

Seventy-Five Years is Long Enough

Will the BC Government Finally Acknowledge and Address Its Role in the Uprooting of Japanese Canadians?

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In 1988, the Canadian government formally acknowledged that its wartime measures to uproot, incarcerate, dispossess, and exile Japanese Canadians from the coast of British Columbia were unjustified. Research compiled in this study, however, suggests that the main instigators in the uprooting were politicians at the provincial and local levels and that the provincial government was complicit both directly and indirectly in the injustices perpetrated against Japanese Canadians. In light of this new evidence, a 2012 'apology' passed by the provincial government appears to be a classic case of reparation displacement. After 175 years of colonialism, is it not time for the provincial government to come clean regarding its role in perpetuating the dispossession of First Nations, exclusion of Asian Canadians, and the uprooting of Japanese Canadians?

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It has been 175 years since colonialism arrived on the shores of Vancouver Island, 150 years since confederation, and 75 years since the uprooting of Japanese Canadians. First Nations and Asian Canadian communities affected by the long history of dispossession and exclusion in this province have proven their resilience in the face of incredible challenges. First Nations continue to struggle for their land and other rights. Though much has changed for Asian Canadians, the legacy of a century of discrimination lives on. The imperative of change in 2017 is writ large.

It is indeed time for the many generations of non-Indigenous settler communities to be given access to the past and to fully embrace decolonization. As Bev Sellars points out in her recent work: "I know you are not personally responsible for these laws and policies, but now that you are aware, you have a responsibility to help change the situation. You cannot turn a blind eye to this because, if you do, you will be doing the same thing as your ancestors. That would be my message to all Canadians." 1

For this province to transcend its colonial roots, if justice and reconciliation are to actually take place, the provincial government must set an example by fully acknowledging and addressing its own role in the long history of white supremacy that reigned in Pacific Canada.

In this particular report, I address the specific question of provincial responsibility for the uprooting of Japanese Canadians (1941-1949)². My concern with this topic arose from research I did about local responsibility for the uprooting five years ago, using the city of Victoria as a case study. The results of that research suggested that local politicians with a supportive press were critical in waging a concerted campaign that culminated in the federal government passing Order-in-Council 1486 on February 24, 1942, authorizing what in effect became an attempt at clearing the coast, and indeed the province,

of Japanese Canadians. The study also revealed the complicity of the B.C. government at multiple levels. To date, the provincial government has yet to acknowledge or address its direct involvement in the uprooting, dispossession and exile of Japanese Canadians³ even though the federal government reached a settlement with the Japanese Canadians community in 1988, nearly thirty years ago.⁴

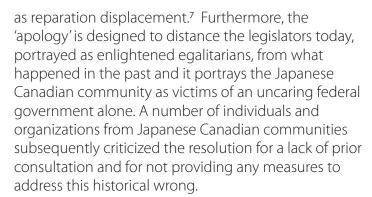
In this article I draw upon the research relating to Victoria as described above and also the work of others, particularly that of Roy Miki, Ken Adachi and Ann Sunahara, whose writings have inspired me for many years.⁵ The paper first addresses recent developments relating to provincial redress issues to illustrate how the provincial government has failed to adequately acknowledge or address its responsibility for the uprooting. I then document how it was both indirectly and directly implicated in the events that transpired 75 years ago. There remain many gaps in the research and documenting the full story of what transpired at the provincial level requires a dedicated research project, possibly as part of a provincial acknowledgment of its responsibility.

