

Stigmatization of Minorities in Times of Crisis

Governmental Action and Rhetoric in the Stigmatization of Minorities in WWI, WWII and the War on Terror

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Table of Contents

Introduction.....	5
Chapter 1- The Laws of Crisis.....	11
World War I.....	12
World War II.....	15
War on Terror.....	20
Chapter 2 – The Justifiable Response.....	27
World War I.....	28
World War II.....	31
War on Terror.....	36
Chapter 3 – Policy Has Consequences: the Mobilization of Media and Public	41
World War I.....	42
World War II.....	49
War on Terror.....	54
Conclusion.....	61
Bibliography.....	66
Appendix A.....	76

Introduction

“A Jap’s Jap...it makes no difference whether he is an American citizen; ...he is still a Japanese, and you can’t change him by giving him a piece of paper.”

- General John L. DeWitt¹

“Once lead this people into war, and they’ll forget there was ever such a thing as tolerance. To fight you must be brutal and ruthless, and the spirit of ruthless brutality will enter into the very fiber of our national life, infecting Congress, the courts, the police man on the beat, the man on the street.”

- Woodrow Wilson²

In 2004 the U.S. National Park Service announced the opening of an exhibition at Manzanar, one of the ten permanent internment camps for Japanese Americans during World War II, that was meant to “provoke...dialogue on civil rights, democracy and freedom” (Song and Wittenburg par.2) The collection displayed photographs of the aftermath of the attack on Pearl Harbor next to pictures of the ruins of the New York Twin Towers after the 9/11 attacks. It thereby juxtaposed the two events and asked “visitors to consider whether circumstances following the attack on Pearl Harbor justified the internment of tens of thousands of Japanese Americans and invites reflection on similarities and differences in America 's responses to 9/11” (Ogilvie par.10).

The exhibition raised an interesting and complex discussion about race, religion and discrimination. Moreover, it begs the question whether the U.S. government’s reaction to the crisis of WWII indeed bares resemblance to how the Bush administration approached the crisis after 9/11. On the hand there are striking resemblances. The Japanese offensive on the U.S

¹ Fuchs, Lawrence H. *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, ethnicity, and the Civic Culture*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 1990. p.227

² Brinkley, Alan. “A Familiar Story: Lessons from Past Assaults on Freedoms.” *The War on Our Freedoms: Civil Liberties in an Age of Terrorism*. Cambridge, MA: The Century Foundation, 2003. p.29-30.

Pacific fleet led the Roosevelt administration to single out Japanese Americans and place them in the role of enemy of the State. Similarly, after the attacks on the Twin Towers the construction of the identity of the Arab- and Muslim-American minority was altered to mean “Islamic fundamentalism” and “racializ[ing] Muslims in a neo-racist idiom” through governmental action (Naber 2). In other words, the Arab- and Muslim-American minority group became to be viewed as the “Muslim Other” (Naber 2).

Furthermore, the exhibition raises the question to what extent the othering of Muslim and Arab Americans parallels the way the US has treated minorities in times of crisis in the past. After all, in WWII as well as WWI, enemy aliens were persecuted based on their nationalities or ethnicity, and detained in internment camps, similar to the prisoners detained at the Guantánamo Bay facility in Cuba. As the Park Service suggests, the way Muslims in the War on Terror were persecuted shows similarities with the stigmatization of Japanese. Legislation passed in World War II resembles the Patriot Act in terms of stigmatization and persecution of specific groups, but also shows a clear link to laws instated during WWI that targeted German Americans. The rhetoric of the respective presidents at the time further underlined the stigmatization of enemy aliens, questioning their loyalty and mobilizing the public.

On the other hand there are discernible differences. For example, the War on Terror demanded a completely different approach to combat the threat of terrorists while the Bush administration did not have a clear enemy like the Japanese and Germans the United States fought during WWI and WWII. Thus, each crisis must be seen in its historic context and a juxtaposition of crisis should show an awareness of the difference in time between the historical events. The racialization of Muslim Americans, for example, should be seen in light of a multiculturalist society, while the prosecution of Japanese, Italian and German Americans took place after an official declaration of war. Each event is unique in this sense.

This thesis will examine the role of government action and rhetoric in the stigmatization of minorities in times of crisis by juxtaposing three cases studies; World War I, World War II and the War on Terror. This study will argue that the government played an active role in the othering of vulnerable minorities in American society through legislation, rhetoric and the effect this had on the public and popular media and that stigmatization was used as a tool to combat the internal threat these minorities posed.

Academic Discussion

The stigmatization of minorities in times of crisis is not a novel topic. A perusal of the academic literature suggests that many historians perceive a strong link between the way the government dealt with Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor, and the way they dealt with Muslims following 9/11. Reissman even called September 11 attacks “the new Pearl Harbor” (*Generation 9/11*). John Dower has argued in *Cultures of War* that the government’s approach to the crisis during WWI was similar to the War on Terror. Indeed, many scholars point to the similarities between the racialized legislation during WWII and the War on Terror. In *Homeland Insecurity*, Louise Cainkar compares the intrusive nature of the Patriot Act to the laws of WWII and also argues that the civil rights of both the Arab and Japanese communities were under attack. *Enemy Images in American History* compares negative cultural images of German, Italian and Japanese Americans in WWI and WWII that were created, or intensified by a crisis and the consequent governmental actions (Fiebig-Von Hase and Emkuhl). Similarly, *Reframing 9/11* describes racialization through the construction of negative stereotypes in society through government policy (Birkenstein, Froula and Randell). However, there is a lack research that compares the stigmatization of German Americans in WWI to the stigmatization of minorities during WWII as well as 9/11.

On the other hand there are also historians who deny such links between crises even exist. Comparing the stigmatization during WWII and 9/11 remains controversial, as conservatives have argued that “there is a big difference between asking Arab male airline passengers some extra security questions and forcing American citizens behind barbed wire in the high desert for three years” (Muller par. 1). A controversial book by Michelle Malkin, a conservative political commentator, denies the link between the Japanese internment camps in WWII and Guántanamo Bay. She argues that the comparison between Japanese American interment and the racialization of Arab and Muslim Americans is too hastily made and but says that racial profiling is justified in times of crisis (*In Defense of Internment*). Thomas Sowell agrees, emphasizing that “‘relocation’ is a more accurate term than ‘interment,’” for the detainment of Japanese Americans in WWII and that there was no mass internment of Arab Americans during the War on Terror (*Ever Wonder Why*). Malkin’s uninformed defense of U.S. government’s approach to the crisis after 9/11 emphasizes the need for further exploration. It cannot be argued, for example, that the

discrimination of minorities was different because Arab Americans were guilty. Innocent American citizens were victimized in similar fashion to the German, Italian and Japanese Americans in the past.

This thesis aims to place itself within this academic discussion by addressing two specific gaps through a comparative perspective. Firstly, it will include an analysis of the stigmatization during the First World War, which is often ignored in comparative analyses of WWII and the War on Terror. The inclusion of WWI is an important addition to the discussion because, as Alan Brinkley has argued, WWI was a “turning point... which created some of the most egregious violations of civil liberties our history” (26). This paper will therefore examine whether the Wilson administration used similar actions and rhetoric to stigmatize minorities as the Roosevelt and Bush administrations. Secondly, this paper will address the argument within the academic discussion whether there are indeed similarities, and/or differences, between the three case studies. As Alan Brinkley has argued, the government has “to frame a reasoned response to the dangers [America faces],” rather than give in to racial profiling and the consequent attack on the civil liberties of American minorities (46). If the approach did not change than the repetition of stigmatization should be evident. The outcome of this thesis will aid in our understanding of the way the U.S. government has reacted in the aftermath of national security threats, the role of other American citizens, and the use of racialization as a tool in crisis situations.

Methodology

The point of departure of the examination of stigmatization of minorities during times of crisis is Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism, which states that the foreigner is identified as the Other through, for example, cultural images (*Orientalism*). Said’s theory is most applicable to Arab Americans, as the original theory focused on the Arab world. It can also be used to examine the othering of Japanese Americans, who originated from the Orient, and were persecuted based on their race. The cultural images of minority groups as the Other set the stage for the process of stigmatization and racialization, in which the crisis “[acts] as a catalyst for more vociferous engagement with” the minority (Upstone 39). The term othering in this thesis refers to a process in which the minority is identified as the Other and distanced from the dominant (white) group either through their race, ethnicity or nationality.

Similar to Orientalism racialization identifies the Other by race. The term as introduced by Andrew Shyrock in *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11*, uses cultural images to distinguish, and aptly describe, the targeting of Japanese and Arab and Muslim Americans. In racialization minorities are given “an identity,” which “supposedly [has] ‘innate’ qualities of the human body; in turn these essentialized tributes can be used to justify ... policies of discrimination” (Shyrock 82). Racialization theory thus only applies to Japanese and Arab Americans who were distinguished from other Americans based on their race, rather than just ethnicity. In principal, however, Said’s theory of Orientalism and racialization encompass only the othering of minorities based on their race. Therefore, the discussion of German Americans in WWI and WWII and Italian Americans in WWII, who were considered white, requires a turn to more inclusive social theories.

The Stigma theory builds on Said’s concept of the Other, but refrains from identifying the minority by race. “Stigmatization,” according to Charles Lawrence, “is the process by which the dominant group in society differentiates itself from others by setting them apart, treating them as less than fully human, denying them acceptance by the organized community, and excluding them from in that community as equals” (244). The theory is very broad and is useful in describing the prosecution of German and Italian Americans based on their nationality as well as Japanese and Arab and Muslim Americans. The term stigmatization is used interchangeably with othering. The discussion of stigmatization is closely linked to nativism. Nativism is a “policy” that is made, or an “attitude” that is held by, the “native-born or existing inhabitants” of country and which is directed towards “immigrants” or minorities (Oxford Dictionary). The term is useful when considering the response of the government and native-born American citizens, and the negative cultural images it creates of minorities, and connects stigmatization of minorities to government action and rhetoric.

Legislation, Justification, the Public and the Media

Prosecution by law was the main element in the governments’ approach to the internal threat that minorities posed to national security. The first chapter of this thesis discusses to what extent the rhetoric and execution of legislation stigmatized minority groups based on their race, nationality and or religion during a crises. The crises prompted new legislation that singled out minorities because of their affiliation with a certain religion such as Islam or their relation with an enemy

nation like Japan, Italy or Germany. The chapter will compare important pieces of legislation, such as the Enemy Alien Act, Executive Order 9066 and the Patriot Act and will examine how their wording and execution targeted specific minorities.

The process of stigmatization, however, needed to be justified and explained to the public. The second chapter therefore focuses on the arguments used by the respective administrations to justify their response in the aftermath of a crisis. The rhetoric of Wilson, Roosevelt, Bush and other major political figures was essential for their justification. The potential culpability of entire minorities and the threat they posed to national security helped the government 'sell' their politics to the public. The chapter will be built around the Presidential rhetoric and will be supported by secondary literature to outline the arguments the administrations used to justify stigmatizing government policy.

The final chapter examines the relationship between governmental action and public opinion. How was public opinion influenced and what responses did the stigmatization elicit from the public as well as popular culture, such as newspapers and film? The comparison of the three case studies will also touch on the subject of how the stigmatization was experienced by German and Italian American during WWI and WWII, Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor and Muslim and Arab Americans after 9/11 at the hands of the Wilson, Roosevelt and Bush administration and the general public.

Chapter 1 – The Laws of Crisis

“Civil liberties, human rights, constitutional checks-and-balances, habeas corpus, the rule of law itself—all were undermined, both openly and covertly, by a government panicked by the specter of future attacks.”

- John W. Dower, *Cultures of War*

When authorities discovered that the terrorists responsible for 9/11 were Arab Muslims it altered the way this American minority was viewed by the nation as well as by the government. The Arab and Muslim community experienced “feeling unsafe and insecure” in the aftermath of the attacks because of “their treatment by the American government” (Cainkar, “Thinking” 1). Indeed, the federal government’s response to 9/11 resulted in laws and policies that appeared to specifically target the Muslim community, which in its entirety was assigned blame for the national tragedy and thus assumed a “collective culpability” based on its members’ religion and national origins (Roach 106).

This process of stigmatization spurred academics to look to the past for similar governmental responses to crises or wartime scenarios. The “irrationality” of prosecuting certain minorities based on their ethnicity, nationality or religion, according to John W. Dower, can be observed in the First World War as well as World War II (19). Certain policies enacted in the First World War were directed against the Germans the United States was fighting at the time. For example, while in WWII the U.S. battled against Germany, Italy and Japan, radical measures were taken against citizens and immigrants from those respective countries residing in the United States. While the wording of these laws was often vague and refrained from referring directly to specific racial groups, the execution of federal policies often served to stigmatize perceived enemy groups, undercutting the official language. This chapter will compare the legislation, legal Acts as well as Proclamations, passed during each of the three wars and draw conclusions from their similarities and differences. Furthermore, the chapter will examine how these laws created racial profiling, either through rhetoric or execution. The question that will guide this chapter is

to what extent the laws that were passed in response to a crisis to national security targeted minorities through their wording or execution.

The First World War

When the United States entered into war with Germany in 1917 the fear of potential German covert operations on American soil was already present. Since 1914 the German as well as Austrian embassies had organized “repeated acts of intrigue against America” (MacDonnell 11). There were reports of spying, attacks on strategic buildings and bridges, and of attempts to destabilize industrial processes that were crucial to American and, later on, essential to the war effort (MacDonnell 12). German spies infiltrated, or attempted to infiltrate, American facilities intending to sabotage shipments bound for the front. America functioned as the “auxiliary arsenal” for Europe by 1914 and thus formed a critical target for Germany (Child, *German American Attempts* 351). The American government found grounds, to a certain extent, to suspect Americans of German heritage of disloyalty. The fear of an attack on American soil “led the Wilson administration to press for new protective legislation” (MacDonnell 25). Consequently, a number of new laws were implemented to put a hold to the internal threat.

