledonia progressively carved their place in French New Caledonian society, fathering mixed race Japanese-Indigenous children who occupied a unique position in society. These mixed-race, Nippo-Kanak children traversed French, Indigenous, and Japanese socio-cultural and linguistic spaces as they grew up with a Japanese father and Kanak mother in this overseas French territory. Mixed-race Japanese children in New Caledonian society were faced with considerable racial discrimination by French colonials. Japanese emigration in the French Pacific was

[14]Jean-Marc Regnault, 'La France Libre, Vichy et les Américains: Des relations difficiles dans le Pacifique en guerre. L'exemple des îles Wallis et Futuna (1940-1942)', *Outre-Mers: Revue d'histoire*, 91, 344-5 (2004), pp. 181-200 (p. 200).

[15]Chad Denton, 'New Caledonian Nickel and Origins of Axis Alliance', *The Journal of Pacific History*, 54, 4 (2019), pp. 443-460 (p. 458). On how the New Caledonian Japanese nickel mining industry prompted national security concerns in Australia, see Alexander Lee, 'Avoiding Japanese Intervention in New Caledonia: June and July 1940', *The Journal of Pacific History*, 58, 3 (2023), pp. 215-231.

particularly complex because Japanese emigrants were also settler-colonial subjects who would have had a unique recourse to imperial intervention in Tokyo if conditions in the French islands became unfavourable. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Nippo-Kanak children were left behind and allocated a juridically stateless status after French officials had detained, incarcerated, and then deported their Japanese fathers.

What scholars refer to as the 'overseas French empire' during the Second World War was not a monolithic entity, but one composed of two separate and seemingly antagonistic administrations – Vichy and Free French – that centralised powers around colonial exploitation. Despite their ideologically different platforms, both Vichy and Free French empires shared their colonialising, racialising implementation of juridical policies over Indigenous and emigrant populaces in the colonial territories over which they maintained influence. In the scope of this article, Vichy France and its policies were applied to Algerian Jews in North Africa from June 1940 to 1942, while Free French policies were applied to the Japanese emigrant population in the South Pacific after September 1940. Between 1940 and 1942, there were some 110,000 Algerian Jews residing in the Maghreb who represented a diversity in linguistic, legal, and ancestral backgrounds.[16] Most Algerian Jews were French citizens with linguistic ability in French and were regarded by many Muslims as agents of European 'embourgeoisement' and 'social and cultural change' in the Maghreb.[17] After the German occupation of France in 1940, which prompted France's North African colonies to operate under Vichy policy, anti-Jewish, race-based policies began to take effect in Algeria. Vichy French colonial policy over Algerian Jews, as Daniel Schroeter affirms, included the 1940 'abrogation of the Crémieux Decree, [whereby] those who had been naturalized as a result of the decree were stripped of the citizenship'.[18] Schroeter makes clear that the abrogation stemmed from Vichy policy in metropolitan France and the Nazi Racial Legislation of 1933 in Germany that 'was designed to strip French nationality from those who had been naturalized since 1927' with the purpose of 'demoting the status of the Jews of Algeria'.[19]

A year after the abrogation of the Crémieux Decree in Algeria, the Free French government in New Caledonia implemented a similar practice of revoking citizenship

[16]Aomar Boum and Sarah Abrevaya Stein, 'Introduction', in Aomar Boum and Sarah Abrevaya Stein (eds.), *The Holocaust and North Africa*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), pp. 1-16 (p. 3).
[17]Ibid.
[18]Daniel J. Schroeter, 'Between Metropole and French Africa: Vichy's Anti-Semitic Legislation and Colonialism's Racial Hierarchies', in Aomar Boum and Sarah Abrevaya Stein (eds.), *The Holocaust and North Africa*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), pp. 19-49 (p. 37).
[19]Ibid., p. 37.

statuses against its settler-colonial population. Beginning in February 1942, colonial authorities stripped all New Caledonian Japanese who had been naturalised French citizens of their citizenship, while officials manipulated the juridical identities of the Nippo-Kanak children that the Japanese deportees had left behind. Due to their father's citizenship, Nippo-Kanaks born in New Caledonia were Japanese in the eyes of French colonial law. Free French officials illegally revoked Nippo-Kanaks' citizenship, making Nippo-Kanaks effectively stateless or *apatride* from 8 December 1941, despite their original designation as Japanese. This situation continued until after the war. Their statelessness demoted their juridical status to lower than that of Indigenous Kanaks who at least maintained a French autochthonous citizenship in Oceania. Stateless Nippo-Kanaks were thus legally outside of any formal French governmental oversight, and numerous Nippo-Kanaks were forced to reside in Catholic orphanages or return to their mother's tribe because the French government did not provide adequate monetary resources to Nippo-Kanak families.

The Law of Jonnart of 4 February 1919, 'created within the French empire's colonies an autochthonous citizenship, linked to the existence of a personal civil status, distinct from the civil status of common law'.[20] The Law of Jonnart primarily applied to French Algerians, but the category of Indigenous citizenship that the Law of Jonnart purportedly created was an empty one and applicable to Natives in all overseas French territories. Its racist, segregationist implications suggested a continued sociolegal, colonial control over Native peoples. The history of the legal status of mixed-race Native subjects belongs within this broader framework of citizenship law across the global French empire. Whereas Indigenous populations passed from 'autochthonous citizens' or 'French subjects' to either 'citizens of the French Union' or 'citizens of France', depending on their geographic location within the French empire, there was no specific law that granted Indigenous mixed-race French citizenship uniformly across the empire before 1946. Certain subjective measures, such as those that Saigon lawyer Henri Sambuc proposed in 1913, would allow mixed-race individuals to undergo naturalisation as French only if they overtly exhibited French values. Coupled with this subjective qualification of 'Frenchness', decisions on whether mixed-race persons could receive citizenship would also touch on questions of race. Here 'race' would correspond not only to biological features, but also to sociocultural characteristics.[21] Sambuc noted in this regard:

[20]'[C]réait dans les colonies de l'Empire français, une citoyenneté autochtone, liée à l'existence d'un statut civil personnel, distinct du statut civil de droit commun'. Olivier Gohin, 'La citoyenneté dans l'outre-mer français', *Revue française d'administration publique*, 1, 1 (2002), pp. 75-76.

[21]Emmanuelle Saada, *Les enfants de la colonie: les métis de l'Empire français entre sujétion et citoyenneté*, (Paris: La Découverte, 2007), p. 196.

> It would also be necessary that the current legislation applied to mixed-race individuals be liberally modified and permit treating […] these [mixed] children exhibiting French ideas and leanings as true French [who require] a normal naturalization or an equivalent procedure.[22]

Between 1910 and 1920, various territories comprising the French empire formulated differing and often conflicting responses to the question of citizenship pertaining to mixed-race individuals. New Caledonia granted citizenship to a French-Kanak in 1923 simply because he had lived in a French manner, raising his family with his French wife.[23] Only three years prior, French administrators in New Caledonia had rejected granting French citizenship to a mixed-race man despite his claims that he fully embraced European culture.[24] Because Nippo-Kanaks were partially autochthonous, half Japanese and thus could not be racially French in the eyes of the French administration, Nippo-Kanaks' citizenship status as a doubly-marginalised group operated differently from French-Kanak in New Caledonia until May 1946. From this point the French administration granted Nippo-Kanaks a path toward citizenship but required Nippo-Kanaks and other mixed-race Japanese to formally renounce their Japanese nationality in writing at their local municipal bureau.[25]

Nevertheless, French naturalisation for half-Japanese individuals was no guarantee in New Caledonia even decades after the war. The Laws of Jonnart and Lamine Guèye did not apply to Nippo-Kanak children if these children chose to keep their father's Japanese surname. *De facto* representative of the Japanese community in Nouméa, Hidekio Nishiyama registered all Nippo-Kanak births before 1941 and sent each child's birth certificates to the Japanese Consulate in Sydney to validate Nippo-Kanaks' legal status as Japanese. However, the veracity of that historical claim has been problematised by subsequent honorary Japanese Consuls in New Caledonia because no records exist of such items held with the Japanese Consulate in Sydney. [26] Nippo-Kanaks were in theory Japanese citizens according to Japanese law until eighteen years of age before they would choose to undergo French naturalisation. To date, there remain no records in New Caledonia or in Australia showing an officialised designation of Japanese citizenship of a mixed-Japanese born in New Caledonia that the Japanese

[22]'Il faudrait aussi, de toute nécessité, que la législation actuellement applicable aux métis soit modifiée dans un sens très libéral et permettre de traiter […] ces enfants [métis] à idées et à tendances françaises, comme de vrais Français […] [requérant] une naturalisation régulière ou […] tout autre procédé équivalent'. See Henri Sambuc, 'Enquête sur la question des métis II', *Revue Indochinoise*, 19 (1913), p. 205.
[23]Saada, *Les enfants de la colonie*, p. 200.
[24]Ibid.
[25]Ismet Kurtovitch, interview by author, Nouméa, July 15, 2018.
[26]Marie-José Michel, interview by author, Nouméa, July 16, 2018.

government had officially validated. Because there was no recorded proof of official Japanese citizenship at the time, coupled with Nippo-Kanaks' collective exclusion from the Laws of Jonnart and Lamine Guèye, Nippo-Kanaks were *apatride* or legally stateless subjects until 1946. Free France in New Caledonia was thus complicit in undermining the juridical status of Nippo-Kanaks, which demonstrates how both Free France and Vichy France deliberately manipulated citizenship laws to victimise stateless populations over which both empires exerted control.

Although French officials did not place Nippo-Kanaks in carceral sites, Nippo-Kanaks' collective denaturalisation and statelessness were important facets of this francophone history of Japanese internment. Like their detained Japanese fathers, Nippo-Kanaks were deprived of their rights to fully exercise their citizenship. Building on Arendt's notion of 'statelessness', Ayten Gündoğdu notes,

> [The] term 'stateless' […] refer[s] to not only those who formally lost their nationality but also those who could no longer benefit from their citizenship rights: refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants, even naturalized citizens who faced the threat of denaturalization in times of emergency.[27]

The statelessness of Nippo-Kanaks and denaturalisation of Japanese New Caledonians were extensions of the French empire's colonial practice to control and limit each colonised subject's humanity. The French empire was able to finance the deportation of the New Caledonian Japanese by sequestering all property belonging to New Caledonian Japanese, including the Japanese-owned nickel industries. The value of sequestered property from the New Caledonian Japanese totalled 125 million Pacific francs.[28] French officials in New Caledonia imposed restrictions on Nippo-Kanaks' ability to reclaim their Japanese fathers' assets. Because only French citizens could purchase sequestered property, stateless and economically destitute Nippo-Kanaks had no choice but to relinquish their fathers' properties to de Gaulle's Free French regime. Denaturalising Nippo-Kanaks allowed Free France to develop and wield carceral policies culminating in the internment of Japanese New Caledonians in Nouville before their fathers' internment in Australia.

In the Algerian context, the French empire's wartime denaturalisation policies were in full effect. French authorities targeted Jews whom officials subjected to the Vichy regime's antisemitic policies. These policies included justifying the dispossession of

[27]Ayten Gündoğdu, *Rightlessness in an Age of Rights: Hannah Arendt and the Contemporary Struggles of Migrants*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 2.
[28]Philippe Palombo, *La présence japonaise en Nouvelle-Calédonie (1890-1960): Les relations économiques entre le Japon et la Nouvelle-Calédonie à travers l'immigration et l'industrie minière*, (Saarbrücken: Éditions universitaires européennes, 2012), p. 523.

Indigenous Algerians' land, the sequestration of Algerian Jews' properties, and the application of antisemitic decrees. After the Fall of France in June 1940, Vichy France enacted antisemitic legislation taken from German racial ordinances. Vichy France implemented the same race-based antisemitic legislation in North Africa as those in being applied in metropolitan France. Among the many anti-Jewish laws that Vichy enforced was the Law of 3 October 1940. This law dispossessed Jews from their property, depriving them of the ability to work in certain professions. The Vichy regime applied this same law in Algeria on 7 October 1940, known as the abrogation of the Crémieux Decree, which exceptionally excluded Mzabi Jews who had not been impacted by French colonial law. The abrogation of the Crémieux Decree was further reinforced by, as Daniel Schroeter shows, 'a second law [that] […] made Jews ineligible for naturalization by the process stipulated by the Jonnart Law of 1919, which set conditions for allowing *indigènes* to become French citizens'.[29] Schroeter further notes,

> The Statut de Juifs [revoking Jews' French citizenship in Algeria] was intended to satisfy Vichy's Nazi allies […] and to stem the growth of anticolonial [anti-French] nationalists across North Africa who had, since the beginning of the Third Reich, turned to [Nazi] Germany for support, denouncing Jews [in Algeria] for having too much power.[30]

Algerian Jews were thus Indigenous imperial subjects with no French citizenship status. Vichy's dehumanising, antisemitic laws were a keystone to French colonial domination in Algeria that would continue after the country's Allied liberation and the Second World War.

Until 1943, Vichy labour camps in North Africa provided the French empire with an outlet to exercise its antisemitic policies whille advancing its control of the francophone Maghreb. France's antisemitic legislation against Algerian Jews during the war was further exemplified by the creation of secret forced labour camps in Algeria, secret to the extent that the public elsewhere was largely unaware of the existence of these sites of human trauma, although civilian internees within the camps did recognise that their ability to survive was predicated on their submission to colonial orders. As Aomar Boum has noted:

> [I]nternees were to a degree aware of the fate of inmates in Nazi death camps and strategically understood that their compliance with [French] authorities

[29]Schroeter, 'Between Metropole and French Africa', p. 44.
[30]Ibid.

> could postpone or prevent a transfer to Nazi death camps or to a disciplinary internment prison, where the mortality rate was quite high.[31]

One of the most infamous camps in Algeria was Bedeau, located in the Algerian village formerly known as Ras-El-Ma; renamed Bedeau to honour French General Marie-Alphonse Bedeau who overcame Algerian resistance in 1840. Bedeau was constructed as a *commune mixte*, or an administrative structure that enforced Metropolitan France's settler-colonial presence over its prisoners, composed primarily of Algeria's Jewish population and Indigenous population. These prisoners worked on a Nazi-supported project advanced by Vichy France to build a trans-sub-Saharan railroad to connect Europe and North Africa with West and Southwest Africa. Forced labourers in Bedeau in 1940, suffered inhumane conditions under Algeria's Vichy French regime. However, Bedeau was not an extermination camp like those in Europe, so North Africans Jews could maintain a small 'margin of hope of survival' in Algeria.[32]

Those who were imprisoned in Vichy French camps in Algeria were not allowed to record their daily events. The French camp guards actively burned all 'proof', namely written testimonies by prisoners to conceal the dehumanising experiences within the camps. In fact, even after the liberation of Algeria in 1943 by the combined Free French and Allied forces, de Gaulle's administration, with the United States' backing, deliberately extended Vichy Algeria's antisemitic legislations. On 20 October 1943, due to U.S. governmental pressure, Algerian Jews were granted French nationality by the reinstatement of the Crémieux Decree one year after the Allied invasion of Algeria, which Hannah Arendt claimed to be an 'unnecessary prolongation'.[33] This prolongation was also due to hesitation in the Roosevelt administration which feared potential domestic complications, fearing that American Jews in light of the Crémieux Decree's reinstatement could have their own 'rights, too, […] one day be vulnerable to some circumstance of political or military expediency'.[34] Ultimately in 1943, Jews were restored French citizenship in Algeria, but the French administration continually relied on Algerian internment camps, well after the Second World War, extending into the Algerian War from 1954 to 1962. These carceral spaces that reinforced

[31]Aomar Boum, 'Eyewitness Djelfa: Daily Life in a Saharan Vichy Labor Camp', in Aomar Boum and Sarah Abrevaya Stein (eds.), *The Holocaust and North Africa*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), pp. 149-167 (p. 158).
[32]Ibid., p. 150. There were no death camps in North Africa; however, the Vichy regime expelled an estimated 1,200 North African Jews residing in metropolitan France to Nazi death camps through Drancy transition camp.
[33]Slyomovics, 'Other Places of Confinement', p. 107.
[34]Rafael Medoff, *The Jews Should Keep Quiet: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and the Holocaust*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2019), p. 138.

civilian dispossession – camps totalling over two thousand in number – were networks where famine, malnutrition, and death defined the prisoners' experiences.

Amidst ongoing violence between French and Algerians after the Second World War, the vestige of Vichy-era internment sites in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia remained present. These post-war internment camps that ranged from penal sites to labour camps included Jewish and non-Jewish European refugees, prisoners-of-war, and relocated civilians whom officials had forced to evacuate. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who ardently denounced the torture methods that the French army used in North Africa, expressed that 'nothing in the Algerian War is as important as the problem of internment.'[35] In this regard, the French administration continued to use Vichy-era internment camps after the Vichy administration's departure from the Maghreb. The French empire established highly secretive networks of internment camps and prison sites in Algeria to reinforce its colonial domination while enacting policies of denaturalisation of Algerian civilians of the Muslim faith. Colonial domination also included the dispossession of Native lands, which officials advanced in the name of modernisation.

Throughout the Algerian War of Independence, the French administration placed over two million Algerians in carceral networks of approximately two thousand internment camps.[36] Reports indicate that the estimated cost for these relocations totalled nearly three billion French francs.[37] The French government's justification to maintain these internment camps was primarily to 'facilitate the tasks of the pacification [of the nation] and to assure the protection of the population, to place dispersed populations in better economic and social conditions'.[38] Those whom the French government placed in these camps faced the dispossession of their lands, were required to sell their property, and were confronted with sanitary conditions much like those found in Vichy-era camps, such as the notorious Camp Bedeau. Although not legally stateless, Algerians forcibly displaced in these post-Vichy era internment camps were deprived of their rights and humanity while confined in these carceral sites. The national French newspaper *Le Monde* would only briefly publicise the existence of these camps in Algeria on 12 March 1959, to the metropolitan French public in a special article

[35]Michel Rocard, *Rapport sur les camps de regroupement et autres textes sur la guerre d'Algérie*, (Paris: Mille et Une Nuits, 2003), p. 15.
[36]For more information regarding the estimated numbers of internees, see Fabien Sacriste, *Les camps de regroupement en Algérie. Une histoire des déplacements forcés (1954-1962)*, (Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po, 2022). See also Irwin M. Wall, *France, the United States, and the Algerian War*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 159-63.
[37]Ibid., p. 111.
[38]Ibid., photographic plate, np.

dedicated to the subject. This article created an uproar in France to such a degree that French authorities categorically rejected the term 'concentration camps' and opted for the more innocuous label 'relocation villages' (*centres de regroupement*) in publicity documents.

For de Gaulle, these internment camps, under the operational watch of his handpicked administrator Paul Delouvrier, offered a process toward industrialising seized Algerian land. Delouvrier affirmed that the post-war relocations to desert land away from cities promoted the growth of a renewed agricultural industry, which led de Gaulle's administration to offer the following justification: territorial dispossession correlated to the rapid and humanitarian development of Algerian society. De Gaulle made clear that the camps or 'relocation villages' provided the French empire with a level of national protection. He contended that interned Algerians and other Maghrebians – physically uprooted from their home territories – could no longer interact with or directly support the anti-French, pro-independent National Liberation Army or FLN.[39] The food and supplies which de Gaulle's French administration provided Algerian internees were limited to eleven kilogrammes of barley per month for each adult, which resulted in severe infantile undernourishment. Reports note that one child perished of malnutrition per day in these camps, and French guards would often find children dead from hypothermia in overcrowded encampments where tuberculosis was concurrently spreading.[40]

In New Caledonia, however, the number of internees was far less than those in Algerian internment camps, given the considerably smaller size of the Oceanic archipelago. The main internment site, the Nouville penal colony was initially constructed as a church, built between 1875 and 1886, and later served as a warehouse and theatre. Beginning on 8 December 1941, Japanese civilian internees were placed in either a preferred or non-preferred section of Nouville based on whether they had children serving in the French military. Along with Nouville, French authorities used detention sites in Bouloupari, Bourail, la Foa, Païta, and Freycinet, New Caledonia, to detain the Japanese; however, authorities ultimately transferred all Australia-bound Japanese to Nouville between 19 December 1941 and 30 May 1942.[41] French authorities transferred a total of 1,126 New Caledonian Japanese to Australia, denaturalising all Japanese who were naturalised French citizens. This denaturalisation

[39]Ibid., p. 236. See also Bernard Sicot, *Djelfa 41-43: un camp d'internement en Algérie: histoire, témoignages, littérature*, (Paris: Riveneuve, 2015).
[40]Ibid., p. 133.
[41]French authorities interned suspected intelligence agent Berthe Kitazawa-Fouque and French nationals on Freycinet Islet, New Caledonia, who expressed pro-French sentiments, including two SLN engineers. See Palombo, *La présence japonaise en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, p. 409.

allowed the French administration to seize the Japanese emigrants' properties left behind in their respective villages throughout New Caledonia because denaturalised Japanese were effectively stateless.[42] The denaturalisation process was not the only element rendering carceral life in Nouville a dehumanising experience. As archived reports indicate, the austere physical conditions in Nouville prison centre included,

> 700 [internees] [who were] forced to sleep on pavement strewn with hay. No bathroom, laundry, or lavatory; […] [c]ooking [was] done with rain water resulting in diarrhoea, eight proving fatal before arriving in Australia'.[43] Reports from Japanese prisoners, such as those noted by Tadao Kobayashi, expressed that '[the] food was scarce; during the mornings, [they] were given a slice of bread and coffee' and that 'there was no water and no electricity. When [they] went to get water from a nearby well, the guards would yell "Go, scram," pointing their bayonets at [them]'.[44] French officials denied all accusations of mistreatment in Nouville.[45]

Housing the exempted Japanese until the end of the war, Nouville served as a hospital and asylum for Indigenous patients before becoming a geriatric hospice in 1952. After the Second World War, Nouville no longer served as a penal site.

The overseas French empire created these carceral spaces built on Indigenous lands that existed both in Oceania and North Africa. These spaces physically uprooted victimised populaces while emplacing subjects therein deprived of their humanity. Algerian Jews totalling over 110,000 were stripped of their French citizenship in October 1940, and over twenty thousand subjects – those whom French officials

[42]National Archives of New Caledonia, 'Secrétaire général du gouvernement à chef du service judiciaire', ANC 107 W, n.d.: Nouméa.

[43]National Archives of Australia (hereinafter NAA), 'Telegram to Department of External Affairs', A989, report dated 7 April 1943: Canberra. Conditions on vessels *en route* to Australia were austere. Reports representing Japanese prisoners in Australia sent to the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Masayuki Tani, described the poor, unsanitary conditions in Australian ships and in Nouville Prison. One report had called for the French, Australian, and United States governments to be held accountable for 'inhumane' and 'cruel treatment' toward Japanese prisoners, further appealing to the Japanese ambassador in the Vatican to request that the Pope intercede on their behalf. See Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, A7009111102, Reel A-1113, 92, 94–95, 20 February 1943: Tokyo.

[44]Tadao Kobayashi, *Les Japonais en Nouvelle-Calédonie: histoire des émigrés sous contrat*, trans. Keiko Raulet (Nouméa: Société d'études historiques de la Nouvelle Calédonie, 1992), p. 79.

[45]NAA, 'Telegram to Department of External Affairs', A989, 14 April 1943: Canberra.

deemed 'most dangerous' – were placed in Vichy-controlled carceral sites until 1943.[46] These detention sites strikingly remained in use during post-Vichy Algeria until 1963. In the New Caledonian setting, any interned New Caledonian Japanese with French citizenship was denaturalised, and this denaturalisation process extended to their Nippo-Kanak children who were formally stateless in the eyes of French colonial law. Although the histories and juridical practices pertaining to Algerian Jews, political prisoners in Algeria, Nippo-Kanaks, and New Caledonian Japanese cannot be equated, the effect that these spaces and manipulations had on the French empire's victims delegitimised each colonial subject's agency and ability to exercise fully his or her citizenship rights. As Susan Maslan notes:

> [The] tragic irony of human rights is that when one loses one's status as a citizen – a process that often entails a loss of fixed residence, a loss of community, a loss of occupation or profession, a loss of one's place within a known social structure – one ceases to be human.[47]

The dehumanisation to which the French empire subjected these oppressed communities cannot be separated from the statelessness that each subject experienced. Algerian Jews, Nippo-Kanaks, and New Caledonian Japanese all experienced such dehumanisation while being bound to a colonial, carceral system that delegitimised their human agency.

The French empire's manipulations of juridical statuses, combined with the empire's forced relocation of subjects to carceral spaces, exemplify the notion of 'transcolonial carceralities'. This notion illuminates colonial regimes across differing geocultural *loci*, time frames, and communities under wartime threat. Michel Foucault defines the 'carceral' in the following manner:

> The carceral 'naturalizes' the legal power to punish, as it 'legalizes' the technical power to discipline. In thus homogenizing them, effacing what may be violent in one and arbitrary in the other, attenuating the effects of revolt that they may both arouse, thus depriving excess in either of any purpose, circulating the same calculated, mechanical and discreet methods from one to the other, the carceral makes it possible to carry out that great 'economy' of power. […] [T]he great carceral continuum […] provides a communication between the power of discipline and the power of the law, [and] […] constitute[s] the technical and

[46]Slyomovics, 'Other Places of Confinement', p. 99.
[47]Susan Maslan, 'The Anti-Human: Man and Citizen Before the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103, 2-3 (2004), pp. 357-374 (p. 362).

> real, immediately material counterpart of that chimerical granting of the right to punish.[48]

In this historical framework involving differing yet overlapping French regimes, carceral bodies in Algeria and New Caledonia were part of a large-scale carceral continuum of exploitation with different, asymmetrical histories of oppression and victimisation. Although not all victims were interned, such as Nippo-Kanak children, all transnational victims experienced the effects of a global carceral continuum that, as Foucault suggests above, relied on a praxis of continual exploitation and 'expulsion from their political communities entail[ing] an expulsion from humanity.'[49] Extending from Europe and North Africa to the South Pacific, these dehumanising continuums are specifically transcolonial carceralities where colonialism, fascism, and violence converge under a globalising carceral empire. This French empire represented by both Vichy and Free France foregrounded the use of carceral spaces, denaturalisation, and arrogation of Indigenous resources to assert and maintain control. Not bound by fixed timelines or geographies, transcolonial carceralities bring together histories of Indigenous and stateless bodies to reveal how their erasures constitute critically urgent and visible transnational perspectives on exclusionary violences.

Free French policies cast aside Algeria's and New Caledonia's respective indigene populations – namely, Algerian Muslims and New Caledonian Kanaks – to target a specific demographic – Jew and Japanese – that denaturalised both attacked peoples, incarcerating both while using their labour to advance and aggrandise France's colonial presence in North Africa and Oceania. The sociolegal praxes of denaturalisation combined with displacement seen during Vichy French and Free French regimes in overseas territories underscore (1) the spectre of dehumanising policies that framed France's transcolonial presence during the Second World War and after and (2) the double-standard of Free French egalitarian republicanism by extending race-based Vichy policies. These illuminations into Japanese settler and Indigenous communities show differing forms of colonialisms that supported France's Afro-Oceanic empire – an empire equally extractive and exploitative as their Vichy-supporting antagonists. Of course, antisemitic and racial policies of the French Empire predated the Second World War. The Gaullist regime's hypocrisy is underscored by Free France's exploitation of racialised labour, oppression of Indigenous communities, and appropriation of their properties – properties that were ultimately sold and used to advance France's overseas operations.

[48]Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1995), p. 303.
[49]Gündoğdu, *Rightlessness in an Age of Rights*, p. 2.

Considering the global impact that the colonial French empire has had in North Africa and Oceania, historians can begin considering their role in the memorialisation of this transcolonial and carceral history. Michael Rothberg has contended that the transnational mobilisation of this memory in relation to other memories and histories of colonialism, slavery, and genocide – histories that may or may not be connected by empirical historical relations – could represent a novel methodological approach. Such a productive juxtaposition of histories can uncover violently marginalised, silenced histories, which as Rothberg contends, are

> built on the entanglement of different moments in time that might, at first, seem to have little to do with each other. This [multidirectional] entanglement is productive; it leads to more memory as well as new constellations of memory – but it doesn't come with guarantees about the particular political valence of multidirectionality (which can be reactionary as well as progressive) and it does not mean that different memories automatically obtain an 'equal' place in the public sphere.[50]

Understanding the multidirectional parallax of entangled histories of the Third Reich, Vichy, Free French, and Japanese regimes is critical to illuminate the violence that Jews faced in Algeria, and the Japanese in New Caledonia. The notion of transcolonial carceralities thus emerges from this multidirectional memory that geoculturally links Europe and North Africa to Oceania through multi-sited, historical connections. These historical links are most manifested in the overlapping juridical policies pertaining to citizenship; to Indigenous resettlement policies; and to the victimisation of Jews, Nippo-Kanaks, and New Caledonian Japanese. I include Nippo-Kanaks in this carceral continuum because their statelessness allowed the French empire to sequester their lands from which Free France financed the internment of the New Caledonian Japanese. Transcolonial carceralities function as a cartography of dehumanisation defined by overlapping regimes that place settler colonialism, Native oppression, and racialised human labour in dialogue with shifting exclusionary juridical policies across geocultural spaces and times. These cartographies extending from North Africa to Oceania - spaces that reveal the deleterious effects of Native erasure – are networks that point to the multidirectional fluidities of historical entanglements. These entanglements productively work together to reveal civilian rights violations.

[50]Michael Rothberg, 'History in Copresence: Creating a Multidirectional Memory of the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization', *The Funambulist,* 21 June 2021, https://thefunambulist.net/magazine/they-have-clocks-we-have-time/histories-in-copresence-creating-a-multidirectional-memory-of-the-holocaust-in-the-age-of-decolonization Accessed 25 August 2024.

Rothberg further proposes a mode of transnational remembrance that he calls an 'emergent model of multidirectional memory'.[51] This transnational remembrance should entail, as Rothberg suggests, interacting with the,

> legacies of German and European colonialism and with Germany's implication in the structural racism and economic inequality of the present. […] [Multidirectional memory] reflect[s] on the relationship between the Holocaust and the racist violence that emerged from centuries of the enslavement, colonization, and segregation of African and African diaspora peoples by Europeans and their descendants.[52]

As Rothberg contends, comprehending the indignities emerging from these colonisations constitutes an inherently dialogical and transnational remembrance of this empire history. Within the context of this article, this multidirectional memory that involves recognising the effects of European colonialism across geographies evinces the critically neglected histories between Algerians, Japanese, and mixed-Japanese populaces under two seemingly antagonistic but co-conspiring French empires: Vichy and Free French. Such comparative thinking about violence posits a multidirectional memory that mobilises global history to open new avenues of antiracist, decolonial understandings of history. Rothberg's model of memorialisation anticipates a productive, relational understanding of divergent imperial legacies and collective memories and moves beyond Europe, engaging other carceral histories, like those of North Africa and the South Pacific. The role of the implicated historian in relation to these histories is, in the words of Ariella Azoulay, 'to rehabilitate […] citizenship or that of someone else who has been stripped of it'.[53] Citizenship, that is, the 'partnership of governed persons taking up their duty […] and using it for another, rather than for a sovereign', brings to the forefront the importance of demarginalising the voices of transcolonial carceral bodies who were subjected to the impacts of a state-sanctioned racialised violence during processes of colonisation and incarceration.[54] Transcolonial carceralities not only shed light on the continuities across historico-cultural and temporal boundaries but also decolonise multidirectional memory, inviting the historian to memorialise colonial victims.

Although Vichy French carceral policies were largely informed by Nazi racial law, and while Free French policy sought to reverse Vichy French modes of governance, both colonial Empires in North Africa and the French Pacific ultimately reinforced

[51]Rothberg, 'On the Mbembe Affair'.
[52]Ibid.
[53]Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*, (New York: Zone Books, 2014), pp. 104, 117.
[54]Ibid.

disciplinary control over their carceral victims. This dehumanisation and statelessness advanced the primacy of a global carceral empire, upending sociolegal stability for its victims and forcing countless subjects, including Algerian Jews in Algeria and Japanese communities in New Caledonia, to internment sites. A critical engagement with transcolonial carceralities in the geocultural contexts of Algeria and New Caledonia shows the need for historians to recognise these marginalised histories of internment and dispossession. Proactive scholars revealing these histories actively revivify the agencies of those victims impacted and occluded by these histories that France has yet to fully acknowledge. In so doing, as this article concludes, implicated scholars engaging this history of transcolonial carceralities can illuminate the ideologically discriminatory, corruptive Vichy and Free French regimes that repealed the juridical identities of those whom these regimes incarcerated, ultimately enabling the silenced voices of past, forgotten victims to come alive into the present.