The Current State of Affairs

In 1988, Japanese Canadians gained a landmark settlement from the federal government in acknowledgment of its role in the uprooting. In 2012, the provincial government passed a 'motion without notice' introduced by Liberal MLA Naomi Yamamoto:

Be it resolved that this House apologizes for the events during the Second World War, when under the authority of the federal War Measures Act, 21,000 Japanese Canadians were incarcerated in internment camps in the interior of British Columbia and had their property seized. The House deeply regrets that these Canadians were discriminated against simply because they were of Japanese descent and believes that all Canadians regardless of their origins should be welcomed and respected. ⁶

As is clear in the resolution, no responsibility at all is assigned to the B.C. government for what happened, a clear example of what some have referred to



The inadequacy of this apology becomes painfully clear in light of the 2014 provincial government inquiry into its own role in promoting racism and discrimination against Chinese Canadians and its subsequent apology. In that case the government began a process of consultation with Chinese Canadian communities, convening seven public meetings and receiving over 40 written submissions over the course of 2013-14. Working with legislative staff and the legislative library, the government began a serious attempt to compile the history of its role in perpetrating racism and legislative measures related to Chinese Canadians. This culminated in the publication of The Chinese Historical Wrongs Consultation Final Report and Recommendations (see Appendix), the adoption of an official apology, and the beginning of remedial actions through a series of Legacy Initiatives.8

A number of individuals and groups in Chinese communities criticized this agreement for its lack of compensation to individual head tax payers and the small amount allocated for legacy initiatives. For example, Professor Henry Yu, called at the time for the establishment of a \$15 million endowment fund but the provincial government only provided a one-time only \$1 million fund for Legacy Initiatives.9 I respect those points of view and I cite the agreement not to promote it but because it underscores the discrepancy with the government's treatment of the Japanese Canadian community, among others. 10 This type of differential treatment can be extremely divisive.

Our Mississippi?

Some people don't realize to what extent the provincial government promoted and institutionalized racism in British Columbia.

Since its inception as a colonial settler state, the governing bodies of this province developed unique and distinct policies--refusing to sign treaties while dispossessing First Nations, advocating and legislating Asian exclusion, disenfranchising First Nations and Asian Canadians, and uprooting Japanese Canadians in 1942.

This was a province like no other. It embodied the politics of white supremacy, shaping Canadian federal policies to an extent that has seldom been fully understood.

The historical example most pertinent to this essay is the role the provincial government played in denying the right to vote to Japanese Canadians, those born in Canada or those who had naturalized. This they did by legislative fiat in 1895, adding Japanese to the already excluded Chinese and First Nations. Let me be clear about the significance of this—even in the U.S. South. segregated states such as Mississippi were unable to do what the B.C. government did—changes brought about during the civil war meant that states could not take away the right to vote of African Americans because that right was protected under the U.S. constitution. Thus Mississippi had to find indirect means (literacy tests, etc) to stop African Americans from voting. Politicians in B.C., however, faced no such restrictions and they moved with alacrity to take away the right to vote from Asian Canadians and Indigenous peoples in 1872. However, as resistance to such racist measures increased, the B.C. government also resorted to subterfuge and used indirect means, such as language tests for new immigrants, to screen out those of Asian heritage, just as they did in Mississippi.

However, in 1900, Tomekichi Homma, with the support of a mobilized Japanese Canadian community,



challenged the ban and won at the County Court. A determined B.C. government, however, proceeded to appeal that decision to the Supreme Court of British Columbia. After losing there, the B.C. government took the extraordinary measure of taking the case all the way to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. The provincial attorney-general of the day, D.M. Eberts, argued: "Even if they exercised the franchise properly, it is intolerable that these foreign races, which can never be assimilated with our population, should in many constituencies determine who shall represent the people in the legislature." 11 The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council overturned the ruling of the B.C. Supreme Court and thus Asian Canadians and First Nations were denied the right to vote for another 50 years. The significance of this is twofold. The aggressive actions taken to stop Japanese Canadians from voting derived solely from the B.C. government. For its own reasons, the federal government declined to be part of the province's lawsuits. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the uprooting could or would have taken place if Japanese Canadians had the franchise. Its denial had rendered them citizens without rights.