Legal Acts

The first significant piece of legislation passed in Congress that directly affected the German-American community was the Espionage Act of 1917, only weeks after president Wilson officially declared war on Germany. The act was intended to prevent sensitive information from getting into the hands of German spies. To that end, less evidence was needed to detain a person of interest who may have passed on or “publish[ed] classified information” that could hamper the American war effort (Barak 238). The act had many practical implications, such as heavy control of incoming and outgoing ships for enemy stowaways and illegal goods. Additionally, the law increased the power of the President, allowing Wilson to coordinate and search all naval traffic, including neutral ships (Encyclopedia Americana 504). Arrests made under the Espionage Act were increased towards the end of the war and any offense could land a person in jail for twenty-five years (Higham 210). The Supreme Court eventually tried to curb the government’s power and

requested that it provide sufficient evidence of espionage in order to justify a conviction (Venzon and Miles 219).

In October of that same year the federal government amended the Espionage Act by reinstating the Alien Enemy Act. Originally drawn up in 1789, the law allowed the U.S President to “apprehend, restrain, secure and remove” any person whose native country the United States was at war with at that time (Elsea and Grimmett 29). The act demarcated the premises, belonging to or being a descendant of the enemy nation, under which German Americans were prosecuted. Thus, the law lay out the foundation for the unhindered stigmatization of a minority based on their nationality. Consequently, the German-American minority experienced “a broad suspension of [their] individual liberty” (Heebels 16). President Wilson quickly implemented the Act to its fullest extent, making it illegal for alien enemies to own any “firearms and explosives” and preventing them from coming into close proximity of any “military facility or munitions factory” (Elsea and Grimmit 29).

In 1918 Congress went further and passed the Sedition Act which prohibited a multitude of actions that were considered unpatriotic. Anti-American rhetoric, published or otherwise, and any defamation of “the American flag, the uniform of the army or the navy, or the Constitution of the United States” became punishable by law (MacDonnell 25). Furthermore, all “foreign-language newspapers and publications” that were to be distributed in the U.S. were obligated to provide the government with a translated version (Venzon and Miles 115). While the wording of the acts did not refer specifically to German Americans, the assumed disloyalty of this minority implied that they were targeted by these laws (Ellis 190).

The number of agents working for the Federal Bureau of Investigation increased exponentially during the War. A large part of the FBI workforce was devoted to tracking anti-American suspects (Gerstle 92). The public was also instructed to be watchful of their fellow citizens and report any suspicious activity. Pressure increased in 1917 when several states, including “Ohio, Iowa and Nebraska,” attacked German culture by enforcing laws that banned the use of German language in the press (Tucker 472). The state laws extended to “spoken German ‘in all schools, church services, conversations in public spaces or over the telephone’” (Oh 129). Here the wording of the legislation was more explicit, referring only to the German language and thereby targeting German culture as well. Together with the Espionage Act, the

Sedition Act was responsible for “thousands of arrests and more than 1,500 trials and sentences” (Michaels 22).

Internment

The most controversial and perhaps the least known attack on the civil liberties of the German minority during the war is the interment of German Americans. The increased “summary powers” of the President, gained under the Sedition Act, allowed the Justice Department to put “a great number of German aliens into internment camps,” and thereby violated their civil liberties (Higham 210). The interment process started in May 1917 with the capture of “1,356 German naval personnel and 1800 German merchant crewman” (Doyle 165). Enemy Alien camps sprung up all over the United States, in states such as Georgia and North Carolina, housing not only enemy POW’s but also German Americans accused of war crimes under the Espionage, Alien Enemy and Seditious Acts. By the end of the war over 6,300 Germans had been arrested, of whom 2300 German Americans were interned (Higham 210). Some were “released, and the rest paroled” (Ellis 195). Curiously, however, most of the individuals interned in these camps were not viewed as “prisoners,” but were rather permitted to move around freely or “to return to Germany” voluntarily (Moore 88).

Stigmatization

As Alan Brinkly has argued, “our modern notion of civil liberties was . . . not born with the creation of the Bill of Rights. A more important turning point may have been the U.S. involvement in World War I, which created some of the most egregious violations of civil liberties in our history” (26). All together, the First World War set a precedent for the stigmatization or othering of a minority. The Espionage, Alien Enemy, and Sedition acts encroached upon the civil liberties of resident aliens by enforcing laws that targeted a person’s nationality and their political beliefs. The language of these laws avoided referring to German natives in particular but dictated that they were applicable to those native to the hostile countries America was fighting. Thus, the legal implications of the Great War set in motion the stigmatization process of German Americans and led to an awareness of the attack on civil liberties (Leone 39).

The Second World War

Soon after the Pearl Harbor attack President Roosevelt announced to the public that “we will not, under any threat, or in the face of any danger, surrender the guarantees of liberty our forefathers framed for us in the Bill of Rights” (qtd. in Heebels 51). Indeed, “the First World War experience... left Americans determined to avoid, as much as possible, the outrageous violations of civil liberties which anti-Germanism had produced under the Wilson administration” (MacDonnell 12). Despite the President’s assurance that there would be no compromises made on the subject of civil liberties, the legislation passed during the war contradicted this statement. The most well known legal repercussion of the Second World War was, arguably, the internment of Japanese Americans. However, the war infringed upon the civil liberties of several minorities. The suspicion towards German Americans carried over from the First to the Second World War. Additionally, the Italian-American minority felt pressure from the federal government because of its relation with its hostile nation of origin.

Japanese Americans

When Pearl Harbor bombarded the United States into war with Japan, the Japanese-American minority came under strict scrutiny. In the aftermath of the attack “all citizens of Japanese ancestry had been classified 4-C: ‘enemy aliens’” (*Smithsonian* 4). A little over two months after the attack on the U.S. fleet, on February 19, “President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066” that allowed the federal government to set up “designated areas [to] exclude any person” (Commission on Wartime par.6). Similar to the rhetoric of the legislation during the First World War, the executive order did not overtly single out a specific minority. It was, however, to be applied to the Japanese American minority, “as the President, his responsible Cabinet ministers and the West Coast congressional delegation knew it would be” (Commission on Wartime par.6) The West Coast was of particular interest in the national security plans because of its strategic position and its proximity to Japan.

Order 9066 was an influential law that allowed the government to keep out any unwanted person of Japanese descent from important strategic areas, such as the West Coast. Under the Executive Order several proclamations were put in place:

“Public Proclamation No.1, issued on March 2, 1942, established Military Areas No. 1; Public Proclamation No. 2 was issued on March 16, 1942, and it required that enemy aliens and persons of Japanese ancestry notify change of residence; Public Proclamation No. 3 issued on March 24, 1942 established military curfew and travel regulations on enemy aliens and persons of Japanese ancestry. The curfew was to be enforced between 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. to begin on March 27 in Military Area No.1. ” (Kim 48).

The author of the proclamations, John L. DeWitt who was the Commander of Army forces on the West Coast, made it clear that these laws were intended for the Japanese, despite the neutral wording of the proclamations. He argued that no “distinctions be made between aliens and citizens, or between the loyal and disloyal. ‘The Japanese race is an enemy race,’ he insisted. ‘Racial affinities are not severed by migration’” (Leone 40).

In addition to the Public Proclamations, the Japanese-American community came under fire from a series of Exclusion Orders that ensured the federal government was able to “control or exclude persons of Japanese ancestry” (Kim 48). For example, Exclusion Order No. 5 was used in the Bay Area to keep out any Japanese Americans “from most dock areas and the waterfront of San Francisco” (Kim 48). Posters for the Civil Exclusion Order No. 28 were plastered on the walls in the area, proclaiming that all people of Japanese ancestry, alien or non-alien, were to report on May 1, 1942 to a Civil Control Station (*United States* 3316).

Another Executive Order, No. 9102, created the notorious Japanese internment camps. The detainment of Japanese aliens far exceeded the internment of German Americans in WWI. By the end of the war a total of 112,000 Japanese Americans had been placed in the camps after they were to leave their residences. Ten internment camps, named relocation or assembly centers by the government, were opened in the fall of 1942 in seven different states primarily in the Midwest. The last of the Japanese Americans did not leave the internment camps until the beginning of 1946. While in captivity the internees were asked to fill out a “loyalty questionnaire” (“Civil Exclusion”).³ The form posed an array of intrusive questions, ranging from family history to the internee’s preference in newspapers and from their history of any foreign investments to their willingness to serve in the United States armed forces. The last question

³ See Appendix A p. 76

asked the internee whether they “swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America” (“Civil Exclusion”).

The legal attack on Japanese Americans in the Second World War was both concealed and in the open. The Executive Order No. 9066 did not specifically show bias towards Japanese Americans in its wording. However, although its rhetoric was neutral, the law’s application was clear among government officials. On the other hand, the Public Proclamations and the Civil Exclusion Orders were very publically presented. Posters and flyers were spread around the states to warn Japanese Americans, but were thus readily available to the general public as well. The wording of the proclamations explicitly mentioned Japanese Americans. Together with the Executive Orders the Public Proclamations had severe consequences for the Japanese-American minority. The Roosevelt administration thus demarcated the premises for their racialization through the rhetoric as well as the actualization of the legislation.

German Americans

The anti-German paranoia that ran amok during the Great War seemed to have died down by 1941. Even after the attacks on U.S. ships by German’s submarines in 1941 most isolationist government officials, especially the liberal President Roosevelt, refused to let anti-German sentiment grip the nation. The persecution of Germans in the Great War was a painful piece of American history and the Roosevelt administration was careful not to appear to retrace its historical footsteps. Furthermore, Barry D. Karl argues that the generation of Germans living in the United States at the time of the Second World War was far less sympathetic to Germany and its leaders than the previous generation who had lived through the Great War (197). Thus, the internal threat of German American spies did not seem as prominent. By 1942, however, new laws and the application of the Alien Enemy Act from WWI showed a change in the federal government’s attitude towards the German-American minority.

First, in the immediate months after the Pearl Harbor attack over 3,000 Germans were arrested by the FBI because they supposedly posed a threat to national security, just as they had been during the First World War (Stone 285). Second, the government opened the attack on the German-American Bund. This group, consisting of persons of primarily German heritage, was a “pro-Nazi, quasi military organization,” according to the Roosevelt administration, that made its

presence known mostly before the war started (Ryan and Schlup 152). Although many of them were naturalized citizens, the administration accused them of fraudulent behavior, “indicated by disloyal conduct,” and not being “attached to the principles of the Constitution” (Stone 280). In 1943, a total of 146 “decrees of cancellation” were handed out by the Roosevelt administration that reversed the naturalization of German Americans (Stone 280). Freedom of speech, one of the cornerstones of the American Creed, was compromised while German Americans were punished based on their affiliation with the German-American Bund, and thus based on their heritage. The attack on German culture, language and traditions that had taken place in WWI was absent.

Further measures were taken in conjunction with the treatment of Japanese and Italian Americans. The designated military areas described in the Executive order No. 9066, for example, affected the German American community in California significantly. The federal government decided to move a large group of Germans, together with Italians, away from these areas. Commander of the armed forces DeWitt suggested that German Americans be interned in similar fashion to the Japanese. Large scale internment of German American families, however, did not seem feasible to the government. Moving and housing a community of five million would have been a “logistical nightmare” (Hixson 217). Instead, about 11,000 “German aliens were detained” by the Justice Department, most of whom were “political suspects or ... enemy aliens”. The prisoners were not allowed to leave the encampment unless they were willing to be sent back to Germany (Ryan and Schlup 152).

In comparison to the Great War the German minority remained reasonably unscathed by the Second World War. The paranoia of an internal threat weaned towards the end of the war while the possibility of an attack of the West Coast by Germany was slim (Hixson 217). While neutral language was used in these laws, the legal implications of the Executive Order No. 9066 and the Alien Enemy Act testify to a negative attitude towards German Americans.

Italian Americans

The Italian American minority was one of the largest immigrant communities in the twentieth century. A congressional record from 2004 that probed the governmental stigmatization of minorities revealed that Italian Americans too felt the effects of the 9066 Executive Order (*United States* 3318). Under the law Italians were required to carry identification with them at all

times, including a recent photograph (Scherini10). This is shockingly reminiscent of the identification obligation in Europe during the reign of the Nazi party. Moreover, it was a clear case of racial profiling. The law also confined Italians to their homes who were obligated to request permission to move beyond the five mile radius around their residence. They were restricted further by the curfew enforced by the state of California, just as the Japanese and German Americans, under Public Proclamation No.3. From January of 1942 onwards enemy aliens were only allowed to “travel any required distance back and forth to work but were required to be in their homes from 8 P.M to 6 A.M” (Lothrop 184). The minority was also challenged economically when “all enemy-alien fishing,” in California was prohibited by the U.S. Coast Guard (Fox, *Una Storia* 43).

Additionally, about “10,000 Italians along the West Coast” were moved by the government (Scherini 10). They were told by authorities that they could no longer live in their own houses and were forced off their properties. Similar to the German and Japanese Americans, thousands of Italians were also placed in internment camps under the 9066 Executive Order (McPhee 13). Records show that the people who were detained were mostly “veterans of the first World War..., editors/writers for Italian-language newspapers and announcers on Italian-language radio; and instructors of Italian-language schools (Scherini 12). Yet the implications of the Executive Order were not limited to men alone. Families too were forced to live in the encampments (Scherini 226).

The civil liberties of Italians were violated by the restrictions that were put upon them. The movement restriction implemented by the 9066 Executive Order is reminiscent of the Alien Enemy Act enforced during WWI that allowed the federal government to arrest and prosecute anyone coming within miles of a military base or weapons factory. They were specifically targeted by the government through curfews and relocations orders. It is in the execution of these measures, rather than the rhetoric of the legislation, that the stigmatization of Italian-Americans was evident. In the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor, however, there were few consequences for Italian Americans. “[T]he FBI arrested only 147 Italians” and in 1942 the President even “removed Italians from the category of enemy aliens” (DiStasi 76).