Nouville and Purana Qila Internment Camps and Collective Memory

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ABSTRACT
Nouville in New Caledonia and Purana Qila in India both housed interned Japanese civilians during the Second World War. While both camps involved the 'reuse' of existing sites, Purana Qila's use is largely forgotten while Nouville's is officially acknowledged. This article contrasts the 'forgetting' of Purana Qila and the 'remembering' of Nouville and argues that the presence of a local group advocating for Nouville has served to ensure that its use as an internment camp is part of the collective memory. The lack of a similar group in India has seen Purana Qila's use as an internment camp largely forgotten.

Introduction

Some locations enter a global collective memory, e.g. Hiroshima, while other locations are part of a local collective memory but are not necessarily remembered elsewhere.[1] For instance, Cowra in New South Wales, Australia, is part of a local collective memory as a prisoner of war (POW) camp due to an attempted breakout by Japanese POWs on the night of 5 August 1944.[2] Cowra is not, however, part of the collective memory of POW camps in other countries, including in Japan. Some locations are

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[1]In his explanation of how Hiroshima made a 'global memory culture', Zwigenberg argues that memory studies scholars tend to privilege the 'nation' in their discussions. Ran Zwigenberg, *Hiroshima: The Origins of Global Memory Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 3-4.
[2]For details of the Cowra Breakout see Teruhiko Asada, *Cowra: The Night of a Thousand Suicides* (translated from Japanese by Ray Cowan), (North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1985). Alison Starr also discusses the breakout and the site of the POW camp as a site of reconciliation in Alison Starr, 'Forever Alongside: War Cemeteries as Sites of Enemy Reconciliation' *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus,* 20, 3 (2022). https://apjjf.org/2022/10/Starr . Accessed 26 August 2024.

remembered for a period but then the memory of them fades and they are forgotten. Some forgotten locations may re-enter the collective memory when a group comes together and remembers them. The two places discussed here – Purana Qila (Old Fort) in New Delhi, India and Nouville in New Caledonia – existed for many years before they became sites for the internment of Japanese civilians in the Asia-Pacific theatre of the Second World War. Since 1945, the memories of the camps have followed different trajectories.

This article focuses on the remembering and forgetting of Purana Qila and Nouville as internment camps for Japanese. In doing so, it discusses how Nouville's history as an internment camp is now locally known, while Purana Qila's history as a civilian internment camp is largely unknown locally but was for many years remembered by the former internees who had formed an alumni association – the *Indowara-kai* – based in Japan.[3] The article suggests that one of the differences in the local memorialisation of the camps is the presence of a community of descendants in New Caledonia whereas no such community exists in India since all the internees were repatriated. Interestingly, Nouville's history as a site of internment was also largely forgotten until the 1970s, when the descendants of those who were interned there began to look for information on what happened to their ancestors after they were arrested in December 1941 and taken to Nouville. As a consequence of the descendants' search for answers, Nouville's role as a camp became better known and entered the descendants' collective memory, if not New Caledonia's collective memory.

The difference in the memories of the camps developed despite substantial physical remainders of both former camps.[4] That is, to this day there are tangible and visible remnants of both camps. The Nouville internment camp is part of the *Site Historique De l'Il Nou,* a designated historical site, which includes the *Musée du bagne à Nouméa* (Prison Museum of Noumea).[5] Purana Qila, which houses the Museum of Archaeology displaying items unearthed during an excavation of the site by the Archaeological Survey of India, is open daily.

[3]Both sites housed civilian internees only. Japanese officials in New Caledonia were held under house arrest at home until they were transferred to Australia. The Japanese officials in British-India, together with those brought from other locations including Burma and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) were interned at Mussoorie.

[4]See Anoma Pieris' 'Carceral Archipelago' for an introduction to what remains of the internment camps in Australia, New Zealand and Singapore used in World War II. In Pieris, Anoma & Lynne Horiuchi, *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration Camps of the Pacific War, (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 38-40.

[5]The website for the museum (in French) is available at: https://ile-nou.com/ (Accessed 14 January 2024). The United States' military's use of Nouville is similarly not acknowledged.

Materials used in comparing the histories and memorialisation of the two camps includes archival materials held by the National Archives of India (NAI), the Archives de Nouvelle-Calédonie and the National Archives of Australia (NAA). Pieces published in Japanese in the *Indowara-kai*'s newsletter (*Indowara tsūshin)* are also used to show how the former internees in Purana Qila remembered the site. Lastly, the author conducted fieldwork in 2017 and 2018 in New Delhi and in 2019 and 2022 in New Caledonia as part of research into the internment of Japanese civilians in both locations.

Collective Memory and Internment Camps holding Japanese Civilians

Around 220,000 Japanese civilians resident overseas were arrested and interned around the world following the outbreak of the Pacific theatre of the Second World War.[6] This figure includes over eleven hundred Japanese arrested in New Caledonia and 131 arrested in British-India. The Japanese arrested in British-India were joined in internment in Purana Qila by over two thousand Japanese transported from Malaya, seventy-one from Ceylon and seventy-four from Burma.[7] According to Hisako Katō who was interned in Purana Qila as a child, at its peak two thousand nine hundred and forty four Japanese were interned there.[8] While the arrest and internment of Japanese-Americans, Japanese-Canadians, and Japanese-Australians, including in all cases some local citizens, has attracted substantial academic and popular research, less attention has been given to the arrest and internment of Japanese in other locations, including British-India and New Caledonia.[9] The relative invisibility of the Japanese internees

[6]More than half of the Japanese arrested and interned were Japanese-Americans (125,000) or Japanese-Canadians (22,000).

[7]Ward, Rowena, 'The Transnational in 'Japanese' Civilian Internment Camps in Australia and India', in Sharrad, Paul and D. N. Bandyopadhyay (eds) *Transnational Spaces of India and Australia*, (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022) pp. 35-52.

[8] Hisako Katō, 2017. *[Indo Yokuryū] to [rusonsentōhikō] e no michi,* RINDAS Working Paper no 27. Ryukoku University, available at: https://rindas.ryukoku.ac.jp/data/pub/wp_27.pdf (Accessed 18 October 2023).

[9]For a discussion of the experience of Japanese-Americans and the Japanese Canadians see Roger W. Lotchin *Japanese American Relocation in World War II,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Roger Daniels, Sandra L. Taylor and Harry H.L. Kitano (eds) *Japanese Americans from Relocation to Redress* (revised), (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2013). For a discussion on the arrest of the Japanese-Australians see, Yuriko Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens* (UQP St Lucia, 1996); Tets Kimura 'Repatriated from Home as Enemy Aliens', *Journal of Australian Studies* 47, 3 (2023) pp. 497-514; Peter Monteath *Captured Lives* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2018). In terms of the Japanese in New Caledonia, see Tadao Kobayashi, *Nyū karedoniatō no nihonjin* (2nd ed) (Tokyo:1981); Mutsumi Tsuda (ed) *Feu Nos Peres*

from these locations and the camps where they were interned can be partly explained by the relatively fewer numbers but this alone does not fully account for their absence in historical documents.

First introduced by Maurice Halbwachs, in the early twentieth century, collective memory refers to the shared memories, information and knowledge held by a group.[10] According to Halbwachs only groups have memories. The concept of collective memory does not preclude individuals having memories of their experiences, sometimes referred to as 'biographical' memories, but individual's memories are only articulated or distributed within the context of a group.[11] Furthermore, different groups hold different memories and as individuals are members of more than one group, their memories are impacted by their interactions with group members. Importantly, members of a group share memories even though individual members may not have experienced the episode remembered. The development of memories of an episode can be spread in a number of different ways including through the viewing of a photo or an image. Even though a photograph or an image may 'not depict the historical truth', and what is visible is only a fragment, the photograph or image can encourage the development of memories or lead to the re-remembering of the episode.[12] Halbwachs' emphasis on group memory has been criticised for failing to recognise the impact of power relations and the fallibility of collective memory. Yet, as Barry Schwartz argues, these criticisms should not mean that the importance of

(Noumea: Comité de l'Exposition, 2006); Rowena Ward, 'The Internment and Repatriation of the Japanese-French Nationals in New Caledonia, 1941-1946' *Portal Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 2017, 14:, 2 pp. 55-67; Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland, 'The Japanese in New Caledonia: Histories of Citizenship, Incarceration, and Nippo-Kanak Identity' *French Historical Studies* 43: 4 (2020) pp. 667-703. Research on the arrest of the Japanese in the Dutch East Indies is limited although Koike Miyakatsu's diary (*Four Years in a Red Coat* (translated by Hiroko Cockerill with an introduction by Peter Monteath and Yuriko Nagata), (Mile End, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2022) sheds some light on what happened.

[10]For a discussion of Halbwachs' work see Dmitri Nikulin 'Maurice Halbwachs' in Sven Bernecker & Kourken Michaelian (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of Memory* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2017) pp. 528-836; Jeffrey K. Olick 'From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products' in Astrid Erll & Ansgar Nünning (eds) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook,* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 151-162.

[11]Barry Schwartz. 'Rethinking the concept of collective memory', in Anna Lisa Tota & Trever Hagen (eds) *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 9-21.

[12]Till Hilmar 'Storyboards of Remembrance: Representations of the past in visitors' photography at Auschwitz', *Memory Studies* 9: 4 (2015) pp. 455-470.

collective memory be dismissed, especially as the ability to learn about the past is important for human survival.[13] From a different perspective, Diane Barthel-Bourchier argues that both tangible and intangible heritage items can be sources of collective memory. More specifically, she suggests that tangible items can 'provide physical evidence of the past' and 'built heritage is of particular importance because of its relative immobility'.[14] Yet, the existence of built heritage does not necessarily mean that the space or a location's previous use is remembered and enters the collective memory. Rather, in order for the collective memory of a site to develop, a group needs to remember or re-remember it.

In the context of internment camps when a group remembers them, they become part of the collective memory irrespective of whether there are physical remains or not. Camps which are not remembered by a group may still be remembered by individuals, but without the mutual recognition provided by members of a group, the camps are ignored and become invisible. Nevertheless, depending on the extent of the remains of an internment camp's buildings, and/or spaces, these tangible heritage items can provide the physical evidence of an internment camp which allows for the re-remembering and the possible emergence of a collective memory. The processes enabling the past uses to be remembered are site-specific. Rob David in his discussion of the invisibility of the Sefton internment camp vis-à-vis the Hutchinson camp on the Isle of Man, argues that although the buildings for both camps remain, an emphasis on the 'elite minority' of internees housed at the Hutchinson camp over the ordinary internees held at Sefton, meant that the history of the latter camp was ignored.[15] In other instances, other factors facilitate the remembering of a camp.

From a different perspective, Sarah Gensburger discusses the processes which allowed the history of the tangible, physical remains of Nazi labour camps, including the Austerlitz camp, in Paris to be re-remembered. In this case, local activists hoping to stop a development on the site of the Austerlitz camp sought to confirm the veracity of rumours that the building had been a former camp. To this end, they advertised for former internees to come forward and they received replies from a number of former internees who had worked at the site. It transpired that the former internees had been rendered 'mute' and spoke little about their experiences publicly or to their families

[13]Barry Schwartz. 'Rethinking the concept of collective memory', p. 9.
[14]Diane Barthel-Bouchier 'Cultural Heritage: Tangible and intangible markers of Collective Memory, in Anna Lisa Tota & Trever Hagen (eds) *Routledge international Handbook of Memory Studies*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2016) pp. 321-232.
[15]Rob David, 2023. 'Written out of history: The impact of Sefton Camp's post-war invisibility on memory and belonging', in Carr, Gilly and Rachel Pistol (eds) *British Internment and the Internment of Britons: Second World War Camps, History and Heritage*, (London: Bloomsbury Press. 2023), pp. 83-99.

due to a form of guilt complex at having survived the war and the lack of connections with other former internees.[16] Subsequently, an association was established to bring the former internees together and, in the process, the use of the site as a camp became part of the collective memory of camps in Paris. This process, including the role of an association, is not unlike the role played by *L'Amicale Japonaise de Nouvelle Calédonie,* The Association of Japanese Descendants in New Caledonia, as discussed below.

New Caledonia: Japanese Migration and the Pacific War

New Caledonia, a French territory in the South Pacific, is located east of Australia and north of New Zealand. Between 1892 and 1941, over 5,000 Japanese contract labourers moved to New Caledonia to work, primarily in the territory's nickel mines. Whilst the majority of the workers returned to Japan at the end of their contracts, some chose to stay on at least in the short to medium term. Some of those who remained continued to work in the mines but others took up other occupations including farming, running shops or hair salons. The November 1941 census of the Japanese population showed that 1,104 Japanese were resident in the colony, 94.8% of whom were male.[17] Almost one-third (336) lived in Noumea but there were small communities across the territory including 90 in Koumac and 49 in Thio. Both Koumac and Thio have strong connections to the mining industry. Thio is the site of the largest Japanese cemetery in the territory.

In September 1940, New Caledonia aligned with the Free French government-in-exile and this situation continued until the liberation of France in August 1944. Immediately after the Free French government-in-exile declared war on Japan on 8 December 1941, the New Caledonian authorities began arresting Japanese male residents over the age of 18.[18] The arrests were in line with plans for the possibility of the outbreak of war outlined by Australia's Military Mission to New Caledonia in March 1941.[19] Japanese men who lived in and around Noumea were immediately transferred to Nouville for internment. Japanese who lived in other locations, were often arrested and held locally in police cells or similar facilities until they could be transferred to

[16]Sarah Gensburger 'Memory and Space: (Re-reading Halbwachs', in Sarah De Nardi. Hilary Orange, Steven High & Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto (eds) T*he Routledge Handbook of Memory and Place,* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2019) pp. 69-75.

[17]Archives de Nouvelle Calédonie (hereinafter ANC) 107W 2852 Census of Japanese Residents dated 24 November 1941. According to the census there were 1,047 males and 57 females.

[18]Japan declared war on Vichy France on 22 September 1940 over Japan's incursion into Indo-China but peace followed soon after. Japan recognised the Vichy regime and did not declare war on France after the 1940 incident.

[19]NAA A2670, 282/1940 Supplement to No 2 to War Cabinet Agenda No 282/1940, dated 16 April 1941.

Nouville.[20] According to a doctor in Bourail, there were 385 Japanese in the local police station when he visited.[21] He also noted that twenty-seven were ill and conditions in the police station were cramped. A small number of the arrested Japanese men were released but most were subsequently re-arrested, and the majority remained in Nouville until they were transported to Australia for further internment. Yochitaro Katō for instance was initially interned on 27 December and then released on 9 February but was reinterned on 11 May 1942.[22] Between 19 December 1941 and 29 May 1942, the *SS Cap des Palmes* made three trips to Australia with Japanese on board and the *SS Cremer* made one trip. In total, over 1,100 Japanese were transferred to Australia on those four trips. The overwhelming majority were men, including an unknown number who left families – wives or partners and children – behind. Most of the family members had little contact with their husbands/fathers/grandfathers after their departure and assumed that they had been forgotten. This situation was partially the result of a lack of a common language: the Japanese men spoke only rudimentary French and most were unable to write it and their families in New Caledonia had limited, if any, knowledge of Japanese. Consequently, a silence emerged about the use of Nouville as an internment camp.[23] Some of these family members became the core of *Amicale Japonaise de Nouvelle Calédonie* (hereinafter '*Amicale*').

The transfer of the Japanese to Australia was in line with an Australian government commitment made in response to a request from the New Caledonian authorities to send 700 Japanese to Australia in the event of war with Japan.[24] After the departure of the internees to Australia, around twenty-five Japanese – most of whom were the fathers of soldiers in the French Army or those too ill to travel – remained in Nouville. Those internees remained in Nouville until after the end of the war. In effect, Nouville was only a large-scale internment camp for the Japanese from December 1941 to May 1942 but housed a small number of internees throughout the war years.

[20]Japanese women and children were not arrested and were permitted to continue living in their own homes until they were transferred to Australia. They were embarked either the night before the ship departed or on the day that it departed.
[21]ANC 107W 2852 telegram from Dr Drayton, Bourail, dated 16 December 1941.
[22]ANC 34W 21 Katō was not re-released until January 1947.
[23]According to Marie-José Michel, a former honorary Consul for Japan in New Caledonia, there are over 8,000 people of Japanese descent living in New Caledonia. (Personal Communication 6 October 2023).
[24]ANC 107W 2853 Letter No. 27 to Bertram Charles Ballard, Australia's Official Representative in New Caledonia from Henri Sautot, Governor of New Caledonia, dated 26 June 1941. In response, Australia agreed to accept 300 Japanese. (ANC 107W 2853 letter to Sautot, from Ballard, 4 August 1941.

L'Île Nou, renamed Nouville in 1928, is an island off Noumea, the capital of New Caledonia. However, the reclamation of land and the construction of a bridge in 1972 led to its connection to Grande Terre, the main island, and L'île Nou is no longer recognisable as an island. From 1864, a part of the island served as the site of a French penal prison holding, among others, convicts from metropolitan France. Many of the prison dormitories were demolished in 1939 but some remnants remained and these were hurriedly transformed into an internment camp for resident enemy internees during the Second World War. The majority of the internees were Japanese but a small number of residents from other enemy countries, mostly Italians, were also interned on the island, albeit in Camp Est on the east of the island.[25] A building designed as a church but primarily used as a provisions store was central to the site's use as an internment camp. The United States, which had its South Pacific military headquarters in New Caledonia, also used part of the island for military purposes during the war.[26]

In 1946 through to early 1947, the men who remained in Nouville were released and allowed to return to their families although their forced separation understandably caused issues in some cases. Benjamin Ireland outlines the tragic life of Kana Nakamura who after six years as an internee, when he suffered psychological abuse, struggled to readapt to life on the outside and murdered his wife.[27] A small number of the Japanese repatriated to Japan, subsequently returned to New Caledonia after the occupation of Japan had ended but for the most part, the Japanese presence in New Caledonia was effectively ended by the war.[28]

Almost one hundred of the Japanese internees transferred to Australia were subsequently repatriated to Japan, or to areas under Japanese control, via the Anglo-Japanese Civilian Exchange held at Lourenço Marques (present day Laputo) in the then Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) in September 1942. The Japanese internees in Australia – including those from New Caledonia – who were not repatriated in 1942 were repatriated to Japan in early 1946, sometimes against their wishes.

Despite making plans for the possibility of war, the New Caledonia authorities did not make any specific preparations for the internment of the Japanese in Nouville. As a result, the first Japanese internees to arrive had to sleep in the open air on the first night after their arrival. There was also no electricity, and the toilet facilities were

[25]Noumea Prison is now located on the site of Camp Est.
[26]The New Zealand 3 Division was based at Bourail, north-west of Noumea, from late 1942.
[27]Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland, 'The Japanese in New Caledonia: Histories of Citizenship', pp. 693-698.
[28] Mutsumi Tsuda 'The Story of a Paradise Lost', in Mutsumi Tsuda (ed) *Feu Nos Peres,* (Noumea: Comité de l'Exposition, 2006) p. 90 (English translation p. 11).

'military camp earth type' (pit latrines).[29] While pan-style toilets were later installed and electricity was connected within a few days, the site had no running water with fresh water having to be brought over from the mainland. As a result, water was rationed. According to a Japanese government complaint, due to the unsanitary conditions eight Japanese men died before they were transferred to Australia.[30] The conditions in Nouville may not have been unusual in a penal colony but they attracted sustained complaints from the Japanese Government once it learnt about the treatment accorded the internees.[31]

Shortly after the first shipload of internees from New Caledonia arrived in Australia, Mr Kawai, the Consul-General for Japan in Australia, heard about the conditions the Japanese were subjected to in Nouville and wrote a letter of complaint to Hans Georg Hedinger, the Consul-General for Switzerland in Sydney and the protecting power for Japan. As this author has shown, over the next two years, the Japanese government raised the issue of the treatment of the internees on a number of occasions without success.[32] The lack of a conclusion to the situation was impacted by the lack of the presence of a representative of a local neutral intermediary in New Caledonia. The closest representatives of the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) were Léon Bossard in New Zealand (from September 1942) and Dr Georges Morel in Australia. Due to the ICRC's representatives' heavy workload in their respective countries, neither had the opportunity to travel to New Caledonia until Morel visited on 19 July 1945, just a month before the end of the war.[33]

Lynne Horiuchi claims trauma associated with internment camps holding Japanese-Americans could only be discussed decades later and consequently there is a 'generational break'.[34] While Horiuchi does not mention collective memory, her discussion of a 'generational break' is similar to the situation in New Caledonia where there was a silence about what happened in Nouville. However, unlike the case of the

[29]NAA A6445 37/1941 Telegram No 25 from Ballard to Department of External Affairs dated 14 April 1943.

[30]NAA A6445 37/1941 Telegram No 30 from Department of External Affairs, Canberra dated 7 April 1943.

[31]Rowena Ward, 'Japanese Civilian Internees in New Caledonia: A Gap between the Protecting Powers and the ICRC' in M. Berni and T. Cubito (eds) *Captivity in War during the Twentieth Century*, (Cham, Switzerland: Spring Nature, 2021) pp. 101-118.

[32]Ward, 'Japanese Civilian Internees in New Caledonia', p. 108-110.

[33]For a discussion of Morel's visit see Ward, 'Japanese Civilian Internees in New Caledonia', pp. 113-114.

[34]Lynne Horiuchi, 'Recovery, Redress and Commemoration' in Anoma Pieris & Lynne Horiuchi, *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration Camps of the Pacific War, (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022) pp. 267-289.

sansei, third generation, Japanese-Americans who were able later to talk about their experiences in the camps, the internees who were held in Nouville never had the opportunity to talk with their families about what happened in the internment camp because they were repatriated to Japan. The result was a structurally enforced silence about the trauma experienced by both the former internees and their families. The absence of the former internees did not however stop their descendants from wanting to learn about what happened to them and resulted in the establishment of *Amicale.*

Amicale & its Role in the Collective Memory of Nouville

After the war, some of the buildings in Nouville were given to different institutions, such as CREIPAC, a French-as-a-second-language school, and other cultural groups but much of the site fell into disrepair.[35] In the mid-1970s, the church building central to the internment camp began to be used as a theatre, the site of an occasional boxing match and other activities. However, by the 1980s, the use of the church for such activities had ended and the building once again fell into disrepair. In 1998, the Noumea City Hall bought the site from *Province Sud* (South Province) and began converting the church-cum-provisions store into a working theatre.[36] The renovated church was officially opened as a theatre (*Théâtre de L'île*) in September 2000 and was classified as a historical monument in 2005. Around the time that the theatre opened, a sign explaining the history of the theatre, including that it was built as a church, had been used as a provisions store for the penal colony, and had housed Japanese internees, was erected next to the theatre.[37] The erection of the sign therefore acknowledges the building's tangible heritage and facilitated its various uses as part of the collective memory of the site. This official recognition was in part facilitated by the members of *Amicale* an organisation largely consisting of the local descendants of the former internees. More recently, buildings within the *Site Historique De l'Ile de Nou* have been restored and redeveloped as a tourist attraction with an emphasis on celebrating New Caledonia's history as a penal colony. However, the *Musée du bagne à Nouméa* (Prison Museum of Noumea) which opened in 2021 does not refer to the use of the area as an internment camp.

Amicale Japonaise de Nouvelle Calédonie was established in 1979 to connect the descendants of the Japanese in New Caledonia together. While membership figures are not publicly available, there are presently around 70 members, many of whom are

[35]CREIPAC is an acronym of Centre de Rencontres et d'Echanges Internationaux de Pacifique.

[36]Théâtre de L'île (2023) *L'Historique du Théâtre*. Available online at: https://theatredelile.nc/le-theatre/l-histoire-des-murs Accessed 9 October 2023.

[37]The sign was erected by Province Sud.

quite elderly.[38] The association organises meetings, sporting events and other activities to foster an awareness of the history of their ancestors' Japanese migration to New Caledonia and what happened to them after their arrest in December 1941. The association supported activities, such as a photographic exhibition by Mutsumi Tsuda in 2006, and organised visits to Australia and Japan to learn more about what happened to their ancestors.[39] For instance, members of the association visited Adelaide, South Australia in 2004 to learn about activities at the Loveday internment camp where many of their ancestors were interned before their repatriation to Japan in either 1942 or 1946.[40] The association was also active in fostering an awareness of Nouville as an internment camp that had housed their ancestors, especially through their support for the sign outside *Théâtre de L'île.*

Japanese migration to British-India and Internment in Purana Qila

It is unclear when the first Japanese migrated to British-India but there were around 300 living across what is now India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in early 1941.[41] Most of the Japanese were businessmen but there were others including monks and government officials and their families. Most lived in and around New Delhi but there were also small communities in Bombay (Mumbai) and Calcutta (Kolkata), Karachi and smaller communities elsewhere. In the lead up to the outbreak of war, the governments of Japan and the United Kingdom agreed to allow ships chartered by the other to dock in their respective countries to evacuate their own citizens from the other's territory.[42] To facilitate the evacuation of the Japanese in India, the Japanese government chartered the *Hie-maru* which departed Bombay for Japan on 2 November 1941 with 195 (170 men and 25 women) Japanese from India on board.[43] According to the Governor General of India, 173 Japanese (132 men and 41 women) remained

[38]Marie-José Michel, a former honorary Consul for Japan in New Caledonia. (Personal Communication 26 November 2023).

[39]The *Feu Nos Peres* exhibition was held at the Tjibaou Cultural Centre in 2006. The exhibition later moved to Ritsumeikan University's Kyoto Museum for World Peace.

[40]NAA 'Circling the Pacific sixty years on …', *Memento* (Spring-Summer 2004): p. 14-15.

[41]National Archives of India (hereinafter NAI) File 35 (10) W-1941: War Branch. Record of Interview with Mr K. Okazaki, Japanese Consulate General in India, dated 22 August 1941.

[42]For a discussion of the evacuation of Indians from Japan see Rowena Ward 'The Evacuation and Repatriation of 'British-Indians' resident in Japan, 1940-1942', *South Asia: Journal of South Asia Studies*, 45: 1 (2022), pp. 53-66. https://doi.org/10.1080/00856401.2021.1988339 (Accessed 27 July2024).

[43]An additional seven Japanese (two from Kabul and five from Cairo) embarked on the *Hie-maru* in Bombay. 10 November 1941. The *Hie-maru* also docked in Mombasa and a port on the Persian Gulf.

in India after the *Hie-maru* had left.[44] With the outbreak of war, all Japanese men were arrested and interned and transferred to Purana Qila. However, despite a small volume of research on the Japanese internees, they, and Purana Qila, remain largely unknown.[45] In addition to the Japanese, seven Thais, including Karuna Kusalasaya, a number of Malays and other nationalities were also interned in Purana Qila.[46] The arrest of the Japanese was in line with instructions issued on 24 July 1941 in the event of war with Japan.[47] The small number of Japanese women who lived locally were also arrested and initially taken to parole centres but were later transferred to Purana Qila.

Purana Qila

The origins of Purana Qila in New Delhi are unclear but reportedly date back to at least the fourth century BC.[48] However, the fort complex was built as a citadel by the second Mughal Emperor Humayun (ruled 1530-1540; 1555-1556) who planned a new city on the site. His successor, Sher Shah Sur (ruled 1540-1545), continued construction on the site after he came to power. The fort's stone walls are up to 20 metres high, four metres thick and extend for nearly two kilometres around the complex. There are only three gates including the *Bara Darawaz* (West Gate) which now serves as the main entrance. The site includes an old mosque (Qila-i-Kuhna Masjid) and Humayan's personal library (Sher Mandal) among other buildings. It is not clear why Purana Qila became an internment camp for the Japanese, especially as the policy for internment anticipated that enemy subjects would be housed in 'a separate wing' in a permanent building in Dehradun to the North of New Delhi.[49] Irrespective

[44]NAI External Affairs War Branch File 35 (26) -W-1941 Telegram 6353 to Secretary of State for India, London from Governor General, New Delhi, dated 12 November 1941.

[45]The small body of work includes Ward, 'The Transnational in 'Japanese' Civilian Internment Camps in Australia and India', pp. 35-52; Christine de Matos and Rowena Ward, 'Forgotten Forced Migrants of War: Civilian Internment of Japanese in British-India, 1941-46', *Journal of Contemporary History* 56: 4 (2021): pp. 1102-1125; Anoma Pieris also refers to the presence of the Japanese in Purana Qila in 'The Colonial Prison', Pieris & Horiuchi (eds), *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration Camps of the Pacific War*, pp. 179-206.

[46]Karuma Kusalasaya, *Life Without a Choice,* (Bangkok: Sathirakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation, 1991).

[47]NAI 30 (24) W-1941 Telegram 6820 to Chief Secretaries, all Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioner from Home Department, Government of India, dated 2 December 1941.

[48]These details are from a sign inside Purana Qila.

[49]NAI 30 (24) – W 1941 telegram No. 6942 to Chief Secretaries and Chief Commissioners from Home Department, Government of India, dated 6 December

of the policy, from December 1941 Japanese civilian internees began moving in although it was only expected to be an interim site pending the transfer of German prisoners of war held at Deoli (Ajmer) in Rajasthan to Dehradun, enabling the Japanese to be transferred to Deoli. However, this plan did not eventuate despite the Japanese internees receiving notification in early March 1942 that they would begin moving to Deoli in mid-April. It was not until March-April 1943, that the last Japanese left Purana Qila. By this time, over 720 Japanese had been repatriated and an unknown number had died.[50] This continued use of the site arose because of a fire in Deoli while a delay in the construction of new buildings in Dehradun meant that the transfer of the Germans interned in Deoli was likewise delayed. In effect, while Purana Qila was used as an internment camp for the Japanese for around 17 months, this usage is largely invisible today. The relative briefness of this use can partly explain the lack of awareness of the site's function as an internment camp within India but it alone does not account for the forgetting of its use as an internment camp.

Accommodation in Purana Qila was basic and was segregated by sex. Describing the scene, Kichijirō Ōmori, a former internee, said that once the internees passed through the gate, they saw 'on a large patch of lawn, tents …. lined up in rows'.[51] These tents were for the men. In contrast, women and children lived in barracks located in more protected areas near the fort's walls.[52] The tents suited neither the Delhi summer nor winter and an unknown number of internees died due to the unsanitary conditions which were made worse by overcrowding. In his description of the accommodation, Kusalasaya wrote that we had 'to live in tents in open space – conditions were far from comfortable. I remember that our hand, feet and faces – especially our lips – were cracked and blistered from the cold'.[53]

In addition to problems with the accommodation were issues due to the different ethnic backgrounds of the internees. Under Japanese colonial policies, the people in its colonial territories in Korea and Formosa (Taiwan) were Japanese citizens so they were therefore arrested and interned as Japanese. Relations between the mainland Japanese, including Okinawans, and internees from other backgrounds were not always friendly, as one intelligence report noted '[r]elations in the camp between the Formosans and the Japanese proper are apparently not good. Formosans have been

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1941 includes copy of the Instructions regarding Potential Enemy Foreigners 1941, dated 24 July 1941.

[50]De Matos and Ward, 'Forgotten Forced Migrants of War', p. 1115.

[51]Henry Frei. *Guns of February: Ordinary Japanese Soldiers' Views of the Malayan Campaign & the Fall of Singapore 1941-42* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2004), p. 58.

[52]NAI 30 (2) – W 1942 Copy of Home Department File F 32/3/42 Poll (EW), Serial No 1 Conran-Smith's note dated 17 February 1942.

[53]Kusalasaya, *Life without a Choice*, p. 96.

often concerned in the various quarrels and fights which have occurred in the camp; they are called 'Chinese' by the Japanese internees, which is an offence in Formosa'.[54]

In August 1942, over 700 Japanese nominated by the Japanese government for inclusion in the Anglo-Japanese Civilian Exchange left Purana Qila for Bombay. There they boarded the *SS City of Paris* bound for Lourenco Marques.[55] The departure of the exchangees left around 2,000 Japanese in the fort and while the overcrowding was eased the tented accommodation remained.