The denial of the franchise was only one of a slough of measures the B.C. government introduced against Japanese Canadians, not dissimilar to, and often in tandem with the measures taken against Chinese Canadians in the prewar period.¹² To date the provincial government has failed to examine or disclose its record regarding its discriminatory treatment of Japanese Canadians, not to mention its record towards First Nations. The search and verification of this unseemly history should surely be included in any substantive acknowledgment by the B.C. government, as it was in the case of the Chinese Canadian apology. For it was this institutionalized pressure that created the conditions in the province that fostered popular racism and set the scene for the uprooting of 1942.

Wartime Measures

Canada went to war in Europe in 1939 and Japan's imperial forces attacked the U.S., Hong Kong, and

Southeast Asia in December 1941. The war in the Pacific provoked concern that the conflict might come to the coast, and war fears spread, providing fertile terrain for a resurgence of racism in the province. However, the nature, extent, and duration of the measures taken against Japanese Canadians cannot be explained by war fears. The actions taken far exceeded any measures taken against those of German or Italian heritage in Canada. Furthermore, they also exceeded by a substantial margin the discriminatory measures the U.S. government imposed on Japanese Americans. Something else was going on.

What occurred was a concerted campaign led by ideologues and provincial politicians to achieve what some had long aimed for—the forced removal of Japanese Canadians from the province--what the UN today describes as ethnic cleansing.¹³ However, this was not easily accomplished. Much had changed in the decades prior to the war in the Pacific. A whole new generation of young nisei activists had come together to form the Japanese Canadian Citizens League. They began publishing an English-language weekly, The New Canadian. Japanese Canadians had won numerous allies including such people as Angus MacInnis, Hugh Keenleyside, and Nellie McClung who would not be easily stampeded into a racist pogrom against a community that they and many others had come to admire. Community resistance and the support of allies meant that racists who hoped to take advantage of war fears to expel Japanese Canadians had to mount a public campaign to achieve their goals. Implicated were municipal politicians, media, but setting the pace were provincial politicians, officials, and agencies. For example:

• In 1940, the provincial Department of Trade and Industry had been 'quietly studying the extent and character of oriental penetration in the economy of this province'.14 Department officials forwarded a list of all Japanese Canadians who held trade licenses as well as a list of JC incorporated companies to the BC Attorney General's office who replied it would of no doubt be 'of considerable use' to the department. This culture of surveillance arose from the perception that those of Japanese



- heritage could not be Canadian and thus were likely to be acting as agents of Japanese imperialism.
- In December 1941, the provincial minister of education, H.G. Perry, ordered an investigation into Japanese Canadian students enrolled in BC public schools, targeting them as possible problem students. The results of this investigation have yet to be made public. No such investigation was ever conducted against the children of German or Italian Canadians.
- In meetings in Ottawa in January 8-9, 1942, BC Minister of Labour George Pearson and former Conservative MLA MacGregor MacIntosh, part of the B.C. coalition government at the time, lobbied the federal government heavily to uproot Japanese Canadians. They ran up against opposition from federal officials such as Henry Angus and Hugh Keenleyside, who did not believe Japanese Canadians posed a threat to national security. This encounter made Pearson, MacIntosh and other provincial politicians aware that their racist agenda would not be easily achieved and marked the beginning of a concerted campaign to uproot all Japanese Canadians. ¹⁶
- On January 23, George Pearson told the legislature that while in Ottawa for the 8-9 January meetings he had submitted "detailed proposals made by the Province." To date these detailed proposals have not been available.
- On January 30, Attorney-General R.L. Maitland stated in the legislature that the provincial government had 'made representations' regarding the Japanese in the province, and that he 'did not feel safe with the Japanese on the coast' and they could represent 'a very real danger on this coast'.¹⁷
- In Parliament on February 9, 1942, Robert Mayhew, Victoria MP called for the uprooting of all Japanese Canadians, leading the British Daily Colonist to proclaim "British Columbia is Demanding 'All Out' Removal of Japanese". This marked an escalation in the campaign initiated by B.C. government representatives in January. A few days later, Victoria