Triple Threat

Many of the laws put in place after the Pearl Harbor attack reveal a combined approach against the perceived internal triple threat of Japanese, German and Italian Americans. According to Stephen Fox, while most authorities considered the Japanese to be the main threat under the 9066 Executive order, “some military officers believed it applied to the Italians and Germans as well” (*Una Storia* 42). One law in particular, the Alien Registration Act of 1940, shows the targeting of multiple minorities. The act, signed into law in 1940 and also known as the Smith Act, “required all resident aliens to register with the Immigration and Naturalization Service” (Stone 283). Regardless of the apparent neutrality of the act because all aliens needed to register, the Italian, German, and Japanese that came forward, totaling almost 900,000 aliens, were immediately labeled as “enemy aliens” in line with the Alien Enemy Act (Stone 284). To this end, it was the execution of the legislation, rather than the rhetoric, that stigmatized the minority groups.

The actions of the Roosevelt administration show that it did in fact target specific groups within the American society and encroached on their civil liberties by requiring registration of all aliens, imposing restrictions, forcing them out of strategic military areas and establishing internment camps in which the enemy aliens, neutralized or not, were held. The response is similar to the way the Wilson administration reacted to its entrance into the war with Germany. Those people with connections to the hostile nation, or nations, were then prosecuted by law based on their nationality or their heritage. Furthermore, in both World Wars the government relied on the Alien Enemy Act from 1789, and other proclamations that targeted minorities.

War on Terror

The 9/11 attacks on American soil shook the American public as well as the government to its core. It quickly catapulted the United States into a War on Terror over fifty years after WWII. Unlike during WWI and WWII, Bush did not call for a mass internment of Arab and Muslim Americans, nor did he support any evacuations of the minority from military strategic areas. The War on Terror required a completely new type of warfare because there was, seemingly, no clear hostile nation or enemy that the U.S. was fighting. According to Anthony Lewis, “the war on

terrorism [was] being waged against a hidden enemy who is not going to surrender in a ceremony aboard the U.S.S. *Missouri*” (qtd. in Heebels 123). Moreover, the attack on American soil demanded a firm response by the Bush administration. The administration’s plan of attack, however, was more similar to previous administrations’ reaction to a threat to national security or war than it may have appeared at first glance. In the wake of the national tragedy the Arab and Muslim community in America became the target of the government’s quest for justice and prevention.

One of the first emergency measures passed in the wake of 9/11 was the all important Patriot Act, also known as Public Law 107-56. Signed by President Bush in October of 2001, it gave the government license to use any means necessary to “intercept and obstruct terrorism” (FinCEN par.1). Under this act the CIS, the U.S. Department of Citizenship and Immigration Services, was established, as well as the overarching Department of Homeland Security. The act dramatically increased the power of the federal government, allowing it to conduct “electronic surveillance to expand the range of trackable crimes, the wiretapping of suspected terrorists, performing a search with delayed notification..., searching personal records without probable cause, and easing the ability to obtain search warrants when suspected terrorist-related activities occur”(Barak 355).

Similar to the rhetoric used in the Sedition Act and the Alien Enemy Act, the language of the Patriot Act remained neutral and referred mainly to terrorist suspects, as the administrations in WWI and WWII had referred to enemy aliens. However, the implementation of the law showed that it targeted the Arab and Muslim minority. The invasive powers of the Act became plain when, for example, Muslim Americans were targeted on the basis of their religion during a 2004 Islamic conference in Toronto. American citizens were “detained, frisked, photographed, fingerprinted, and threatened with arrest by border agents” in accordance with the power invested in the agents by the Patriot Act (Barak 355). The installment of laws that targeted supposed terrorist suspects continued in 2004 when President Bush presented the Terrorism Prevention Act, or Public Law 108-458, which increased the administration’s power in the gathering of intelligence. “[I]t was revealed that the Department of Homeland Security had,” under the new act, “requested the zip code list of areas of Arab concentration from the Census Bureau,” further

supporting the idea that Arabs were singled out in the government's intelligence gathering (Cainkar, "Thinking" 21).

Immigration

The threat of terrorism also sparked important changes in America's immigration law. In early 2002, the government announced that it would be establishing a new National Security Entry-Exit Registration System, or NSEERS. The system, which came into action in December 2003, was supposed to prevent dangerous individuals from entering the country and remove any illegal immigrants that resided in the U.S. All Aliens were to be subjected to an interview with the Department of Justice and were required to "provide proof of their legal status to remain in the United States" (Bayoumi 101). In theory any person from any country could be called in to register.

Nevertheless, the emphasis of the program lay on male immigrants from twenty-five countries. The countries named on the list for "call-in registration" were all situated in the Middle-East, including Iran, Afghanistan and Iraq, and were mostly ruled by a Muslim majority (Farnam 73). Furthermore, the registration system obligated the alien to provide information that invaded their privacy. For example, aliens were asked to give their "credit card information and banking information," as well as "information on any organizations to which they belonged" (Farnam 75). Immigrants, especially Arab and Muslim men, "complained they were treated as if they were guilty of a crime and had to prove their innocence, thus flipping an avowed tradition of American jurisprudence (innocence until proven guilty) on its head" (Bayoumi 101).

Julie Farnam likens NSEERS to the Alien Registration Act from WWII when those who were "considered a threat to the country were required to register with the U.S. government" (75). The demands posed by the system are analogous to the questionnaire given to Japanese American internees during WWII. Aside from banking information the Arab or Muslim alien was required to give the government relatives' names and addresses, similar to the information the Japanese Americans internees were forced to provide. Thus, the Arab community was persecuted based on their nationality or religion, similar to the rounding up of people of Japanese descent after Pearl Harbor. When a group of Muslim immigrants in California presented themselves to the Department of Justice after the deadline of December 2002 they were arrested on charges

related to their legal status. Most of the men did not have a “permanent resident status,” unlike most Japanese American in WWII, who were legal citizens. Over 500 men were detained in an operation described by the director of the American Civil Liberties Union as “reminiscent of what happened in the past with the internment of Japanese Americans” (qtd. in Serjeant par. 6).

Internment

Aside from racializing consequences of the invasive surveillance activities by the Department of Homeland Security, such as investigating Arab or Muslim members of the community in front of their neighbors, the gravest attack on the civil liberties of the Arab-Muslim community was the detainment of suspected terrorists in Guántanamo Bay, Cuba. While official information on the subject is scarce, Scott Matheson argues that Arab and Muslim Americans and resident aliens were or still are, detained at the facility in Cuba (129). “The detention power [of the Patriot Act] was exercised against an American citizen apprehended in the United States . . . , an American citizen captured in Afghanistan ,” and “thousands of resident aliens were locked up” (Matheson 129; Heebels 114).

The holding of prisoners at the Guantánamo prison without the due process of a trial remains a highly controversial subject. The exhibition held by the National Park Service discussed in the introduction of this thesis suggested a link between Guantánamo and the Japanese internment camps in WWII. It offered visitors a comparison of the racialization of minorities, but it also offered another similarity between the two interments, which is the dismissal of a citizen’s right to a trial. Habeas corpus, a legal action, dictates that a prisoner cannot be held without sufficient evidence and that he or she is entitled to call upon those in charge to prove that the detainment is lawful or that they possess the authority to hold the prisoner. Yet, the prisoners in all three case studies were detained without proof and were not allowed to state their case.

In her article “Where is Guantánamo” Amy Kaplan explores the legal “black hole” that was Guantánamo Bay (445). Similar to the identification of Germans in WWI and Germans, Italians and Japanese in WWII as enemies of the state, the prisoners held at Guantánamo were dubbed enemy combatants. Identifying prisoners as enemies or enemy combatants does not only construct a “racialized category,” in this case Arab and Muslim, but also placed the prisoners

outside the United States law because they were not considered American citizens (Kaplan 450). The location of the Cuban prison, Kaplan explains, was also essential to the legal limbo the prisoners were in. The prison was an old naval base acquired by the American government after the Spanish-American war (Kaplan 446). In defending the decision to deny prisoners a trial and hold them without evidence the Bush administration argued that “the Republic of Cuba has ‘ultimate sovereignty’ over this territory, that therefore neither the Constitution nor US obligations to international treaties apply, and, as a result that the prisoners at Guantánamo have no rights” (Kaplan 447). Thus, the administration admitted that by detaining prisoners in Cuba the government did not have to abide by its own laws.

Lastly, Abdul Malik Mujahid, an imam working in Chicago, makes a surprising suggestion that could shed new light on the use of the word internment camp and create another link to the WWI and WWII camps. Although his opinions may be biased the general concept can be useful to emphasize the similarities in treatment between Arab and Muslim minorities and Japanese Americans. The only difference, Mujahid argues, is that the “the camps of today are virtual” (par. 2). Rather than being confined by walls like those in Manzanar, the Arabs and Muslims were trapped in a “virtual camp” which was constructed through a list of numbers, representing the people affected by the Terrorism Prevention Act and actions taken under such laws (Mujahid par.4). They were locked in symbolic prisons, made up out of laws that gave the government access to e-mail, bank accounts etc., that were created to stop terrorist or “suspected terrorists” (Mujahid par. 23). Mujahids’ hypothesis does suggest a direct link between the Japanese camps and anti-Arab and Muslim activities by the government, but in turn also highlights the difference in the government’s approach, in accordance with the change in warfare in the War on Terror. Rather than a sweeping approach the government chose to act less overt and was more active behind the scene by conducting interrogations, searches and continually surveying the internet activities of people who were considered a risk to national security.

In conclusion, the internment of (suspected) terrorists at the Cuban prison resembles in many ways the detainment of minorities in WWI and WWII. The Alien Enemy Act and Sedition Act allowed the government to intern a person of interest, labeled enemy, without providing much evidence. Similarly, the prisoners at Guantánamo Bay prisoners were not granted a trial because they were not considered American citizens.

The War on Terror and its Legal Implications

The September 11th attacks had severe legal consequences for the Arab and Muslim minority in the U.S. and was reminiscent of the legal Acts and Public Proclamations during WWI and WWII. The NSEERS Program affirms, in its wording as well as execution, that the federal government focused in on residents and aliens from specific countries, all situated in and around the Middle-East. Furthermore, the Patriot Act gave the government increased power to attack the civil liberties of its citizens. The legal limbo of Guantánamo allowed the Bush administration to act outside of the law and detain prisoners without grounds. Lastly, the American prison in Cuba reminded critics of the WWI detainment of German Americans and the WWII internment camps. The wording of the post 9/11 legislation was mostly neutral, except for the NSEERS program which clearly racialized people of Arab descent. It was, thus, the execution of the laws that set the stage for the racialization of Arab and Muslim Americans.

Conclusion: A Racial Profile

The juxtaposition of WWI, WWII and the War on Terror shows that the reaction of the respective administrations to a crisis of national security was similar on many points. In the immediate aftermath of the crisis, entering a war or an attack on American property or soil, the administrations responded by writing new laws that were geared towards protecting the United States from future attacks. The laws, acts and public proclamations were, for the large part, not racial in their rhetoric but the actions taken by the government under the laws contradicted their neutral tone.

The implementations of the Alien Enemy Act, Executive Order 9066, and the Patriot Act reveal that minorities with a link to the hostile nation or to hostile group the U.S. was fighting were targeted. Racial profiling thus occurred when Americans were targeted because of their nationality, which was the case in all three situations, or their religion, and were consequently prosecuted. They were ascribed collective blame through the execution of new laws, rather than the legal rhetoric.

There are, however, some differences. The public stigmatization of a specific minority was carefully avoided by the Bush administration, while previous administrations operated much more in the open, in particular during the First World War. For example, the ban of German language and products in World War I was clearly an attack of the German minority and their culture that was explicitly worded in the piece of legislation.

In conclusion, the legislation passed in the wake of a crisis provoked racial profiling of minorities despite its neutral wording. In the execution of the acts and proclamations the administrations ignored this assumed neutrality and applied the laws only to those they had deemed enemies of the state. Consequently, the most “unpopular or vulnerable groups in the population” were attacked without “clear evidence of danger,” because “there [was] little political cost (Brinkley 45).

Chapter 2 – The Justifiable Response

“...the history of civil liberties in times of emergency suggest that governments seldom react to crises carefully or judiciously. They acquiesce to the most alarmist proponents of repression. They pursue preexisting agendas in the name of national security. They target unpopular or vulnerable groups in the population less because there is clear evidence of danger than because there is little political cost.”

- Adam Brinkley, *The War On Our Freedoms*

After 9/11 there was a significant increase in fear of a recurring attack on American soil or property that nestled in the hearts of ordinary Americans, as well as the government. The national security had been compromised and it needed to be restored. The laws discussed in the previous chapter approached the threat, assumed imminent even after the attacks, by targeting religious and ethnic minorities. Evelyn Asultany argues, however, that the prosecution of people from specific countries or with a certain religion must be based on valid, if not rational, reasons in order to justify the process of discrimination, arrests and incarceration (217). The actions taken by the government thus had to be based on certain grounds in order to convince the public that the government was justified in installing these laws that often transgressed the judicial processes in place to protect civil liberties. The language used by politicians sold the radical laws that compromised individual freedom but increased national security. This political rhetoric was often based on the notion of prevention.

To this end, the potential culpability of the stigmatized minority was provided as proof of an existing threat to American security. In other words, prevention of another attack on U.S. soil or resources was employed as argument to justify the governmental response to crises. Moreover, minorities were accused of being loyal to another country or to their religion and were, therefore, not able to be loyal American citizens. This chapter will, therefore, compare how the administrations during the First and Second World War and the War on Terror justified the process of racialization and stigmatization of minorities in a similar manner. This chapter will

look both at the political rhetoric of those in power and the arguments they employed to defend and support their policies and examine to what extent the three administrations employ the same arguments and themes.