In March and April 1943, the remaining Japanese were finally moved to Deoli and Purana Qila's role as a Japanese internment camp ended. More than three years later, all the Japanese internees held in Deoli were repatriated to Japan, and with their repatriation, the presence of a Japanese community in British-India ended. Moreover, this meant that there were never any local descendants of the pre-war Japanese community in India to remember Purana Qila (or indeed Deoli) as an internment camp. Toshiro Mine, a former teacher in the Japanese primary school in Delhi, wrote that he did not know anything about Purana Qila's history as an internment camp for Japanese despite living nearby and going there for picnics.[56] He first learnt about Purana Qila after the publication of a book he wrote about his experiences as a teacher. In response to the publication of his book, a number of the former internees contacted him and he subsequently researched the fort's history as an internment camp for Japanese. This indicates that while Purana Qila as an internment camp may not have been part of the collective memory in India, it was part of the collective memory of the Japanese who had been interned there. This remembering was partly fostered by their membership of the *Indowara-kai* (see below).

It is unclear what happened at Purana Qila after the departure of the Japanese internees but during the political turmoil, violence and social upheaval leading up to, and after, Pakistan's independence on 14 August 1947 and India's independence the following day, Purana Qila became a refuge for both Muslims fleeing violence across the city and people arriving from homes which were now in Pakistan.[57] The use of

[54]British Library IOR/L/PJ/12/510 Activities of Germans, Italians and Japanese in India May-Dec 1942. Survey No 21 of 1942 for the week ending 30th May 1942.

[55]In addition to the internees from Purana Qila, around 60 Japanese consular officials and their families from colonies including British-India, Ceylon and Burma were aboard the ship to Lourenco Marques.

[56]Toshiro Mine, *Indo kokunetsusabaku nihonjin shuyōjo ga atta*, (Tokyo: Asahi Sonorama: 1995).

[57]Collins and Lapierre suggest that at that time between 150,000 and 200,000 people took refuge in Purana Qila and the nearby Humayan's Tomb. Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight* (London: Book Club Associates, 1975), p.

Purana Qila at this time is part of the fort's collective memory and overshadows its use as an internment camp between 1942 and 1943.

***Indowara-kai* (Indowara Association)**

The *Indowara-kai* was established in Tokyo in the early 1960s and published a regular newsletter, entitled *Indowara tsūshin*, from 1966 to 1988 at which time the chief editor passed away.[58] In addition to the newspaper the association held get-togethers in Tokyo, Osaka and other locations in Japan.[59] The newsletter included members' reminiscences of the internees' life in the camp as well as pieces by members who had returned to India and/or the places where they lived before internment. For example, Sachio Ōtani who was repatriated as part of the civilian exchange describes his January 1973 visit to Purana Qila and notes that on this visit, he had been able to enter the site freely whereas on a previous visit his access had been restricted because the site was being used as a military camp.[60] Ōtani also notes that nobody he spoke to was aware that the fort had been used as internment camp for Japanese civilians. The lack of knowledge of the fort as an internment camp is also mentioned by Kichijirō Ōmori who had visited the site in January 1987.[61] While most of the entries are by repatriates living in Japan, a number were written by people living in other countries including Taiwan, Malaysia and Sri Lanka. As an example, Qiu Chun-Rong wrote from Taipei that their son (Yun-Lei) who was very young when the family was repatriated to Taiwan was a university lecturer in the United States.[62] These entries show that Purana Qila was not only part of the collective memory of repatriates living in Japan but also formed part of a broader international collective memory.

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416. For a discussion of the use of Purana Qila between 1947 and 1959, see Deborah Ruth Sutton, 'Masjids, monuments and refugees in the Partition city of Delhi, 1947-1959', *Urban History* 50: 3 (2022) pp. 468-485.

[58]According to Matsumoto (2005), the editor of *Indowara-kai*'s newsletter, Jirō Kimura, passed away on 13 June 1988 at which point publication of the newsletter stopped. Shūsaku Matsumoto, 'Indowarakai kankei shiryō no hozon ni tsuite: chūkan hōkoku (saishū' hōkoku)' available online at: https://tufs.repo.nii.ac.jp/record/2832/files/cdats-hub5-9.pdf . Accessed 28 August 2024.

[59]Matsumoto, '*Indowara kai kankei shiryō no hozon ni tsuite: chūkan hōkoku'*, p. 79.

[60]Sachio Ōtani, 'Puranakira o tazunete' *Indowara tsūshin* dai9gō (1974 April 25) p.1.

[61]Kichijirō Ōmori, 'Kōen ni natta purana kira (2)', *Indowara tsūshin* dai35gō (1987 July 15) p. 2.

[62]Qiu Chun-Rong, 'Yun-Lei-kun wa daigaku no sensei' *Indowara tsūshin,* dai7gō (1972 October 1) p. 1.

The association also published a book of sketches of life in the Purana Qila and Deoli camps (*Sukecchi ga kataru indoyokūki: 1941.12.8~1946.5.19*).[63] The sketches, drawn by the internees at the time of their internment, cover a range of themes including life before internment and life in the camps. All sketches are accompanied by a short explanation. For instance, an explanation accompanying two sketches of trucks leaving Purana Qila at the top and people walking at the bottom gives details of the time (2 pm) the internees left Purana Qila on 11 April and the time (10 am) they entered the Deoli camp the next day.[64] While not all of the sketches are of Purana Qila, the effect of the sketches on the readers' collective memory of life in internment cannot be overestimated. The illustrations not only serve as a reminder to the repatriates of what their lives were like in the camp, they also provide details for their collective memories of their time in Purana Qila. At the same time, the sketches provide people who were not interned with images and details of what life was like in the camps. For example, the Principal of the Japanese School in New Delhi, writes that he had been unaware that Purana Qila was the site of an internment camp for Japanese until he saw the book of sketches and he had been quite surprised. [65] He also notes that he had shown the sketches to other people, all of whom were similarly unaware of the fort's prior use but were impressed by the standard of the sketches. The sketches therefore act to broaden knowledge of Purana Qila as an internment camp for Japanese. They also form part of the readers' individual memories of the site which may feed into the collective memory.

Conclusion

To conclude, this article has compared the memories, or lack thereof, of two internment camps holding Japanese civilians during the Second World War: Nouville in New Caledonia and Purana Qila in India. Importantly both sites physically remain but Nouville's use as an internment camp for Japanese is part of the collective memory of the site while this is not the case for Purana Qila where its usage is forgotten and ignored. This discussion has highlighted a number of factors: including the presence or lack thereof of a local descendant community – which have impacted the changes in the memories of the camps over time; and the passage of them becoming, or moving out of, the collective memory of the sites. It was argued that the forgetting of Purana Qila as an internment camp in India itself was due to a combination of a lack of local descendants of the Japanese interned there, the site's long history, and its use as a refuge during partition in 1947. Nevertheless, this lack of a collective memory of Purana Qila as an internment camp for Japanese does not discount the possibility that

[63]Jirō Kimura, *Sukecchi ga kataru indoyokuryūki: 1941.12.8~1946.5.19*. (Yamato: Indowara-kai, 1982).
[64]Ibid., pp. 48-19.
[65]Excerpt from letter from Watanabe. Jirō Kimura (ed), 'Hajimete shitta: dōhō sanzen no yokuryū', *Indowara tsūshin* dai24gō (1982) p. 3.

Purana Qila is remembered by some individuals locally. However, without a group, these biographical memories remain outside a local collective memory. On the other hand, despite the lack of a local collective memory, the former internees ensured – through their membership of an alumni association, the *Indowara-ka* based in Japan, that their individual memories formed a collective memory of the site, albeit a memory not in India. *Indowara-kai*'s publication of a newsletter, a book of sketches and the organisation of get-togethers ensured that the former internees' collective memory of the site and their internment in Purana Qila, remained alive while these activities continued. However, the ensuing lack of ongoing communications due to the editor's death as well as the aging of the former internees themselves has seen the collective memory of the camp fade in Japan.

In contrast, in New Caledonia, despite a small number of former internees remaining there after August 1945 who presumably remembered their years in Nouville, the lack of a 'veterans' group meant that Nouville's history as an internment camp was largely ignored for many years. This situation was magnified due to the location of the site on an island, which meant that despite its physical existence, it was located out of sight. The 1972 construction of a bridge connecting the island to Grande Terre made access to the site easier and allowed the descendants to visit freely in a way which they had previously not been able. The emergence of a group of descendants wishing to learn about what happened to their ancestors around the same time, led to a re-remembering of the site's history of internment and the emergence of the collective memory of Nouville as an internment camp. The descendants' activities through their membership of *Amicale* was part of this process. Nowadays, Nouville's role as an internment camp is officially acknowledged by a sign erected near a church where the internees were held. This sign ensures that Nouville's use as an internment camp will be remembered even when the descendants are no longer alive to actively maintain the collective memory of the site. At the same time, the sign indicates to any reader that Nouville was not only a penal prison until the 1920s but New Caledonia as a whole was also a destination for Japanese migrants in the early part of the twentieth century. Importantly, these somewhat disparate historical events are intrinsically linked through Nouville's use as an internment camp for Japanese during World War II. More research is needed into the processes which saw Nouville's use as a penal colony be recognised as a site of historical significance without acknowledgement of the site's role as an internment camp.

Finally, it is important to recognise that while this article has compared the collective memory of the internment camps in India and New Caledonia which held Japanese internees, both locations are largely unrecognised as destinations where Japanese lived prior to the outbreak of the Second World War or where those Japanese were interned. It is also highly likely that those who have been active in remembering the internment camps are unaware of the other. That is, the remembering and forgetting

of the two sites is done in isolation from the other. More research into the collective memory of internment camps across the globe, especially those which held Japanese, is needed for a broader understanding of the processes which see some camps remembered and others forgotten.

War Cemeteries and the Thai-Burma Railway: The Construction of Collective Memories of the Asia-Pacific War in Thailand

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ABSTRACT
The Japan-Thai Pact of Alliance and Thailand's declaration of war on Britain and the USA created ambiguity in later memories of the Second World War in Thailand. This article investigates the formation of a Thai collective memory of the war between 1945 and 1963. It argues that the construction of Prisoner of War (POW) cemeteries, the reopening of the Thai-Burma railway, the publication of anglophone and Thai memoirs during this period became the foundation for the establishment of a narrative directed toward Thai nationals and foreign tourists, that positioned Thailand as a country undefeated in war.

Introduction

Between 15 and 22 October 1963, Queen Juliana, Prince Bernhard, and Crown Princess Beatrix of The Netherlands undertook a state visit to Thailand. A significant event in the official schedule was Princess Beatrix's visit to the Kanchanaburi War Cemetery (Don Rak Cemetery), and the Chungkai War Cemetery also in Kanchanaburi, where she laid wreaths in tribute to deceased POWs. This episode marked a distinctive moment, possibly the first instance of high-ranking members of a royal family traveling to Allied war cemeteries in Thailand. The Dutch Royals performed an act of remembrance that was common in global commemorations of the Second World War. Less than one week later, on 27 October, King Bhumibol, Queen Sirikit, Princess Ubon Ratana, and Prince Vajiralongkorn embarked on a train journey from Bangkok to visit the Sai Yok Waterfall, located at Nam Tok station, the

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terminus of the Thai-Burma railway. The royal family's train excursion was captured in a seven-minute newsreel and broadcast nationwide over the following week. The newsreel vividly portrayed the scenic landscapes along the Thai-Burma railway, featuring landmarks such as the bridge over the river Kwai and the Wang Pho Viaduct. Upon disembarking from the train, the Royals warmly acknowledged the awaiting crowd, and expressed admiration for the natural beauty surrounding them.[1] The Thai royal outing played a pivotal role in introducing the Thai-Burma railway as a tourist route to the public consciousness. Tourism was not the only goal of the royal excursion, King Bhumibol (reign 1946-2016) was eager to re-establish the role of the Royal Family which had diminished after the introduction of constitutional monarchy in 1932. He thus travelled across the country visiting rural communities and engaging in Buddhist practices. A major part of the King's visit involved stopping at Kanchanaburi to take part in the Kathin merit-making ceremony at Thewa Sangkharam Temple. During the war, this temple served as one of many cremation sites for the large number of Asian labourers who died during the construction of the Thai-Burma Railway.[2] The site is only 800 metres away from the Kanchanaburi War Cemetery. However, unlike his Dutch counterparts, the King's trip did not engage in war commemoration.

Although the Thai-Burma railway and the war cemeteries share the same historical background, the meanings of the visits by the Dutch and Thai royal families were quite different. The Dutch royal family acknowledged the Thai-Burma railway in light of its war-time significance, while the Thai royal family viewed it simply as a tourist or commercial initiative or a means to engage with the Thai population. Thai national press reports also avoided associating the railroad with its historical roots. However, the two late October royal visits in 1963 share some common imagery, and we can see overlapping uses as a commemorative space and tourist attraction. In the prelude to the short newsreel war cemeteries are noted, not for their wartime significance, but rather to highlight the Thai-Burma railway's readiness to welcome visitors beyond the relatives or friends of POWs. Instead, it underscored the region's beauty, and the convenience of the railway, creating and promoting a narrative that disassociated Thailand from its past collaboration with Japan.

This article discusses the emergence of the construction of collective but also competing memories of the Asia Pacific War in Thailand as highlighted by the two royal visits. The immediate post-war period saw the rise of Southeast Asian nationalism, a changing order in Asia, and new complex regional and domestic

[1]Film Archives of Thailand (hereafter FAT), D1-02271-53, 'The royal family visited the Waterfall in Kanchanaburi province by train', Thai Television Channel 4, 1963.
[2]National Archives of Thailand (hereinafter NAT), BK Sungsut 2.6.6/8, 'Japan wants to buy land in Tha Maka Village', Kanchanaburi, 25 November 1943 to 18 March 1944.

dynamics. Scholarship has tended to focus on the period from the 1980s, when war-related tourism flourished with the post-war period between 1945 and 1963, which was marked by the construction of memorial sites in Kanchanaburi, being marginalised.[3] Previous studies suggest that the collective memories embodied in Kanchanaburi's war-related tourist destinations are somewhat fragmented.[4] Certain narratives have received substantial emphasis, such as the atrocious treatment of POWs by Japanese guards, while others are overlooked, such as the fate of the Asian labourers.[5] Based on previously unused historical records from the National Archives of Thailand and Film Archives of Thailand, this article argues that three main events influenced the creation of collective memories: the construction of Allied war cemeteries in Kanchanaburi, the reopening of the Thai-Burma railway, and the circulation of non-fiction works on the war. These events will be analysed to answer the question of how these collective memories were constructed and what foundational narratives have enabled these shared memories to persist. The negotiation processes and mutual responses of the diverse participants will be analysed to gain an understanding of the formation of collective memories in the case of transnational memorial sites.

Background and Context

The Thai government's wartime collaboration with Japan remains a controversial topic in Thai academia. These controversies on collaboration emphasise the relationship between the Thai government and Japan after the 1932 Revolution, and especially in military relations after 1939. These trends are explained as a means of lessening the influence of the British, who long supported Thailand's monarchical regime.[6] On the

[3]See Apinya Baggelaar Arrunnapaporn, 'Atrocity Heritage Tourism at the "Death Railway', *Journal of the Siam Society*, 100 (2012), pp. 257-268; Joan Beaumont and Andrea Witcomb, 'The Thai-Burma railway: asymmetrical and transnational memories', in Christina Twomey and Ernest Koh (eds), *The Pacific War: Aftermaths, remembrance and culture*, (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 67-87; John Lennon, 'Kanchanaburi and the Thai-Burma Railway: disputed narratives in the interpretation of War', *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, 4,1 (2018), pp. 140-155.

[4]For example, see Apinya Arrunnapaporn, "Interpretation management of atrocity heritage of the 'Death Railway' of the River Kwai and its associations" (PhD dissertation, Silapakorn University, 2008); Rinna Takudrua, 'War museums in Kanchanaburi: the reconstruction of memory' (MA thesis, Thammasat University, 2014); Lennon, 'Kanchanaburi and the Thai-Burma Railway'.

[5]For example, Kazunori Hashimoto, 'Constructing the Burma-Thailand Railway: The War Crimes Trials and the Shaping of an Episode of WWII' (PhD dissertation University of London, 2022).

[6]See Charivat Santaputra, *Thai Foreign Policy 1932-1946*, (Bangkok: International Studies Center, 2020); Charnvit Kasetsiri, *Prawat Kanmueng Thai*, (Bangkok: Dokya, 1995);

other hand, the history of collaboration with Japan between December 1941 and August 1945 has been studied very little compared to its importance. The restriction of archival access to key agencies such as the Supreme Command Headquarters, the Parliament, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a significant reason why studies remain limited. Thus, the question of whether Thailand cooperated with Japan on a voluntary or forced basis continues to be scrutinised. In the immediate post-war years, narratives of Japanese coercion and the anti-Japanese movement emerged as primary themes in Thai literature. Thailand's former enemies were also willing to overlook collaboration in favour of creating friendly relations. This was despite Thailand's role in the broader war – starting with Japan's invasion after the Pearl Harbour attack and concluding with Thailand's peace declaration in August 1945.

On 7 December 1941 just as the Japanese Navy attacked Pearl Harbour, the Japanese Ambassador in Bangkok demanded a right of passage for Japanese troops through Thai territory. When this was denied, the Japanese Southern Area Army invaded Thailand. After a brief resistance, Bangkok ordered a ceasefire and signed an agreement sanctioning passage of the Japanese troops to then British controlled Malaya and Burma. A few weeks later, the Thai government, led by Prime Minister and Supreme Commander of the Thai Armed Forces, Field Marshal Phibun Songkhram, negotiated with the Japanese 15 Army to conduct Japan-Thai joint military operations. On 21 December, Japan and Thailand signed an offensive and defensive alliance, and on 25 January 1942 Thailand declared war on Britain and America. Responding to the threat posed to British Malaya and Burma by Thailand's alliance with Japan, the British government announced that a state of war existed but made no official declaration of war. Britain's Dominion, Australia, however, declared war on Thailand on 3 March 1942 because Thailand provided bases for the Japanese army.[7] The USA simply decided to ignore Thailand's declaration of war and continued to regard Thailand as enemy-occupied territory.[8]

Thawee Thirawongsesi, *Samphanthapap thang kan mueng rawang Thai kap Yipun*, (Bangkok: Thai Wattanapanich, 1981); Somchoke Swasdiruk, 'Military Relation between Thailand and Japan in the War of Greater East Asia 1941-1945' (MA thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1981).

[7]"Australia and Siam," *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, March 12, 1942, p.6.; John Gooch, 'The Politics of Strategy: Great Britain, Australia and the War against Japan, 1939–1945', *War in History*, 10, 4 (2003), pp. 424-447.

[8]See Charivat Santaputra, *Thai Foreign Policy 1932-1946*, (Bangkok: International Studies Center, 2020), p. 306-308.; and Nicholas Tarling, 'Atonement before Absolution: British Policy towards Thailand during World War II', *Journal of the Siam Society*, 66, 1 (1978), pp. 24-25.

In November 1943, Thailand signed the Greater East Asia Joint Declaration formally aligning itself with the Axis powers. In exchange, Japan ceded four states in northern Malaya and two states in eastern Burma to Thailand. Japan also granted the Thai government control over most administrative matters, excluding airfields, highways, and railroads. Thailand operated under martial law during this period, placing both military and civilian activities under the command of the supreme military leader, Phibun Songkhram. The Thai government supervised all activities within its territory, including the oversight of a camp for 300 civilian internees, consisting of internees from Britain, America, and the Netherlands. Individuals of Asian descent, even though nationals of these three countries, were not deemed enemy nationals by either the Thai government or Japanese forces in Thailand.[9]

The handling of military prisoners depended on whether Japanese officials or Thai authorities had captured them. The majority of POWs in Thailand were imported by the Japanese military from occupied territories. These POWs were employed as labourers to construct infrastructure for the Japanese army; the most well-known projects being the Thai-Burma railway and the airfield in Ubon Ratchathani province. The construction of wartime infrastructure was primarily the responsibility of Japan, but the Thai government also provided support. For example, in building the Thai-Burma railway, Japan was responsible for construction, and managing POW camps. However, if prisoners escaped, Thai authorities were responsible for their tracking, apprehension, and return to the Japanese military.[10]

The division of tasks in this manner meant that Thai authorities received a certain amount of information on POWs such as data regarding the number of POWs arriving at the endpoint of the railway route at Ban Pong Station in Ratchaburi Province. However, once POWs entered Ban Pong construction camp, they immediately fell under the authority of the Japanese military, which controlled the area and restricted Thai officials and locals from entering without permission. This demarcation of responsibilities between the Japanese military and Thai government was implemented to prevent clashes between officials from both sides. This separation of authority was essential in marking the boundaries of war-related memory sites along the Thai-Burma railway route.[11]

Although the Thai government officially collaborated with Japan, there were dissenting voices from within, notably M. R. Seni Pramoj, the Thai Ambassador to the USA, who immediately expressed his disagreement with the Thai government's alignment with

[9]NAT BK Sungsut 2.11, Box no. 1/1, no. 1/2, and no. 2. 'Documents related to the Prisoners of War and Internee'.
[10]Ibid.
[11]Ibid.

Japan on 8 December 1941. This opposition became the starting point for the 'Free Thai' movement. Meanwhile, some individuals within the Thai government, led by Pridi Banomyong, the regent of Thailand, established the 'Underground' movement to resist Japan, along with Phibun. Both movements tried to coordinate with the governments of the Allied Powers. However, the governments of the Allied Powers, especially Britain and the USA, had differing opinions on both the Free Thai movement and the Underground movement. Opinions changed after 1943, when American-trained 'Free Thai' agents contacted the 'Underground' headquarters in Bangkok. The 'Free Thai' and the 'Underground' were from then able to provide the Allies with valuable intelligence on Japanese military and political activities and were able to liberate a number of British and American POWs.

On 16 August 1945, one day after Japan's surrender, the Thai Regent Pridi proclaimed a peace declaration with the approval of the USA and Britain. This was a first step in the Thai struggle to return to the pre-war status quo. It also provided significant impetus for the creation of a collective memory between Thailand and the Allied powers. Britain and America were aware that the post-war Thai government, was composed of leaders of the resistance, and they attempted to leverage their war-time record to negotiate additional benefits. This included resisting the return of territories acquired during the war from French Indochina, as well as evading accountability for Thailand's wartime involvement. Britain adopted a straightforward approach given the greater damage to British companies and nationals during the war and demanded reparations. The USA preferred to negotiate and to preserve Thailand's pre-war status. During this period, the USA became the most influential external actor on the Thai government and helped to erase the history of Thai collaboration with Japan.[12]

On their part, the Thai political elite explained collaboration with Japan on the basis it was done under duress. This constructive narrative of collaboration shares some similarities with the French in Southeast Asia who sought to assert their victimhood and claim reparations from Japan.[13] However, unlike France, Thailand did not demand

[12]See Herbert A. Fine, 'The Liquidation of World War II in Thailand', *Pacific Historical Review*, 34, 1 (Feb. 1965), pp. 65-82.; James V. Martin, Jr., 'Thai-American Relations in World War II', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 22, 4 (1963), pp. 451-467.; Nicholas Tarling, 'Atonement before Absolution: British Policy towards Thailand during World War II', *The Journal of the Siam Society*, 66, 1 (1978), pp. 22-65.; and Eiji Murashima, 'The Commemorative Character of Thai Historiography: The 1942-43 Thai Military Campaign in the Shan States Depicted as a Story of National Salvation and the Restoration of Thai Independence', *Modern Asian Studies*, 40, 4 (2006), pp. 1053-1096.
[13]Beatrice Trefalt, 'The French Prosecution at the IMTFE: Robert Oneto, Indochina and the Rehabilitation of French Prestige' in K. V. Lingen (Ed.), *War Crimes Trials in the*

reparations. Indeed, Thailand agreed to pay reparations to the Allied powers according to the peace agreements with each country. The Allied powers allowed Thailand to set up internal war crimes tribunals, thereby preventing it from being prosecuted at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. The collaboration between Thailand and Japan was officially nullified within two months of Japan's surrender, when the Thai government annulled six agreements and arrangements related to cooperation with Japan signed between December 1940 and October 1943.[14] Although the Allied powers did not emphasise Thailand's history of collaboration, crafting an appropriate narrative about this collaboration remains important within Thai society, especially considering domestic politics and the changing order in Asia.

Initial War Narratives in Thailand

After the war, the European colonial powers, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands struggled to maintain their authority in the face of growing popular demands for independence. Meanwhile, the United States increased its role and influence in the region with Thailand acting as a significant base. Internal political turmoil within Thailand, such as the death of King Rama VIII in 1946 and power struggles between political parties, the military, and the police saw factional groups vying to align themselves with the United States. Following a decade of political conflict, Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, a supporter of Phibun's 1947 coup d'état, seized power in his own coup d'état in October 1958. Both conservative and critical Thai studies acknowledge that the United States and King Bhumibol supported Sarit's regime. Thailand's relationship with the United States influenced the construction of a shared collective memory between Thailand and the Allied countries and set the stage for their post-war relationship.[15] POWs would form a major aspect of this collective memory.

Wake of Decolonization and Cold War in Asia, 1945-1956: Justice in Time of Turmoil, (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 51-67.

[14]Supinya Niwaswat, 'Japan's Grant Aid to Thailand from 1954 to 1989 and the Trend of Increasing Cultural Aid to Thailand: A Case Study of the Japan Studies Center, Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University' (MA thesis, Thammasat University, 1992).

[15]Most of the leaders of these factional political groups have been significant figures in the domestic political arena since the 1930s. After the war, each group tried to construct a narrative to explain their reluctance to collaborate with Japan or their willingness to collaborate with the Allied Powers. See Sorasak Ngamcachonkulkid, *Free Thai Movement and the political conflict within the country between 1938-1949*, (Bangkok: The Institute of East Asia Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1992), and Suthachai Yimprasert, 'Political Movement against Field Marshal Pibulsonggram's Regime, 1948-1957' (MA thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1989).

While the issue of POWs dominates anglophone accounts of the Second World War in Thailand, the demarcation of areas of responsibility between the Japanese military and Thai government meant the Thai population was relatively unaware of Allied POW stories. Furthermore, first-hand information was limited to the local communities residing along the railway route from Malaya to Ban Pong in southern Thailand and the construction route of the Thai-Burma railway. Because of the clandestine nature of wartime railway construction and Thai official collaboration, Thai literature on POWs was mainly relegated to works translated from English which then became a source for disseminating information to post-war Thai readers. Thai documentary and film makers also relied on these English-language sources when recounting stories about Thailand's role in the war. Journalistic accounts were published in Thai shortly after the Allied powers accepted that Thai personnel accused of war crimes could be judged through a national tribunal.[16] Following the acquittal of all accused by the Thai war crimes court in March 1946, literature on Thailand's war experience became widely published. Most literature drew extensively from information provided by high-ranking government officials and politicians or featured interviews with key political figures such as Phibun and Pridi. They also included memoirs from Seni, founder of the Free Thai movement in America, and accounts from Chamkat Phalangkun, a prominent member of the Underground. Adopting a news documentary style, these met the needs of Thai readers seeking a convincing and perhaps reassuring narrative of the war.

Between 1945 and 1963, approximately twenty non-fiction books related to the war in Thailand were published. Some were journalistic accounts based on interviews with high-ranking Thai politicians and officers. Others were autobiographies penned by prominent officers. Four books – *Railroad of Death*, *Into Siam*, *Interview with the Field Marshal*, and *X.O. Group* – stand out for their prompt publication just one year after the war and their impact as significant sources in relation to creating a popular narrative. These four books feature positive accounts of key figures and highlight the camaraderie between the Thai and the Allied powers, serving as a framework into which later works could insert details. A first book example is Josiah Crosby's *Siam: The Crossroads* from 1945.[17] Crosby, a British diplomat had served as the British Minister in Bangkok from 1934 to 1941, and left Bangkok in August 1942 in a POW exchange. He explained how the war came to Thailand and why it joined forces with Japan and then declared war on Britain and the USA. Crosby argued that Thailand did so as it was unable to resist the Japanese military and did not receive any assistance

[16]Suphot Dantrakun, 'Introduction', in Committee for Organizing the Celebration of the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Pridi Banomyong, Statesman and Elder Statesman, *Testimony in a War Crimes Court: Historical Documents,* (Bangkok: Pridi Banomyong Institute, 2002), pp. 1-25.

[17]Josiah Crosby, *Siam: The Crossroads*, (London: Hollis & Carter, 1973).

from the Allies. Even though it never received a Thai translation, Crosby's defence of Thailand's wartime record was widely referenced in Thai media and academia.

Two books that did receive a translation and popularity were John Coast's 1945 *Railroad of Death* and Nicol Smith and Blake Clark's 1946 *Into Siam; Underground Kingdom*.[18] *Railroad of Death* was the first book written by a former POW who worked on the Thai-Burma Railway and covers Coast's experiences from capture until the end of the war.[19] Coasts's unit had arrived in Singapore on 29 January 1942, shortly before its surrender to Japanese forces. He was transferred from the POW camp at Changi in Singapore to toil in the Thai-Burma Railway construction camps. Though he was a Senior Officer, Coast's accounts paint a vivid picture of the POW experience showing a keen awareness that the life of ordinary soldiers was much more challenging and difficult. He also emphasised the presence of many forced labourers from Java and Malaya on the railway and viewed them as enduring the harshest living conditions of all those involved. From his account we can also get an impression of the interactions between POWs and the local community. What little money the POWs had allowed them to open a lifeline to local traders. Coast frequently cites a Mr. Boonpong as someone who improved the lives of POWs. Boonpong was a Thai merchant responsible for procuring food and supplies for the Japanese Army, and assisted prisoners by lending them money in exchange for collateral, such as pens and cigarettes, and by selling them goods at reasonable prices.[20] These interactions were limited to camps located in flat or inhabited areas but offered at least some positive accounts of Thai people once translated for a local readership.

Nicol Smith's memoirs, co-written with Blake Clark, came from a perhaps more competent pen, Smith was a former travel writer and officer of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS).[21] Smith, had been selected for covert operations along the borders of China, Burma, and Thailand due to his extensive experience of travelling between Burma and Southern China, even having published an account titled *Burma Road*. Smith along with twenty OSS-trained Free Thai officers, who were Thai students on King's scholarships in the USA were sent to Thailand to work on radio communication operations. This mission was very dangerous because the Thai Ambassador Seni was unable to provide a definite answer regarding whether they would find a safe haven for Smith and the Free Thai officers. Their team successfully entered Thailand in early 1945 residing at the headquarters of the internal underground resistance movement

[18]Nicol Smith, Blake Clark, *Into Siam underground kingdom*, translated. So. So. Suwong, (Bangkok: Thaikasem,1947).
[19]John Coast, *Railroad of Death*, translated. So. So. Suwong, (Bangkok: Luang Suwet Suphakit, 1980).
[20]Coast, *Railroad of Death*.
[21]Smith and Clark, *Into Siam*.

in Thailand. Even though there were around 120,000 Japanese soldiers based in Thailand, Smith led a relatively comfortable life made possible as the resistance leadership included individuals with connections to high office including Pridi Banomyong who was simultaneously regent and leader of the Free Thai Movement. Smith and his group remained undetected until after Japan announced its surrender on 15 August 1945. Both Coast and Smith's books were bestsellers when first translated into Thai in 1947 by Sin Suwong, a former military doctor of the Thai Army, who did so under the pen name So. So. Suwong. The sympathetic descriptions of Thai people and emphasis on acts of resistance helped to colour a positive memory of Thailand's war experience.