- City Council unanimously passed a resolution demanding uprooting, a motion they sent to Premier Hart.¹⁸
- On February 16, BC Premier Hart pressed for uprooting in discussions with federal cabinet minister Ian Mackenzie. The premier subsequently replied to Victoria City Council, declaring "every effort has been made by the Provincial Government to have Japanese aliens removed from vulnerable zone. On Saturday, last, two of our officials were sent to Ottawa to co-operate with the Dominion authorities in connection therewith, and you can be assured that pressure will be brought to bear to secure speedy action." ¹⁹ The two provincial officials sent to Ottawa were Arthur Dixon, Deputy Minister of Public Works and RW. Griffith, Unemployment Relief Administrator, presumably sent to work out the logistics of uprooting Japanese Canadians. Their roles and specific actions have yet to be documented.
- On 17 February, BC Provincial Police commissioner T.W.S. Parsons, an appointee of the provincial government, wrote to BC Attorney General R.L. Maitland seeking the uprooting of all Japanese Canadians. Maitland forwarded this message to lan Mackenzie in Ottawa. The B.C. Provincial Police force was a provincial body created by the province and responsible to it.²⁰
- On 20 February, the BC Cabinet approved an order signed by the Minister of Education, H.G. Perry, ordering any 'student of Japanese origin' be stopped from wearing the uniform of a 'school Cadet Corps'. This provincial order was a further measure that damned the position of Japanese Canadians, particularly nisei, many of whom were working hard to support the Canadian war effort.²¹ No such measures were taken against those of German or Italian heritage.
- On 23 February, CCF leader Harold Winch went to Victoria to meet BC Liberal Premier Hart and the two men agreed to demand the uprooting of all people of Japanese heritage. They then together phoned Liberal cabinet minister lan Mackenzie in



Ottawa to inform him of their joint position. The next day, the federal cabinet passed PC 1486, the order-in-council that allowed the indiscriminate removal of over 20,000 people of Japanese heritage from the coast, regardless of their citizenship or place of birth.²²

- In March 1942, the provincial government authorized the appointment of John Shirras, of the BC Provincial Police, to the post of assistant commissioner of the BC Security Commission, the body that oversaw the uprooting of Japanese Canadians in 1942-43. ²³
- In March 1942, twenty BC citizens joined the BC Security Commission Advisory Board. Heading the list were R.L. Maitland, George Pearson and Harold Winch, all MLAs at the time. Maitland was the provincial Attorney-General and George Pearson was the Minister of Labour, both playing important roles in the campaign for uprooting. Winch was with the CCE²⁴
- In August 1942, BC'S Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs, E.H. Bridgman, collaborated with the federal Custodian's office (Custodian of Enemy Property) to pressure municipalities to provide property assessments records of Japanese Canadians, actively involving the provincial government in the process of dispossession.²⁵
- The following month, the BC government refused to provide any funding for education of the schoolaged children in the camps in B.C. despite the fact that education was a provincial responsibility under the B.N.A. act. In other words, not only had the provincial government pushed for the uprooting, they attempted to deny young children they had uprooted from the coast and who were detained in interior camps the basic right to an education.²⁶

Postwar Measures

• In April 1947, the provincial government refused to grant the right to vote to Japanese Canadians or First Nations even though South Asians and Chinese Canadians won the right at that time.

- Members of the CCF in the legislative committee reviewing the question voted to grant the right but the Liberal and Conservative members outnumbered them.²⁷
- In January 1948, the provincial premier, Liberal Byron Johnson advised Mackenzie King to extend the Orders-in-Council preventing Japanese Canadians from returning to the coast.²⁸
- In the spring of 1948, provincial officials re-imposed a 1902 regulation banning Japanese Canadians from working as loggers in the forests that were part of a crown grant.²⁹
- In order to assure that Japanese Canadians could not return to the coast, the provincial government agreed to pay half the costs related to the continuing exile of JCs beginning on March 31, 1948.³⁰

In Conclusion

The evidence presented in this paper, accumulated randomly over the past five years, constitutes a pretty clear case that the provincial government was not only heavily complicit in the uprooting but was also a prime instigator.