The First World War

Wilson and the Germans

President Wilson felt very strongly about the threat that the German-American minority posed to national security and urged the government and the public to take it seriously. Their loyalty to the United States could no longer be assumed. He, along with other high-ranking government officials, accused German-American public figures of being “disloyal and un-American” (Luebke 52). Moreover, even before America’s involvement in the war, German-Americans and their culture were under attack, while their inability to fully integrate into American society was seen as a sign of their disloyalty (Luebke 52).

Therefore, every American had to be on the lookout for anyone who expressed un-American thoughts against the American government. Disloyalty, even when expressed in just words, was seen as a grave offense and warranted severe punishment. Moreover, the internal threat of German spies and the possibility of an organized attack on American soil allowed Wilson and his administration to justify their response to the national crisis. It was only important to persuade the general public, not the German-American community, of its rightful doing, while “a loss of the German vote was anyway of no consequence” to the Wilson administration (Child, *German American in Politics* 143).

Loyalty

The reports of German intrigue and sabotage, “including attempts to forge passports, blow up bridges, incite labor unrest, disrupt munitions productions, and plant incendiary devices aboard merchant ships,” severely damaged the German-American reputation, even before America entered the war (MacDonnell 12). The suspected, and some affirmed, spying activities of German nationals and German Americans sparked fear and distrust in Americans. President Woodrow Wilson himself reinforced the fear of domestic insurgents that could possibly be anywhere. Even

the friendly neighbor next door could be a German spy. The period saw a resurgence of Nativism among the white, protestant majority. The “German Americans were subjected ‘to the plain and simple accusation of xenophobia culminated: the charge of disloyalty, the gravest sin in the morality of nationalism’ (Tatalovich 65).

When addressing Congress in 1915 Wilson stigmatized the German minority by arguing that German Americans, although not in great numbers, were attacking America from within and that these “disloyal Americans” must be stopped (qtd in McDonnell 23). It is striking that Wilson referred to disloyal Americans rather than enemy aliens. He thus made a distinction between loyal and disloyal Americans. If a foreign-born American did not uphold the important morals and values of the American ideal, such as freedom, he or she gave up the right to the civil rights provided to them under American law. In his address to Congress the President admitted that

“...there are citizens of the United States ... born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom of and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life....They have formed plots to destroy property, they have entered into conspiracies against the neutrality of the Government...in order to serve interests of their own” (MacDonnell 23).

In 1917 Wilson explicitly stated that the “Germans had “filled our unsuspecting communities with spies and conspirators, and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people” (MacDonnell 23). Frederick Luebke argues that the anti-German panic actualized a “loyalty crisis” for German Americans” (qtd. in Ellis 184).

“The time has come for the American people to end hyphenism,” according to Wilson (qtd. in Scheffer 232). Indeed, Wilson felt that hyphenism, being German-American rather than American, was “the most un-American thing in the world” (qtd. in Hogan 94). A German-American was not considered an American at all, if he or she did not share American patriotic values. In other words, the President requested that German Americans give up their dual loyalty, because, as Wilson argued, “you cannot become Americans if you think of yourselves as groups” (qtd in Heebels 17). The “alien enemy is bound by an allegiance which commits him to the cause of [the] enemy: hence the United States regards him as part of the enemy recourses” and may

therefore take appropriate “measures to disable him from commission of hostile acts” (Stone 283).

The German-American minority was thus presented to the American public as the enemy alien. Ulrich Beck argues that this “enemy image” was used to “justify armament, mobilization, military intelligence, the restriction or even revocation on democratic freedoms and civil rights” (66). The return of Nativism, or “xenophobia”, called for German products or customs to be removed from society (Beck 65). The consequent measures taken by local and federal government, banning German-language, culture, and traditions, aimed to remove any reference to Germany, such as German in schools or calling sauerkraut freedom cabbage, and thereby attempted to assure the American “100-percenters” who would not stand for disloyal Americans (Higham 206).

Prevention

A frequently used argument that the Wilson administration brought to the table was the notion of prevention. Margaret Blanchard argues that Wilson was “obsessed by the possibility that the Germans might try to build support for their cause in the United States” (76). The German government, Wilson argued, was prone to place spies within the American government and other acts of German intrigue. When Wilson spoke to Congress trying to convince them to declare war on Germany he said:

“One of the things that has served to convince us [is] that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend. ...[I]t has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies. Indeed it is now evident that it spies and sets criminal intrigue everywhere afoot against...our peace within and without...with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government” (qtd. in MacDonnell 11).

It was the “hyphenated Americans,” who, according to Wilson, “have sought to bring the authority and the good name of our Government in contempt, to destroy our cities wherever they thought if effective” (qtd. in Blanchard 74). The possibility of German-American spies had been affirmed and America needed a new plan to protect itself against this German threat, especially because it was hard to estimate the extent of German infiltration into American government. The

reports of German spies and other illegal activities not only damaged the reputation of the German minority but were also offered as an argument for the enforcement of Espionage Act, the Sedition Act and the Alien Enemy Act. Eliminating the internal threat was a high priority. The possibility of a widespread network of internal spies helped convince the public that the government was justified in arresting and detaining several thousand German aliens and German-American citizens (Higham 210).

Conclusion

Wilson's rhetoric clearly demarcated the premises of a loyal American. Anyone who did not adhere to the American values, those who were loyal to the hostile nation, was considered an enemy of the state. The German-American minority was thus assigned culpability and stigmatized. The threat of another German attack on America supported the government's decision to attack the German-American minority, arrest or detain them.

Second World War: Roosevelt Follows in Wilson's Footsteps

The Roosevelt administration seemed to step into Wilson's footsteps in its attempt to justify the newly introduced laws and the internment of enemy aliens. Similar to the rise of xenophobia during the Great War, the Second World War saw an increase in fear of the foreigner or the Other. The loyalty of German, Italian, and Japanese Americans was questioned because of their affiliation with their countries of origin. The federal government was able to build on the mistrust of its citizens and use the xenophobia in their favor. Furthermore, the prevention of any further attacks on American soil or property by enemy aliens supported the government's othering of the vulnerable minorities. Lastly, the government acted under the premises that their actions were a "military necessity" (Commission on Wartime par.6).

Japanese Americans

The loyalty of the Japanese-American minority was severely questioned by the government. The FBI found that several "Japanese-American organizations on the West-Coast...were financially and ideologically devoted" to Japan (Rothstein par 15). Moreover, the government intercepted messages that had been sent by "Japanese agents" to American naturalized citizens "in the San

Pedro and San Diego area” (Rothstein par. 16). The reports aggravated the anti-Japanese sentiment that had erupted after Pearl Harbor. Similar to the First World War the government cast doubt on the loyalty of the minority group to convince the public of the benefits of Executive Order 9066. The politicians themselves did not need any more convincing, however, and the order was passed in Congress without protest.

The War Relocation Authority was tasked with separating the loyal from the disloyal Americans (Ng 55). As the first chapter showed, the loyalty of American citizens of Japanese heritage was put to the test by the questionnaire given to internees during their stay in the relocation centers. If an internee refused to fill in all the questions truthfully, he or she was labeled a traitor. Similar to Wilson, the Roosevelt administration made the distinction between loyal and disloyal Americans and requested that Japanese Americans declare their loyalty. The interviews determining the Japanese’s status did not take place, however, until the War Department had moved all enemy aliens from the West Coast.

General DeWitt argued that the ethnic minority could not be trusted because “ethnicity determined loyalty” (Ng 95). In his view, people of Japanese descent could not believe in the all-important American morals and values while they were “alien to American culture and beliefs” (Ng 96). Even if they were legal American citizens “a Jap’s a Jap,” according to the General (Fuchs 227). “American citizenship does not necessarily determine loyalty” (Fuchs 226). Despite Roosevelt’s stressed affirmation that “Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry” he did support the distinction between loyal and disloyal Americans that was outlined by General DeWitt (Ng 56). “A good American,” the President argued, “is one who is loyal to this country and to our creed of liberty and democracy” (Ng 56).

When Roosevelt signed the Executive Order 9066 it was presented as a precautionary measure against the potential internal threat of the Japanese Americans, similar to the prevention of German Intrigue in WWI. That the Order was merely a precaution, rather than a response to acts of espionage, became evident in Commander General John L. DeWitt’s comments. He admitted to “ [t]he very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date” (Commission on Wartime par. 6). However, the federal government argued that Executive Order 9066 was a “military necessity” while the Japanese Americans were “potential enemies” (Commission on Wartime par.6; Thomas and Nishimoto 10). In contrast, the administration also argued that the evacuation

was necessary for the protection of the minority. The idea was that they needed to be guarded from harm from the hand of “vigilantes and other anti-Japanese forces during wartime,” an argument unlike any used in the other conflicts discussed in this thesis (Ng 14).

The threat posed by the Japanese American minority was of course thoroughly assessed by the government and its representatives. Their findings, however, yielded little support for the measures they hoped to put into place. One of the representatives tasked with assessing the Japanese threat was Curtis B. Munson. Munson, who was not a government official, determined that the minority in no way posed a danger to American national security (Ng 14). Nevertheless, the government decided to go forward with its plans. The Attorney General’s office eventually approved of the laws proposed by the Roosevelt administration. Attorney General Francis Biddle justified the government’s approach in letter to the President, in which he also affirmed that the executive order also applied to American citizens.

“This authority gives very broad powers to the Secretary of War and the Military Commanders. These powers are broad enough to exclude any particular individual from military areas. They could also evacuate groups of persons based on a reasonable classification. The order is not limited to aliens but includes citizens so that it can be exercised with respect to Japanese, irrespective of their citizenship. The decision of safety of the nation in time of war is necessarily for the Military authorities. The authority over the movement of persons, whether citizens or noncitizens, may be exercised in time of war... [It] cannot be considered a punitive measure against any particular nationalities. It is rather a precautionary measure to protect the national security” (qtd. in CWRIC 85-86).

In other words, the Attorney General justified the laws that attack the civil liberties of the Japanese minority. He argued that the measures were not a punishment, they were necessary and in the interest of national security. His argumentation is reminiscent of Wilson’s justification.

Despite the lack of proof that the Japanese Americans posed a viable threat to national security the Roosevelt administration cracked down hard on this minority group. A small number of reports of Japanese intrigue, however, sparked panic and condemned the entire Japanese minority. Loyalty is the most important theme introduced by General DeWitt. There was not even such thing as a Japanese American, according to the General. Collective blame was assigned

because of their allegiance to a hostile nation. As a result of this label they were considered a threat and the government felt justified in its reaction to this threat.

German Americans

The legal actions taken against German Americans were limited in comparison to the Japanese minority, or the German minority in WWI, as only a few thousand German Americans were arrested and detained. However, the Roosevelt administration did need to justify its actions against the minority group. The loyalty of German Americans that had already suffered from a lingering bad reputation was questioned. Any connection to the homeland, such as the German-American Bund was presented as a possible catalyst for taking action against the American government. Additionally, the government suspected that the German minority posed an internal threat because of the legacy of German intrigue.

German Americans even attempted to prove their loyalty to the United States by setting up ‘loyal’ German-American organizations, such as the German-American Anti-Nazi League. On the other hand, membership to pro-German or anti-American parties could label individuals as persons of interest who were arrested and detained because of their implied beliefs in anti-American ideals (CWRIC 284). Their connection to an anti-American organization, rather than simply their connection to Germany, as was the case in WWI, supported the targeting of German Americans.

The Roosevelt administration suspected that the Germans were planning to attack America from the inside as they had done during WWI. In a press conference in September of 1939 the President announced that extra precautionary measures were being taken to prevent “some of the things that happened over here in 1914 and 1915 and 1916 and the beginning of 1917 before we got into the war” (qtd. in MacDonnell 137). Roosevelt thus referred to the reports of German intrigue during the WWI and suggested that Americans of German heritage posed an internal threat. The President emphasized the danger that German Americans posed when he explained the new nature of German warfare. “Spies, saboteurs and traitors are the actors in [the] new strategy” (MacDonnell 138). He further suggested that members of the Fifth Column, those who sought to destroy America from within, were spread out throughout the country. The inflammatory rhetoric of the President and his assurance that the internal German threat was real,

despite the isolationist nature of the acts, sought to justify the implementation of the new laws that allowed the government to target the German minority.

Although about 11,000 German Americans were detained by the Justice Department the plans for mass removal of this group never gained enough support to be implemented. Apart from logistical restrictions, there was a lack of support in Congress for such measures. Moreover, the president did not approve of plans to move large groups Germans, as well as Italians, to the internment camps. He argued that it was “primarily a civilian matter except of course in the case of the Japanese mass evacuation on the Pacific Coast” (CWRIC 287). Roosevelt did agree, however, that the removal of German individuals from the designated military areas was justified.

Italian Americans

Italian Americans were less of a concern to the government than the Germans and the Japanese. The government’s defense did, however, employ similar arguments to those used to explain the targeting of German Americans. The group posed a threat to national security, according to General DeWitt. Furthermore, their loyalty was questioned because of ties to Italian fascism.

The most consequential person in the othering of the Italian minority was again General DeWitt. The General attempted to convince the federal government to apply Executive Order 9066 to the Italian community. Simply interviewing individuals who were considered to be dangerous to national security would not do. “There were,” according to DeWitt’s superior Karl Bendetsen, “a lot of dangerous’ Italians....who had to go” (Fox, *Una Storia* 48). DeWitt was convinced that the removal of large numbers of enemy aliens would be feasible (Fox, *Uncivil* 69). Congress would not agree to mass evacuation because they feared a negative response from the public. Moreover, as one of the largest minorities the Italians formed an important group of voters for the administration. The loss of democratic voters among the minority forced Roosevelt to rethink any plans for intrusive action against Italian Americans. DeWitt was advised to “ignore the Italians for the time being because they were ‘potentially less dangerous, as a whole’” (CWRIC 287). However, DeWitt was adamant and together with Bendetsen convinced the War Department to give them the power to remove, what they perceived to be, dangerous Italian American individuals.