The first non-fiction book about the war written by a Thai author is Malai Chupinit's *Ban tuk Chom Phon* (*Interview with a Field Marshal*), published in October 1945.[22] Malai was a prominent Thai journalist and novelist known for his literary contributions during the 1930s to 1950s. He was a significant public figure after the 1932 Revolution, an event that marked the end of absolute monarchy in Thailand and a transition to a constitutional monarchy. He was well acquainted with high-ranking government officials during the 1930s and 1940s, including Phibun and Pridi, key figures in the group that carried out the 1932 Revolution although he held increasingly distinct and differing political views within a few years of the Revolution. Malai explained that the purpose of the interview with Phibun on 8 October 1945, which is the focus of the book, was to provide Phibun with an opportunity to explain his various policies and decisions during his tenure as wartime Prime Minister. The interview segments were gradually published in daily newspapers and later published as a collected volume. The early content focused on interrogations and the first war crime allegation against Phibun, which led to his arrest and detention about one week after the interview. For example, questions included why Phibun decided to align his policies with Japan during the war and why he declared war on Britain and America. Phibun responded to these questions by emphasising that the implementation of these policies was a matter of considering national security, which was a direct responsibility of the military and his area of expertise. Issuing orders for the Thai military to fight against the Japanese, knowing in advance that they could not win, was considered inappropriate from the perspective of the commanding officers. Answering why he declared war against Britain and America, he explained that he had no choice due to Japanese coercion.[23]

One year after the publication of *Ban tuk Chom Phon*, in June 1946, Malai published *X.O. Group*. This was the name Pridi used to refer to the Underground movement he led. In the beginning, Pridi used the name to coordinate with high-level officials from Britain, America, and China because, at that time, there were several groups within

[22]Nai Chantana (Malai Chupinit), Ban tuk Chom Phon, (Bangkok: Krathom P.L., 2001).
[23] Ibid.

the country that had come together to resist Japan. Towards the end of the war, all these groups united under his leadership and were collectively referred to by the Allied forces as 'the Underground.' The book was written with the objective of documenting the facts about the Underground's operations and focused on transmitting information about the Japanese military in Thailand to the Allied forces. The book was compiled from information obtained from the daily records of high-ranking members of the Underground and interviews with high-ranking members, particularly Pridi. Signifying the impact of English language sources, Malai cited information from Crosby's *Siam* and Smith's *Into Siam*. Literature that focused on the construction of the railway or Thai resistance, was popular and cross-referenced in Thai media to create a public memory of the war as one of resistance to Japanese rule and humanitarian assistance to the Allies.

Agreements with Allies & Constructing the War Cemeteries

Further to popular literature, peace negotiations with Allied nations, particularly Britain and Australia, had a significant impact on integrating the treatment of POWS into post-war Thai memory as these resulted in agreements on the care of war graves. It took over five months of negotiating between Thailand, Britain, and Australia, and US intervention, to reach two agreements. First, the *Formal Agreement for the Termination of the State of War between Siam (Thailand) and Great Britain and India* (hereafter, the 1946 Formal Agreement), signed in Singapore on 1 January 1946. This was subdivided into categories including restitution and readjustment, security, commercial and economic collaboration, civil aviation, and war graves. The subsection specifically addressing war graves consisted of only one article (Article 17), which stated that the 'Siamese Government' agreed with the governments of Britain and India for the mutual upkeep of war graves, with the aim of establishing permanent, future care of British, Indian, and Thai war graves in their respective territories.[24] Thailand also agreed to provide assistance to the remaining Australian POWs interned in the country, to collaborate in the apprehension of war criminals, and to maintain Australian war graves. Second, Thailand and Australia signed a peace agreement in Bangkok on 3 April 1946. Article II of the agreement stated that 'the Government of Siam undertake to enter into arrangements acceptable to the Government of Australia

[24]The government changed the country's name from Siam to Thailand in mid-1939 to mark the rectification of unequal treaties signed with thirteen nations. However, the new government reversed the country's name to Siam shortly after the war. This decision was taken to lessen allegations that the Thai government had pursued expansionist policies or Pan-Thaism, which was a significant reason for collaboration with Japan and waging war against France and Britain.

for the upkeep of Australia[n] war graves and for the establishment and future care of Australian war cemeteries in Siam.'[25]

In compliance with these two agreements, the Kanchanaburi war cemeteries became cultural sites to commemorate the war from an Allied perspective. The initial task of constructing war memorials involved gathering information on deceased individuals and the locations of their graves. Former POWs were brought from Singapore to work on data collection of the construction of the Thai-Burma railway, even undergoing military personnel data training. Padre H. C. Babb, a former British chaplain and member of the voluntary team searching for graves, recorded that in early September 1945, members of the Australian, British, and Dutch Army graves services arrived in Bangkok. They compiled the collected data, including information from the Japanese side, through the Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees (RAPWI) offices. Thirteen volunteers committed to stay on and assist with war memorial work in Thailand through the following year and locate and document the graves of thousands scattered along the railway line. The voluntary team set out on a survey mission from Nakorn Pathom Province, Thailand, the starting point of the railway, all the way to the end of the line in Thanbyuzayat, in British controlled Burma.[26]

Efforts to locate graves during the first few months were chaotic because Britain, Australia, and the Netherlands were each attempting to coordinate directly with Thai authorities. This situation ended when the Allied nations agreed to allow Britain to take responsibility for the Allied War Graves Cemeteries in Thailand. The Netherlands, which had not been at war with Thailand, agreed to allow Britain to act as the representative for the care of war graves of Dutch and Javanese POWs who died in Thailand. When the H. Q. British Troops, Siam withdrew its forces from Thailand in October 1946, the coordination of these matters was passed to the British Embassy.[27] Initial data collection by this team was completed by October 1945. In December 1945, they began the process of exhuming remains from graves and relocating them to a new site prepared near Kanchanaburi railway station, today it is the Kanchanaburi War Cemetery, and was completed the following year. The war graves at Chungkai Hospital Camp, totalling 1,200 graves, were preserved in their original location.[28] In mid-1948, the Imperial War Graves Commission divided

[25]Direk Jayanama, *Thailand and the World War II*, (Bangkok: Sri Panya, 2017), pp. 642-648.
[26]Rod Beattie, *The Death Railway - A brief history of the Thailand-Burma Railway*, (Kanchanaburi: T.B.R.C Co., Ltd, 2015), p. 153.
[27]NAT. [1] MT 3.1.4.1.10/86, 'Reconstruction of the British Cemetery in Chiang Mai and Lampang', 25 April to 28 December 1946.
[28]Rod Beattie, *The Death Railway*, p. 153.

responsibility for maintaining allied war graves cemeteries in former British colonial territories in South Asia and Southeast Asia. The former India and Southeast Asia District was divided firstly into the India and Pakistan District, headquartered in New Delhi, and the Southeast Asia District, headquartered in Penang. Thus, cemetery maintenance in Thailand was further complicated, now requiring coordination between these two districts.[29]

The Thai government engaged in discussions with the British government to ensure the full implementation of the 1946 Formal Agreement. The one remaining challenge that the Thai government had not successfully addressed related to war graves. Negotiations had been ongoing since Thailand received the initial draft of the war grave-related agreement from the British Embassy in 1948. The key point of contention was which countries fell under 'His Britannic Majesty.' Negotiations resulted in the removal of Canada, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and Pakistan from the agreement. The period of war in the initial draft was also stated as spanning 1939 to 1945. The Thai government wished to amend this to 1941 to 1945. However, the British government did not agree as it would not align with the regulations of the Imperial War Graves Commission. Negotiations concerning land rights for the cemeteries and its protective margins were the longest, spanning from 1946 to 1953.[30]

Between 1946 and 1954, the Allied War Graves Cemeteries in Kanchanaburi underwent significant expansion. Allied war graves from various other Thai cemeteries, not only along the railway track, were relocated to Kanchanaburi between 1946 and 1951. The Thai government mandated provincial committees to locate graves, leading to discoveries in Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim cemeteries in Bangkok, and private properties in Nakhorn Pathom and Ratburi Provinces along the railway route. Additionally, graves in the southern provinces were interred in the Commonwealth War Graves in Penang.[31] With relocation and consolidation

[29]NAT [1] MT 3.1.4.1.10/91, 'Allied war cemeteries', 22 October to 10 November 1948.; NAT [1] MT 3.1.4.1.10/93, 'The international military cemetery operations in Kanchanaburi', 14-20 October 1949.; and NAT [1] MT 3.1.4.10/100, 'The agreement on war graves between Thailand and Imperial War Graves Commission', 12 January 1954 to 10 June 1958.

[30]NAT [1] MT 3.1.4.10/90, 'The management of land for England to use as a cemetery', 10 June 1948 to 8 July 1949.; NAT [1] MT 3.1.4.10/97, 'The Imperial War Graves Commission wishes to undertake construction at the cemetery in Kanchanaburi and Chungkai', 12-19 January 1954.; and NAT [1] MT 3.1.4.10/100.

[31]NAT [1] MT 3.1.4.10/83.; and NAT [1] MT 3.1.4.10/95, 'Permission is requested to exhume the bodies of British soldiers buried in the civilian cemetery in Bangkok', 14 May to 19 September 1951.

completed, the final peace negotiations could commence. Once a consensus summary on the agreement regarding war graves was reached, the Thai government signed the termination of the *1946* Formal Agreement in early 1954. Subsequently, in August 1954, Thailand and Britain signed the 'Agreement between The Government of Thailand and The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, and India regarding war graves. Meanwhile, the Netherlands exchanged memoranda concerning guidelines for Netherlands' POW war graves in the event of Britain terminating its agreement with Thailand. After this, there was no further transfer of soldier bodies or names into the Allied War Cemetery at Kanchanaburi. Changes since then have involved only the decoration and upkeep of the cemetery.[32]

As mentioned above, during the war the USA considered Thailand to be territory occupied by the enemy. However, when the Thai government decided to collaborate militarily with Japan in mid-December 1941, American citizens were treated as enemy nationals and were detained in camps in Bangkok alongside British, Australian, and Dutch internees. Hundreds of Americans were captured as POWs by the Japanese military and Thai authorities; however, their number was relatively small compared to British, Australian, and Dutch POWs. Preferring repatriation to establishing war cemeteries, the remains of US POWs were sent back to the United States. This accounts for the absence of monuments associated with the US in Kanchanaburi.

The transfer of Allied war graves that were previously scattered to Kanchanaburi War Cemetery impacted war memory in Thailand, focussing the war narrative solely on the Thai-Burma railway.[33] In an early alignment between war commemoration and tourism, even before completion in 1954, relatives and friends of the dead had begun visiting the Kanchanaburi war cemeteries.[34] Travel during these early days was challenging because Kanchanaburi Province was not yet equipped to provide accommodation for foreign visitors. The British embassy, therefore, sought permission from the Thai government to construct a certified guesthouse for visitors within the vicinity of the cemeteries, creating a space for visitors to stay while in the province.[35] Even though the Thai-Burma railway reopened in 1949, rail travel was less efficient than other available options. To cater for the rising number of overseas visitors,

[32]NAT [1] MT 3.1.4.10/100.
[33]The only remaining Allied war graves outside Kanchanaburi are at the Bangkok Protestant Cemetery, which are intermingled with those of civilians.
[34]NAT [1] MT 3.1.4.10/94, 'The Royal Embassy of the United Kingdom requests permission to proceed with the construction of the residence of the caretaker buried in the War Cemetery where he rests', 3 August to 28 December 1950.
[35]Ibid.

accommodation in, and access to Kanchanaburi would have to be improved.[36] The creation of infrastructure around commemoration also opened up spaces for the development of tourism.

Reopening the Railway, Fame, and Reconnecting with the War Cemetery

In 1954, after the Thai government had completed the payment of reparations, Thailand's collaboration with foreign nations flourished. Additionally, the USA's increasing involvement in the Vietnam War after 1954 benefited Thailand as the country served as a main base for this mission. During the early years of the Cold War, Thailand endeavoured to construct itself as a cultural nation to protect its position in the international post-war system. The Tourist Authority of Thailand was established in 1960 to fulfil this objective, in addition to direct economic aims.[37]

Indeed, economic potential had been a major factor in Thailand's desire for a role in the construction of the Thai-Burma railway in 1942. Thailand was initially responsible for constructing the railway within its borders and estimated that it would take approximately eight years. Due to Japan's desire for completion within a year to serve as a military transportation route into Burma at a time when its naval routes were being heavily attacked, Thailand and Japan negotiated and agreed that Thailand would be responsible for building the railway for a 60-kilometer section from Nong Pladuk Junction to Kanchanaburi. The remaining section, approximately 350 kilometres from Kanchanaburi to Thanbyuzayat, became the responsibility of Japan. Japan began official construction work on this project in late August 1942.[38] Between November 1942 and October 1943, a force of about 60,000 prisoners of the Imperial Japanese Army with a much greater number of around 180,000 laborers conscripted from throughout Southeast Asia was mobilised to construct the railway over a stretch of 412 kilometres from Ban Pong in Thailand to Thanbyuzayat in Burma.

When the war ended, the British military took control of the railway line. The final task of the railway within British Burma was to transport captured Japanese soldiers into Thai territory. Some Japanese POWs were assigned the task of dismantling the railway line in British Burma to salvage the materials for other construction projects.

[36]NAT ST 0701.9.10.9/4, 'Minutes of the 9th/1954 meeting of the Tourism Authority of Thailand committee', 14 September 1954.

[37]Matthew Phillips, "Oasis on a Troubled Continent': Culture and Ideology in Cold War Thailand' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 2012). See Porphant Ouyyanont, 'The Vietnam War and Tourism in Bangkok's Development, 1960-70', *Southeast Asian Studies*, 39, 2 (2001), pp. 157-187.

[38]Ichiro Kakizaki, *Scramble for Rails: Japanese Military Transport on Thai Railways during World War II*, (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2020), p. 88.

The line within Thailand, however, remained intact.[39] The Thai government successfully purchased the railway from Britain for £1.25 million in October 1946 to bring the railway back into commercial use. However, the economic utility of the railway diminished with the post-war decline of the British colonial economy in Southeast Asia. This negatively impacted, the timber concession agreement between British firms and the Thai government in the Tenasserim Division, which began in the 1880s and was set to expire in 1954. The USA came to Thailand's aid in 1949, proposing that the Thai government construct a dam in the Tenasserim, as the topography of this mountainous region provided the potential for a large dam for hydroelectric power. This resulted in 1964 in Thailand's first hydroelectric dam in the mountains sourcing the Kwai River.

However, the greatest benefit of the railway remained tourism. A portion of the original Thai-Burma railway line reopened in mid-1949, covering only 53 kilometres from Nong Pladuk Junction to Kanchanaburi station. As a result, not only international but also Thai tourists added the Allied War Cemeteries to their itinerary of Kanchanaburi province which also included popular natural attractions such as waterfalls, forests, and caves. The origins of this new travel destination for Thai tourists can be connected not only to the re-opened railway but also to a popular Thai action film released in 1950, named *Saming Pasak*. This film was directed by Wasan Sunthonpaksi, who also features in the title role. It is a story of love, revenge, and frantic pursuit through the Thai countryside, with scenes set in the border region of Thailand near Myanmar. Saming goes to Kanchanaburi to evade his enemies and is able to sustain himself through skills useful in its timber industry. Saming and his friends disembark from the train at Kanchanaburi station and, confident of their safety, proceed to visit the Kanchanaburi War Cemetery and the Bridge over the River Kwai.[40] The cemetery's appearance on the silver screen, attracted hordes of Thai fans to the site who were perhaps keener to retrace Saming's steps than to pay their respects to the Allied war dead.

In April 1952 the railway was reopened all the way to Nam Tok Station (Sai Yok Waterfall Station). Because the stretch from Wang Pho to Nam Tok was still not safe for commercial railway operations, passenger cars were only available from Kanchanaburi to Wang Pho. For the segment between Wang Pho and Nam Tok, there were only open freight cars. Travel conditions were spartan, and passengers who wanted to continue their journey to Nam Tok could do so without an additional fare because the railway would not guarantee their safety.[41] The popularity of the train

[39]Asai Tokuichi, 'Tai men tetsudō hoi', *Shinchiri*, 10, 4 (1963), pp. 1-31.
[40]Manassak Dokmai, 'Mr. Wasan Sunthonpaksi' *Saming Pasak*: Thai films in the post-World War II era', *Film Archives Newsletter*, 6, 35 (2016), pp. 15-17.
[41]Asai Tokuichi, 'Tai men tetsudō hoi', p. 30.

journey to the Sai Yok waterfall likely increased when Prime Minister Phibun, in office again from1948, travelled by train to the waterfall station in 1953. This journey was recorded in a 23-minute documentary entitled *Family and the Train*, with the triple goal of promoting the Thai-Burma railway as a tourist route, to demonstrate the government's sound judgement in purchasing the line, and to present Phibun as a modern family man. This documentary focused specifically on the beauty of the scenery during the journey and the waterfall itself, without delving into the historical background of the railway.[42]

In tandem with its growth in domestic popularity, the Thailand-Burma railway became of international interest with the publication of an English translation of Pierre Boulle's novel *Le Pont de la rivière Kwaï* in 1952. Five years later the novel was adapted into the film *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, bringing further attention to the construction of the railway and its associated wartime hardships. Filming started in 1956 using locations in Ceylon and featured a cast of actors portraying Thai individuals who assisted Allied POWs attempting to escape from Japanese forces. Four renowned Thai actors were selected to play small roles in the film, but the pivotal role went to Bongsebrahma Chakrabandhu, a member of the royal family with no prior acting experience. Chosen for his adept English and leadership qualities, both acquired while studying at Britain's Imperial Service College and the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst. He portrayed a village headman assisting Allied POWs. This fictional role overshadowed his real-life war-time role, managing a camp for Allied civilians and POWs in Bangkok. The inclusion of Thai actors and a Thai royal naturally generated interest, leading to extensive press coverage in Thai magazines before the film's release in 1957. In interviews in Thai Press, Chakrabandhu spoke of his experience of the filming and acting but not of the film's historical background or his own war experience.[43] Columbia Pictures Corporation's News Release Number 28 introduced Chakrabandhu as one of the featured actors but perhaps to his chagrin it highlighted his real-life role during wartime as a commander of prisoner of war and civilian internment camps. In a more positive note, the release also mentioned Cakrabandhu's clandestine involvement in the Free Thai Movement, where he assisted in the return of downed allied fliers and managed British underground agents.[44]

[42]FAT D2-02263-3, 'Family and the Train', directed by Prasit Singhanavik, 1953.

[43]Bongsebrahma Chakrabandhu, *Photos and Biography of Lieutenant Colonel M.R. Bongsebrahma Chakrabandhu*, (Bangkok: Bongsebrahma Chakrabandhu, 1971), p. 90-108.

[44]Ibid., p. 93. By the end of the war, Chakranbandhu held the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Thai Army. Later, he served as a traffic manager for Pacific Overseas Airlines (Siam) Ltd. Subsequently, he worked as the advertising manager for the Shell Company of Thailand Limited. During the production of *The Bridge on the River Kwai*,

The Bridge on the River Kwai was a huge hit, claiming seven Oscars in 1958. It generated such a growth in tourism to Kanchanaburi that local residents renamed their stretch of the river, formerly the Mae Klong, to Kwae Yai.[45] This film marked a turning point, reconnecting the separate narratives of the POWs preserved in war cemeteries and the Thai-Burma railway, which had diverged for over a decade after the war. In large part due to the film's influence, it became clear that the construction and maintenance of Allied war cemeteries in Kanchanaburi served testimony to the story of the brutalities associated with the building of the railway and turned the bridge into a memorable image for viewers. The movie's noted longevity, still a regular staple of post-Christmas dinner broadcasts in Britain, Australia, and New Zealand has helped to maintain the railway in both anglophone and Thai public memories of the war.[46]

Conclusion

Reopening the railway enhanced access to the war cemeteries and the River Kwai Bridge for Allied veterans and visitors. The royal visits of 1963 were a prelude to the full opening of the region to general visitors. For early post-war tourists, who were mainly Thai, the connection between the story of the Thai-Burma railway and the war cemeteries was not automatic although suitable narratives for these war-related sites were steadily established later in popular accounts of the war. The immediate post-war period and domestic political turmoil led Thailand to seek a new image prompting the management of memories related to the war in Thailand. The shared memories during the first decade after the war were characterised by a focus on Thailand's post-war status as a country that was not a defeated Japanese ally but one that had resisted and provided assistance to the USA and Britain. This was reflected through the construction of Allied war cemeteries, the reopening of the Thai-Burma railway, and the circulation of non-fiction works on the war. Rather than being separated, it is now common for a trip along the Thai-Burma railway to include a simultaneous appreciation for the region's natural beauty and war commemoration.

The circulation of non-fiction books in the Thai reading market served as the platform for disseminating stories about the camaraderie between Thai soldiers, civilians, and police officers with the Allied forces during the war. These narratives highlighted the relationships and partnerships that formed during the conflict, contributing to the post-war memory and identity of Thailand. Non-fiction books and film played a crucial role in shaping the foundational narratives for Thai people that defined the meaning of

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he was initially asked to assist as an advisor but ultimately ended up taking an on-screen role.

[45]John Beaumont and Andrea Witcomb, 'The Thai-Burma Railway', p. 70.

[46]David Boggett, 'Notes on the Thai-Burma railway Part I: "The Bridge on the River Kwai"-The Movie', *Journal of Kyoto Seika University*, 19 (2000), pp. 111-133.

the Allied war cemeteries and Thai-Burma railway. The combination of a focus on resistance and commemoration of fallen Allied prisoners shaped the collective memories of Thailand's role in the war and its post-war identity. The construction of the Allied War Cemeteries, managed by the Allies, was carried out under an agreement between the Thai government, Great Britain, India, and Australia. This agreement stipulated the collective burial of the deceased at two cemeteries in Kanchanaburi. This shifted narratives of the Asia Pacific War involving Thailand from other areas to centre on Kanchanaburi. However, the narratives of the war limited to the setting in Kanchanaburi, were not yet ready to circulate among general visitors. The reopening of the Thai-Burma railway as a tourist attraction in the early 1950s made a significant contribution to the establishment of this narrative. While the initiation of these shared memories was decentralised and lacked an official organisation, the driving force of the tourism industry, targeted by the Thai government as a means to generate income from the Western market, led to the reconnection of the war cemetery and the railway. This allowed the narratives to take a shortcut, bypassing certain, uncomfortable but key events in the storyline, such as Thailand’s own war-time drive for territorial expansion.

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Memorializing Prisoners of War in Japan: Local Activism, War Criminals, and Reconciliation

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ABSTRACT
During the Second World War in the Asia-Pacific theatres, 36,000 Allied Prisoners of War (POWs) were held in camps across Japan's home islands. After the war, twenty-five memorials were built for these POWs. This paper analyses a selection of these memorials that together reveal major factors that have shaped POW memorials in Japan. Many were created by local activists, and emerged in cooperation with former POWs and their descendants to foster reconciliation, or forged links to nuclear bomb victims and forced Asian labour. Some were built by companies for their own interests or reflected tensions between sympathy for POWs and executed prison guard personnel.

Introduction

Allied Prisoners of War (POWs) were interned in around 130 camps within Japan's home islands of Honshu, Kyushu, Shikoku, and Hokkaido during the Second World War.[1] Despite this, accounts of camps outside Japan, especially in South East Asia, dominate the popular imagination and academic work on POWs.[2] In particular, former camps, forced labour projects, and museums and memorials for Allied POWs in Thailand and Singapore attract thousands of visitors annually.[3] In contrast, domestic

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[1]There were no POW camps in Okinawa.

[2]*Unbroken*, a major motion picture released in 2014 that focused primarily on POW camps in Japan, including Ōfuna, Ōmori, and Naoetsu, is a notable recent exception.

[3]Joan Beaumont, 'The Thai-Burma railway: A cultural route?', *The Historic Environment*, 25, 3 (2013), pp. 100-113; Anoma Pieris, 'Divided histories of the Pacific War: Revisiting "Changi's" (post)colonial heritage', in Mirjana Ristic and Sybille Frank (eds.),

POW camps and related sites are essentially unknown by visitors to Japan and attract less academic attention. Even within Japan, there is limited awareness, with a greater media emphasis there on Japan's own victimisation in events like the atomic and fire bombing of Japanese cities, or debates about the atrocities committed by Japan's military forces in China and South East Asia.[4] Research networks, specifically the Roger Mansell Group and the POW Research Network Japan (POWRNJ), have played a crucial role in outlining and sharing the history of these POW camps online.[5] Outside these networks, research has focused on individual camps: David Palmer's work on POWs and the Miike Coal Mine and, with Mick Broderick, a focus on POWs affected by the atomic bombing of Nagasaki; Sarah Kovner on the Fukuoka POW Camp 1; Anoma Pieris on the Naoetsu POW Camp; and William Underwood and others on the exploitation of POWs at Aso Mining's Yoshikuma Coal Mine.[6] In Japanese, apart from the POWRNJ's recently-published encyclopaedia, research on POW camps in Japan has likewise focused primarily on general wartime policies, and individual camps and cemeteries.[7]

Urban Heritage in Divided Cities: Contested Pasts, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), pp. 107-124.

[4]On Japanese memory of war, including competing discourses of Japan as hero, victim, or perpetrator, see Akiko Hashimoto, *The Long Defeat: Cultural Trauma, Memory, and Identity in Japan*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[5]Roger Mansell Group, 'Center for Research Allied POWs Under the Japanese', http://www.mansell.com/. Accessed 18 October 2023. The POWRNJ website contains reports on individual camps in Japanese, and some in English. See http://www.powresearch.jp/en/archive/index.html. Accessed 26 July 2024. For more on POWRNJ, see Kamila Szczepanska, 'Addressing the Allied POW Issue in Japan: The Case of POW Research Network Japan', *Japan Forum*, 26, 1 (2014), pp. 88-112.

[6]Mick Broderick and David Palmer, 'Australian, British, Dutch and US POWs: Living under the shadow of the Nagasaki Bomb', *Japan Focus*, 13, 32, 3 (2015), https://apjjf.org/2015/13/32/Mick-Broderick/4358.html. Accessed 26 July 2024; Sarah Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire: Inside Japanese POW Camps,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020); David Palmer, 'Japan's World Heritage Miike Coal Mine: Where prisoners-of-war worked "like slaves"', *Japan Focus*, 19, 13, 1 (2021), https://apjjf.org/2021/13/Palmer.html. Accessed 26 July 2024; Anoma Pieris, 'Empire of camps' and 'Intersectional sovereignty' in Anoma Pieris and Lynne Horiuchi, *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration Camps of the Pacific War,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 207-233 and pp. 290-317; William Underwood, 'Proof of POW forced labor for Japan's Foreign Minister: The Aso Mines', *Japan Focus*, 5, 5 (2007), https://apjjf.org/-William-Underwood/2432/article.html. Accessed 26 July 2024.

[7]POWRNJ Editors Committee, *Horyō shūyōjo, minkanjin yōryūsho jiten: Nihon kokunai-hen*, (Tokyo: Suirensha, 2023) (henceforth, POWRNJ *Jiten*). For other research in

While previous research provides a wartime history of POW camps in Japan, their role in post-war memory making is less clear. Some studies have explored them as the foci of transnational war commemoration or as legal cases, but these have been limited to a handful of individual camps.[8] It is thus unclear how commonly memorials were built at former POW camps, work, or grave sites in Japan's home islands, and whether patterns exist in the timing and reasons for their construction. Further, this lack of research impedes comparison between the memorialisation of Allied POWs in Japan and in countries of Japan's wartime empire. Through twelve key case studies, this paper seeks to address these gaps by revealing and examining the main factors that have shaped memorials to Allied POWs in Japan's home islands.

POW Camps in Japan

During the Second World War, the Japanese military imprisoned approximately 160,000 Allied servicemen, most of whom were captured in Singapore, the Philippines, and other parts of South East Asia.[9] Many were later transported throughout Asia on overcrowded ships and in very poor conditions to labour for the Japanese wartime empire.[10] Around 36,000 Allied POWs were imprisoned in Japan, where they were compelled to work in mines, factories, and shipyards. Up to 130 POW camps operated within Japan's home islands, where prisoners faced harsh confinement, severe labour conditions, insufficient food, and widespread illness. By the war's end, approximately 3,500 had died.[11] The dead POWs' remains were cremated, and their ashes were stored within the camps, nearby temples, or elsewhere. Immediately after the war,

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Japanese, see Komiya Mayumi, *Tekikokujin Yokuryū*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009); Sasamoto Taeko, *Rengōgun Horyo no Bohimei*, (Tokyo: Kusanone Shuppankai, 2004); Tachikawa Kyōichi, '"Kyūgun ni okeru" horyo no toriatsukai: Taiheiyō sensō no jōkyō o chūshin ni', *Bōei Kenkyūjo Kiyō*, 10, 1 (2007), pp. 99-142; Utsumi Aiko, *Nihon-gun No Horyo Seisaku*, (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2005).

[8]Palmer, 'Japan's World Heritage Miike Coal Mine'; Pieris, 'Intersectional sovereignty'.

[9]There is some disagreement about this figure. For example, Kovner quotes 140,000. *Prisoners of the Empire*, p. 5. Japan also captured an additional 160,000 'non-European' colonial servicemen that were either released, joined forces supporting Japan, or were used as labour after being classified by the Japan military as 'non-white.' POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 29, p. 102. See Kovner on the differing management of camps across Japan's empire and in its home islands. Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire*.

[10]On POW transportation and camps across the wartime empire, see Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire*.

[11]Approximately 11,000 additional POWs were killed during sea transportation to Japan. Either killed directly by Allied air and submarine forces sinking the ships, or as a result of their guards not saving the POWs from the sinking ships. POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 546.

Japan's POW Information Bureau (POWIB) issued a directive aimed at avoiding retribution by the incoming Allied occupation force. The POWIB instructed camp commanders to 'maintain prisoner burial grounds and repositories for deceased remains in an excellent state'.[12] Soon after the Japanese surrender in August 1945 Allied war graves registration units began collecting POW remains. While Commonwealth soldiers, including those from the UK, Australia, Canada, India, and New Zealand, found their resting place in what is now the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) Cemetery in Hodogaya Ward, Yokohama, the remains of American and Dutch soldiers were repatriated.[13]

After the war the Allies held hundreds of war crimes trials across the region. Japan's wartime leaders, including those charged with crimes against peace (Class A), went on trial in Tokyo between 1946 and 1948. More significant for POW-related cases, however, were the US Army's 1946 to 1949 Yokohama trials for conventional war crimes (Class B) and crimes against humanity (Class C). Of 1,037 people prosecuted, half were former POW camp personnel, and almost all other cases were also related to POW mistreatment. Fifty-one of those charged were executed.[14]

In areas within or controlled by the Japanese wartime empire, perhaps fifty to one hundred memorials to Allied POWs have emerged.[15] Within Japan, twenty-five memorials have been erected (Figure 1). Seventeen of these are near former camp, company, or work sites, three within Buddhist temple precincts, three in municipal or military cemeteries, and two elsewhere. Nine bear the names of the deceased. Most memorials feature inscriptions in Japanese or English, with some in both languages, and others also in Dutch, Chinese, or Korean.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Approximately fifty additional camps were established in Japan to intern enemy civilians living in Japan or its wartime empire. About 1,200 people were interned, of which 50 died. One memorial was built at a grave for civilian internees in Kanagawa. While they shared some experiences with POWs, such as harsh living conditions, they were generally not subjected to forced labour and were held in generally much smaller facilities, and thus deserve separate attention. POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 338.

[14]POWRNJ, *Jiten*, pp. 74-76.

[15]This is a rough estimate. The Kanchanaburi area of Thailand famous for the Thai-Burma Railway, has at least ten Allied POW-related memorials alone. Beaumont, 'The Thai-Burma Railway'. Other well-known memorials such as CWGC cemeteries can be found in Myanmar, Singapore, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Papua New Guinea.

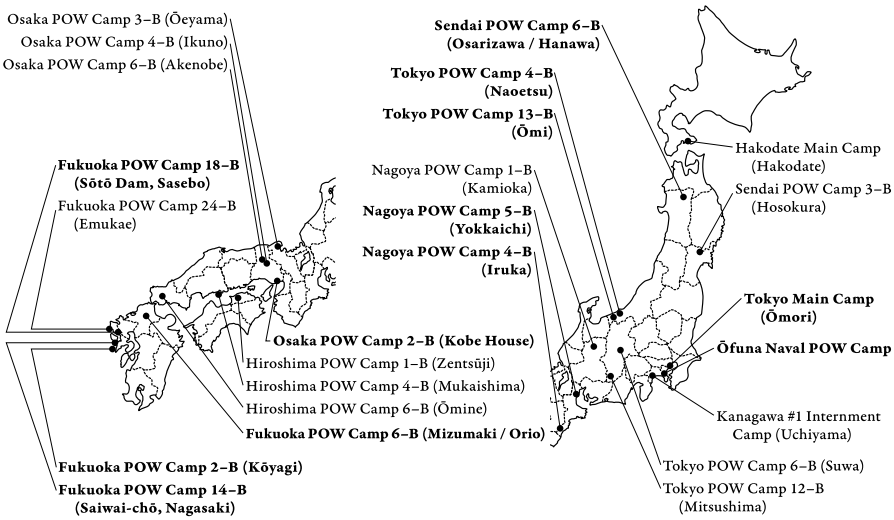

Figure 1: Map of 25 camps with memorials in Japan's home islands.[16] (Those marked as **Bold** appear in this article.)