Its actions deepened and prolonged the injustices committed by the federal government. The point here is not to cast blame but rather to prod the provincial government to step up to the plate and acknowledge and address its responsibilities so that we can get on with the work of transcending our colonial past.

In the wake of the Chinese Canadian Legacy Initiatives, and with a provincial election approaching, the provincial government took the initiative through Heritage B.C. to launch the Japanese Canadian Historic Places Recognition Project on 7 July 2016. A similar program was established for historic sites of significance for the South Asian community in September 2016. While such programs are long overdue, they are not a substitute for serious



In 1988, the Japanese Canadian redress movement obliged the federal government to acknowledge the uprooting as a gross injustice and obtained a redress settlement that remains a landmark in Canadian history. The provincial government, however, used that settlement to divert attention from its own central role in the uprooting. Furthermore, it failed to take any substantial measures to integrate the story of the uprooting in educational curricula until obliged to do so by Japanese Canadians.

Next year, the Smithsonian National Museum of American History will mark the 75th anniversary of the internment of Japanese Americans with a yearlong exhibit featuring the original Executive Order 9066. It has begun a campaign to reach out to the affected communities and to identify and gather artifacts. No such initiative is taking place in B.C. or Canada to my knowledge, although local museums and municipalities have recently taken some initiative to recognize their local roles in the uprooting. The provincial silence grows louder each day.

Whatever approach is finally taken to address the issues discussed herein, it must include serious government negotiations with representative community organizations and avoid any semblance of electoral positioning for 'quick wins". In the process the parties might consider public consultations, thorough documentation of the provincial government's actions, substantial measures including comprehensive education and heritage reform, as well as compensation to affected parties where appropriate. These points apply to any acknowledgment for the uprooting of Japanese Canadians but they also apply to others, including the South Asian communities. It is untenable that

individual communities be singled out for electoral reasons or otherwise, for special treatment.

For Japanese Canadians, 75 years is long enough and the people of this province deserve to know the truth. For First Nations, 175 years have passed since the onset of colonization. It is time the provincial government comes clean on its past, breaks the current logjam, and permits us all to get on with achieving justice and reconciliation.

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Notes

- 1 Bev Sellars, Price Paid: The Fight for First Nations Survival (Vancouver, B.C.: Talon Books, 2016), 9.
- 2 The term 'uprooting' is used in the rest of this essay to denote not only displacement but also the exile, dispossession and deportation of Japanese Canadians.
- 3 The results of that study form a chapter of a book currently being completed, 'Beyond White Supremacy: Race, Indigeneity and the Pacific Coast.
- 4 For an overview of the federal settlement see Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi, Justice in Our Time: The Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement (Vancouver: Talon Books, 1991).
- 5 In particular, Roy Miki's Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice (Vancouver, B.C.: Raincoast Book, 2004); Ken Adachi, The Enemy That Never Was (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976); and Ann Gomer Sunahara, The Politics of Racism (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1981) now available without charge on-line at http://www.japanesecanadianhistory.ca.
- 6 7 May 2012 British Columbia Debates 11578 https://www.leg. bc.ca/content/Hansard/39th4th/Ho507pm-o2.pdf, Accessed 16 February, 2016. Yamamoto also provided a heartfelt personal story when introducing the motion.

About the Program:

The Centre for Asia Pacific Initiatives Migration and Mobility Program is a dynamic, interdisciplinary program housed at the University of Victoria, Canada. The Program offers research, policy, and knowledge mobilization on themes pertaining to human migration and mobility within, from, and through the Asia-Pacific region.