In the First World War the German-language press was under attack because of the propaganda it might spread. Similarly, the president was concerned about the Italian fascist propaganda spread through Italian-language newspapers and radio (Fox, *Uncivil* 42). The exact number of people influenced by the fascist sources is not known but it certainly was a concern for the government. Although the Italian threat was considered minimal, the loyalty of Americans of Italian heritage was put under a microscope.

A Justified Conclusion

Since many of the same laws were applied to the Japanese, Italian and German Americans the justifications for the government's response was very similar in all three cases. Firstly, Roosevelt relied, just as Wilson did before him, on discrediting the loyalty of American citizens, arguing that they were incapable of fully subscribing to American morals and values because of their relation to their country of origin. Secondly, the government stressed the threat these minorities posed to national security. Their assumed allegiance to the enemy nation was cause enough to take action against them and to justify the stigmatization of an entire ethnic group.

War on Terror

Signing the Patriot Act into law was relatively simple. As William Michaels poetically put it: "the billowing smoke from the fallen World Trade Center still hung in the air" when Congress approved the Act (34). Few would oppose a measure that would ensure the safety of American citizens in the future, whatever the cost. Yet as the time passed and the opposition to the implementation of the law grew the government felt pressured to justify its response to the terrorist crisis. As in previous periods of national crisis, this implicitly demanded 100% loyalty from all residents in the US, whether citizen or not, a demand that was even encoded in law.

Certain state governments went further. For example, the Ohio Patriot Act that went into effect on the 4th of April 2006 was intended to fight terrorism. In reality, however, the law pressured Ohio citizens who worked for or with the state to show their loyalty. A form called 'Declaration Regarding Material Assistance/No Assistance to a Terrorist Organization,' asked the employees a series of questions that was to determine their loyalty to the state. An "unsatisfactory

answer, or even a failure to respond,” was considered “‘a disclosure that the applicant has provided material assistance’ to a listed organization” (O’Neill par.3). This is reminiscent of the loyalty questionnaire the Roosevelt administration forced the Japanese-American internees to fill out.

The federal government argued that it was targeting disloyal individuals rather than groups who were deemed disloyal. Attacking loyalty in turn emphasized patriotism that was expressed in state law after 9/11. Additionally, the controversial laws were argued to be necessary to protect America from the constantly present threat of terrorism. Unlike during WWI and WWII the Bush administration attempted diligently not to openly stigmatize or racialize specific groups, whether for their ethnicity or their religion. President Bush repeatedly claimed that America “is at war with terrorists, not Islam” (Gale, Radu and Sicherman 226). The previous chapter on law and its rhetoric revealed, however, that there were in fact infringements upon the civil liberties of particular groups in American society. Men from Islamic countries were sought out, interrogated and had their citizenship reviewed. To prevent the appearance of stigmatizing specific ethnicities or the Islam the suspects were identified as rogue individuals, or enemy combatants, that did not assume culpability of an entire ethnic group or religious minority.

The Patriot Act, according to Gorham-Oscilowski and Jaeger, infringed upon civil rights and was in conflict with the Constitution. They argue that Muslims were prosecuted for their religion under the notion of prevention, but that the Constitution states this is illegal (630). Enemy combatants were excluded from the rights given to American citizens because they could not be considered loyal to the United States. Any measures taken against these enemies of the state were therefore justified. “Attacks by the government or governmental agencies against dissenters can be made to seem part of the national response against terrorism” (Michaels 282).

The terrorist attacks, according Bush, were aimed at freedom, one of America’s most treasured values. A few days after September 11th President Bush addressed the nation in a televised speech. During the speech, in which he also first coined the phrase “War on Terror,” Bush argued that “they,” meaning the terrorists, “hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other” (Bush par.28). Similar to Wilson’s definition of loyalty, Bush established that those who do not believe in the American values and morals were by definition enemies. The administration underlined

that “anyone challeng[ing] government policy will be ‘unpatriotic’” (Michaels 282). It seems, therefore, that anyone who challenges the American government and what it stands for could not be considered patriotic and, consequently, American.

The internment of enemy aliens was justified in the same manner. As enemies of the state they had no rights and were therefore not subject to the American laws that could protect them. Contrary to the internment camps of WWI and WWII, that were located in rural America, Guantánamo is located outside of American soil where the “the protections and rights of international law and the Geneva conventions” were not valid as the first chapter demonstrated (Kaplan 448). Moreover, prisoners were “detained solely because of their status as enemy combatants, not for any other criminal or punitive purpose” (Kaplan 454). Amy Kaplan argues that the prisoners were held as a preventative measure. Internment to prevent another attack is akin to the approaches of both Wilson and Roosevelt. Internees in both wars were detained because they may, or may not, have posed a threat to security.

Prevention connects to the second argument that the Bush administration called upon to support its actions; the claim that there is a constant credible threat to national security. “Our nation,” Bush said, “has been put on notice. We are not immune from attack.... I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me, the Office of Homeland Security...[Tom Ridge] will lead, oversee, and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against and respond to any attacks that may come”. The President emphasized that “these measures are necessary” (Bush par.35). “In light of the attack against the United States...and subsequent events, and based on information available,” according to the Department of Justice, “the Attorney General has determined that certain nonimmigrant aliens require closer monitoring when national security or law enforcement interests” (qtd. in Bayoumi 101). The crisis thus justified actions taken by the government based on the origin of nationality of minority groups.

By stressing the constant threat the government was able to justify its reaction by “claim[ing] its own legitimacy” (Michaels 222). Bush emphasized that American citizens must allow the government and its agencies to protect them by any means necessary. “We will come together,” he said, “to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home” (Bush par. 42). In other words, Americans should not object to any intrusive measures.

Only recently Hillary Clinton, U.S. Secretary of State under the Obama administration, argued that “[t]hese terrorists keep trying ... to devise more perverse and terrible ways to kill innocent people, and it's a reminder as to why we have to remain vigilant at home and abroad in protecting our nation...” (qtd. “In Clinton” par. 2). Barely a week later MSNBC published an article quoting U.S officials claiming that “homeland security personnel face an average of 55 daily encounters with ‘known or suspected terrorists’ named on government watch lists” (Reuters par. 1).

However, the government, Michaels claims, “cannot be expected to constantly and publicly justify itself” (222). It was aided, therefore, by the media who spread the word and could convince the public that another attack on American soil had to be constantly kept at bay. The media apparatus received its information from governmental agencies and, thus, passed on the message the government wished to convey (Michaels 222).

Arguing Invasive Measures

Despite the differences in the way America has fought various wars, there are several comparisons that can be drawn between the justifications used by previous administrations and the arguments provided by the Bush administration. Firstly, to alienate terrorism suspects they were identified as enemy combatants, similar to enemy aliens in WWI and WWII. Furthermore, their connection to their home country, Islamic-majority countries as was identified in the list of twenty-five countries in chapter 1, and their religion prevented them from believing in America’s ideal of freedom. As a result of this, their loyalty, an important factor of justification in both World Wars, was questioned. Secondly, preventing another attack on American soil by any measures necessary was accordingly justified because of the constant threat on national security. This too, is reminiscent of the stories of German intrigue during WWI and Wilson’s argument of prevention.

Conclusion: Different Times, Same Reasons

When comparing the way in which the governments responded to the three separate conflicts described above, several correlations can be identified. The two recurring themes are loyalty and

prevention. The political rhetoric of Wilson, Roosevelt, and Bush reveals that all distinguished between Americans and the Other, from enemy alien to enemy combatant, and that the results were very similar. The political rhetoric emphasized that the alien or enemy did not believe in American moral and values and could not, therefore, be considered American. The ethnic and religious minorities, German, Italian, Japanese and Muslim and Arab, were consequently placed outside of society and stripped of their rights they would otherwise have been entitled to as an American citizen. Promoting patriotism, which was particularly evident in the legal changes after 9/11, helped Americans to support the us vs. them mentality.

The absence of loyalty in American citizens, it can be argued, then presented a threat to security. Those who were loyal to another nation or another God were, therefore, suspected of attacking America from within. The government presented the public with stories of the internal threat that those loyal to the enemy nation, or religion, pose. In order to deal with this threat the federal government proposed intrusive laws. The threat was presented as imminent and constant, as illustrated by the many newspaper articles on the War on Terror and its agents in America after 9/11, Wilson's warnings to watch your neighbors in WWI and Roosevelt's speeches on the extra security measures that must be taken against the Japanese threat in WWII.

That is not to say, however, that the arguments used to justify the legislative stigmatization of minorities were identical. Bush, for example, leaned heavily on the attack on freedom. This theme did not feature in the political rhetoric of WWI and WWII. All together, however, the three administrations have relied on the themes of loyalty and prevention to justify their response to a national crisis and have, hereby, placed the minority groups outside of society through a process of othering.

Chapter 3 Policy Has Consequences: the Mobilization of Media and Public

“...support for war depends on citizens’ beliefs about the correctness of war and its likelihood of success”

- Adam J. Berinsky, *In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq*

Chapter two demonstrated that the administrations in all three case studies employed several arguments to convince the public that their approach to the crisis was justified. The approval of the government’s actions by the public during wartime is of significant importance, according to Adam Berinsky (*In Time*). He argues that the public’s opinion could be “directly influenced by some dramatic events, such as Pearl Harbor and 9/11” (5). Furthermore,

“although the particular conditions of war may change, the manner in which members of the public judge the desirability of restrictions on civil liberties, those factors that scholars have used to gauge support for civil liberties – most notably perceptions of threat- shape civil liberties in times of war as well” (Berinsky 8).

The attacks on American soil or its people that have been analyzed in this study caused American public opinion to direct its anger towards specific minorities with connections to the hostile nations. The othering of these minorities by the government, and the breach of civil liberties that went along with it, was not only readily accepted by the public because of the perceived security threat posed by the target minority group, but it also enhanced the public’s negative perception of the minority groups. In other words, the policies of the respective administrations had severe consequences for the mobilization of popular media and public action.

These negative feelings towards the stigmatized groups, however, were not novel. Stereotypes of the immigrant, references to physiological or psychological attributes of various ethnic groups, or the Other, were already present in the social sphere and were further amplified by the crisis. The public’s opinion about the minority groups prior to the start of these wars

respectively affected their view on the war and the laws that targeted and stigmatized these groups. The racialized legislation only “strengthened the racist tradition of American nationalism” (Gerstle 82). The public’s attitude towards the laws that attacked specific minorities was visible in their actions against these groups and the responses published in the media.

How was the public, ordinary American citizens, mobilized by the governmental actions and how did the minority groups experience the stigmatization? Firstly, the preexisting stereotypes of minorities were exaggerated by the crisis and the inflammatory rhetoric of the respective administrations and led the public to take matters into their own hands in some instances. Although mostly isolated incidents the crimes against German, Italian, Japanese, and Arab and Muslim Americans set the tone for the atmosphere in American society during the wars. The portrayal of minorities, strongly influenced by government propaganda, in the media and position the media took in the reports on the stigmatization of minorities further reveals how the public was influenced. Secondly, the unique perspective of the stigmatized minority will add to the academic discussion of the occurrence of the process of racialization and stigmatization in American politics and legislation during a crisis.

The comparison of the three case studies will look at the similarities and differences in how the public was mobilized at the time, making the link between governmental action and public opinion, by examining preexisting stereotypes, popular media, and reactions of the public.

First World War

With the exception of some German and Irish Americans, the American public was, according to David Bennett, largely supportive of France and Britain in “their conflict with the German Empire” (184). Although before America’s involvement in the war German Americans had little to fear in their daily lives, America’s entrance into the war changed the way the public viewed the minority. The “largely positive” image of German Americans that had prevailed before the war, largely thanks to their quick assimilation into society, became “overwhelmingly negative” (Ellis 184).

However, the negative attitude did not suddenly appear in American society. Mark Ellis explains that this aversion against German Americans was partly a result of the “latent nativist [and] anti-immigrant movement active between 1890 and 1914” (184). The movement “divided insiders, who [felt they alone] belonged to the nation, from outsiders who were in but not of it” (Higham 333). They resented the large waves of mostly Eastern-European immigrants in the late nineteenth-century, some of whom were unwilling to completely assimilate into American culture. The inflammatory political rhetoric of Wilson and his administration convinced the public that Germans were indeed attacking the United States from the inside. The reports of German intrigue increased the “anti-German hysteria”, and further amplified the revival of Nativism (MacDonnell 25). The construction of the negative German-American immigrant stereotype aided the “American mobilization for war,” and gave the public an internal enemy to fight (Ellis 208). German Americans thus suddenly found themselves targeted as an undesirable immigrant group, and thrown into the same boat as Italians, Poles, and Russians.

The hysteria that broke out among the public professed itself in several ways. Firstly, the aversion against anything German, language or product, grew during the war. Secondly, the public was urged to watch out for their German neighbors and, consequently, took matters into their own hands and targeted the German minority in individual and organized incidents. Thirdly, the media, influencing the public’s opinion, played a role in the stigmatization of the German-American minority.