This paper was written in tandem with POWRNJ's recently-completed encyclopaedia, the first detailed and comprehensive compilation of information on POW and civilian internee camps located in Japan's home islands.[17] Our study complements the encyclopaedia by exploring in greater depth how selected POW-related sites were memorialised after the war. Attention to these war memorials uncover layered, negotiated, and ongoing processes involving the efforts of multiple actors at varying scales (e.g., local, transnational, and international) to narrate the history of a site and war.[18] We attempt to disentangle these processes to highlight the following factors

[16]Courtesy of POWRNJ.

[17]POWRNJ, *Jiten*. In addition to online sites, such as those mentioned earlier, some books provide basic information on Japan's wartime camps. For example, Van Waterford, *Prisoners of the Japanese in World War II*, (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co, 1994).

[18]In considering memorials as essentially markers of meaning tied to materiality and location, this paper draws on Laurajane Smith's concept of heritage. It also draws on the idea of dissonance, that heritage sites like the memorials discussed here contain multiple, often contrasting meanings for different stakeholders. Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage,* (London: Routledge, 2006); J. E. Tunbridge and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, (Chichester: John Wiley, 1996).

that are vital for understanding the memorialisation of POWs within Japan's home islands.

1. Involvement of Japanese individuals and civilian groups.
2. International and interlocal connections and reconciliation.
3. Tensions between memorialising Allied POWs and camp personnel.
4. Memorialisation of atomic bomb victims.
5. Memorialisation of Korean and Chinese wartime labourers.
6. Memorialisation by Japanese companies.

Of the twenty-five memorials for POWs in Japan, we analyse twelve key memorials that together demonstrate these factors (they are shown in Bold in Figure 1). Firstly, we explain the case studies under factors two to five, with certain cases appearing on multiple occasions. Secondly, in the discussion section we explore each factor in greater depth. As factor one, the involvement of Japanese individuals and organisations, is central to almost all case studies, it is left to this section. It should be noted that while each case study lists the year of construction of the first major memorial, these were often preceded by ceremonies or grave sites and followed by the construction of additional or replacement memorials. Thirdly, we clarify differences between POW memorials in Japan and in its wartime empire. Lastly, we close with a consideration of challenges facing the POW memorials in Japan today.

International and Interlocal Reconciliation

This section examines four case studies to illustrate how POW memorials in Japan have developed through international and interlocal connections, and in some cases became important points of reconciliation.

The *Sasebo POW Camp* (Nagasaki Prefecture, 1956 memorial) was established in October 1942. The Sasebo Camp held 265 American construction workers classified as POWs following their capture at Wake Island.[19] Here they worked to build the Soto Dam. Sasebo, a major Japanese Naval base during the war, was remilitarised when the US Navy established new bases following the outbreak of the Korean War. In 1956, Sasebo City erected a memorial to the deceased Japanese and Americans. Today, personnel from Sasebo's US Navy and Japan Maritime Self Defence Force bases participate together in an annual ceremony here for fifty-three POWs and fourteen Japanese labourers who died building the dam.[20] It is thus a site of US-Japan

[19]POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 594.

[20]Jeremy Graham, 'Commander Fleet Activities Sasebo Soto Dam Memorial Ceremony 2022', *US Indo-Pacific Command*, 26 May 2022. https://www.pacom.mil/JTF-Micronesia/Article/3045901/commander-fleet-activities-sasebo-soto-dam-memorial-ceremony-2022/. Accessed 30 July 2024.

reconciliation that confirms their post-war military alliance and the local significance of this alliance to Sasebo. In addition, it illustrates how American military bases and personnel can become an additional pressure group in the creation of POW memorials in Japan.

The *Iruka POW Camp* (Mie Prefecture, 1959 memorial), was established in 1944 and housed 300 British POWs transferred from the Thai-Burma Railway. They worked at an Ishihara Sangyō mine. During internment, sixteen died.[21] Following the post-war POWIB directive, the mining company hastily constructed prisoner graves, however their remains were soon transferred to Yokohama's CWGC Cemetery. From the early 1950s, an association of town elders began caring for the grave site. CWGC officials visited the cemetery in 1959 and expressed their gratitude to the association with a commemorative plaque. In 1965, it was designated a local cultural heritage site named the 'Foreigner's Cemetery.' Markers were added in 1987 that recorded the cemetery's origin in Japanese and the names of the deceased British soldiers in English (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Memorial to British POWs at Iruka Camp.[22]

From 1988, Keiko Holmes, a resident of London who was from the area, began contacting family and former comrades of the POWs. Holmes later published *Little Britain*, a booklet of local and former POW recollections of the camp and grave site,

[21]POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 337.
[22]Photo courtesy of Fukubayashi Toru.

the title of which is utilised in contemporary signposts.[23] Since 1992 her charitable organisation, Agape, has brought more than 400 former POWs and family members to Japan to visit the cemetery, and this led to reconciliation awards from Britain and Japan.

The *Mizumaki POW Camp* (Fukuoka Prefecture, 1987 memorial) was established in 1943 with nearly 1,200 POWs from this camp working in nearby coal mines. Seventy-four of whom died.[24] Following the 1945 POWIB directive, a POW burial site that became known as the 'Tower of the Cross' was built within the town's cemetery (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Memorial for Dutch POWs at Mizumaki.[25]

When a former Dutch POW, Adolf Winkler, revisited Mizumaki in 1985, he discovered the memorial had become overgrown by vegetation. Winkler soon returned with Dutch embassy staff and appealed to the town authorities for its reconstruction. Local residents volunteered and formed a citizen's association to assist

[23]Keiko Holmes, *Katasumi ni saku chiisana Eikoku: Eihei horyo to Nihonjin to no yūjō no kiroku*, (Self-published, 1992).
[24]POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 559; Hayashi Eida, *Chikuhō Furyo-ki*, (Aki shobō, 1987).
[25]Photo courtesy of Fukubayashi Toru.

the project. In 1987, a plaque bearing the names of fifty-three dead Dutch POWs was installed, and a flower-laying ceremony was held for the Dutch POWs and their families. In 1989, another plaque was installed, listing the names of all 816 Dutch POWs that had died throughout Japan. From 1996, a program began that facilitated homestays between students from Mizumaki and Winkler's hometown. A visit to Mizumaki is part of the itinerary for former Dutch POWs, civilian internees, and family invited annually by the Japanese government. Mizumaki has thus become a cornerstone of Dutch-Japanese reconciliation and exchange.

The *Naoetsu POW Camp* (Niigata Prefecture, 1995 memorial) was established in 1942 and held around 700 POWs, including 300 Australians who were there the longest.[26] Sixty of the sixty-one POWs who died here were Australian. A bilateral relationship began in 1978, when an Australian ex-POW began corresponding with local educators. Years later, Ishizuka Shōichi and his wife Yōko began a movement to build a memorial for the POWs.[27] Yōko and other members made multiple visits to Australia, especially to Cowra, which became a centre of reconciliation through the memorialisation of the Japanese POWs and the Australian servicemen who died in the 1944 Cowra Breakout.[28] In cooperation with Japan-Australia associations from Cowra and Nara, they held their first memorial ceremony for the POWs in 1988. In 1995, they built a Peace Memorial Park at the site of the former camp with multiple symbols of bilateral reconciliation, including elevated statues with garlands of eucalyptus leaves and cherry blossoms (Figure 4).[29] They then established a local Japan-Australia Society. Joetsu City made a Peace and Friendship Agreement with Cowra in 2003, further deepening this bilateral and translocal relationship.

[26]Naoetsu POW Camp Peace and Friendship Statue Committee, *Taiheiyō ni kakeru hashi (A Bridge Across the Pacific Ocean)* (Joetsu Japan-Australia Association, 1996); POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 220.
[27]Ibid., pp. 21-22.
[28]For more on the Naoetsu-Cowra relationship, see Anoma Pieris, 'Empire of camps' and 'Intersectional sovereignty'. On Cowra, see Alison Starr, 'Forever Alongside: War Cemeteries as Sites of Enemy Reconciliation', *Japan Focus*, 20, 11, 3 (2022). https://apjjf.org/2022/10/Starr. Accessed 25 July 2024.
[29]Joetsu City and JASJ (Japan-Australia Society Joetsu), 'The Peace Memorial Park and Museum (visitor pamphlet)', p. 1.
https://www.city.joetsu.niigata.jp/uploaded/attachment/108698.pdf. Accessed 15 December 2023.

Figure 4: "Peace and Friendship Statues" at the Naoetsu Peace Memorial Park.[30]

Tensions between Memorialising Allied POWs and Camp Personnel

The following section looks at four case studies to examine the significance of the war crimes trials and the post-war punishment of camp personnel in shaping these memorials.

The Yokkaichi POW Camp (Mie Prefecture, 1947 memorial) was established in 1944 and held approximately 600 POWs who were forced to work at the Ishihara Sangyō Yokkaichi Factory. Twenty of them died.[31] At the war crimes trials in early 1947 five camp personnel received jail sentences of between twenty-eight and two years. At the same time the company founder and president, Ishihara Hiroichirō, was held as a Class

[30]Photo courtesy of Willem Kortekaas of *Joetsu Stories*, https://joetsu-stories.jp/2022/01/31/the-peace-memorial-park-naoetsu/. Accessed 26 July 2024.

[31]POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 341.

A war criminal on suspicion of financing the invasion of Manchuria, but was released in 1948. Following the trial of the camp personnel, the camp interpreter Seta Einosuke, with the cooperation of the factory and his colleagues, built a cemetery, and held a memorial ceremony for the dead POWs. Seta later wrote of coming up with the idea 'after the war crime survey had somewhat settled.'[32] The ceremony was attended by former POWs, US military personnel, and factory workers.[33] Seta, who fostered friendships with some of the POWs, seems to have been motivated to memorialise the POWs out of pity. However, the cemetery's establishment with company support and the attendance of US military personnel indicates that it was also partly an effort of reconciliation with the then occupying power, America. The company may have supported the memorial to show remorse and gain clemency for their president. The original cemetery was destroyed by a typhoon in 1959 and a new memorial was subsequently established at its current location in the Ishihara factory complex. The inscription appears recent, perhaps from when American ex-POWs visited in the 2000s.[34] Its English and Japanese inscriptions dedicate it to 'those who fought and died bravely in the name of peace and freedom during World War II.' An accompanying Japanese sign incongruously describes the monument as marking graves of 'Occupying force soldiers' who died during the war. This avoidance of the term 'POW' in Japanese and English likely illustrates the trepidation surrounding the open memorialisation of POWs in Japan.

The *Ōfuna POW Camp* (Kanagawa Prefecture, approx. 1950 memorial) was established in 1942. This was a secret facility built by the Navy to gather information from prisoners.[35] Around 1,000 POWs were interrogated here, 6 of whom died and were buried in the cemetery of a neighbouring temple. Thirty camp personnel were tried as war criminals; two received life sentences and the remainder decades-long jail sentences. In 1950, and after returning from the war as a soldier, the temple's head priest erected a *sotoba* Buddhist tablet for the dead POWs and began conducting memorial services.[36] Decades later, in 2004, the POWRNJ proposed the installation of a lasting and prominent stone memorial to replace the tablet, which is wooden and located poorly on a cliff face (Figure 5).[37] Though this plan was supported by the new head priest and by some parishioners, it failed after opposition from other parishioners, who argued that camp personnel were victims of an 'unjust retaliatory

[32] Shimizu Masaaki, *Senjou no Fantasutikku Shinfonii: Jindou Sakka Seta Einosuke no Hansei*, (Nagoya: Ningensha, 2017), p. 170.
[33] Ibid. Given that most POWs had repatriated by late September 1945, these former POWs were likely part of the Occupation force or providing war trial evidence.
[34] POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 342.
[35] Sasamoto, *Rengōgun*.
[36] Ibid., p. 202.
[37] Based on communication with priest, 2004.

trial' and that it was 'outrageous' to build a memorial to the POWs.[38] Possibly their hostility was because the camp head and one other of the camp personnel had been temple parishioners. The priest, who had been assigned to the temple from outside the district, had little power to counter their opposition. Rather than make a public monument, however, he installed a mortuary tablet for the dead POWs which is out of sight of the parishioners, and to which he regularly prays (Figure 6).[39]

Figure 5 (left): *Sotoba* tablet for dead POWs from Ōfuna.
Figure 6 (right): Buddhist mortuary tablets for dead POWs from Ōfuna (in left of photo) and for Japanese soldiers who died abroad (on right) with flowers.[40]

The *Ōmori POW Camp* (Tokyo, 1960 memorial) was relocated here from another part of Tokyo (Shinagawa) in 1943 and served as a regional Tokyo headquarters. It was

[38]Ibid.
[39]Based on conversation with priest, November 2013.
[40]Photos by authors.

built on a reclaimed island in Tokyo Bay.[41] After the war, it was converted into the Ōmori Prison and held Japan's wartime leaders and camp personnel accused of prisoner abuse before their transfer to Sugamo Prison in November 1945. Later, it was replaced by a motorboat racing course, turning the area into the 'Peace Island' ('*Heiwa-jima*') leisure destination. The memorial (Figure 7) is a likeness of Kannon, the Buddhist goddess of mercy, called the 'Peace Kannon Statue' and was built in 1960 near the entrance to the motorboat course.[42]

Figure 7: "Peace Kannon Statue" at the former Ōmori Camp.[43]

It was partly funded by the motorboat course company and by Sasagawa Ryōichi, who was chairman of the Japan Motorboat Promotion Association and had been held in

[41]POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 193.
[42]On Kannon and war dead memorialization in Japan, see Daniel Milne and David Moreton, 'Remembering and forgetting the war dead at Ryōzen Kannon: A site of entangled and transnational war memories,' *Japan Focus*, 20, 11, 2 (2022). https://apjjf.org/2022/11/Milne-Moreton.html
[43]Photo by authors.

Ōmori Prison as a suspected war criminal. An accompanying panel in Japanese reads: 'Peace Island is a place where during the last war there was an enemy POW camp, and after the war, our country's war criminals endured days of hardship…' Though the statue may appear to honour POWs, therefore, it is primarily a monument to the ordeals of suspected war criminals.

The *Naoetsu POW Camp* discussed earlier is not only indicative of POW camps as hubs of reconciliation but also of the tension between memorialising POWs and the post-war execution of camp staff as war criminals. Eight Naoetsu camp personnel received death sentences, the highest number for any camp in Japan. As a result, the town's POW history became a sensitive subject. This could be observed even half a century later when, opposing the movement to memorialize the camp's history, some locals argued to 'let sleeping dogs lie'.[44] Along with the statues of Japan-Australian reconciliation in the Peace Park is a memorial to executed camp personnel. This was added at a relatively late stage of planning following complaints and subsequent meetings with families of the executed staff. The Peace Park's leaders came to the conclusion that the camp personnel were victims of the Japanese military that had failed to educate them on prisoner treatment. Plans for this new monument sparked opposition from ex-POWs. However, Peace Park heads explained that it aimed not to glorify war criminals but to console their families, who had faced bullying and discrimination because of their relationship to a war criminal.[45] While opposition among former POWs remained, this explanation persuaded representatives of the Australian POWs to support the Peace Park. One such ex-POW, Jack Mudie, joined the opening ceremony where he formally shook hands with family members of executed camp personnel.[46] Naoetsu, therefore, has not only been a site of reconciliation between Japan and Australia but also, though with mixed success, between former POWs and the ancestors of their former captors.

Memorialisation of Atomic Bomb Victims and Korean and Chinese Wartime Laborers

Next are four memorials that illustrate entanglements between the memorialization of POWs and wider issues of forced labour and atomic bomb victimization.

The Kobe Port Peace Monument (Hyogo Prefecture, 2008) pays tribute to Allied POWs alongside Koreans and Chinese forcibly brought to work in the warehouses

[44]Naoetsu POW, *Taiheiyō*, p. 34.
[45]Naoetsu POW, *Taiheiyō*, p. 35.
[46]Ibid., pp. 36-37.

and factories of the Kobe Port area.[47] The monument was built in July 2008 after a decade of study by an association of primarily locally-based, Japanese-born researchers of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese descent.[48] It is engraved in their three languages and English, and stands in front of the Kobe Overseas Chinese History Museum, which is 800 meters from the former POW camp site. The association initially planned to memorialise Koreans and Chinese but expanded their scope after finding that POWs had also been exploited at Kobe. The association organises an annual Kobe Port Peace Gathering where they meet and study the forced labour regime and the imperial and wartime history of Japan.[49] It is likely this is the only example in Japan of a monument that together commemorates Allied POWs and Korean, and Chinese victims of wartime Japan's forced labour regime.

Likewise, there is a memorial for British POWs and Korean forced labourers from the *Iruka POW* discussed earlier. In the late 2000s, a Japanese-based association researching the Ishihara Sangyō mine's history found evidence that the Iruka camp had housed hundreds of Korean labourers before the POWs arrived, and that the remains of thirty-five had been buried meters from the British POW grave site.[50] In 2008, the association requested that Kumano City and Ishihara Sangyō help fund a new memorial to the Koreans, but this request was declined. In 2010 the association then purchased land and built their own monument not far from the grave site.[51] The two monuments at Iruka illustrate the shared histories of Allied POWs and Korean forced labourers and also suggests their unequal treatment in post-war Japan.

The *Kōyagi & Saiwai-chō POW Camps* (Nagasaki Prefecture, 2015 and 2021 memorials) were established in 1942 and 1943. Located on the outskirts of Nagasaki, the Kōyagi

[47]Kōbe-kō ni okeru senshi-ka Chōsenjin, Chūgokujin kyōseirengō o chōsa suru kai (eds.), *Kōbe-kō Kyōseirengō no Kiroku: Chōsenjin, Chūgokujin soshite Rengōgun Horyo* (Akashi shoten, 2004).

[48]Hida Yūichi, "'Kōbe kō heiwa no hi" ga kansei shimashita', *Mukuge tsūshin* 229 (27 July 2008), pp. 7-8. https://ksyc.jp/mukuge/229/hida.pdf. Accessed 20 December 2023.

[49]Association Investigating the Forced Mobilization of Koreans and Chinese in Wartime Kobe Port, 'Kōbe-kō heiwa no ishibumi no tsudoi 2023', 25 April 2023. https://ksyc.jp/kobeport/. Accessed 20 December 2023.

[50]Yonhap News, 'Chōsenjin giseisha tsuitōhi secchi no Nihon dantai', 25 February 2015. https://jp.yna.co.kr/view/AJP20150225003400882 Accessed 30 August 2024; Sasamoto Taeko, 'Iruka horyoshūyōjo to "shiseki gaijinbochi" 2, 3'. https://blog.goo.ne.jp/kisyuhankukhainan/e/7900bb7f1faac3b8c72e148b6f90c981. Accessed 20 December 2023.
Remains have been unearthed but not yet reliably identified.

[51]Yonhap News, 'Chōsenjin'.

Camp once held around 1,500 POWs who worked at a shipyard, seventy-two of whom died.[52] Komatsu Akira, a local taxi driver, conceived of the idea for a POW memorial after guiding ex-POWs to the former camp site. He discussed this with Ihara Toyokazu, a City Assembly member and leader of a *hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivor) group. Ihara spearheaded the campaign and with other *hibakusha* built the memorial with a conviction that, 'While Nagasaki citizens often focus on the effects of the atomic bomb, to empower the *hibakusha* movement we must also acknowledge the history of perpetration that took place right here.'[53] In 2015, a memorial inscribed with the names of the deceased POWs in Japanese, English, and Dutch was erected near the former camp site. Following POW family requests to commemorate both the survivors and the deceased, the inscription reads, 'In memory of those who lived in such harsh circumstances, to which some of them succumbed.' Subsequently, Andre Schram, the son of a Dutch former POW, and Yukari Tangena, a Japanese member of a Dutch reconciliation organisation, installed a QR code that provides further information of the camp's history. In 2021, the same *hibakusha* association and their descendants joined with Rob Schouten, the son of a Dutch POW who survived the atomic bomb, to build another memorial. This stands adjacent to the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum and is for another POW camp in Nagasaki, Saiwai-chō.[54] More than 100 POWs died at this camp before it was destroyed in Nagasaki's atomic bombing which killed eight more. Together, these memorials demonstrate intersections in Allied POW and *hibakusha* histories.

Memorialisation by Japanese Companies

The two case studies below, along with the Yokkaichi memorial described earlier, demonstrate the role of companies in the construction of POW memorials for the POW labourers they had exploited during the war.

The *Ōmi POW Camp* (Niigata Prefecture, 2014 memorial), established in 1943, held approximately 600 British and American POWs that worked at the Denki Kagaku (DK) Ōmi Factory.[55] Relatives of a British POW, Linda and Kevin Nicholas, gained the assistance of the British Embassy and worked with DK to erect a memorial in 2014 to sixty dead POWs. DK covered the construction costs, a commendable act, however the monument's inscription is only in English. Taeko Sasamoto of POWRNJ wrote to the company in November 2014 requesting the addition of a Japanese inscription and

[52]POWRNJ, *Jiten*, pp. 538-9. Also, Broderick and Palmer, 'Australian, British, Dutch and US POWs'.
[53]POWRNJ (ed.), *Fukuoka Horyo Shūyōjo Dai 2 Bunsho Tsuito Hi Hōkokushu* (2016).
[54]POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 580.
[55]POWRNJ, *Jiten*, pp. 268-9.

its inclusion on maps.[56] DK declined and explained in a letter that, 'This memorial was erected for POWs and their families, not for viewing by Japanese people.' DK's purpose in installing the memorial was thus not to inform the Japanese about issues of wartime labour exploitation, POW treatment, or the company's wartime history. DK is a large company and would have been concerned with its domestic reputation. Further, given that it has offices in the UK and US, the construction of the memorial specifically for POWs and their families may have been inspired by a wish specifically to protect its reputation in Britain and America. In 2000 Britain decided to compensate former British POWs and forced labourers following a long campaign by British ex-servicemen's associations.[57] DK's support for the memorial was therefore likely not an attempt to avoid litigation. However, the fact that the British government paid compensation in 2000 (as had Japan following the 1951 San Francisco peace treaty), may have reassured DK that their support for the memorial would not be followed by reparation demands. The Ōmi memorial indicates both the potential and – as seen in the refusal to address a Japanese audience – the limitations of memorials constructed by companies that exploited POW labour.

The *Osarizawa Camp,* (Akita Prefecture, 2016 memorial), established in 1944 at the Osarizawa Mine is one of four similar monuments to POWs built in 2016 by Mitsubishi Materials.[58] Twenty-seven died at these mines, eight at Osarizawa and nineteen at Hosokura. Titled, 'In Memory of WWII POWs', the plaque at Osarizawa (Figure 8) recognizes that POWs 'were forced to work' at this and other Mitsubishi mines, that eight died here, and that working conditions 'were exceedingly harsh and left deep mental and physical wounds'. It expresses Mitsubishi's 'remorse' and finishes by offering 'its heartfelt apologies to all former POWs who were forced to work under appalling conditions in the mines' and 'its unswerving resolve to contribute to the creation of a world in which fundamental human rights and justice are fully guaranteed.'

These four apologetic memorials were a ground-breaking step for companies that used forced POW labour. They became possible thanks to activism by the families of American POWs, a Japanese researcher, and a US-based human rights organisation. The memorials followed a formal apology that was made in America by Mitsubishi to former American POWs for their wartime treatment. There was also a donation of

[56]This and the following quotation are from correspondence with Sasamoto Taeko, 12 October 2023.
[57]Richard Norton-Taylor, '£10,000 payout to Japan POWs', *The Guardian*, 8 November 2000. https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2000/nov/08/richardnortontaylor. Accessed 20 December 2023.
[58]POWRNJ, *Jiten*, p. 162; POWRNJ, 'Mitsubishi Camp Memorial', http://powresearch.jp/news/?p=720. Accessed 6 November 2023. On Mitsubishi Mining and POWs, see Palmer, 'Japan's World Heritage Miike Coal Mine'.

US$50,000 to an American POW museum.[59] While the memorials are bilingual, Mitsubishi has not taken a proactive stance in promoting them to the Japanese public. The memorial and Mitsubishi apology followed nearly two decades of petitioning to allow former POWs to sue Mitsubishi and other Japanese companies in American courts.[60] Mitsubishi's primary goal, therefore, may have been to appease the former POWs and their families as a means of protecting the company's international reputation and of avoiding lawsuits.

Figure 8: Information plaque at Osarizawa Mine.[61]

[59]Nash Jenkins, 'Mitsubishi Apologizes for Using US Prisoners as Slaves During World War II', *Time*, 19 July 2015. https://time.com/3963900/mitsubishi-apologizes-world-war-ii-slaves/. Accessed 25 July 2024; Jan Thompson, 'Statement for the Record to the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee', ADBC Memorial Society. https://www.congress.gov/116/meeting/house/110539/documents/HMTG-116-VR00-20200303-SD022.pdf. Accessed 12 January 2024.

[60]Kinue Tokudome, 'POW Forced-Labor Lawsuits: Four Years Later', *Center for Research Allied POWs Under the Japanese* (translated from *Ronza*), September 2003. http://mansell.com/pow_resources/camplists/fukuoka/fuk_01_fukuoka/fukuoka_01/Lawsuits.htm. Accessed 15 December 2023.

[61]Photo by authors.

Discussion

Involvement of Japanese Individuals and Civilian Groups

As many of the memorials discussed above illustrate, Japanese individuals and civilian groups have been central to the construction of memorials for POWs in Japan. Memorials built in the first post-war decade were primarily led by Japanese individuals. Though the company's support of the Yokkaichi memorial suggests its construction was related to the war crimes trials, it was planned independently by camp interpreter Seta Einosuke, who felt sorry for the POWs he had befriended.[62] Another early memorial, that at Ōfuna, was erected by a monk from a neighbouring temple. The memorial plaque for the Iruka camp cemetery, built in 1959 to thank a local association for years of memorial ceremonies and gravesite care, was also a product of local activism. People who, like Seta, interacted with the POWs during the war remained important decades later. In the early 1990s, locals who had been mobilised as school students to work at the Iruka mine held a memorial service for the dead POWs, and then began working with Holmes in her activities mentioned earlier of welcoming visits by former POWs and their families.[63] As part of the construction of the Naoetsu Peace Park in 1995, a stone cenotaph was installed at a nearby temple, Kakushin-ji. This is etched in Japanese with, 'There are neither enemies or allies among the dead.'[64] The temple's priest, Fujito Enri, is said to have used this phrase when he accepted the cremated remains of the Naoetsu Camp dead. The same remains had been refused elsewhere because they were seen to be the remains of Japan's enemy.

The initial post-war period of activism was followed by relative inactivity, likely because of growing opposition to POW memorialisation after the war crime trials and the occupation of Japan by the Allied powers. From the 1980s, a second generation of civilian actors emerged who had not learned of their local POW history directly. Rather, they discovered it through pre-existing memorials, research, or contact with former POWs and their families, who increasingly travelled to Japan and often collaborated with local activists. Holmes was inspired to begin her reconciliation activities by a monument in her hometown. Activists in Naoetsu gained motivation to build monuments from researching their local history and interacting with former Australian POWs and their families. One of their leaders, Ishizuka Shōichi, a post-war prisoner of the Allies, spoke of his own POW experience as 'like paradise' and was stunned to learn of the contrast to the experience of Allied POWs at Naoetsu.[65] These

[62]Shimizu, *Senjō no Fantasutikku Shinfonii*.

[63]Holmes, *Katasumi*.

[64]Joetsu City and JASJ, 'The Peace Memorial Park', p. 4.

[65]From communication with Ishizuka by author, 20 December 2023. Zentsūji Camp (Kagawa Prefecture) is another example of a memorial built by a former Japanese POW. Nagura Yūichi (ed.), *Taiheiyō Sensō hatsu no horyo shūyōjo Zenkōji no kiroku*, (Self-published, 2012).

leaders engaged other local citizens, who provided most of the funding for the Naoetsu Peace Park.[66] Likewise, the Kobe memorial for forced labourers, and Nagasaki's Kōyagi and Saiwai-chō memorials were constructed by locally-based research and activist associations in cooperation with the relatives of former POWs. Today, many Japanese activists continue to collaborate with POW groups and educate new generations of Japanese about local POW history by guiding student groups to these memorials. As opposition by temple parishioners in Ōfuna demonstrates, however, local sentiment has also hindered the construction of public monuments to Allied POWs.

Memorialising Allied POWs and Camp Personnel

Opposition to the memorialisation of Allied POWs due to sympathy for punished camp personnel has not dissipated greatly with time. The Yokkaichi cemetery, which gained factory support in 1947 despite the punishment of camp personnel, suggests that this tension has not always been so fraught. Importantly, it was built in 1947 during the Allied Occupation period, when the war trials were relatively popular – or at least accepted as inevitable – and criticism was also censored.[67] In addition, the Yokkaichi camp personnel were not executed, reducing the likelihood of resentment there. Internal company factors, specifically support for the cemetery to forge relations with America or gain clemency for its president, may have also been at work.

After the war crimes trials, it became increasingly difficult for Japanese to discuss local POW history. The camps became symbols of a defeat that many wished to forget. Opposition to the war crimes trials gradually increased after Occupation censorship ended.[68] Many felt that subordinates, such as POW camp guards, should not have been executed as they were following orders. Sympathy grew also for the executed leaders. In 1960, a mausoleum was built in Aichi Prefecture to hold the ashes of seven 'martyred' leaders.[69] Their supporters argued that the executed men had been honourable martyrs who fought a defensive (not aggressive) war and whose death helped enable Japan's post-war prosperity.[70] They were further glorified when, in 1978, the remains of Class A and other war criminals were enshrined at the Yasukuni Shrine. Criticism of the trials became increasingly widespread due to 1980s media coverage

[66]Naoetsu POW, *Taiheiyō*.

[67]Madoka Futamura, 'Japanese Societal Attitudes Towards the Tokyo Trial: A Contemporary Perspective,' *Japan Focus* 9, 29, 5 (2011); James Orr, *The Victim As Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2001), p. 20.

[68]Orr, *The Victim As Hero*, p. 20-24.

[69]Junkoku shichinin hōsankai, 'Junkoku shichinin no eirei ni sasagu.' http://ki43.on.coocan.jp/junkoku/7.06.html. Accessed 28 March 2024.

[70]Futamura, 'Japanese Societal Attitudes Towards the Tokyo Trial'.

and the mainstreaming of revisionist views of the war from the 1990s.[71] Meanwhile, the POW wartime experience was so traumatic, and for some so shameful, that many ex-POWs felt unable or unwilling to share it.[72] Many were also focused on adjusting to non-military life and had no time or interest to travel to Japan. Further, those who sought additional compensation from Japan or its companies lacked their own governments' support. Amidst the Cold War, most of their governments prioritised amity over confrontation with Japan, and argued that the post-war peace treaties had extinguished the POWs' claims for compensation.[73] Thus, while in Japan sympathy for the executed and contempt for the charges of POW abuse grew, former POWs had little voice in Japan or at home.

These shifts are evident at the 1960 Ōmori memorial, which briefly mentioned the POWs but primarily memorialised the 'days of hardship' of war criminals. At Naoetsu, pressure from former POWs on the one hand and people sympathetic to the executed camp personnel on the other threatened memorialisation efforts. This was only reconciled by the creation of two memorials and reassurances that the memorial to the executed aimed not to glorify but to console their family members. However, opposition from parishioners sympathetic to executed camp staff spoiled plans for a new public monument in Ōfuna in the 2000s. Despite this, the temple's head priest installed a private mortuary tablet for the POWs. As these cases indicate, rather than dissipating with the passing of the war generation, local connections to executed camp personnel, historical revisionism, and politicians with vested interests have kept opposition to the memorialisation of POWs alive.[74]

International and Interlocal Reconciliation

A third factor behind POW memorialisation in Japan has been international connections. Iruka, Mizumaki, Naoetsu, and Sasebo, in particular, have become important nodes of exchange and reconciliation between Japan and the UK, the Netherlands, Australia, and America respectively. The first three have been led by locals, and former POWs and their family members, and have been facilitated by intergovernmental organizations such as the CWGC and local and national governments. A shift from the 1980s, after which more than half of the memorials

[71]Futamura, 'Japanese Societal Attitudes Towards the Tokyo Trial'.

[72]On post-war experiences of former POWs of Japan from America, Australia, Britain, India, and the Netherlands, see chapters in Kevin Blackburn and Karl Hack, *Forgotten Captives in Japanese Occupied Asia*.

[73]P. Scott Corbett, 'In the Eye of a Hurricane: Americans in Japanese Custody During World War II', in Blackburn and Hack, *Forgotten Captives in Japanese Occupied Asia*, p. 121.