Freedom Cabbage

The second chapter already hinted at the aversion against all things German during the war. The public initiated several attempts to remove the German culture from American society. The change from sauerkraut to freedom cabbage, the predecessor of the now famous freedom fries after France had expressed strong concerns over Operation Iraqi Freedom, did not stand alone. The name of the hamburger was also changed to “liberty steak” or “liberty sandwich” (Murrin et al. 635). Another German culinary invention, the pretzel, was scrapped from some saloon menus while “frankfurters and wiener sausages, named after German and Austrian cities, became universally known as hotdogs” (Carlisle 225; Conlin 735). Music too, was affected. All the famous German musical masters were banned from the repertoires of music groups and incidents of German books being burned were reported (MacDonnell 25). Even German Shepherds were

now known as “Alsatian shepherds” while the dachshund became a “sausage dog” or “liberty hound” (Bennett 18; Carlisle 225; Conlin 735).

The government, primarily through state laws, also launched an attack on German culture. Some local town councils renamed towns and organizations replaced German-sounding names. East Germantown in Indiana, for example, changed its name to Pershing, the name of a famous U.S. general, because of the name’s obvious negative connotations while Berlin, Iowa became Lincoln, Iowa (*East Germantown* par.1-3; Murrin et al. 35). The German language became a taboo in public rhetoric. State laws, mentioned in chapter one, banned the use of German in public spaces, such as churches and schools.

During the war prohibition was also used as a tool to identify any disloyal German-Americans. “Pro-Germanism,” according to one prominent prohibitionist, “is...the froth of the German beer-saloon...Kaiser Kultur was raised on beer” (qtd. in Ellis 187). The German beer culture was seen as “bestial, deviant, and incompatible with Americanism” (Ellis 187). Those voicing any discontent with the prohibition laws would consequently be viewed as disloyal and un-American.

Vigilante Justice

More severe than the general boycott of German culture was the eruption of vigilante justice. Wilson’s assurances that German spies had infiltrated the United States gave rise to vigilante organizations. The importance of loyalty that was so frequently emphasized by the government was copied by American citizens. If a neighbor was not considered patriotic enough, by not displaying an American flag, voicing their negative opinions about the American government or refusing to buy war bonds, other citizens were encouraged to make their suspicions known to local authorities. The administration saw great value in the far-reaching possibilities of a network of civilian spies in service of the government and, therefore, encouraged the public to “report [any] disloyal acts” (McCoy 301). For example, an organization of all volunteers in Philadelphia called the Pennsylvania Council of National Defense supported the government’s initiative to target German Americans by reporting incidents of German intrigue (Kazal 181).

One of the largest of these vigilante organizations was the American Protective League, which operated on a national scale. Established by private citizens in 1917 the league was

intended as an aid to the federal law enforcement agencies to identify and round up German Americans. They assisted the government by spying on their neighbors to an extent law enforcement could not legally do. The league grew to over 250,000 members and was entirely composed of “all white, predominantly Protestant [males] with deep anti-German antipathies and strong undertones of anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic biases” (McCoy 302). The vigilante justice, however, went beyond reporting cases of disloyalty to government officials. Groups of anti-German radicals sometimes “beat up or tarred and feathered suspected traitors” and those who were “deemed unpatriotic were often forced to kiss the American flag or sing” the National anthem (MacDonnell 26).

Perhaps the most prolific incident of vigilante violence against German Americans was the lynching of Robert Prager. Prager, a twenty-nine year old miner from Germany, was attacked by a mob of seventy-five of his fellow workmen. The young German had expressed socialist views to his colleagues causing the miners, who were not too peculiar about the difference between socialism and “pro-German sympathies,” to condemn him a German spy (Dirck 6). Prager, however, was very pro-American and had even attempted to join the American forces. There was no evidence to suggest that he was in any way connected to the incidents of German intrigue. Yet on April 4th 1917 the anti-German hysteria took over. The mob, that had increased to almost three-hundred people, dragged Prager out of his house and, despite his pleas of innocence, hanged him. “One of his last requests before his hanging was that he be buried wrapped in the American flag” (MacDonnell 26). Although the hanging of Prager caused some stir among the public a trial against those responsible never led to any convictions. Wilson did call an end to “vigilantism” after meeting with his advisers, but his words were of little consequence and did not yield “any protective legislation” to prevent such incidents from happening again (MacDonnell 26).

The lack of convictions in the case of the lynching of Robert Prager shows that the Wilson administration implicitly condoned vigilante justice. Although Wilson spoke out against such gruesome violence his comments on the matter did not materialize in action. Moreover, the collaboration of the government with the American Protective League and other volunteer organizations shows that it actually supported and encouraged this kind of vigilante justice and

the actions it stood for. The public was thus outwardly willing to target a specific minority, or at least stand by and not protest against the attack on the civil liberties of the minority group.

Media

The opinions of the public are supposed to be represented in the media. Yet, more often public opinion is influenced by the colored articles presented to them by the local and national newspapers and propaganda. Wilson had erected the Committee on Public Information (CPI) to “publicize and popularize the war” through “posters, . . . advertisements in mass-circulated magazines, sponsored exhibitions, and . . . thousands of press releases on the progress of war” in the newspapers (Gerstle 89). The CPI “was entrusted with the task of mobilizing public opinion behind the government” (Conlin 734). The attack on the hostile nation Germany by newspapers “turned into an attack on German culture” (Kazal 180). The Philadelphia Inquirer, for example, published a cartoon in which the paper had depicted the German Kaiser as “a chicken and equated [German culture] with his excrement” (Kazal 180).

Furthermore, the atrocities committed by German soldiers in Belgium, before America’s entrance into the war, were detrimental in the construction of a negative image of the entire German community and caused an increase in support for a declaration of war against Germany. A 1914 British report on these incidents was “widely circulated throughout the United States and provided lurid details of German behavior. . . It described in intimate detail the intentional German shooting of civilians and of wounded soldiers as well as the systematic raping of women and killing of children” (Heidler and Leidler 39). The report caused outrage in the United States.

Pro-German newspapers also damaged the positive image of German-Americans that had previously prevailed. Some, like the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, were supported by Germany and were encouraged to emphasize the German attributes of German Americans in an attempt to influence their voting behavior (Ellis 189). The Nativist and pro-German message of these newspapers worked adversely and only further convinced the larger public that Germany was trying to creep into American society and sabotage the war effort. German-language press was inextricably linked to “German culture” and, therefore, with “German political aims” (Kazal 177).

A German-American Experience

The attacks on German culture and identity “rendered virtually impossible the public expression of a German-American ethnicity during and immediately after the war” (Kazal 172). The anti-German propaganda and the vigilantism drove many German-Americans to understate the German aspects of their identity. Displays of patriotism, such as the flying of the American flag, were required by society and consequently adhered to by most. Editors of the German-language press “brought [their newspapers] in line with U.S. policy” (Sonntag 659). Moreover, the *Katolische Rundschau*, a San Antonio newspaper, “told its readers to accept the sacrifices of war,” meaning the stigmatization of the German minority, “without complaint” (Sonntag 659).

While before the war some German-Americans had not assimilated, the anti-German campaign forced them to change and Americanize. In a case study of German Texans, for example, Mark Sonntag likens the change in attitude towards their ethnicity to the opinions of Congressman Jeff McLemore. “It is not for me, as an American, to do otherwise than stand by my country, for whether right or wrong, I am with my country forever” (666). In other words, there was no room for any other identity than an American identity. The minority was also forced to give up beer, an essential part of the German culture (Gerstle 91). The bans of German language scared many German Americans into associating with “non-ethnic-identified groups” that would not highlight their German identity (Skocpol 66). A famous opera singer, by the name of Ernestine Schumann-Heinck, chose to abandon the German masters and, “her ample Wagnerian figure draped with a large American flag, only sang American classics,” like the national anthem (Conlin 735).

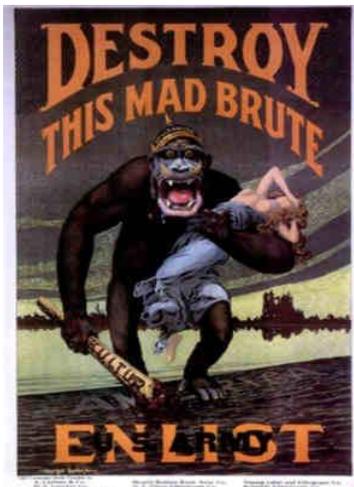
Furthermore, any step out of place would arouse the suspicion of the vigilante organizations that were supported by the government, and could have legal consequences. The stigmatization thus had severe consequences for the German-American minority. The absence of large protests against the process of stigmatization that was taking place, by either Germans or other Americans, seems to indicate that most people accepted the situation and coped as best as they could by adapting and assimilating.

Conclusion

The negative image of German Americans was not constructed overnight after the start of the war or created by the government's propaganda team. Rather, there were already feelings of resentment towards the minority present in society stemming from the last big wave of immigrants from Eastern and Western Europe who struggled, or were unwilling, to assimilate and retained strong connections to the Old country. Thus, the stereotype of the German immigrant who is more loyal to Germany than the United States already existed. These negative opinions were primarily represented by the revival of Nativism.

The public's opinion was influenced by the government's propaganda, depicting Germany as an angry Gorilla with a *Kultur* bat in his hand that was invading America, as well as by the media's negative depictions of the conflict with Germany and German culture. The public was certainly mobilized by these stereotypes and responded accordingly by attacking German culture and converting it to the most American version they could think of. Moreover, vigilante justice ran rampant. The two vigilante organizations mentioned above, although most representative, were only the tip of the iceberg. Because the Wilson administration saw such value in these organizations there was little to no legislation to curb the incidents of vigilantism.

Despite these responses the public was generally quite neutral on the issue of war and the attack on civil liberties was of little consequence in their daily lives (Heidler and Leidler 38). Although the ALP membership, for example, totaled 250,000 by the end of the war it did not guarantee its role as representative for public opinion in WWI. However, the absence of strong protest against the actions of the government as well as the vigilante actions of individuals and organizations perhaps best describes public opinion during WWI.



Government poster depicting Germany as a wild beast with a *Kultur* bat in his hand, attacking the United States.⁴

Second World War

The public was much more involved in the wartime spin-up of WWII than in the other two case studies. Indeed, “never before in its history and never again in its immediate future, would America enjoy such unity in time of war” (Gerstle 189). While the larger male population was overseas fighting, the women took over at home and in the workplace, war bonds were sold vigorously and public support for the war remained strong throughout. A poll by the American Institute for Public Opinions revealed that “72 percent of the population expressed support for the stated U.S policy of unconditional surrender” (Berinsky 33). The public was also supportive of the invasive measures taken by the government that targeted specific minorities. Polls during the war showed that the public became increasingly convinced that hostile nations were warmongering, and, consequently, that those native to these countries were of similar mindset. By December 1944 thirteen percent of Americans even thought all Japanese should be killed (Janssens 41).

Like the preexisting stereotype of German Americans, in WWII the stigmatization of Japanese, German, and Italian Americans was aided by the stereotypes already present in American society. Immigration waves in the late 19th and early 20th century had already laid the foundation for animosity towards the three minorities. Furthermore, these ethnic groups clung to

⁴ http://rlv.zcache.com/destroy_this_mad_brute_wwi_propaganda_poster_us-rf45c13bb12024476a30d81b600ba800e_2212_400.jpg

their Old World traditions. Wendy Wall argues that, “in theory, [the] immigrant who retained his customs and language could still be considered a loyal American if he foreswore the ideology of his native land” (225). By denouncing loyalty to their country of heritage the immigrants hoped to convince their fellow citizens of their patriotism. In reality, however, “the distinction [between loyal and disloyal] proved too subtle for many Americans” (Wall 225). The government was able to build upon the existing negative cultural images of these minorities to justify its actions.

The public’s opinion is partially represented by the stereotypes that were pervasive in society. This opinion was significantly affected, and represented, by the media, such as film, radio and newspapers that were in turn influenced by the Roosevelt administration.

Stereotypes

According to David Kennedy, the racialization of the Japanese minority by the Roosevelt administration “[drew] upon a well-stocked inventory of preexisting cultural images” (354). Japanese immigrants already had a strained relation with the United States, particularly in California. In the late nineteenth-century California citizens had even petitioned the government to ban new Japanese immigrants from moving to the West Coast (Ichihashi 283). Their status as unwanted immigrants was accompanied by a certain stereotype, often depicting Japanese Americans as “apes, lesser men, primitives, children, [or] madmen” (Kennedy 354). This negative Japanese stereotype was thus already present in society when Japan entered the war, but was intensified by government policy. It was “a clear case of a stereotype responding to the currents of history and changing events” (Karlins, Coffman, and Walters 314). “[T]he Japanese,” according to Gary Gerstle, “impelled white Americans to reassert their superiority” (196).

Similarly, the Italian minority suffered from a negative cultural image derived from the waves of European immigrants in the early twentieth-century. Like the Germans in WWI the Italian Americans were also a target of the nativists. The German Americans on the other hand were feeling the aftereffects of WWI. In the early days of the war, the Italian and German communities were relatively safe and were not considered a threat. Yet, as the war progressed, “citizens put enormous pressure on authorities to protect the country from all ‘internal enemies,’” according to Stephen Fox (*Uncivil* 68). The public thus considered these groups to be dangerous

and was no longer “satisfied with the roundup of only the most dangerous [Japanese] aliens” (Fox, *Uncivil* 68).

In simpler terms, the preexisting stereotypes of all three minorities were intensified, or turned negative, by the crisis and the government’s actions. The public opinion shifted to include German and Italian Americans on the list of dangerous groups and, to this end, demanded action and accepted that this meant an assault on civil liberties.

Media

Media played a major role in influencing American minds while the government’s “propaganda efforts were more sophisticated than they had been in World War I” (Gerstle 196). Film was larger than ever and radio was a powerful medium. War movies were an especially efficient propaganda tool for the government, particularly documentaries, providing the public with images of the war while at the same time emphasizing the existing stereotypes through negative images. For example, movies depicting Japanese soldiers were “designed to create even greater hatred of the Japanese,” according to Robert Fyne (35). Most films showed the Allied forces beating the hostile nations with the help of ordinary citizens standing up to fight against the evil enemy (Basinger 263).

Radio was a far-reaching medium that allowed individuals to reach audiences in their homes. An important figure on the air waves was Bob Maxwell who directed three children’s programs, including the popular *Superman* (Wall 225). In the show Superman was juxtaposed with “embarrassing German and Japanese stereotypes, his gross intolerance fueled by the raucous patriotism of a nation mired in war” (Rossen 12). Maxwell was asked to reduce the malicious rhetoric he used on the show, making racist remarks about German and Japanese Americans. He refused, arguing that

“I control the destinies of three juvenile radio programs with audiences running into the millions. I can, in some small way, formulate ideologies for these youngsters...I am teaching this vast audience to hate. If not to hate individuals, to hate that for which they stand. And, unfortunately, there is no cleavage between the individual and the state whose ideology he defends. A German is a Nazi and a Jap is the little yellow man ‘who knifed us in the back at Pearl Harbor’” (Wall 225).

The show's propaganda messages were broadcasted to Maxwell's large, young, audience and was of great influence, and thus of great use to the government who financed radio shows and films that supported the war effort (Rossen 12)

Similar to the First World War, newspapers remained an important influence on the public's opinion. The suspicions against the Italian-American minority was "spurred by the popular press," according to Stephen Fox (*Una Storia* 40). Furthermore, negative articles about the commencing days of the war convinced the American people they were losing the war. The press caused "confusion, desperation, and panic," leading "the public [to extend] the politicians an unlimited mandate to act" at home (Fox, *Una Storia* 40).

A Minority's Experience

Most of the scholars in the academic debate focus on the Japanese-American experience during the war, but more work on Italian Americans has appeared in recent years. The accounts of internees, or those classified as enemy aliens, had several themes in common, such as confusion, disbelief, and desperation.

There were many reports of suicide after the Justice Department ordered enemy aliens to leave their home, their work, and their entire lives. Stefano Terranova, an elderly Italian American, left a suicide note before jumping off a high-rise building. "I believe myself to be good," he wrote, "but find myself deceived. I don't know why..." (Fox, *Una Storia* 40). The note underlines the confusion of the internees, wondering what they had done to deserve this attack on their civil liberties. The Japanese internment camps also saw several suicides and attempted suicides (Soga 8). After being interrogated incessantly at one of the internment camps one man "slit his left wrist with a razor" (Soga 44).

The Japanese Americans were very eager to prove their loyalty. Japanese-American men were given that chance when they could serve in the U.S. military and were even drafted while detained in the internment camps. "[V]olunteers and draftees from the ten mainland internment camps" served in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (Ng 55). Over 33,000 Japanese Americans in total served during war.

They also played an active role in fighting the prosecution of their minority. In a series of legal cases that went to the Supreme Court, the Japanese Americans challenged the legality of the stigmatization of their minority, arguing that it was an “unconstitutional infringemen[t] of their equal protection and especially due process rights” (LeMay and Barkan 194). One of the most documented cases was the case of Hirabayashi vs. the United States. Hirabayashi, who had been convicted of violating the curfew imposed on the minority group under Executive Order 9066, argued that his conviction was in conflict with the Fifth Amendment. The Court found, however, that the government was within its rights and that Hirabayashi was guilty of violating the curfew (Currie 285). Similar verdicts were given in other cases, such as Korematsu vs. United States. The Court argued that “Korematsu was not excluded from the military area because of hostility to him or his race. He was excluded because we are at war with the Japanese Empire” (qtd. in Kim 774). The issue of racialization was ignored by the Supreme Court and most cases ended up in favor of the government.

While the majority of Americans was supportive of the government’s actions, there was resistance to its decision to relocate a large portion of the Japanese community in California. The Citizen’s Protective League (CPI) had been erected in 1936 to protest against the invasive measure and later functioned as the loudest opposing voice against the “deportation...of nine hundred alien enemies...at Ellis Island” (Christgau 139). Most protests, however, were organized by the internees themselves, and a mass protest against the government by the American majority never solidified. No official protests were made against the racialization of the Italian and German-American minority.

Thus, those affected by the Order 9066 were on their own. They were torn from their homes and lives that they had built and were confused, and angry, as to why this was happening to them. The events were largely ignored by the public and put down to the necessity of war and their own security. The internees did not receive an official presidential apology from President Gerald R. Ford for their hardships until 1976.

Conclusion

In many ways the public’s reaction to the war and the racialization of German, Italian and Japanese Americans corresponds to the reaction observed in WWI. The stereotypes that were

constructed prior to the war were amplified by this crisis and the political propaganda. The pre-existing presumptions about the minorities, the cultural images, and the apparent refusal to assimilate into society caused the public to believe they were disloyal and dangerous. The public was also influenced by the negative stereotypes that were broadcasted on the silver screen and published in the daily newspapers. They considered the Italian and German minority to be less dangerous, but generally agreed that they could potentially pose a threat.

Nevertheless, there were significant differences in public opinion in WWI and WWII. The attack on German culture that could be observed during the First World War was absent. More importantly, there are few known incidents of vigilante justice committed in WWII, at least not on the home front, which was an important aspect of the public's reaction in WWI. The victim perspective is harder to compare, while the accounts of internees are highly personal and there are few sources on internment in WWI. It can be said, however, that while some objected to the process of racialization, most minorities tried to assimilate or prove their loyalty in the hopes of avoiding punishment based on their nationality. The public's neglect to protest against the process of racialization together with a public support for the process allowed the Wilson as well as the Roosevelt administration to attack civil liberties without repercussions.

War on Terror

In the days after the attack the public was shocked and felt that their "sense of security was gone, replaced by feelings of extreme vulnerability" (Atkins 11). Most put their trust in the Bush administration in the belief that they would protect them from this new danger. The initial success of the war in Afghanistan, which started in 2001, kept public opinion in favor of the administration's approach to the national crisis caused by 9/11. By 2006, however, the war that dragged on overseas "turned [Americans] against the war" (Berinsky 1). The war had become unpopular and voices that demanded an end to the war grew louder. The war against terror being fought at home was still in full swing, with new anti-terrorism measures being put into place every day, such as body scanners at airports and a surveillance program from the New York Police Department to monitor Muslim students.

As in the previous case studies, it is important to remember that the Arab or Muslim stereotype was not an already established concept long before the September 11 attacks. The minority group had always been “invisible” in American society (Gualtieri 148). The Arab-Israeli-conflict, however, as well as the oil crisis in the 70’s and Iranian revolution, thrust the group into the spotlight and prompted the “assumption that all Arabs are Muslims and that Islam is an inherently backwards and uncivilized religion” (Naber 32).

In popular culture, especially in Hollywood, Arabs were now portrayed as the “nefarious oil sheik and the terrorist.” (Elaasar 20) Indeed, the “Arab as the villain [was] a favorite scapegoat of American culture” (Elaasar 20). The public was also bombarded with newspaper articles and news programs on TV, influenced by the government, which talked about terrorism and the constant threat that the United States was under. The prejudices that had already formed in public opinion were exaggerated by the attacks and the continued reminders of 9/11, those responsible and those who were still plotting to attack. The public reacted to the crisis by focusing on one minority, identified by the government, attacking them on their nationalities as well as religion. The vigilante justice we saw in WWI, but that was mostly absent in WWII, makes a return with many violent attacks, or hate crimes, against Arab and Muslim Americans. On the other hand, both the public as well as the minority itself protested the invasive measures taken by the government more so than in the other two case studies.

Stereotype

Aladdin Elaasar argues that the Arab and Muslim stereotyping had been part of American society for at least a hundred years. Similar to the WWI and WWII minorities, the Arab and Muslim “immigrants...[confronted] Nativism, ignorance, and anti-foreign sentiments” in the early nineteenth hundreds (Elaasar 20). It was the “Arab-Israeli conflict,” however, that emphasized the “the old stereotypes of Arabic Sheiks, harems and camels” and the “cultural bias” (Alasaar 20). The stereotypes set the stage for the government’s attack on the minority group.

The pre-existing stereotypes were clearly visible in Hollywood productions. Take, for example, the 1994 action movie *True Lies* in which Arnold Schwarzenegger fights a group of terrorists called the Crimson Jihad. The terrorists, with obvious Arab physique, are crazy fanatics,

with names such as Salim Abu Aziz, who's only desire is to destroy America. In the end, of course, Schwarzenegger defeats the terrorists by killing them.

Indeed, Sara Upstone argues that "post 9/11 content is less a reaction to a 'watershed' moment and more a continuation of pre-existing Orientalism. 9/11 transformed these stereotypes, but it did not bring them into being" (39). Rather, the crisis brought attention to the juxtaposition of American vs. Arab and Muslim, which turned out to be a juxtaposition of America's freedom and the Islam's "strict values" (Upstone 39).

Media

The public was constantly confronted with articles in the newspapers and items on the news channels about the ever-present threat facing the American public. Although 21st century media was not clearly labeled as propaganda, Bush, Nancy Snow argues, "borrowed heavily from... World War I propagandist Creel to map out America's militaristic destiny (and current war on terrorism)," influencing public opinion through mass media (15). Moreover, Snow suggests that there was a close link between the media and Washington (36). In other words, the government had a large hand in what the media published on the subject of the Arab and Muslim Americans. Unlike the media sources during WWI and WWII the stereotypes, like the disloyal German or Japanese, the media was not always as explicit with its description of suspects after 9/11. The constant reminder of a threat and the articles about Arab and Muslim terrorists provides the public with a stereotype nonetheless, while Hollywood is not always so subtle.

The article mentioned in chapter two, claiming that America has fifty-five encounters with terrorists every day, mostly avoided mentioning stereotypes. The article was, however, accompanied by pictures of stereotypical Muslim men, in white robes, long beards, and head covers (Reuters par.1). Additionally, the article mentions that the "no-fly list," that lists all those who are considered "a threat to aviation, to be planning an attack ,...are 'operationally capable' and are known to be planning to attend, or to have already attended, a military training camp, has reached 20,000 names, but that only 500 of those names are not native U.S citizens. Although *Reuters* resisted constructing stereotypes, the audience could draw its own conclusions from the information that was provided. Consequently, negative cultural images of foreign, Muslim or Arab, men are imprinted on the audience of newspapers. Thus, newspapers such as the *New York*

Times “contribut[ed] to racialization” (D’Harlinque and Wong 231). The newspapers, according to Snow, were at tool in the “propaganda war,” which was the “most integrated part of the new War on Terror” (23).

Although the attacks on the WTC had made some Hollywood writers more conscious of the scathing Arab Muslim stereotype, after all the 21st century has seen numerous movies focusing on a positive image of the Arab and Muslim world, such as the critically acclaimed *Kite Runner* (2007), it seemed that the public was still being confronted with these stereotypes. The 2008 blockbuster *Iron Man* saw Tony Stark, a wealthy weapons manufacturer, kidnapped by an Afghan radical terrorist who demanded that Stark build him a deadly missile. Thus, “on the silver screen, the Muslim Arab continues to surface as the threatening cultural ‘Other’” (Shaheen par. 7).

To this end, the mass media, under direction of the government, influenced public opinion by emphasizing the constant threat and exaggerating the existing stereotype. If the public believed that the threat was everywhere, as the MSNBC article claimed, and that the threat consisted primarily out of Arab and Muslim men than they were more likely to copy the stereotype of the Other and, thereupon, more likely to accept intrusive government measures that attack one particular minority. The negative representations of Arab and Muslim Americans are thus a propaganda tool to mobilize the American public.

Vigilante Justice

There was a severe wave of anti-Arab violence after the September 11 attacks, similar to the backlash of violence against German Americans in WWI. The difference, however, is that the attacks on Arab or Muslim Americans were committed mostly by individuals, while the vigilantism in WWI was often organized, such as the American Protective League, or was committed by larger groups. In the first two months after the attacks alone, the “American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee reported ‘over 700 violent incidents targeting Arab Americans, or those perceived to be Arab Americans, Arabs and Muslims’ including several murders...and another 165 violent incidents” in the following nine months (Cainkar, “American Muslims” 182).

Aladdin Elaasar recounts a non-violent incident of discrimination about an Arab-American comedian called Ray Hannania who was booted from a venue where he was supposed

to perform, “because a nationally known headliner, Jackie Mason, refused to appear at the same time with a Palestinian” (76). Another incident was the protest against the building of a mosque a couple of blocks away from the WTC. Pamela Geller, the organizer of the protest, argued that she wanted to “stop the Islamicization of America.” The presence of Islamists so close to the site, according to Geller, was an “insult to the victims of 9/11” (qtd. in “Protesters” par.2). The group building the mosque was thus attacked because of their religion and the supposed connection this presented to the 9/11 attacks.

A Minority's Perspective

In the immediate months after the attack the public became extremely patriotic. It “united the nation, and the diversity that was apparent prior to that day was largely replaced with a feeling of heightened nationalism, at least in the short term” (Atkins 11). The Arab and Muslim community displayed flags to emphasize their patriotic nature, actions similar to the minorities during WWI and WWII who felt the need to prove their loyalty to the United States.

Despite these efforts many Arab and Muslim Americans reported that they no longer “feel safe in American society” (Cainkar, “Thinking” 76). More than ever before the minority group was placed outside of society through a process of othering. “The purpose of being made to feel uneasy, as they see it, is that Arabs and Muslims understand that they will not be granted the same rights and privileges that accrue the members of white society, including the privilege of being treated as an individual,” rather than as a whole minority (Cainkar, “Thinking” 77). Many Arab and Muslim Americans feared that “any impropriety committed at any time in their lives might be brought forth to impugn them (Cainkar, *Homeland* 3). Apart from the threat of governmental action, they also faced the reaction of the general public. There was “egg-throwing, spitting, hijab-pulling, garbage dumping, ‘bomb in your briefcase’ jokes, ethnic slurs, religious affronts, hate graffiti, hand signals, removal from planes, and in some cases, assault and murder (Cainkar, *Homeland* 4).