[74]On Asō Tarō and Asō Mining's use of POW labour, see Underwood, 'Proof of POW forced labor'.

were constructed, demonstrates how former POWs and their relatives began to contact and visit former camp sites. This likely reflected changes in how former POWs were perceived at home and the fact that many former POWs had reached retirement age.[75] These visitors inspired a new generation of locals to learn about and build memorials, which helped foster reconciliation through memorial ceremonies, tour visits, and exchange programs. The Sasebo memorial, meanwhile, was initiated not by citizens and POWs but by the city in response to the presence of a US Naval base.

As Mizumaki, Naoetsu, and Sasebo demonstrate, former POW camp sites also became points of translocal reconciliation and networking. Mizumaki and Winkler's hometown have maintained a student exchange program for over twenty-seven years. Representatives from Cowra, Australia, helped conduct the first ceremonies for POWs at Naoetsu. Further, Cowra provided Naoetsu with a model for memorialising former enemy POWs alongside the local dead. Lastly, the Sasebo memorial has helped strengthen bonds between the local government and the Sasebo-based Japan Maritime Self Defence Force and US Navy, demonstrating that memorials to POWs and the Japanese who died working beside them can foster local and international connections.

The Atomic Bombs and Forced Labour Memorialisation

A fourth factor in the memorialisation of POWs in Japan, especially over the last two decades, has been the linking of Allied POWs to atomic bomb victimhood and to the forced labour of Koreans and Chinese. The Nagasaki memorials aim to widen local knowledge of war victimhood while simultaneously forging links between Allied POWs and *hibakusha*, both of whom were victims (or survivors) of Nagasaki's atomic bombing. Likewise, founders of the Kobe memorial wanted to recognise the common suffering of Koreans, Chinese, and Allied POWs forced to work at the port. The construction of a memorial in 2010 to Koreans who died at Iruka also points to such shared pasts, although the lack of municipal and company support suggests that hostility toward memorials for Koreans even exceeds that toward those for POWs.[76] These cases demonstrate that the memorialisation of POWs in Japan should not be

[75]POWs of Japan came to be seen in a more positive light, even as heroes, from the 1980s in Australia and the 1990s in the UK. While the Asian front is marginal in Dutch memory of the war, partly due to its contentious history of colonialism in Indonesia, Dutch POWs of Japan gained increasing recognition from the 1990s. Indian and Canadian POWs of Japan, meanwhile, remain peripheral to national war memory. Blackburn and Hack, *Forgotten Captives.*

[76]On the recent banning of memorials to Korean wartime laborers, see Sven Saaler, 'Demolition Men: The Unmaking of a Memorial Commemorating Wartime Forced Laborers in Gunma (Japan)', *Japan Focus*, 20, 16, 14 (2022). https://apjjf.org/2022/16/saaler

analysed in isolation, but in connection to *hibakusha*, forced labour, imperialism, and Japan's international relations.

Company Memorialisation

Companies have long been connected to the memorialisation of POWs in Japan. Seta gained the cooperation of his factory to build a Yokkaichi cemetery in 1947, although perhaps because the company president was a war crime suspect. A motorboat racing association supported Ōmori's Kannon statue as part of the association's efforts to transform the site from a former POW camp and post-war prison into a place of 'peace' and leisure. However, companies that exploited POWs only became actively involved in the memorialisation of POWs from the 2010s onwards in response to the combined pressure of former POWs and Japanese and international activists. It is likely that the memorials for the Ōmi camp and Mitsubishi mines were also motivated by concern for those company's international reputations, especially in the vital markets of America and Britain. Furthermore, the Mitsubishi memorials were partly a reaction to possible American lawsuits, and it is plausible that the Ōmi memorial was built in the knowledge that claims of compensation were unlikely to follow. Lastly, as these companies have not engaged well with domestic audiences, their memorials have not become points of reconciliation and exchange between locals and former POWs and their families, and so contribute little to Japanese understanding of the history and lessons of forced labour and the war. It should be noted, however, that their efforts to engage with former POWs and their families far outstrip those of other companies that exploited wartime labour and thus deserve some praise.

POW Memorialisation in the Wartime Empire

In order to assess how distinct the above factors are to Allied POW memorials in Japan's home islands, we will lastly discuss their relevance to memorials in Japan's short-lived wartime empire. Firstly, Japanese activism has been limited beyond its national borders. While Japanese residents in Singapore, Malaysia, and other parts of the former wartime empire have been central to maintaining memorials for Japanese soldiers, which may strengthen their sense of ethnic identity and local connection, they have been largely uninvolved in the post-war construction of memorials for Allied POWs.[77] This is partly because, like Camp O'Donnell in the Philippines, many

[77]Kevin Blackburn, 'Heritage site, war memorial and tourist stop: The Japanese cemetery of Singapore, 1891-2005', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 80, 1 (2007), pp. 17-39; Collin Rusneac, 'Building transnational memories at Japanese war and colonial cemeteries', *Japan Focus*, 20, 11, 2 (2022). https://apjjf.org/2022/10/rusneac. Accessed 26 July 2024. As Arnel Joven's paper on Camp O'Donnell illustrates, some memorials to Allied POWs in the empire were built or facilitated by Japanese camp personnel during the war. Arnel Joven, 'Remembering

memorials developed into symbols of bilateral friendship based on shared suffering at the hands of – and victory over – Japan.[78] Expatriate Japanese may therefore be deliberately excluded or feel demonised. As the range of Japanese-founded memorials near the Thai-Burma Railway attest, however, Japanese reconciliation activists and organisations have played a role in regions where memorials have not become a site of shared enmity.[79]

Secondly, memorials for Allied POWs in Japan's wartime empire have not been shaped through tension caused by the war crimes trials but rather with local colonial and wartime histories. War memorials in Singapore, for example, have been primarily products of activism by local war victims, international relations, and the imperatives of unifying a heterogeneous, post-colonial nation.[80] Attempts by a Canadian to build memorials for Allied POWs in Taiwan initially lacked support because local Taiwanese were unsure whether they should be seen as the perpetrators of wartime abuse or as victims.[81]

Thirdly, like memorials in Japan, those for Allied POWs in the wartime empire are invariably sites of international détente or friendship. For example, memorials associated with Changi Prison in Singapore and the Hellfire Pass in Thailand, two of the most significant sites in Australian POW memorialisation, have been shaped through visits by former POWs, diplomatic pressure, and bilateral gestures of goodwill.[82]

Fourthly, while other victims of forced labour have been linked to POWs at memorials in the wartime empire, the relative absence of local *hibakusha* means that atomic-bomb memorialisation has not. At memorials on the Thai-Burma Railway, the forced labour

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Camp O'Donnell: From shared memories to public history in the Philippines', *Japan Focus*, 20, 11, 2 (2022). https://apjjf.org/2022/11/joven. Accessed 26 July 2024.

[78]Joven, 'Remembering Camp O'Donnell'.

[79]Beaumont, 'The Thai-Burma Railway'. The relative inclusiveness of memorials in Thailand is likely because Thailand was a (coerced) wartime ally of Japan and, while briefly invaded by Japan, did not suffer to the extent of countries like the Philippines or Singapore. See the paper in this issue by Nipaporn Ratchatapattanakul for more.

[80]Kevin Blackburn, 'The collective memory of the Sook Ching Massacre and the creation of the civilian war memorial of Singapore', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 73, 2 (279) (2000), pp. 71-90.

[81]Shu-Mei Huang and Hyun-Kyung Lee, *Heritage, Memory, and Punishment: Remembering Colonial Prisons in East Asia*, (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 104.

[82]Joan Beaumont, 'Contested trans-national heritage: The demolition of Changi Prison, Singapore', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 15, 4 (2009), pp. 298-316; Beaumont, 'The Thai-Burma Railway'.

of Asians, who made up the majority of the workforce, is often highlighted, though the Hellfire Pass Museum emphasises the suffering of Australian POWs. These memorials also fail to highlight the role of Koreans and Taiwanese as POW camp personnel.[83] Japan's wartime leadership is typically positioned as the cause of POW suffering and, as the attempt to build a memorial to Allied POWs in Taiwan attests, due to controversial questions about whether Koreans and Taiwanese were coerced into war involvement – or did so freely.[84]

Lastly, companies that exploited POW labour during the war have been relatively uninvolved in memorials to POWs in Japan's wartime empire. While they maintained ownership or connection to many of the factories and workplaces within Japan where POWs worked during the war, such connections were cut with Japan's defeat and the loss of that empire. As the example of Mitsubishi's support for an American POW museum, and the involvement of the Thai-Japanese Chamber of Commerce in memorial ceremonies near the Thai-Burma Railway attests, however, their support for POW-related memorials outside Japan is possible.[85]

Conclusion

Many memorials for POWs in Japan embody the suffering of former prisoners, family, and loved ones, as well as the sympathies of local Japanese. For former POWs, these have been places where they can pay their respects to their fallen comrades, engage with sympathetic Japanese, and achieve a degree of emotional closure. For families and relatives, they are a place to foster a deeper comprehension of their relative's experiences. Moreover, they play a role in transmitting historical narratives of the camps to subsequent generations of visitors. They also offer Japanese the opportunity to explore the veiled depths of their local history, including links to other victims and legacies of the war, and may inspire support for reconciliation efforts. However, controversies about the justice of the war crimes trials, as well as about how liable companies are that exploited POWs, and Koreans and Chinese, are likely to continue shaping such memorials and memorial practices in the future.

Numerous challenges face the educational role and physical upkeep of these memorials today.[86] Many lack multilingual signage or guides who can provide insight beyond monument inscriptions, and many of the guides are aging volunteers. The development of QR codes and similar technologies to enable visitors to independently access

[83]On Koreans and Taiwanese as POW camp guards and on POW camps in Korea, see Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire,* p. 105, pp. 120-136.
[84]Huang and Lee, *Heritage, Memory, and Punishment*, p. 104.
[85]Beaumont, 'The Thai-Burma Railway', p. 109.
[86]Much of this paragraph is based on communication with Sasamoto Taeko, POWRNJ. 9 November 2023.

reliable information can partly address this. Additionally, while civic groups are central to monument maintenance and management, these groups are also aging, raising questions about who will take responsibility for upkeep and funding. New generations of activists are needed, as are links between government and civil organisations. Lastly, even in locations where there are no markers, former POWs and relatives still visit. Many contact the POWRNJ about the former camps, memorials, and guides. But because of financial and time constraints, however, they are sometimes unable to help. Educational boards, historical and archival societies, and other regional institutions may be able to help fill this gap. As this paper attests, memorials to POW camps in Japan have a long history and continue to evolve as points of reconciliation, international connection, and an awareness of history. Efforts should be made to assure that they continue to serve this important purpose into the future.

Mosaic of Memories: Understanding the Network of Remembering of Kamioka POW Camp

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ABSTRACT
This article analyses the network of remembering surrounding Kamioka POW camp in Japan. It finds that a combination of places and objects, interactions, and memory practices form a dynamic network that is in constant flux. Kamiokan memory sites include the former campsite, a cenotaph, a Book of the Names of the Dead, war diaries and dedicated websites, and these sites of memory acquire meaning through activities such as reconciliation trips, and commemorative ceremonies. Due to the ongoing engagement with these places and objects, their connotations continue to develop and change, leading to a network that constantly evolves.

Introduction

In 2016, the author visited the former site of Kamioka Prisoner of War (POW) Camp located at 1600 metres above sea level in the Japanese Alps, north of Nagoya on Honshu Island, Japan.[1] This was part of research for a biography of Herman Adriaan Bouman (1909-1968), one of the former inmates. Facilitated by members of the POW Research Network Japan (POWRNJ), the trip involved a series of meetings, including one with the son and daughter-in-law of a former camp guard, and an excursion to the remains of the camp site. Among the physical remnants of the camp still visible in the vicinity are an embankment supporting a flat and scrubby area cut out of the mountainside; the entrance to the mine where the allied POWs laboured; a path

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[1]The exact location is Kamiokacho Wasabo, Hida, Gifu 506-1105, Honshu Island, Japan (36°20'54.5"N 137°18'46.4"E). The name of the camp was changed several times, from Osaka Kamioka Branch Camp, to Osaka 7-B, Nagoya 1-B and finally Nagoya 7-B. The POWs continued to refer to it as Kamioka POW Camp.

through the woods used daily by the prisoners; a stretch of road they had excavated; and a farm area where some of them had been sent to work the land. Standing on the ground where seventy years before the men had walked, it was possible to visualise them going about the routines described in the six surviving diaries of Kamioka POWs. Later that day, the author was shown two objects at a local temple site. There, a cenotaph dedicated to the POWs who died in Kamioka had been erected in the 1980s by a local Japanese man. Within the temple and encased in a box lies a beautifully calligraphed book with the names of all the young men from the area who died in Japan's wars going back to the Meiji restoration of Japan in 1868, including a list of the POWs who died in Kamioka. The array of traces of the camp and its inmates made the author wonder where else might be found *lieux de mémoires*, or sites of memory, of Kamioka POW Camp, and how to link all these disparate sites and sources together.[2]

Pierre Nora notes, in quoting Maurice Halbwachs, that '(…) there are as many memories as there are groups…memory is by nature multiple and yet specific; collective, plural, and yet individual.'[3] The sources studied prior to this trip, in particular the camp diaries, did indeed reveal a wide array of 'vernacular' memories, each representing a unique experience of similar circumstances.[4] But it was also clear that their meaning changed each time they were read, growing from sober texts recounting facts of camp life, to private monuments to each author bearing the stamp of their individual characters, their habits, cultural background, worldviews, and hopes and dreams. The visit to the former campsite and the temple brought a whole new level of understanding of the memories laid down in the sources and contextualised Nora's description of memory which just as 'life, [is] in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived.'[5]

The ambition of this article is to piece together the dynamics of the 'network of remembering' surrounding the former inmates of Kamioka POW Camp.[6] There are

[2]Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989), pp. 7-24.
[3]Ibid., p. 9.
[4]Compare similar findings regarding life writing from Fukuoka Camp 1 in: Sarah Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire. Inside Japanese POW Camps,* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), in particular chapter 6 'Captivity on the Home Front', pp. 137-156.
[5]Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History', p. 8.
[6]Kyoko Murakami and David Middleton, 'Grave Matters: Emergent Networks and Summation in Remembering and Reconciliation', *ETHOS* (2006), Vol. 34, No. 2, pp.

six diaries, a memoir and an autobiographical novel, the cenotaph, and the book of the names of the dead, but also other available sources of memories of Kamioka such as dedicated websites, cemeteries where the ashes of the deceased POWs rest, recorded testimonies, and newspaper articles, all have their own unique origins and histories, and divergent reasons for their continued existence. Some are widely accessible, others much less so, yet they are all part of the same network of remembering. The main body of the article opens with a brief case study of an Indo-European POW named Adolphe R.G.E. Verstift (1895-1944), that illustrates the complexity of such a network, and the many obstacles to unearthing all the relevant sites of memory. Then, in order to analyse the mosaic of memories of Kamioka POW Camp, and their past, present and future significance, the second section delves into the origins, the substance and the theoretical positioning of a selection of sources of memories of Kamioka. On occasion, the significance and meaning of a particular memory source may be understood in different ways. The temple site, for example, may be seen as both a 'site of mourning' as well as a 'site of memory', both a 'mnemonic site' and a site of 'memorialisation'.[7] Diaries are forms of 'memory writing', but they also qualify as 'sites of memory', meeting Nora's standard of 'double identity': there was a 'will to remember' at their inception, and there is an ongoing 'capacity for metamorphosis' of their meaning and their ramifications.[8] Besides the contexts in which the different sources of individual memory and the practices of remembering were conceived, the coming about and the dynamics of the network of remembering are also examined. Of particular relevance here are the diverse ways in which individual memories migrate from the private to the public sphere, acquiring new meanings as well as contributing to changing dynamics in the public realms of memory.[9] As we shall see, shared practices of memory such as commemorative ceremonies and reconciliation

273–296, ISSN 0091-2131, electronic ISSN 1548-1352, p. 286. Also pertinent are the memories of the many other people connected to Kamioka POW Camp such as the Japanese commander and guards, the Korean workers, the Japanese miners working alongside the POWs, and the local villagers, but these fall beyond the scope of this article.

[7]Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History'; Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid monarchy: power and pageantry in modern Japan,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

[8]Paula Hamilton, 'A Long War: Public Memory and the Popular Media', in Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (eds.), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, (New York: Fordham University, 2010), pp. 299-311, p. 299. doi:10.2307/j.ctt1c999bq.24; Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History', p. 19.

[9]Paula Hamilton, 'A Long War', p. 299.

trips play an important part in this process.[10] The final section focusses on the significance and role of the relatively recent development of virtual memory sites, before closing with final remarks and conclusions.

Remembering POW Verstift

The complexity of the Kamiokan network of remembering is illustrated by the case of POW Adolphe Richard George Emile Verstift, born on 10 June 1895, who died on 19 March 1944 in the Kamioka Camp. Sifting through all the available sources, a first trace of Verstift can be found in an article in a Dutch newspaper dated 1 July 1943, listing the names of soldiers imprisoned as POWs in Japan.[11] The next mention of him is in one of the surviving camp diaries kept by Stephen R. Harle (1921-1970) which is archived at the Imperial War Museum in London,

> 20 March 1944: One of the men died this morning after having been unconscious for more than 30 hours, through being hit on the head by a fall of stone in the mine. I often wonder that more of us aren't killed working down there. Absolutely no precautions taken against falls. Very dangerous no first aid of any kind whatsoever.[12]

Although Harle speaks of 20 March 1943 as the date of death, no other prisoners died on this day, and there are more comparable discrepancies in dates of death between Japanese and Western sources, making it likely that it was, indeed, Verstift that Harle was speaking of. If we then examine the list in the back of the Book of the Names of the Dead kept at the Zuiganji temple in Kamioka, Verstift appears to be listed as Number 42, with the 'katakana' characters transcribing phonetically as *Fuoru*sutefuto* (Verstift), and 19 March 1944 as date of death.[13] Moving on through all the sources,

[10]For more on these 'social and performative practices' see Geoffrey M. White and Eveline Buchheim, 'Traveling War: Memory Practices in Motion, Introduction', *History & Memory*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 2015), p. 5-19, p. 5.

[11]'Nederlandsche militairen in Japansche krijgsgevangenschap', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 July 1943. https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/. Accessed 7 December 2023.

[12]Harle speaks of 20 March 1943 as the date of death. No other prisoners died on this day, and there are more comparable discrepancies in dates of death between Japanese and Western sources, making it likely that it was, indeed, Verstift that Harle was speaking of. Imperial War Museum London (hereinafter IWM), Private papers S.R. Harle, Documents.8460.

[13]Due to the phonetic transcriptions of the names of the POWs, deciphering the Book of the Names of the Dead is a painstaking process. As regards Verstift, the verification can be made based on date of death which is listed as 19 March 1944 (Shōwa 19), and the age of 49 years. The roster of Dutch POWs used for the verifications can be found

there are more brief mentions of Verstift, for example as Number 124 in a list in the back of an autobiographical novel of Kamioka written by J.A. Wormser, followed by a cross after his name.[14] More expansive is a virtual headstone attached to the Menteng Pulo cemetery in Java, Indonesia, where Verstift's ashes are interred.[15] Here, we see not only a picture of Adolphe Verstift, but also one of the urns with his ashes in its resting place at the cemetery. This website turns out to be a gateway to a whole new world of remembering. One or two clicks, and you enter a dedicated website that includes 'The life history of Granddad Verstift', extensive information on the Indo-European community and the challenges they faced before, during, and after the Second World War, pictures of relevant books and maps, one of the so called 'hellships' *Kamakura Maru 1* in which Adolphe Verstift was transported to Japan, aerial views of Kamioka Branch Camp, personal documents and more.[16] Another website offers pictures, texts of speeches and a poem, and a video of the posthumous awarding of a Dutch Mobilisation Cross to Verstift.[17] But what also becomes clear is that the descendants of Verstift, who organised family commemorations in the Netherlands and at Menteng Pulo cemetery in Java, as well as lovingly designing these websites, are unfamiliar with the cenotaph and the Book of the Names of the Dead in the Zuiganji temple. Neither are they aware of the mentions of Verstift in the diary of Stephen Harle, in what probably amounts to the final observations about their loved one made by someone who at the time lived in close proximity. This is the point where there is a rift in the network of remembering of 'a historical past that is sometimes unsettling,

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at: https://www.japansekrijgsgevangenkampen.nl/Naamlijst%20Nagoya%201B.htm. Accessed 23 July 2024.

[14]J.A. Wormser, *De nacht van de rijzende zon, een Hollandsche krijgsgevangene in Japan 1942-1945* [The Night of the Rising Sun, a Dutch prisoner of war in Japan 1942-1945], (Kampen: Kok, 1989), appendix 1.

[15]Oorlogsgravenstichting, 'Adolphe Richard George Emile Verstift', *Oorlogsgravenstichting*, https://oorlogsgravenstichting.nl/personen/160020/adolphe-richard-george-emile-verstift. Accessed 12 January 2024.

[16]C.E.M. Banse, 'De levensgeschiedenis van Opa Verstift' [The life history of Granddad Verstift], *Oorlogsgravenstichting*, 21 December 2016, https://oorlogsgravenstichting.nl/personen/160020/adolphe-richard-george-emile-verstift. Accessed 12 January 2024.

[17]Banse Projectmanagement, 'Mobilisatie Oorlogskruis. Uitreiking Mobilisatie Oorlogskruis aan Opa Verstift 9 December 2016' [Mobilisation Warcross. Awarding of Mobilisaton Warcross to Granddad Verstift 9 December 2016], *Erkenning voor A.R.G.E. Verstift*, https://banseprojectmanagement.nl/portfolio/erkenning-voor-a-r-g-e-verstift/. Accessed 12 January 2024.

sometimes transgressive, sometimes controversial, sometimes benign, sometimes reconciliatory and healing'.[18]

This case study briefly illustrates the diverse range of sources relating to Kamioka, and the difficulties one may encounter when trying to access sites of memory, and the network of remembering as a whole. In the following, the Kamiokan sites of memory, their origins and their movements between the private and the public realm are examined in more detail.

Diaries

The six diaries written during captivity in Kamioka POW Camp that are known to have survived are what Philippe Lejeune terms 'crisis diaries'.[19] Written under life-threatening circumstances, it was strictly forbidden by the Japanese military authorities to keep a diary or journal, and discovery could lead to anything from communal punishment for the whole camp, to the torture and/or putting to death of the author.[20] It took determination and audacity to withstand the constant fear of discovery, and the most common reasons for doing so were to bear testimony for posterity, out of a sense of duty, and to attempt to bring some form of order to the uncertainty and chaos surrounding them.[21] All these motives are found in the Kamioka diaries. 'Although I hope and trust that we will see each other again in good health' writes Gerben J. Wassenaar (1912-1997) on 26 December 1942 in the diary he addressed to

[18]Collin Rusneac, 'Building Transnational Memories at Japanese War and Colonial Cemeteries', https://apjjf.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/article-618.pdf, p. 13. Accessed 26 July 2024.

[19]Philippe Lejeune, 'How Do Diaries End?', in Jeremy D. Popkin and Julie Rak (eds.), *On Diary,* (Honolulu: University of Hawaïi Press, 2009), pp. 187-200.

[20]Eveline Bucheim, *Passie en Missie. Huwelijken van Europeanen in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië 1920-1958* [Passion and Mission. Marriages of Europeans in the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia 1920-1958], (Amsterdam: NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 2009), p. 113; Esther Captain, *Achter het Kawat was Nederland. Indische Oorlogservaringen en -Herinneringen 1942-1955* [Behind the Fence Were the Netherlands. Indies War Experiences and Recollections 1942-1945] (Kampen: Uitgeverij Kok, 2002), p. 68.

[21]Renate Laqueur Weiss, *Writing in Defiance. Concentration Camp Diaries in Dutch, French and German, 1940-1945,* (Ann Arbor: New York University, 1971), pp. 16-29; Esther Captain, *Achter het Kawat was Nederland*, p. 70. Significant other reasons include (among others) self-assertion, writing oneself out of the camp, upholding an alternative identity and attempting to survive, if only on paper, see further E. Hoegen, 'Narrating the Imprisoned Body in Life Writing from the Kamioka Camp', *Life Writing*, 2021, DOI: 10.1080/14484528.2021.1967141

his wife, 'I still want to write some letters or notes in case this isn't the case.'[22] Herman A. Bouman (1909-1968), the author of a markedly optimistic Kamioka diary, is written in the form of several 'letters' to his elder brother, and he notes,

> (….) I do believe that I would be well advised to capture a few impressions of the past period in order to prevent it from shortly being impossible to have the rusty memory reproduce those events. (…) it is not just the urge to fulfil a duty, that brings me to compose a letter to you, but also that it feels like a pleasant way to pass the time, which offers me an opportunity to bring some order to the many thoughts that torment my brain.[23]

Ben P. Rüphan (1913-1985), dedicating his diary to his wife, writes that he originally intended to use the exercise book he has managed to obtain to take notes during a chemistry course (organised by the POWs), 'however, I had to change its purpose, because I, too, felt the need to record some matters, in the form of a letter to you'.[24] The diary entries written by J.P.M. 'Flip' Stouten (1902-1991), recounting his daily trials and tribulations as a POW are, likewise, addressed to his wife, Lotte, albeit mostly implicitly: 'Sunday 9 September [1945] (…) wrote a letter to you; (….) I long for Manilla, where perhaps there is a message from you.'[25] These four diaries, written by Dutchmen who had all lived and worked in the colonial Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) since at least the 1930s, were in effect continuations of their well-established pre-war routines of writing home regularly to family in the Netherlands. It should also be noted that, contrary to Clare Makepeace's account of letter and diary writing practices in German POW camps, those held in Japanese camps were only rarely allowed to write or receive letters or postcards, literally cutting them off from their loved ones for years on end.[26] Therefore, all their desires and attempts to communicate with home were channelled into their diaries, and the often extensive

[22]Private collection Wassenaar Family, Australia, *G.J. Wassenaar, Diary*, Original diary and typed out translation.
[23]Archives of Groningen, 2553 Bouman Family nr. 19, *Aantekeningen en overpeinzingen van Herman Adriaan Bouman tijdens Japanse gevangenschap* [Notes and thoughts of Herman Adrian Bouman during Japanese imprisonment].
[24]Private collection Rüphan Family, The Netherlands, *B. Rüphan No. 52*, Original diary and a typed transcript.
[25]NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 11.24 Sto, *"Dagboek": Kamioka krijgsgevangene nr 102: 1942-oktober 1945* ["Diary": Kamioka POW nr. 102: 1942-October 1945], 2007.
[26]Clare Makepeace, *Captives of War: British Prisoners of War in Europe in the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

entries recounting their thoughts mean these accounts qualify as what Makepeace terms 'reflective diaries'.[27]

By contrast, American sergeant Joseph G. Pase's diary is a military log on the welfare of the company he was commanding, written for the benefit of his superiors.[28] Entries are terse and to the point: 'August 22, 1944: Pvt. Joslin, F.L., attempted escape from mine; apprehended by Japanese and placed in confinement in this camp'; 'December 15, 1944: Sgt. Lanning: leg amputated.' The only diarist not to address anyone else is British leading aircraftman Stephen R. Harle (1921-1970).[29] His is a journal consisting of brief entries on camp routines, on food, on feeling cold, hungry and depressed, and on the ever-increasing number of deaths. But his diary is also full of sketches revealing a dark and ironic sense of humour, memorised poems, graphic designs, lists of favourite food from home, and names of friends made in the camp. This makes his diary part testimony to current events, part self-expression, and part the ensconcing of a longing for, and memories of, home.

The Kamiokan journals are in themselves sites of memory, meeting Nora's requirement of the 'double identity'. As the excerpts above show, they carried the 'will to remember' at their inception. The Kamiokan POWs committed events, thoughts and longings to paper as an act of testimony, of bearing witness, and the diaries are the 'material, symbolic, and functional' embodiment of this inherent wish to carry forward into the future the memory of the lived experience.[30] Although after the end of the war many of the diaries initially disappeared into drawers in desks, there to remain for decades, five of the six diaries were eventually moved into the public realm and made available to a larger readership. Stephen Harle's diary was discovered by his children only after his death in July 1970 and was then donated to the Imperial War Museum in London in 1999.[31] In the decades after Herman Bouman's death in 1968, his family considered publication of the diary, but nothing came of this plan. However, a transcript was offered to the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Amsterdam in 1983, and a copy can be found in the Groningen

[27]Clare Makepeace, *Captives of War*, p. 16.
[28]Center for Research Allied POWs Under The Japanese, 'Record of Events by Sgt. Joseph G. Pase' (original diary and a transcript)', *Nagoya POW Camp #1-B Kamioka*, http://www.mansell.com/pow_resources/camplists/nagoya/kamioka_1/NAG-01_Pase_Diary-s.pdf. Accessed 12 January 2024.
[29]IWM Private papers S.R. Harle, Documents.8460.
[30]Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History', p. 19.
[31]This information is based on personal correspondence between the author and the family of S.R. Harle, as well as the date of the cataloguing of the diaries by the IWM on 26 October 1999.

Archives.[32] Jan Gerben Wassenaar's diary was typed out and translated by family members for private reference, and a copy was given to the POWRNJ in September 2015.[33] Sergeant Pase's diary was submitted to the American Prisoner of War Information Bureau on 1 March 1946, and is kept at the National Archives and Records Administration in the USA. In the early 2000s, it became much more widely accessible when it was posted online by the Center for Research Allied POWs Under The Japanese.[34] Finally, Flip Stouten's diary was published in 2007 in a limited edition 'for family and friends', of which a copy can be found in the library of NIOD in Amsterdam.[35] Upon their transition into the public realm, POW diaries opened themselves to different interpretations and significance. No longer just for the author's or the initial addressees' eyes, the diaries were read by children and grandchildren, many of whom knew little to nothing about their (grand)father's wartime experiences, and then read too by third parties. As the persona of the former POWs as captured in the diaries were revealed to an increasing number of readers, thus transmitting hitherto unknown identities and experiences to younger generations, the journals acquired new layers of meaning. This process is vividly captured in Hanna Stouten's article on her uncle Flip Stouten's war writings. Recalling her childhood thoughts when Uncle Flip, newly released from Kamioka, moved into her family home with his wife and children upon their return to the Netherlands at the end of the war, she writes,

> Later, we'll get to understand the real experiences, we thought. 'The real experiences', we now know, don't exist, and over the last sixty years, the ambitious 'understanding' has been downgraded to 'trying to understand'. The war documents found in a recently opened file [discovered at home] offer us a second chance.[36]

The larger context in which the diaries were read, that is to say the surrounding discourse, has also evolved, leading to different layers of meaning and significance being found in the war writings. As time went by, an ever-increasing number of books and articles were published that dealt with imprisonment by the Japanese, and diaries, journals and memoires became increasingly popular. Initially, academic writings tended

[32]Correspondence in the private collection of the Bouman family, The Netherlands.
[33]Information provided by Taeko Sasamoto, email to author of 1 April 2016.
[34]See footnote 28.
[35]See footnote 25. The one remaining diary, written by Ben Rüphan, has not (yet) entered the public domain, but a copy was made available to the author by his daughter.
[36]Hanna Stouten, 'Noodrantsoen moet je doen. Hoe de geest overleeft; voor, in en na Japan, 1942-1981', *Indische Letteren*, Vol. 23, pp. 23-47, p. 23. Available online at: https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_ind004200801_01/_ind004200801_01_0004.php. Accessed 23 July 2024.

to focus on a reconstruction of events experienced by POWs and civilian inmates in the Japanese camps of the Pacific and South East Asia, but the focus of later work shifted to other perspectives, such as the long-term effects of imprisonment on the body and the mind, and related issues such as intergenerational transmission of trauma. And with the rise of memory studies, the lines of approach have moved away from history, psychology and trauma studies, towards a deeper understanding of memorialisation, commemoration, and memory practices. In summary, the diaries that survived Kamioka, now spread around the world, are an important part of the 'network of remembering'.

In and around the former campsite

Other key *lieux de mémoire* are concentrated in one place: Kamioka itself. All that is left of the former campsite is a patch of ground at 1,600 meters elevation in the Japanese Alps which is now covered with grass, bushes and trees, and there is nothing that distinguishes the overgrown piece of land as the spot where some 600 American, British, Dutch, and Indo-European POWs were interned from December 1942 until early September 1945.