The response from other citizens to the attacks on the civil liberties of the minority had been lackluster, according to the New York *TIMES*.

"It is a distressing fact of life that mistreatment of Muslims does not draw nearly the protest that it should. But not just Muslims are threatened by this seemingly excessive

warrantless surveillance and record-keeping. Today Muslims are the target. In the past it was protesters against the Vietnam War, civil rights activists, socialists. Tomorrow it will be another vulnerable group whose lawful behavior is blended into criminal activity” (“Surveillance” par. 7).

The *TIMES* thus argues that a lack of response to these measures, rather than an approval thereof, supports the government’s approach to terrorism and the consequential racialization of Arab and Muslim Americans.

Yet both the minority as well as other citizens stood up and protested against the process of racialization and stigmatization of Arab and Muslim Americans and the invasive security measures put in place by the Bush administration. For example, a group of human rights activists protested to mark the 10th anniversary of the Guantánamo Bay prison, in an effort to bring attention to the illegal detention of prisoners. This sets the War on Terror apart, while very few people, especially Americans who were part of the majority, stood up to protest against the discrimination and stigmatization of minority groups.

Unlike WWI and WWII the War on Terror has not yet come to an end and, therefore, the process of racialization could remain in place. The Arab and Muslim experience after 9/11 was fearful, of sudden arrests, insults and exclusion from white society. While some citizens have shown support, the country seemed divided. Like the first two case studies there was a lack of protest against the attack on civil liberties by the majority.

Conclusion

Similar to WWI and WWII propaganda, the mass media during the War on Terror racialized the cultural images of the Arab- and Muslim-American minority group. The government was able to build on the preexisting stereotypes, which had erupted since the 70’s, and set the stage for racialization. The public responded to the government’s racialized rhetoric by excluding the minority group from society, leading to stigmatization as well as incidents of bullying and violence.

Conclusion: A Stereotype to Build on

The crisis that formed catalysts for the stigmatization and the consequent governmental actions underlined the pre-existing negative cultural images of the minority groups under attack in all three case studies. The assumed stereotypes of the Jap, spaghetti-eater, Jerry, or Arab terrorist aided in the government's stigmatization of these minorities, making it easier for the public to accept the racialized measures taken by the administration. Without the public's support the government could not implement and continue the intrusive security measures. By building on the already present stereotypes, exaggerating the public's prejudices, the public was more likely to support the government's actions. Indeed, the public even acted on these prejudices on their own, indulging in vigilantism.

Furthermore, it can also be said that the negative cultural images of hostiles abroad, provided by the respective administrations, were projected onto American citizens of that heritage. The poster of the German brute attacking America in WWI was applied to German Americans who formed an internal threat. In WWII the events taking place abroad, such as German atrocities, Pearl Harbor, or Italy's love affair with Mussolini, convinced the public that all German, Italian and Japanese Americans were socialists or Nazi's, or at the least disloyal. Finally, the idea of the stereotypical terrorist, an Arab and Muslim man, which was identified after September 11th, was, thereupon, fixed to each male Muslim Arab in America. In other words, the public was influenced by images that did not necessarily racialize an American minority but that were, perhaps subconsciously, applied to people whose heritage is that of a hostile nation or onto someone who belongs to a hostile religion. The stigmatized minority groups felt, as a result, attacked when they were labeled as the Other and was juxtaposed with the average American. The public, mobilized by the crisis and the respective governmental rhetoric, responds by resorting to stigmatization and even violence.

In conclusion, the three case studies have several elements in common, while differencing in other crucial areas. The common elements are the pre-existing stereotypes that were highlighted by a crisis and political rhetoric and policy, the important role of the media and propaganda, and the minorities' experience. The public itself played a major role in the processes of racialization as it helped to construct the earliest version of the stereotypes, usually created during waves of immigration, and were mobilized by the government's actions.

Conclusion

The stigmatization of minorities through the execution of crisis legislation, provoking political rhetoric and the mobilization of the public in all three cases suggests a similar approach to a crisis by the federal government, in WWI, WWII and the War on Terror. The identified similarities between the three case studies are significant. The contention that the respective governments did, indeed, put in place a process of othering is supported by the examples that were provided in this thesis. They consciously singled out specific minorities based on their race, nationality, or religion and attacked their civil liberties through surveillance, arrests, and unjustified internment.

Furthermore, it could be argued that stigmatization was used by the administrations as a tool. In order to combat the assumed presence of an internal threat, vulnerable minorities were singled out and assigned a collective culpability for the crimes of individuals and the actions of hostile nations. The conclusion is nuanced, however, by the argument made in the third chapter, which claims that the administrations built on the stereotypes of minority groups that were already present in the social sphere.

The governmental actions were, consequently, relatively politically safe. An attack on American soil or its American people acts a catalyst, causing a continuation of Orientalism that was already present in society. By exaggerating the negative aspects of these existing stereotypes, such as disloyalty and the innate aggressive nature of enemy aliens towards America, the administrations' arguments for stigmatization were more readily accepted by the public. This concluding chapter will review the similarities and differences that could be observed between the three case studies and address the thesis' contribution to the academic discussion.

Similarities

The three case studies in this thesis provide an overview of the extent to which the actions of the Wilson, Roosevelt, and Bush administration stigmatized minorities. This thesis affirms the link that Louise Cainkar made between the legislation of 9/11 and WWII but proposes a similar connection can be made with of the legislation passed during WWI, such as the Enemy Alien, which shows many similarities. The pieces of legislation passed after an attack on American soil or property were mostly neutral in their wording, but were racialized through their execution. They were applied to specific minorities because of their assumed collective culpability and,

thereby, instigated racial profiling. Additionally, the legislation was a reaction to the catalyst of war against a hostile nation or group.

The rhetoric used in the arguments to justify the stigmatization counters the neutrality of the laws by identifying the minority groups as the Other and placing them outside of the social structure and the dominant group. Moreover, the themes in the argumentation were very similar. The administrations relied on an ideal of loyalty, in which they distinguished between loyal American patriots and disloyal enemy aliens. In addition, the argument made by John Dower in *Cultures of War* that the administrations approached the presence of an internal and constant threat in a similar fashion is obvious in all three cases. This approach brought forth the argument of prevention, particularly in the War on Terror, which justified invasive measures to ensure national security.

Public approval of government action is essential to the success of a war, as Adam Berinsky has argued (*In Time of War*). The racialized rhetoric of Wilson, Roosevelt, and Bush mobilized public opinion. Fiebig-Von Hase and Emkuhl proposed that there was a continuation of negative cultural images that carried from WWI to WWII on which the stigmatization of German-Americans was built. In *Reframing 9/11* Birkenstein, Froula and Randell also suggested that the Muslim stereotype was a construction of negative cultural images. This thesis has shown that the images of the stigmatized Other in all three case studies were already present in society and that the government was able to exaggerate these preexisting stereotypes, thereby eliciting a response from the public. The mobilization of the public and popular media proves a relation between the public's reaction and government policy and rhetoric. The public, consequently, carried on the process stigmatization leading to discrimination and even to incidents of vigilante justice in WWI and the War on Terror. Especially in WWI and WWII there was no room for a purist view.

Differences

There were, however, differences in the target of governmental actions in the case studies as well as in how the public reacted to the stigmatization. Both the Wilson administration and the public focused on eliminating German culture from American society, while the emphasis lay on only on the threat of minorities during WWII and War on Terror. On the other hand, the public in

WWI and the War on Terror expressed their anger towards the enemy threat by resorting to violence, while the American public remained more focused on the war effort, rather than act upon their fear of the internal threat. Moreover, as Sowell has argued, the internment of Japanese, as well as German Americans in WWI, and Arab and Muslim Americans is not identical. The decision to move entire minorities, including women and children, in WWI and WWII was never suggested during the War on Terror.

The most significant difference is the move away from inflammatory rhetoric by the Bush administration. It is in the execution of the legislation, such as the Patriot Act, rather than the president's words, that the prosecution of the Arab and Muslim minority can be found. His assurances that the U.S. only fought terrorists, not Arab or Muslim Americans, are in stark contrast with the rhetoric of Wilson and, in particular, General DeWitt who both clearly identified specific minorities as the Other in their speeches. Wilson did not even attempt to hide his discontent for hyphenated Americans

The Contribution to the Academic Discussion

The aim of the comparison of these three case studies was to provide a thorough overview of the extent of stigmatization of minorities by the government in times of crisis. The comparison of WWI, WWII as well as the War on Terror was a juxtaposition that had not before been attempted, but concurs with studies of the individual cases. It connects the theory of Orientalism and stigmatization to government policy and rhetoric. Furthermore, I proposed that stigmatization of vulnerable minorities is a tool, a reaction in times of crisis, but that the public is an essential part of the process. As Adam Berinsky argued, public support for an administration's actions is crucial in time of war.

Contrary to Michelle Malkin's book *In Defense of Internment*, the conclusion of this thesis argues that there are indeed many similarities between the three case studies. Her argument, that those arrested under the Patriot Act were all guilty, while all Japanese Americans were innocent, does not stand. Moreover, the internment of German, Italian and Japanese Americans are all connected through the absence of habeas corpus and a fair trial. Despite the fact that Guántanamo Bay was placed outside of U.S. territories while German, Japanese and Italian camps were situated on the American plains, the internees during WWI and WII were

given a similar status as the Arab and Muslim prisoners of non-American. The administrations have, as a result, been able to avoid taking responsibility and have put themselves above the law that would normally require them to provide the minority groups with equal rights.

The conclusion of the thesis affirms Alan Brinkley's argument that there is "little political cost" to the government's invasive measures and skirting of the Constitution (46). Despite an end to stigmatization, in WWI and WWII, there were few consequences for political figures as well as American citizens who acted upon the negative prejudices towards minority groups. The actions of the Wilson, Roosevelt, and Bush administration enjoyed public approval while the crisis of war continued. This does raise the question, however, how the process of stigmatization can come to an end in the War on Terror, which has been described as a war without end. The Bush administration focused on a small vulnerable group and assigned a general culpability. This is evident in the government's surveillance and screening measures that continue to treat the Arab and Muslim minority as a threat.

A Tool

The three case studies thus show many similarities in the relation between the stigmatization of minorities and government policy and rhetoric. The administrations placed minorities outside of society by prosecuting them based on their ethnicity, nationality or religion in name of national security. There seems to be a tradition of stigmatization since the early twentieth century, although it cannot be argued that there is a continuation. The case studies remain separate incidents that stand out from American history. The case studies should be seen within their historical context. The multicultural nature of American society during the War on Terror is in stark contrast with the make-up of society in World War I that was still feeling the effect of the large waves of immigration. The approach in the cases studies cannot be compared, for example, to a crisis such as the Vietnam War or the Red Scare, in which there was not prosecution based on ethnicity or religion, but the administrations focused on ideology.

In conclusion, despite the differentiating historical context the extent of stigmatization at the hands the Wilson, Roosevelt and Bush administration is significant and remarkably similar. They were all aware that their policies as well as their rhetoric attacked the civil liberties of only a few minority groups. Stigmatization, therefore, was used as a tool to combat the irrational fear

of an internal threat. The interests of national security are put above the interests of an American minority, consequently breaching their civil liberties. The public plays a major role during this process of othering, not only as a mobilized force, but also as an instigator, demanding action from the government against groups they perceive to have a relation with the hostile nation as well as a continuation of the negative cultural images, or Orientalism, that were exaggerated by the government and are, thus, part of the process, part of the tool of stigmatization.

The subjugation of enemy aliens, a tool the American government seems to have used frequently, could aid in further research into other crisis in American politics, such as the Cold War. Stigmatization is not necessarily based on ethnicity or nationality. Therefore, the idea of stigmatization as a tool begs the question to what extent stigmatization, a structural aid, is found in American politics in the twentieth and twenty-first-century.

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Appendix A: Loyalty Questionnaire for Japanese Internees⁵

FORM APPROVED
BUDGET BUREAU No. 23-1045-43



(LOCAL BOARD DATE STAMP WITH CODE)

STATEMENT OF UNITED STATES CITIZEN OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

1. _____
(Surname) (English given name) (Japanese given name)
 (a) Alina _____
2. Local selective service board _____
(Number)
(City) (County) (State)
3. Date of birth _____ Place of birth _____
4. Present address _____
(Street) (City) (State)
5. Last two addresses at which you lived 3 months or more (exclude residence at relocation center and at assembly center):
 _____ From _____ To _____
 _____ From _____ To _____
6. Sex _____ Height _____ Weight _____
7. Are you a registered voter? _____ Year first registered _____
 Where? _____ Party _____
8. Marital status _____ Citizenship of wife _____ Race of wife _____
9. _____
(Father's Name) (Town or Ken) (Birthplace) (State or Country) (Occupation)
10. _____
(Mother's Name) (Town or Ken) (Birthplace) (State or Country) (Occupation)

In items 11 and 12, you need not list relatives other than your parents, your children, your brothers and sisters.
For each person give name; relationship to you (such as father); citizenship; complete address; occupation.

11. Relatives in the United States (if in military service, indicate whether a selectee or volunteer):
 - (a) _____
(Name) (Relationship to you) (Citizenship)
(Complete address) (Occupation) (Volunteer or selectee)
 - (b) _____
(Name) (Relationship to you) (Citizenship)
(Complete address) (Occupation) (Volunteer or selectee)
 - (c) _____
(Name) (Relationship to you) (Citizenship)
(Complete address) (Occupation) (Volunteer or selectee)

(If additional space is necessary, attach sheets)

DSS Form 301A (1-23-43) 16-22565-1

⁵ <http://www.intimeandplace.org/Japanese%20Internment/reading/images/interviewquestions.jpg>