To recreate an image of what the camp must have looked like, we need to search the available Kamiokan sources such as the diaries and scour the archives and websites for sketches and pictures. Particularly useful here is the detailed two-page description given by former POW Jan Honing (1899-1986) in his published memoir, who had the advantage of being able to write more freely than those who wrote during their imprisonment.[37] Comparing Honing's description with memories ensconced in the other sources, the image that arises is of a fenced-off compound consisting of two wooden barracks housing the Dutch/Indo-European and the American troops, a building with an office and Japanese quarters, and several smaller buildings with the kitchen, bathhouse, etc. All around the camp were dense mountainous woods. Just inside the fence at the front of the camp ran a creek, and outside the gates a road connecting the local villages of Funatsu, where a second POW camp was sited, and Kamioka.

[37]Jan Honing, *Herinneringen aan het leven in Indië* [Memories of Life in the Dutch East Indies] (Santpoort: Brave New Books, 2014) pp. 186-187.

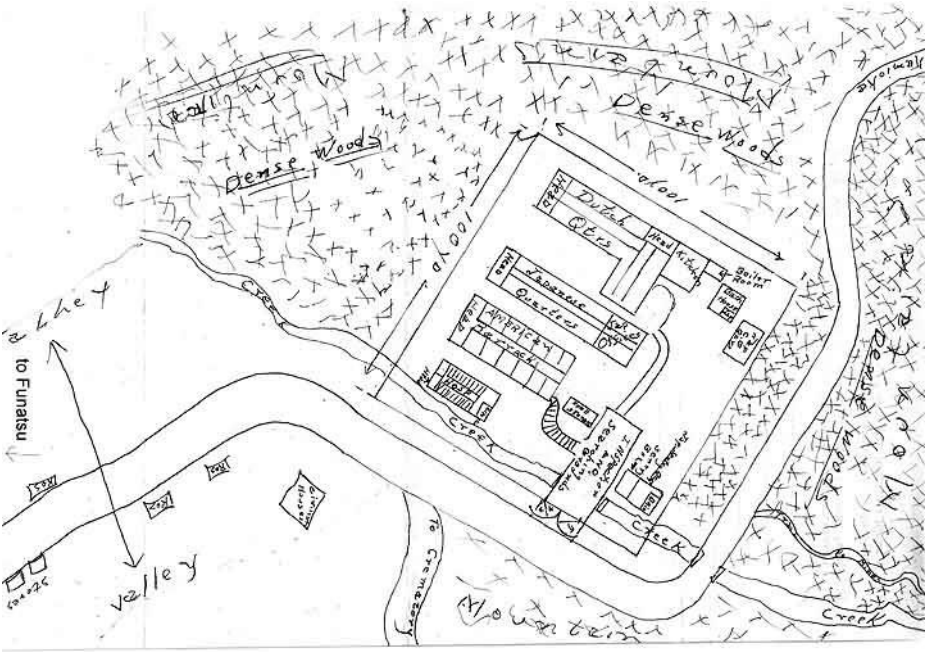

Figure 1: Sketch of the layout of Kamioka POW camp.[38]

In their diaries and memoires, and later testimonies, the POWs were scathing about the state of the barracks, the cold and snow in winter, and the heat in summer, the lack of food, clothing, and medicine, and the harsh working environment in the mine. As a result of malnutrition, accidents in the mine, illnesses, such as beriberi and pneumonia, neglect, deliberate maltreatment and torture, eighty-five men were to die, i.e. 14% of the total camp population.[39] Looking at the bushes and trees during a visit in April 2016, and allowing this realisation to sink in, an overgrown, seemingly

[38]Kamiokacho Wasabo, Hida, Gifu 506-1105, Honshu Island, Japan. Illustrator unknown, published online by Roger Mansell, Palo Alto, CA, at http://www.mansell.com/pow_resources/camplists/nagoya/kamioka_1/kamioka_layout_1.jpg. Accessed 23 July 2024. The author would like to thank Wes Injerd, of the Roger Mansell Group, for permission to use this image. The exact location is Kamiokacho Wasabo, Hida, Gifu 506-1105, Honshu Island, Japan (36°20'54.5"N 137°18'46.4"E).

[39]Ernestine Hoegen, 'Narrating the Imprisoned Body in Life Writing from the Kamioka POW Camp', *Life Writing* (2022)19:2, pp. 241-258, DOI: 10.1080/14484528.2021.1967141

innocuous piece of ground instantly turned into a 'site of mourning'.[40] Even though the site is surrounded by 'divine hills', for the Japanese characters of '*Kami-oka*' translate as 'Hill of the Gods', death was present on this patch of land.

The Kamioka lead and zinc mine, where the POWs were used as forced labourers, is an equally charged memory site, but also a multi-faceted one. Here, the men who had no protective clothing, shovelled ore and operated drills in the poorly shored up corridors and shafts that run all the way through the mountain where they were subjected to rock falls and accidents. On 13 January 1943 Wassenaar wrote in his diary

> Yesterday and the day before, 5 died in total. Also had a cave-in near us in the mine – 2 of ours were killed. This morning another death. Makes a total of 11 in 1 month. It can't carry on like this. Yesterday God spared my life. I could have been in that spot in the mine too. These are tragic times.[41]

Yet the dark and dank shafts were also a place where the POWs could escape the watchful eye of their guards, and where they could engage in illicit trade with local miners and the Korean guards, operate a flourishing black market, and once even carry out a well-planned retaliation by four POWs against one of their Japanese overseers who had stolen a watch from one of them.[42]

During a 2016 trip to Kamioka, the author was also shown other sites where the men spent time during their years of captivity and which did not carry such charged memories. First of all, there is a place known as the Maruyami farm, where they were set to work excavating ground and doing manual labour. Although the work was still physically demanding, being away from the mine in the open air, as well as being offered better food and a chance to bathe, meant that in effect this location offered them a chance to rest and recover. Stephen Harle reports on 7 June 1945: 'Went away for one month farming to a place 10 miles from here'. Then on 6 July 1945: 'Back again, had a pretty decent month as far as things go.' On 22 August 1945 Herman Bouman writes,

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[40]Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[41]Private collection Wassenaar Family, Australia, *G.J. Wassenaar, Diary*, Original diary and typed out translation. Entry 13 January 1943.

[42]Ernestine Hoegen, 'National Narratives and Individual Agency: Negotiating Power Relations in Kamioka POW Camp', in: Eveline Buchheim and Jennifer Coates (eds.), *War Memory and East Asian Conflicts, 1930-1945*, (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), pp. 17-38.

> This year, I didn't work in the mine anymore, but spent my time doing all sorts of jobs outside, building bomb shelters and sheds, the planting of timbering, earthmoving work, shovelling snow in the winter, etc. In the summertime I often worked on the land and once even spent a month with twenty-five other Dutchmen, including eight of my roommates at a farm where we did reclamation work and were well-fed.[43]

Another location that is fondly remembered by some of the POWs was the house of a camp guard Mr. Masao Okada. Taking prisoners home with him, under the guise of needing extra labour, several POWs reported that he let them rest and offered them food. One American POW, Robert Vogler, recalled how Mr. Okada saved his life by giving him an egg to eat when he was starving.[44]

The site that undoubtedly qualifies as the most fraught *lieu de mémoire* of all for the POWs is the crematorium. Presumed to have been dismantled, this can now only be revisited in their writings. The crematorium was located some way off from the camp and was 'nothing more than a bare room with on one side a stone oven'.[45] Whenever a man died, a group of volunteers would load the body onto a stretcher and carry it out of the camp gates down a path towards the crematorium. 'The body was put on a sled and put into the oven by hand, like bread in an old-fashioned oven' recalled Jan Honing in his memoire. 'We could see the playing of the flaring woodfire around the sled, before the steel door was shut.'[46] The POWs soon found out why the local Japanese villagers transported their dead to the crematorium in a sitting position, with drawn-up knees, on a chair. The first POW to die in Kamioka, at Christmas 1942, was laid out on a stretcher, and could not fit into the small furnace. Honing remembers that '(g)rey with shock, our boys had to then practically break and fold their comrade to get him into the oven.'[47] On 26 December 1942, Wassenaar noted: 'Yesterday our third dead went to the crematorium. All happens very quickly.' In his autobiographical novel, Johan Wormser recalls trying to awaken a buddy in time for morning rollcall,

> 'Come on, man, hurry up or you'll get in trouble' and you pulled the blankets off his head…He needn't ever get in line for the lead mines again. In the

[43]Archives of Groningen, 2553 Bouman Family nr. 19, *Aantekeningen en overpeinzingen van Herman Adriaan Bouman tijdens Japanse gevangenschap* [Notes and thoughts of Herman Adrian Bouman during Japanese imprisonment]. Entry 22 August 1945.
[44]Fuyuko Nishisato, 'Nagoya POW camp No. 1 branch (Kamioka)' in: *Encyclopedia of Japanese POW Camps* (2023), p. 5.
[45] Jan Honing, *Herinneringen aan het Leven in Indië*, p. 190.
[46]Ibid., p. 190.
[47]Ibid., p. 189.

> afternoon they carried him through thick snow to the black goblin [the Japanese cremation worker, EH] and his 'roasting tin', the only warm spot in all of Japan.[48]

As more and more deaths occurred, the diarists tried to keep track of the numbers, and sometimes the names, of the deceased. Wassenaar on 4 May 1945: 'Friday. No. 63 died yesterday morning. Old Pareira from Amstelveen. From pneumonia too, though he took a bit longer to go. Awful to die just when we'd received news about different things, including the landings in the harbour. Helped carry the body to the crematorium unit.' Johan Wormser describes what happened to the ashes after a cremation,

> And the next morning the crooked, black goblin [Japanese crematorium worker] brought the ashes of the dead man in a little wooden box into the Jap office, a white wooden box, a cube of 20 centimetres, no more. A Japanese soldier took it to an open cupboard, where the other 66 boxes were piled up (…) 67 wooden boxes. On each a Japanese number and in a small folder in room 2 [the Dutch officers' room, EH] a long list, with a number after each Dutch name.[49]

What happened to the ashes, and how their post-war distribution led to further memory sites will be discussed later. But first let us visit a memory site where two significant objects of empathy and atonement are to be found.

Temple ground

Some way down the road from the former campsite lies the Zuiganji temple, a small, 400-year-old complex, of which the present temple building is 100 years old. Already for the POWs, this site had special meaning. 'The temple was a small gem and was located on a hillock, very picturesque with a grassy area in front and surrounded by deciduous trees, including wild cherries and spruce trees' recalled Jan Honing.[50] When the author visited this temple on 11 April 2016 it very much corresponded to this description. The temple ground is mesmerising, not just because of the beauty of the place, but also because of the unusual memorialisation within it of the POWs who died in Kamioka.

[48] J.A. Wormser, *De nacht van de rijzende zon,* p. 132.
[49] Ibid., p. 189.
[50] Honing, *Herinneringen aan het leven in Indië*, p. 188.

Figure 2: Zuiganji temple garden, Hida, Gifu, Japan, April 2016.[51]

As can be seen in Figure 2 there are several monuments in the temple grounds. One of these – the tall, thin cenotaph to the right of the centre - is of particular significance for the Kamioka POW network of remembering. There are Japanese characters inscribed on all four sides, and the ones on the front read 'Cenotaph for the martyrs of the Kamioka Prisoner of War Detachment'.[52] This monument was erected, not by descendants of the POWs themselves, but at the initiative of a local Japanese citizen, Mr. Sagara whose first name is unknown to the author. He lost an elder brother during the Second World War, and his name, and those of the sponsors of the cenotaph, are also inscribed in stone. Finally, there is an inscription of a Buddhist philosophy that all those who have fallen in war, regardless of whose side they were on, are to be remembered. 'This is chanting, meaning all those who are dead are to be memorised', explained Priest Tsuzuku. 'So, this Mr. Sagara meant to enshrine those POWs meaning also enshrining his own family members. So, this idea [is], everybody is connected in the world, [everybody] must be together.'[53]

With its inscriptions, and Priest Tsuzuku's explanation of its origins, the cenotaph stands for a recognition of a shared wartime experience of loss and grief. But an even more powerful physical representation of how 'wartime perceptions of the other have

[51]Photo by the author.
[52]Fuyuko Nishisato, 'Nagoya POW camp No. 1 branch (Kamioka)', p. 9.
[53]Priest Tsuzuku, Interview with Fuyuko Nishisato and author, 11 April 2016, Zuiganji tempel, Kamioka, Japan.

evolved into shared memory' is to be found in the temple itself.[54] Here, in a box dated 'November 1970', lies what may be called 'The Book of the Names of the Dead'. This book was a personal initiative of local Japanese citizen Mr. Kenichi Ogawa, and it contains the hand-written names of every single known local soldier who died in the wars after Japan's Meiji Restoration in 1868. Mr. Ogawa started writing out all these names immediately after the Second World War, and this labour of love took him nearly fifty years to complete. In the back of the book is an addendum consisting of lists of names, nationality, and dates of death of the POWs who died in Kamioka. Mr. Ogawa copied these names in secret from cremation certificates kept in the town office, where he worked as an assistant director.[55]

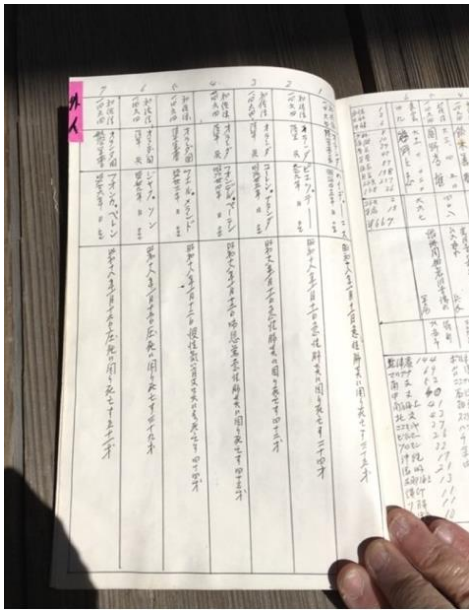

Figure 3 (left): Priest Tsuzuku explains *The Book of the Names of the Dead*. In the background is the box in which it is kept. **Figure 4 (right):** Addendum with the list of deceased POWs. Both photos by the author.

The Zuiganji temple is not only a site of memorialisation through 'tangible objects' such as the cenotaph and *The Book of the Names of the Dead*, but was also once a site

[54]Alison Starr, 'Forever Alongside: War Cemeteries as Sites of Enemy Reconciliation', https://apjjf.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/article-619.pdf, p.8. Accessed 26 July 2024.

[55]Fuyuko Nishisato, 'Nagoya POW camp No. 1 branch (Kamioka)', p. 9.

of commemoration, encompassing 'intangible ceremonies and practices'.[56] According to Priest Tsuzuku, an annual memorial service was begun in 1983 and was conducted by the temple priest. It included all the names listed in *The Book of the Names of the Dead* which were chanted, *including those of the POWs.* It is possible that this chanting of names was done as part of the annual Japanese O-bon ceremonies, a three-day festival in August in which ancestors are remembered and honoured. Alternatively, it could have arisen as part of the annual commemoration of a peasant uprising that swept the region between 8 and 11 February 1871 and cost many villagers their lives.[57] With a cenotaph, *The Book of the Names of the Dead*, and an annual memorial service in which the names of the POWs were included, the Zuiganji temple is an example of a 'vernacular' cemetery, with 'largely unrecognized, and undervalued implications in terms of historical and political dimensions utilized in the integration of personal, familial and community-based dynamics, be they local, national or international'.[58] Collin Rusneac calls for the incorporation of such 'vernacular' cemeteries, with their own unique memory practices, into debates about Japanese memorials for the war dead. At present, this debate is still dominated by the highly contested Yasukuni Shrine, which honours approximately 2.5 million Japanese war dead as deities, including fourteen Class A war criminals.[59] But even the remote grounds of the Zuiganji temple have not been able to resist the far-reaching political connotations of memorialisation and commemoration, and the practice of including names of the POWs in the annual memorial service was discontinued in the early 1990s.

Reconciliation trips

One way to 'work' with traumatic Second World War memories, is to go on what is often referred to as a 'reconciliation trip', for 'it is, in particular, the activities that bring agents of remembering into and through the spaces of remembrance that shape the emotional meanings of memory'.[60] The first of such visits to Kamioka was

[56]Justin Aukema, Daniel Milne, Mahon Murphy and Ryōta Nishino, 'Introduction: Re-examining Asia-Pacific War Memories: Grief, Narratives, and Memorials', https://apjjf.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/article-615.pdf, p. 7. Accessed 26 July 2024.

[57]Selçuk Esenbel, 'The Remembrance of the 1871 Nakano Uprising in Takayama Village as a Contemporary Trauma in Village Life Today', in Sven Saaler and Wolfgang Schwentker (eds.), *The Power of Memory in Modern Japan* (Folkestone: Global Oriental Ltd, 2008), pp. 337-359.

[58]Collin Rusneac, 'Building Transnational Memories at Japanese War and Colonial Cemeteries', p. 13.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Geoffrey M. White and Eveline Buchheim, 'Traveling War: Memory Practices in Motion, Introduction', in: *History & Memory*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 2015), pp. 5-19, p. 8.

undertaken in 1955 by former Dutch ensign Tjarda de Cock Buning. The ensuing newspaper reports make for unexpected reading. 'Reunion in village in Japan. Dutchman shook hands with former camp guards', is the title of an article in *Heerenveensche Koerier* of 1 November 1955.

> Ten years after his release from a camp in the Japanese mountains, T. de Cock Buning returned to Japan last week to thank a Japanese translator who offered support to the prisoners. (…) 'Many of the miners also helped us and started giving us food, after we started working in the mine', said Buning. 'I've come back to thank those people who tried to make life easier for us.'[61]

According to this newspaper report, Buning met up with the translator, five miners and two former soldiers, to share a meal, drinks, and memories. Afterwards, De Cock Buning, the former translator and the foreman of the miners drove up into the mountains and to the mine, the former POW camp, and the crematorium 'where 80 of the prisoners were cremated in the most horrific circumstances after they had died of cold'. Buning laid a wreath at the door of the crematorium and is quoted in the article as saying: 'The crematorium brought back the most awful memories … the oven was too small for our dead. It was built for small Japanese. First we had to burn the lower part of the body. It was the most awful experience of the war.' De Cock Buning concludes: 'Despite everything, I need to thank the Japanese who helped us during our imprisonment.'

Forty years passed before the next recorded reconciliation trip, this time by former American POW Robert J. Vogler. Vogler had managed to establish contact with prison guard Masao Okada – the man whom he says saved his life, not once but several times – and first made the trip to Kamioka in May 1997. Although Okada had died by this time, Vogler and his wife did meet his widow and three sons at Okada's home. He also gave a speech at a local school'

> I come to Kamioka a free man - as one who came to remember that other man who showed me that humanity can still exist despite opposing sides and different cultures. He recognized that I, too, was an individual of worth and not some faceless vile creature. He treated me with a degree of respect that I have never forgotten.[62]

[61]'Reünie in dorpje in Japan. Nederlander drukte de hand van vroegere kampbewakers', *De Heerenveensche Koerier*, 1 November 1955. https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/ Accessed 7 December 2023.
[62]John Wilkens, 'Robert Vogler Jr., Bataan Death March survivor who made peace with the Japanese, dies at 97', *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, 8 June 2018

For Vogler, revisiting the past, and making connections with others involved in some way in the Kamiokan experiences, effected change in his well-being. 'I feel a lot better now', Vogler told the *Union-Tribune* in June 1997, shortly after returning from Japan, 'I think I left a little of the garbage back there.'[63]

Virtual memory sites

Reconciliation trips turn locations such as a former camp site, a crematorium and a mine into 'a dynamic memoryscape where enemies have met and continued to meet'.[64] Furthermore, the ensuing meetings between De Cock Buning and Vogler with their former enemies demonstrate 'how wartime perceptions of the "other" have evolved into shared memory'.[65] But travelling to the other side of the world in search of a former campsite and old adversaries is a difficult, expensive, and time-consuming undertaking. Furthermore, for those wishing to pay further tribute to their deceased forebears, the ashes of the men who died in Kamioka are not kept at the Zuiganji temple. Recalling the pile of little wooden boxes stored in the Japanese commander's office at Kamioka POW Camp. On 20 October 1945, they were handed over to the American troops who had occupied Japan after its surrender on 15 August 1945. At this point, the ashes went different ways depending on the nationality of the deceased. The remains of two British soldiers, Walter Frederick Boulding and Charles James Brandon, can be traced to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission Cemetery at Yokohama.[66] The ashes of the Dutch and Indo-European soldiers who died in Kamioka were taken out of Japan by the Dutch military authorities and are now interred at the Jakarta Netherlands Field of Honour Menteng Pulo, in Indonesia. Finally, the families of the deceased Americans were given the choice of which country they wanted the remains of their loved ones to be buried, and eventually approximately 64% of all the remains recovered in the Pacific were repatriated.[67]

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https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/obituaries/sd-me-obit-vogler-20180607-story.html. Accessed 7 December 2023.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Alison Starr, 'Forever Alongside: War Cemeteries as Sites of Enemy Reconciliation', p. 3

[65]Ibid., p. 3.

[66]Commonwealth War Graves Commission https://www.cwgc.org/find-records/find-war-dead/. Accessed 23 July 2024. Use this page to search for Gunner Walter Frederik Boulding or Leading Aircraftman Charles James Brandon.

[67]National Cemetery Administration, 'America's World War II Burial Program', *US Department of Veteran's Affairs*, 2020, p. 15. https://www.cem.va.gov/publications/NCA_America_WWII_Burial_Program.pdf Accessed 7 December 2023.

Via the website of the Yokohama Cemetery, it is possible to access several documents relating to each man buried there. These include a virtual 'headstone', and typed reports dealing with 'grave registration' and 'concentration', which together reveal when the ashes were buried or reburied at Yokohama, and in which plot the urn is to be found. At the Jakarta Netherlands Field of Honour Menteng Pulo one can likewise trace individual men via the cemetery website, raising a virtual headstone with one click. Below the name of the deceased, there is a button labelled 'Leave a Flower', and another 'Plant Memorial Trees'. Aimed at memorialising the lost lives, honouring the individual men who died, and recording the movements of the ashes and their present location, these documents are of themselves *lieux de mémoire*. As we saw in the opening case study of POW Verstift, for many, these virtual sites of memory are a lot easier to access than the physical ones discussed earlier.

Final remarks

In this article, we have touched on many elements of what may be referred to as the 'Kamiokan Network of Remembering'. First of all, it encompasses physical sites of memory. These include the former campsite, the mine, the crematorium, and the Zuiganji temple with a cenotaph dedicated to the POWs who died at Kamioka. Equally, objects such as *The Book of the Names of the Dead*, as well as diaries and memoirs written by the POWs, are significant sites of memory. For descendants of POWs held in Kamioka during the Second World War, both the survivors and those who died during the war, it is no easy task to locate all the different elements of the network, as illustrated in the case study of POW Verstift. To start with, the journey to the memory sites in and around Kamioka, as well as the Yokohama cemetery, Menteng Pulo cemetery in Jakarta, and cemeteries around the world where the American war dead are buried is a long and arduous one. Secondly, piecing together and understanding the different parts requires English, Dutch, and Japanese language skills, access to public and private archives in several different countries, as well as considerable time and resources. This is where virtual sites of memory, such as the ones found via the websites of cemeteries, as well as those dedicated to individuals such as Verstift, are proving increasingly valuable to those seeking information about, and access to, memories of former POWs. Even if one is not able to make a physical journey or a reconciliation trip, these sites make it increasingly possible to uncover at least some parts of the network of remembering. In all cases, it is the interactions with the sites of memory, be they individual or collective, as part of a private reconciliation trip or a public ceremony, that form the lifeblood of the network. It is this constant engagement between memory sites and actors that brings the network to life. One may even say that, in its totality, the Kamiokan network of remembering consisting of places, objects, interactions and practices, in itself constitutes an oscillating and vibrant site of memory.

Placing the Kamiokan network of remembering in a wider context of memory creation from Japan during the Second World War as a case study is representative of the way that the similar experiences of other Far Eastern POW camps live on in the public realm. Diaries and personal papers of POWs held in many camps in the Far East can be found in public archives around the world. Memoires, films and books abound, and the increasing versatility of online memory sites bodes well for the preservation of digitalised memories. Yet the true potency of a network of remembering, and the prerequisites for longevity reside in the continuation of 'social and performative practices' such as commemorations and reconciliation trips.[68] As said, it is the shared experience in the public realm that ensures that memories live on and continue to evolve. The remoteness of Kamioka, and the fact that since the author's 2016 visit that only one other visit appears to have been made, is an indication of the challenges involved in sustaining such a network of remembering when it is around a small and relatively obscure POW Camp.[69] Unlike major sites worldwide the smaller ones and their networks require dedication, careful nurturing and constant attention, and that is something that cannot be taken for granted.

Acknowledgements
The author would like to thank Pamela Guldie, Fuyuko Nishisato and Taeko Sasamoto for their invaluable support in facilitating this research, and Daniel Milne, Mahon Murphy, Anoma Pieris and Beatrice Trefalt for the tireless work they put into organising and editing this cluster of articles. Many thanks also to Eveline Buchheim, who commented on an earlier version of this article. The author is, as always, eternally grateful to the families of the POWs for allowing access to the diaries of their loved ones.

[68]Geoffrey M. White and Eveline Buchheim, 'Traveling War', p. 5.
[69]Fuyuko Nishisato, 'Nagoya POW camp No. 1 branch (Kamioka)', p. 10.

The Prisoner of War and Civilian Internment Camp Encyclopedia

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ABSTRACT
Despite their being around 180 prisoner of war and civilian internment camps in Japan during the Second World War, little is known about them and few publications trace their history. This paper explains the Japanese-language Prisoner of War and Civilian Internment Camp Encyclopedia, a product of over two decades of research by the POW Research Network Japan. This was the first comprehensive Japanese language publication on these camps and was released in late 2023. This note describes its background, sources, and structure, and the authors' hopes that it will becomes a key source for researching and learning about Japan's history of internment.

Introduction

Approximately 130 Prisoner of War (POW) camps and 50 civilian internment camps were established in Japan during the Second World War. The POW Research Network began investigating these camps from its establishment in 2002. In December 2023, the association published the results of their research in Japanese as the *Prisoner of War and Civilian Internment Camp Encyclopedia: Japan edition*.[1] The main motivation for this publication is that In Japan, the existence of POW and civilian internment camps is largely unknown, and there have been few explanatory works.[2] Likewise,

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[1]POWRNJ Editors Committee, *Horyō shūyōjo, minkanjin yōryūsho jiten: Nihon kokunai-hen*, (Tokyo: Suirensha, 2023). We hope to publish this one day in English. Here we have referred to it using a provisional English title.

[2]Books on the topic in Japanese include: Komiya Mayumi, *Tekikokujin Yokuryū* 小宮まゆみ『敵国人抑留』(Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009); Sasamoto Taeko, *Rengōgun Horyo no Bohimei* 笹本妙子『連合軍捕虜の墓碑銘』 (Tokyo: Kusanone Shuppankai, 2004); Utsumi Aiko, *Nihon-gun No Horyo Seisaku* 内海愛子『日本軍の捕虜政策』 (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2005).

there are few comprehensive publications in English on this topic.[3] We anticipate that this encyclopaedia, the first publication to cover all camps in a comprehensive and detailed manner, will become an important resource for understanding this significant aspect of the war, and a vital resource for learning about and contemplating war and peace.

Background to the Encyclopedia

The POW Research Network Japan was established in March 2002. Those who gathered were individuals who, for one reason or another, became aware of the existence of Allied POWs and Civilian Internees and developed an interest in the subject. For example, the author's own curiosity about Japan's history of internment was sparked when she encountered the Yokohama Commonwealth War Graves Commission Cemetery in Hodogaya Ward, Yokohama City. The author wanted to know who the interred were, and where and how they had died. Another member's interest was kindled when learning that there had been a POW camp in the town in which they were born and raised. While researching war crimes trials, some members learned that many of the war criminals tried after the war had been camp staff and employees of companies that had used POWs as labour in the camps. This prompted their investigation into why they had been prosecuted. Additionally, while investigating the forced labour of Koreans and Chinese, some members realised that Allied POWs were also used as labour in the same workplaces, prompting them to pursue further research.

Our members of course had been taught about the Asia Pacific War, including the damage caused by air raids and atomic bombs. However, we had little to no knowledge of the fact that the Japanese military had taken 160,000 Allied soldiers as POWs in occupied territories, that 36,000 of them were brought to Japan, or that enemy civilians were interned. We had been completely unaware of the countless victims that this entailed. While we were aware of the war crimes committed by the Nazis, we

[3]Roger Mansell's website is perhaps the best of several relatively comprehensive online sites on the topic. Roger Mansell, 'Center for Research: Allied POWs Under the Japanese', http://www.mansell.com/. Accessed 18 October 2023. Former POW William, F Wannoy's *Prisoners of the Japanese in World War II: Statistical History, Personal Narratives and Memorials Concerning POWs in Camps and on Hellships, Civilian Internees, Asian Slave Laborers, and Others Captured in the Pacific Theater* (Jefferson: Macfarland, 1994) published under the penname Van Waterford is a pioneering work in English. More recent works include Anoma Pieris and Lynne Horiuchi, *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration Camps of the Pacific War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Sarah Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire: Inside Japanese POW Camps* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2020).

were taught nothing about the crimes and inhumane actions that had occurred in our own country.

Soon after defeat, Japan almost entirely incinerated the documents relating to POW camps and civilian internment camps. This was done in an attempt to evade prosecution in war crimes trials by destroying evidence. However, the Allied powers conducted thorough investigations and prosecuted numerous Japanese individuals in the post-war war crimes trials. This included not only the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, which tried war leaders like Hideki Tojo, but also Class B and C war crimes trials held across Asia, resulting in the indictment of 5,700 people. Of these, 17% were associated with POW camps. In the Yokohama Trials conducted within Japan, 528 of the 1,073 individuals prosecuted, and thirty-one of the fifty-one individuals executed – around 60% – were related to POW camps. This highlights how significantly the Allied powers prioritised the issue of POWs at the trials. Nevertheless, for Japan, this significant blemish in its history was kept under wraps and became a taboo topic that was never taught in schools. Unearthing this buried history has been our goal.

As we conducted our research, what struck us was the deeply rooted nature of the POW issue. It entangled not just those who lost their lives in the harsh conditions of internment, but also those who survived and returned to their homeland bearing deep emotional and physical scars, and harbouring anger and resentment towards Japan throughout the post-war years. Many of these scars have been passed down to their children and grandchildren. On the Japanese side, it has also left deep wounds. Japanese prosecuted for the mistreatment of POWs were part of a series of war crimes trials that have at times been criticised as simple instances of 'victor's justice.' Those convicted of crimes carried the stigma of being branded as war criminals and many had to navigate a difficult post-war path. In particular, the families of those executed lost their primary breadwinner and struggled to make ends meet. The issue of POWs may be just one facet of that monstrous war, but even now, nearly eighty years afterward, there are many who continue to suffer. As we witness the protracted conflict in Ukraine and unsettling developments around the world, we of the POW Research Network are determined to understand what transpired during the Second World War and to learn from it.

In 2016 and fourteen years after the establishment of the POW Research Network, we launched a project to compile records of the approximately 130 POW camps and 50 civilian internment sites nationwide, which would become the core of the Encyclopaedia. Over twenty members volunteered as contributors, and dedicated seven years to research, writing and editing.

Materials and Information Sources

Our first challenge was to gather evidence. Due to the fact that Japanese records concerning POW camps and civilian internment were largely destroyed at the end of the war, as mentioned earlier, Japanese source materials are extremely scarce. The little available was often difficult to obtain, and we had to rely heavily on records held in the US National Archives (NARA) and other overseas sources. One of our members regularly travelled to NARA to copy and build an extensive collection of documents. In addition, we also made extensive use of a portion of NARA records made available on microfilm at Japan's National Diet Library's Constitutional Government Reference Room. POW diaries and memoirs also served as crucial sources of information. Furthermore, we had the good fortune to be able to conduct interviews with former POWs and their families. These interviews were held during visits to Japan, or we travelled to the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Australia to listen to and record their accounts.

Among records publicly available in Japan, an important source is the *Record on the Handling of POWs*, which was compiled in 1955 by Japan's Prisoner of War Information Bureau. We also made the utmost use of the few documents that managed to escape destruction in Japan. A further source of valuable information has come from local archives and from historians in towns that housed POW and civilian internment camps, including testimonies from individuals who worked at the camps or lived in their vicinity. Although very few traces of the former camps remain, we made sure to visit and conduct surveys of the sites and their surroundings, and to listen to the accounts of those involved and of locals alive at the time.

Structure of the Encyclopaedia

The encyclopaedia we have published is divided into three sections. In Section 1, Professor Aiko Utsumi, a leading expert in POW studies and co-chair of the POW Research Network, discusses the general issues related to POWs in an introductory chapter entitled 'POWs: The "Struggle" Over Their Treatment.' The section also includes a chapter outlining the editorial guidelines for the book and an essay entitled 'Downed U.S. Aircraft and POW Aviators during Mainland Air Raids' by the late Tōru Fukubayashi, who passed away in 2017 while the project was still ongoing.

In Section 2, we give an overall explanation of POW and civilian internment camps, along with a map indicating their location (Figure 1), followed by three-to-seven-page length summaries of each camp. We cover Only 30 of the 50 civilian internment camps (Figure 2) in detail, as the remainder interned only a few inmates (1-2 people) and were operational for a very limited period.

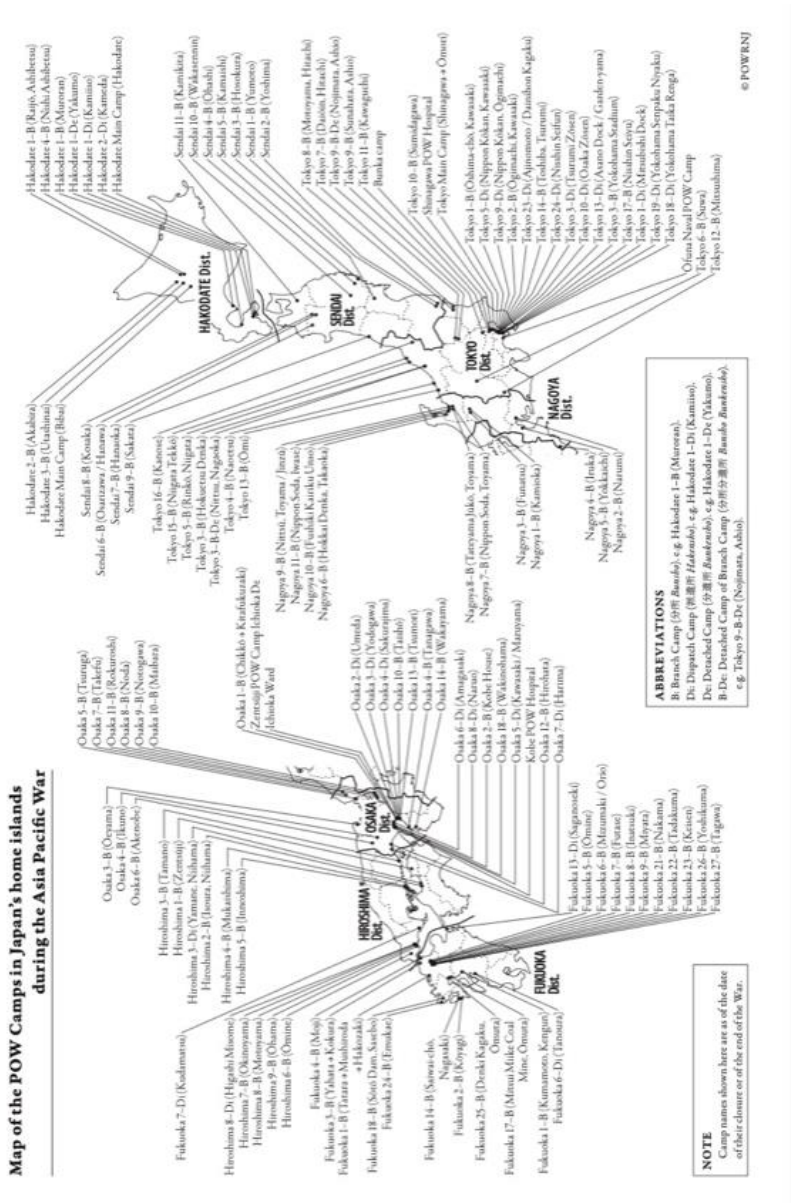

Figure 1: Locations of POW Camps in Japan.[4]

[4]Courtesy of the POW Research Network, Japan.

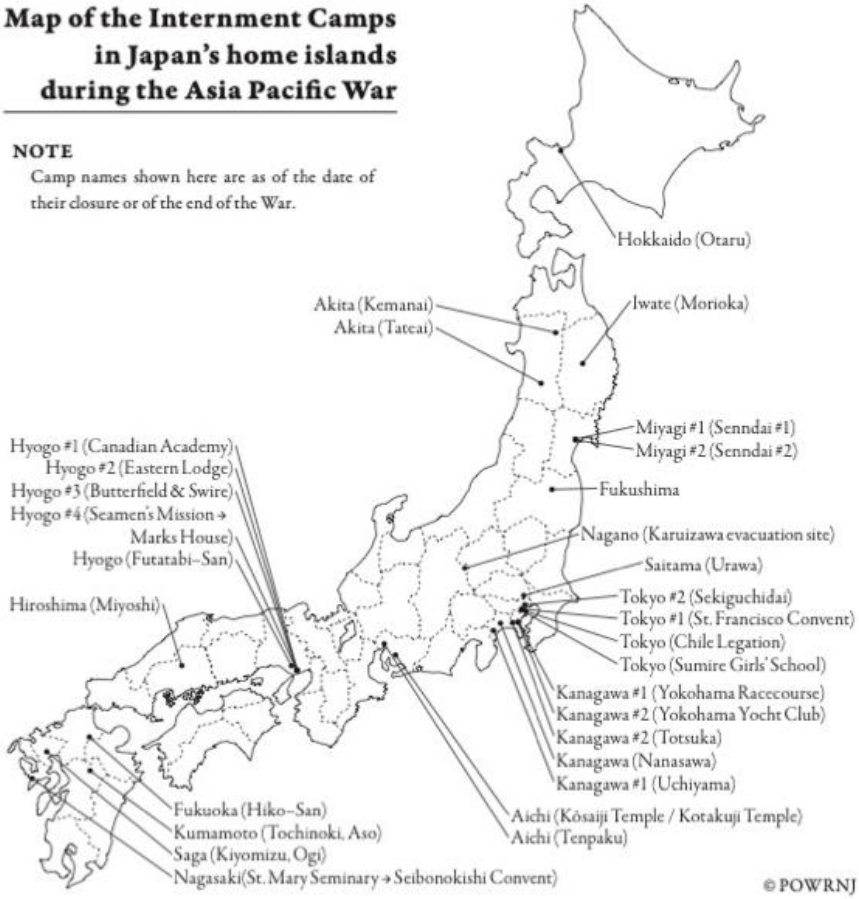

Figure 2: Locations of Internment Camps in Japan.[5]

Interestingly, as the war situation deteriorated, some foreign nationals residing in Japan who were not citizens of enemy countries were forcibly evacuated from major cities to rural towns like Karuizawa and Hakone. The book includes an article about one of these forced evacuations, specifically that to Karuizawa.

[5]Courtesy of the POW Research Network, Japan.

Articles on individual camps are generally structured as follows:

- Overview of the camp (location, companies who exploited labour, number of prisoners/internees at the end of the war or at the camp's closure, number of deaths while interned, and timeline).
- Lives of POWs and internees (composition of inmates, Japanese staff, living conditions, labour, meals, clothing, punishment and mistreatment, medical care and deaths, Red Cross relief, etc.).
- Conditions from the end of the war to repatriation.
- Japanese tried in war crimes tribunals.
- Post-war events (construction of memorials, visits by former POWs and their families, etc.).

When writing these articles, we endeavoured to describe the events as accurately and objectively as possible from both the perspective of the POWs and their Japanese captors. Furthermore, as the POW Research Network has been dedicated to fostering connections with former POWs and their families, all entries not only include information obtained through documentary research but also first-hand information gathered through these interactions.

Section 3 consists of a compilation of topics that could not be readily covered in detail in individual camp and internment articles in a series of columns. Among others, these include the Thai-Burma Railway; index cards; communications (letters, telegrams, radio); Red Cross parcels and their transportation; punishment of escaping POWs; airstrikes, atomic bombs, and naval bombardment; repatriation of POWs; Commonwealth War Graves Commission Cemeteries, memorials at former POW camp and internment sites; and the Japanese Government's response to POW issues.

The encyclopaedia concludes with an organisational chart depicting the administrative management of POWs, a compilation of relevant laws and regulations concerning POWs, an overview of POW transfers, a list of POW transport ships, and a bibliography and reference index.

Uses of the Encyclopaedia

Despite the fact that these POW and internment camps were scattered throughout the Japanese home islands, they are not part of the national memory of the war. Their existence ranged from as long as three and a half years to less than a month, but we hope this encyclopaedia can reach as many Japanese people as possible to educate them about what occurred within these camps, how much the captives suffered, and to fully integrate the camp and its memory as a part of their local history. Furthermore, we hope that it helps to create an understanding of the magnitude and depth of suffering caused and that it is used as a tool to contemplate war and peace. We especially hope that this book will be utilised in educational institutions, from

elementary schools to universities, to ensure that this history is conveyed to younger generations.

While this book is labelled an 'encyclopaedia,' it can also be seen as a work of historical research that captures a key chapter in the Second World War. We believe it will prove to be an essential resource for researchers studying POWs and war-related topics both inside and outside Japan.

Kevin Blackburn, *The Comfort Women of Singapore in History and Memory*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2022. 224 pp. ISBN: 978-9813251861 (paperback). £31.

Singapore-based historian Kevin Blackburn counts among a small group of anglophone scholars who have systematically expanded Second World War studies beyond the Eurocentrism of previous decades towards an Asian locus. While their entry point is typically via the experiences of the allied forces, the geo-cultural context encompasses Japanese imperialism, the Japanese occupation years, and experiences of civilians under Japanese rule. This draws attention to neglected colonised Asian populations and imperial subjects. A selection of books across Blackburn's prolific career serve to illustrate this shift. His work, co-authored with Karl Hack, *Did Singapore Have to Fall?* (Routledge, 2004) and *Forgotten Captives in Japanese Occupied Asia* (Routledge, 2008) position Singapore as the nexus of the fallen empire and draws attention to the experiences of capitulating allied troops taken prisoners of war. Again, with Karl Hack, *War Memory and the Making of Modern Malaysia and Singapore* (NUS Press, 2012) alerts us to the very different experiences of wartime occupation for Singapore's diverse ethnic communities viewed through the contested politics of national and communal memorialisation. *The Comfort Women of Singapore in History and Memory* (NUS Press, 2022) is the latest exemplary contribution to this lineage and its value has already been recognised, winning the 2023 Singapore Book Award for Non-Fiction.

Different from the typical empirical research of gendered civilian experiences of the conflict, and based on empirical data gleaned from various sources, the book is as much an in-depth account of these marginalised women's experiences as a critical interrogation of why their history was suppressed. The book is equally a brilliant exploration of Singapore's national self-construction through wartime histories and the range of resources, voices and positions that process involves. Blackburn's scholarly approach is conceptually, geopolitically grounded, providing situated analyses of the local reception and politicisation of memories. The book explores Singapore's comfort women's comparative silence regarding their sexual exploitation in the early 1990s – a time when there was widespread politicisation of this issue by women in other Asian societies.

The related international controversy and Singapore's reaction to it, analysed in Chapter 1, unravels several strands of the ensuing argument where patriarchal ideals of chastity, acceptance of military strategies for expending sexual energies, community rejection of returning comfort women after the war and national sentiment all combined to silence their stories. More specifically 'masculinist' recollections by prominent figures who failed to recognise these practices as enslavement set the tone. Blackburn notes in particular how former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's minimisation

of the involvement of Singaporeans hampered their disclosure by deflecting attention to other Asian women brought to Singapore. Indeed, as Blackburn demonstrates, masculinist representations have continually obscured this history in Singapore. Were the stations run by the military or by private operators? Were the women brought for this activity? Were they enslaved? Was their silence, for some of them, due to fear of social stigma and loss of hard-won social status? To what extent did the government's desire to keep Singapore out of the East Asian history wars aid their 'disappearance' from history? By aligning his critique with feminist interpretations of the Korean state's silencing of similar accounts, Blackburn gives shape and form to Japanese-occupied Singapore's military sex industry.

Building on extensive research including oral interviews conducted by Japanese and fellow Singaporean scholars, chapters 2-4 uncover a complex story of abduction and rape including gang rape of young women, deceptive recruitment, varied practices of procurement, and the different treatment of Japanese versus Chinese, Malay and Eurasian comfort women. They also uncover the enslavement and trafficking of other Asians – Koreans and Indonesians – into Singapore, including the notorious Comfort Corps and circulation of women from Singapore to stations elsewhere in Java, Malaya and Thailand. We are confronted with a linguistically and culturally diverse landscape of sexual exploitation. Multiple maps documenting the physical locations of known comfort stations in peninsular Malaya and Singapore substantiate their prevalence. The distribution of comfort stations, including elaborate *ryotei* modelled after geisha houses for the Japanese military hierarchy or the most basic facilities where ordinary soldiers lined up (sometimes 30-50 at a time) suggest a complex taxonomy. Diaries and oral accounts of sex workers, brothel-keepers, clients, and enslaved comfort women disclose the day-to-day operation of these establishments and the degree of agency (or not) of the women concerned. Many of these accounts convey a bleak picture of dehumanising and violent procedures imposed on enslaved young women, often drugged to withstand the pain. Knowledge of these activities and their locations defamiliarise many touristic sites of the contemporary city.

Chapters 5-6 examine factors that determined the choices former comfort women made after the war. Societal prejudices and patriarchal ideas of morality, internalised by the women, sometimes trapped them in sexual servitude. What were the institutional responses? In post-war Singapore, 'prostitution' was seen as a Japanese legacy, discussed at official levels with various proposals for segregating, restricting, and rehabilitating former comfort women. A new Girl's Training School at Pasir Panjang, established for reintegrating former sex workers met with varied degrees of success. Resuming the initial line of inquiry, Blackburn's discursive tactic of identifying and positioning his sources is amplified by exploring why Singapore's feminist movement and various ethnic-language-newspapers failed to bring these stories to light.

Chapter 7 explores popular mediums of disclosure such as tourism, theatre and television and the ways in which activism and interest from elsewhere in Asia produced a new awareness of local comfort women's stories. Recognition of Singapore's centrality to the history of comfort stations forced the government to engage with transnational controversies leading eventually to the acknowledgement and conservation of specific 'dark heritage' sites. The conclusion deftly situates the study in the broader Asia-wide debates on this subject, in the face of right-wing nationalist opposition to their exposition in Japan. It confirms Blackburn's demonstration (in his many publications) of Singapore's continual entanglement in broader historical processes and the impossibility of an insular and hegemonic national discourse.

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Terry Smyth, *Captive Fathers, Captive Children: Legacies of the War in the Far East*. London: Bloomsbury, 2022. 244pp. + xv. ISBN: 978-1350194298 (hardback). £82.08.

The once 'forgotten army' of British Far East Prisoners of War (FEPOWs) has received increasing attention from academics and journalists in recent years. Stories of their experiences of captivity have been represented in scholarly literature and documentary films, as well as memoirs, biopics, and other cultural artefacts. Their heroic sacrifices have been commemorated at the UK's National Memorial Arboretum, while their maltreatment at the hands of their captors is depicted at numerous sites scattered throughout the short-lived Japanese wartime empire. This 'memory boom' owes much to the work of ex-POW associations whose membership was initially drawn from the ranks of war veterans but now primarily comprise the children and family members of the FEPOWs.

The author of *Captive Fathers, Captive Children*, Terry Smyth, is the son of a FEPOW. As such, he is personally invested in the project which is self-evidently cathartic. His acute awareness of his own subjectivities and sensitive handling of the topic turns out to be its strength. The focus of his study is not so much the FEPOWs' experiences of captivity (the subject of a single chapter, Chapter 1) but their post-war lives and the effect that this had on their children and families, collectively known as the Community of Far East Prisoners of War or COFEPOW (to which he devotes six chapters).

The Introduction sets out Smyth's approach and methodology and thus provides the scaffolding for the structure of the book. His point of departure is that '[p]risoners of war were not the only captives to emerge from the Far East war: many of their children also became captives – of their fathers' trauma' (p. 5). Drawing on insights from psychoanalysis and social memory studies, Smyth employs a psychosocial approach to his subject. He investigates 'the lives of those children who were both observers of their fathers' struggles, and survivors of their legacy' (p. 6). He seeks to explain why their fathers' POW stories continued to exert a hold on the second generation and why so many became preoccupied with the subject (p. 12). Much of the oral testimony gathered to explore these questions was gleaned from open-ended interviews and communications with other FEPOW children. His reading of these transcripts in conjunction with reflections on his own experience, enabled Smyth to explore the alignment between motivational dispositions and the memory practices of the children of FEPOWs.

Chapter 2 discusses the demobilization and repatriation of ex-FEPOWs. Smyth notes that they largely complied with the injunction of the military authorities to remain silent about their horrific experiences as prisoners of the Japanese. As with soldiers in so many other theatres of war who returned home, there was inadequate provision for psychological support during their transition back into society (pp. 49-50). Smyth discusses the travails and traumatisation that complicated their re-adaptation to civilian life at some length. But he might have elaborated further upon their social stigmatisation and own absence of guilt, issues that are relegated to footnotes (Fn21 and Fn30 p. 200). This, arguably, is related to the fact that the ex-FEPOWs were part of the army in the Far East theatre of operations that ignominiously surrendered in Singapore or were defeated by the Japanese in other engagements. In the public mind, the ex-FEPOWs did not reveal the same indefatigable fighting spirit as, say, the pilots in the Battle of Britain or the civilian population that had withstood the Blitz. The ex-FEPOWs, rightly, felt 'let down by politicians and the Army' and understandably harboured resentment at having been betrayed. A discussion of the blame and shame game might have shed more light on the circumstances with which returning ex-FEPOWs had to contend in the immediate post-war years. Indeed, Smyth's life-course perspective (p 64) would have been enhanced by situating personal stories within the wider context of social and political changes in post-war Britain.

In Chapter 3, the author adroitly navigates the field of memory studies insofar as it relates to the study of war and, more specifically, unpacks those concepts that inform his study. One such concept is *postmemory*, a term originally coined by Marianne Hirsch to describe the intergenerational transmission of trauma from Holocaust survivors to

their children.[1] Smyth applies it to the children of FEPOWs in order to explain how the memory practices of the 'hinge generation' have evolved.[2] He alludes to the role of films and artworks in transmitting traumatic memories and references a number that have been influential in shaping the affiliative postmemories of the COFEPOW community (p. 78). Surprisingly, he fails to engage with the way in which literature may have impacted upon the imaginations and memories of the COFEPOW. With the passing of the FEPOWs, Smyth and many others of the hinge generation have become memory activists. They occasionally have face-to-face encounters, or form touring parties that visit FEPOW sites, but most of their interaction occurs online. In effect, they constitute a virtual mnemonic community whose members host a string of websites, some of which showcase the labours of their research while others serve as personal memorial websites.

Smyth offers an insightful analysis of the home as a site of remembrance in Chapter 5. He argues that '[m]aterial objects in themselves have no intrinsic meaning' but may assume 'attributed meanings mediated by the memories and experiences of the individuals concerned' (p. 118). Such objects include photographs and other keepsakes from wartime possessions that belonged to FEPOW fathers. In some cases, these items may be secreted away but in other instances they may be given pride of place in the home and assume the attributes of a shrine. This discussion of domestic memorialization offers a valuable corrective to the emphasis accorded public rituals of commemoration and memorialization by memory studies scholars.

All in all, this is a captivating (pun intended) book with moving testimonies and compelling arguments.

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[1]Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).
[2]Eva Hoffmann, *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

Sarah Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire: Inside Japanese POW Camps*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020. 328 pp. ISBN 978-0674737617 (hardcover). Price £28.95.

Prisoners of the Empire is an important critical analysis of Japan's treatment of Allied prisoners of war during the Second World War. It challenges the representation of the cruel and barbarous Japanese captor by exploring the diverse causes of POW suffering and high death rates, and positions their treatment within the wider historical context of Japan's engagement with international discourses and institutions for the protection of POWs. It makes a strong argument that Japan's mistreatment of Allied POWs should be seen not as unique and isolated but as a comparative case study through which to consider the mistreatment of enemy captives and international agreements.

The book pivots around the four case studies of Singapore, the Philippines, Korea, and Fukuoka (Japan), to give an overview of the treatment of prisoners across the empire. Kovner highlights how this varied depending on the camp's location, commander and personnel, and stage in the war. This is contextualised within Japan's efforts to establish its Pan-Asian empire, often by replacing western colonialism, persecuting communists, and exploiting Asian labour. It complicates the dominant narrative of Japan's captives as white POWs suffering at the hands of Japanese guards by highlighting alternative stories of POWs. These include those who changed sides and joined the Indian National Army; Japan's massacre of thousands of captured Chinese in Singapore and the Philippines; the widespread use of Korean and Taiwanese as camp guards; racist and colonialist attitudes prevalent among many white POWs; and the mass exploitation of Asians who laboured in perilous conditions alongside POWs. Kovner then extends her analysis to the post-war, pointing out that the Allies likewise exploited surrendered Japanese to establish their control over Japan's (and in many cases, their own) former colonies.

Through her case studies, Kovner explores multiple reasons why POWs were mistreated. These included the lack of powerful central bodies of oversight, the military's culture of unofficial punishment, the low status and power of camp commanders, the quality of camp guards – many of whom had little training and were employed by private companies, language barriers, food shortages and other deprivations that affected POWs, Japanese, and colonial subjects alike, and hatred directed toward POWs following the Allied bombing of Japanese cities.

For Kovner, the central factors behind POW abuse and fatalities, however, were poor planning, the Japanese military's indifference to prisoners, and decisions by the Allied leadership. Japan did not foresee and prepare for the surrender of more than 100,000

soldiers in Singapore, nor for prolonged fighting in the Philippines, and only began to care about prisoners from 1942, when military authorities decided to use POWs to fill labour shortages. This policy led to the exploitation of Allied POWs in dangerous mines and other infrastructure projects, to which they were transported, along with Japanese military goods and personnel, on overcrowded 'hell ships.' Despite knowing the ships might hold POWs, the Allies sunk many of them, ships, making them accomplices in the deaths of thousands. Moreover, Kovner makes a convincing argument that one reason the Allies only began to aggressively accuse Japan of POW maltreatment from 1944 was that they wished to utilise this news to help excuse their future bombing of Japanese cities. Lastly, Kovner argues that 'show' camps in Korea, which had relatively low fatality rates, demonstrate that POW treatment could be relatively good when camps were well planned and run by a commander with political power. Though not one of Kovner's strongest arguments – good POW treatment was part of the camps' propaganda purpose – it does suggest what could have been if all camps had been better planned and managed and the military leadership's concern for POWs went beyond propaganda.

The book then shifts to the post-war period, and describes the fate of prison commanders and personnel prosecuted for war crimes. Kovner demonstrates that punishment was often inconsistent and sometimes politically motivated or legally questionable, and that as Cold War geopolitics came to the fore, war criminals were given clemency. Within this context, Japan's treatment of POWs was eventually framed as one of cultural difference; using the often-cited example that unlike the West, surrender was shameful for the Japanese. However, by tracing the pre-war shifts in Japan's perception of POWs and surrender, the book makes it clear that this culturalist interpretation was misleading and served to absolve people of responsibility. In the last chapter, Kovner returns to Japan's role in international agreements on the treatment of POWs, to explore how Japan's treatment of POWs was central to debates and decisions for the 1949 Geneva Conventions. While these were an important step in legal guidelines, the continuing internment of Japanese soldiers in Russia demonstrated the weakness of the Red Cross and international treaties.

Prisoners of the Empire is thus an important study of Japan's treatment of POWs and of the importance and limitations of international frameworks protecting POWs. It draws on an impressive range of primary sources, including many in Japanese, though is nonetheless accessibly written for a general audience. Beyond those interested in the modern history of Asia, Japan, and its international relations, it will appeal to those in military, war, and legal history, as well as in colonial and gender studies.

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Robert Cribb, Christina Twomey, and Sandra Wilson (eds), *Detention Camps in Asia: The Conditions of Confinement in Modern Asian History*. Leiden: Brill, Social Sciences in Asia Series; v. 41, 2022, xii + 326 pp. 15 maps. ISBN: 978-9004471726 (hardback) ISBN: 978-9004512573 (E-book). Price £39.00

This book, edited by three prominent historians of war and conflict in Indonesia, Australia and Japan respectively, makes an excellent contribution to the history of imprisonment of soldiers and civilians during periods of conflict. The geographical focus is broad, taking in a range of nations across Southeast and Northeast Asia, with papers analysing a variety of detention camps from the start of the twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first. The chapters in this book tackle detention in conflict writ large: camps are considered as features of international conflicts (the Philippine-American War, the Asia Pacific War, the Korean War, the Malayan emergency, the Indonesian Occupation of Timor, the Vietnam War and the refugee crisis it engendered), but also as features of domestic conflicts and ideological clashes (the detention of Indonesian communists, Burmese political dissidents, Uyghur minorities). The collection as a whole makes clear that detention is not just about race or ethnicity; not just about politics and ideology; not just about punishment, or re-education, and not even about the use of labour: detention camps in Asia, in all their forms, aimed to segregate one group, within shadowy legal definitions, as a means to assert and manage control over the population as a whole. The chapters are arranged under four themes that allow for a variety of scholarly concerns and approaches to the topic: 'counterinsurgency', 'isolating public enemies', 'torture and re-education' and a last section that deals with 'managing the camps.' All sections present fascinating research on the many shapes of imprisonment and segregation, on their purposes, and on the convoluted justifications for their (mostly) extra-legal existence, if the camps were acknowledged to exist at all.

The last section in this book includes three chapters on the management of Allied prisoners of war by Japan during the Second World War, which is particularly pertinent to the topics addressed in this special issue. The inclusion of chapters on Japanese prisoner of war (POW) camps in a collection such as this is perhaps unexpected. After all, the segregation of captured soldiers away from the battlefield during a global war bears little resemblance to, for example, the detention and torture of Communists in Indonesia in 1965-66 (chapter 7) or the re-education camps for Muslim ethnic minorities in Xinjiang (chapter 10). But the inclusion of chapters on Allied POWs is important for two key reasons. First, it allows us to place these wartime camps in a comparative perspective. Just like camps for political dissidents in Burma (chapter 4) or for suspected sympathisers of Timorese resistance fighters

(chapter 6), Allied POW camps were shaped by the need to control not only the inmates, but also the population outside the wire: domestic unrest over extreme war shortages was worsened by the perception that POWs were better fed or clothed than the Japanese population (chapter 11 and 13). The conditions of detention of individual Allied POW camps were thus shaped in large part by local circumstances, as were the conditions of detention in other countries at different times. This insight is familiar to Japanese studies scholars of the Second World War, but it rubs against a widely accepted (and yet entirely mistaken) assumption that conditions in Japanese camps were universally atrocious because of Japanese government policy, rather than because of contingencies and bad planning. Placing these chapters against these widespread assumptions makes a powerful point, as does the comparison with other detention camps in different times and places. Furthermore, placing the brutality in wartime Japanese camps against that in US camps for Communist prisoners in the Korean War (chapter 14), or Indonesian camps for Vietnamese refugees (chapter 15), reminds us that the administrators of Japanese wartime camps operated, like many other camp administrators, in largely unregulated spaces and with shifting responsibilities. In this sense, the inclusion of Japanese wartime POW camps in a broader book about detention camps across Asia undermines the tendency to treat them as a coherent system, contingent only on wartime Japanese government policy.
In short, this edited collection is highly recommended reading, providing innovative research in Asian studies and conflict studies on the many ways in which people are removed from zones of conflict, under what conditions, and with what justifications. For those interested in wartime history and the history of POW camps, the opportunity to consider the Allied POW camps in this broader perspective will be perhaps challenging, but this opportunity must be taken seriously if we are to understand the POW experience in its full complexity. The ability to produce a coherent collection from such a wide variety of topics is particularly praiseworthy, as is the faultless editing and presentation of these research chapters.

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Anoma Pieris and Lynne Horiuchi, *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration of the Pacific War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. xxii + 374pp. ISBN 978-1316519189 (hardback). Price £90.00.

Anoma Pieris and Lynne Horiuchi's analysis of prisoner of war and civilian internee camps presents us with a fresh insight into the history of the Pacific War. The book uses the history of internment in the Pacific to highlight how social and cultural history impacts on military history and vice versa. The authors engage with the topic from a background in architecture and adding this expertise to the discussion on camp structures during the war and the construction of memorial sites and architectural continuities makes it an important contribution to Second World War Studies.

The book focuses on three main case studies to investigate the experience of internment in the Pacific: Oceania, the Japanese Empire, and North America. As the authors point out, studies of internment during the Second World War are neglected, at least in comparison to those on the Second World War in Europe. While single nation/empire studies have increased, such as Sarah Kovner's recent expert treatment of internment within the Japanese Empire, this book's advantage is its comparative framework. By taking a broad view of internment in the Pacific the authors highlight the tensions between imperialism and its colonial and subject populations, and the movement of prisoners and refugees between far-flung geographies. The comparative approach is particularly helpful in order to gain an understanding of the differing physical makeup of each camp environment in the various national sites explored. While comparison is the focus, each camp, or region is given ample space for analysis with three chapters dedicated to Australia and New Zealand, and two on Japan's south-east Asian camp network around Singapore. It then moves in to look at the internment of people of Japanese ancestry in North America.

The comparative approach to the study of internment in the Pacific War is illuminating from three aspects. Firstly, the book highlights the spatial legacies of camps (or carceral environments) used to house displaced populations across the Pacific Basin. From this legacy, similar forms of civic deprivation were reproduced and the authors make a clear connection to current refugee camps in the Pacific. Secondly, although camps were temporary holding facilities for transients, they began to resemble urban settlements, impacting not only the camp inmates but also neighbouring local communities and their resources in a myriad of ways. Thirdly, as with any urban community, incarcerated populations adapted their environments in order to salvage some measure of their undermined civility. Here we see miliary and social, cultural history interacting, the human reaction to and resilience to the dehumanizing

pressures of a militarised physical environment gave a range of cultural capacities material form.
As well as geographical location, the authors map out the architectural history of their selected camps in four temporal periods. The first period covers the initial site selection, preparation, the provision of infrastructure and the labour involved in setting up camps. From this perspective, the reader can understand the vast variety of camp systems from the conversion of existing structures into concentration camps or new purpose made constructions. The second operative phase then is the arrival of the prisoners and their involvement in evolving the camps into living spaces. Prisoners developed spaces for recreation, education, and religion within the bounds of the camps. Here the book pays particular attention to the creation of gardens by Japanese internees in the USA. The third period, the repurposing that follows the decommissioning of camps, such as into military facilities, is dealt with briefly.

More important for the book's overall narrative is the final, fourth period. The authors' analyse the use of camps as commemorative spaces either officially through the interment of the war dead or unofficial channels such as the activities of former prisoners and their descendants. The camp at Cowra, Australia, being the standout example here. Beyond commemoration, the book also delves into how the spatial technology of camps have been redeployed in the present as places for the detention of asylum seekers and refugees.

The Second World War shifted large populations across the globe and between settler environments. Civilians were evacuated, refugee crises were created, and enemy nationals transported into hostile home-fronts, aggravating tensions around sovereign rights related to securing national borders. Indeed, as this book shows, Second World War camps in the Pacific area provide us with useful case studies, or prehistories, of the current border-camp phenomenon.

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SUBMISSION GUIDELINES (July 2021)

General

The British Journal of Military History (the BJMH or Journal) welcomes the submission of articles and research notes on military history in the broadest sense, and without restriction as to period or region. The BJMH particularly welcomes papers on subjects that might not ordinarily receive much attention but which clearly show the topic has been properly researched.

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BJMH STYLE GUIDE (July 2021)

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- The UK National Archives (TNA), CAB 19/33, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Sclater, evidence to Dardanelles Commission, 1917.
- Shilpa Ganatra, 'How Derry Girls Became an Instant Sitcom Classic', *The Guardian*, 13 February 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2018/feb/13/derry-girls-instant-sitcom-classic-schoolgirls-northern-ireland Accessed 20 April 2019.

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