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- 7 See Matt James, "Scaling Memory: Reparation Displacement and the Case of B.C.," Canadian Journal of Political Science, 42:2 (June 2009), 363-386.
- 8 For details see http://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/multiculturalism-anti-racism/chinese-legacy-bc. Select information is also contained in an appendix to this report.
- 9 Henry Yu, "How Does a Province Say Its Sorry" 20 March 2014, Vancouver Sun.
- 10 For the sake of full disclosure, in 2014 the BC government approached me to undertake a project to compile a publicly accessible on-line database of Chinese Canadians artifacts held by local museums on Vancouver Island and the mainland as part of its Legacy Initiative. I received a \$90,000 research grant for this purpose and the project culminated with the launch of the database in July 2016.
- 11 D.M. Eberts to Christopher Robinson, K.C., "In Re Tomey Homma," 29 June 1901, as reproduced in the Victoria Daily Colonist, 3 January 1903.
- 12 The long list of discriminatory legislation is currently being reviewed by the government and doesn't seem to be on the government website. A PDF of the original list is available upon request.
- 13 Such a term may discomfort some but the UN definition of ethnic cleansing is "rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove from a given area persons of another ethnic or religious group". For details see Hayden, Robert M. (1996) "Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers". Slavic Review 55 (4), 727-48.
- 14 G. Neil Perry to Colonel E. Pepler, Deputy Attorney-General, 10 August 1940, GR 268, 14.3, British Columbia Archives. Thanks to Chris Hanna to bringing these documents to our attention.
- 15 See Victoria Daily Times, 18 December 1941, 2.
- 16 For first-hand accounts of this meeting, see Maurice A. Pope, Soldiers and Politicians: The Memoirs of Lt.-Gen. Maurice A. Pope (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962) and Escott Reid, Radical Mandarin: The Memoirs of Escott Reid (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

- 17 "B.C. Government to Create Permanent Postwar Committee," 31 January 1942, Victoria Daily Times.
- 18 "Enemy Aliens Must Leave Coastal Area of B.C. Before April 1," British Daily Colonist, 14 February 1942, 2
- 19 John Hart to M.F. Hunter, Esq., 16 February 1942 (CVA, CSR 13, Special Communication Received, Province).
- 20 As cited in Patricia Roy, Triumph of Citizenship, ft. 79, 328.
- 21 Council of Public Instruction, Order-in-Council, 20 February 1942. Appreciation to Patrick Dunae who unearthed this document a number of years ago.
- 22 "Winch Insists Japs' Removal Be Immediate," 23 February, 1942, VDT, 13.
- 23 British Columbia Security Commission, Removal of Japanese from Protected Areas: Report Issued by the British Columbia Security Commission (Vancouver, 1942).
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 E.H. Bridgman, Deputy Minister, Municipal Affairs to M.F. Hunter, City Clerk, "Re: Japanese Taxation Questions," 15 October, 1942, CSR 13, City of Victoria Archives. My thanks to Jenny Clayton for finding these documents.
- 26 Numerous sources affirm this policy though the related correspondence has not been made public. See, for example, Frank Moritsugu and the Ghost Town Teachers Historical Society, Teaching in Canadian Exile, (Toronto: Ghost Town Teachers Historical Society, 2001), 3.
- 27 The BC legislature appointed a special committee on elections in 1946 that held hearings in Vancouver and Victoria that fall. For details see Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 19 February, 1947.
- 28 See Ann Sunahara, The Politics of Racism, 149.
- 29 Ibid., 150.
- 30 See Cabinet Committee on Japanese Questions, Minutes, 15 January 1948, Record Group 25, Vol. 1868, 1939-263, 4, Library and Archives Canada.



The report recommended that any apology and related initiatives:

- Reflect the principles of respect, sincerity and commitment to reconciliation
- Be brought forward by the Premier
- Update education curricula
- Public education initiatives and publication on Chinese Canadian history
- Review legislation to assure all racist measures repealed and a process introduced to prevent racist legislation from coming back
- Identification and recognition of historic sites
- Funding of \$1 million towards legacy initiatives.
- Integration and coordination of legacy initiatives
- No individual redress for the head tax

Subsequently the provincial legislature voted unanimously on May to issue an official apology:

Be it resolved that this Legislature apologizes for more than a hundred laws, regulations, and policies that were imposed by past provincial governments that discriminated against people of Chinese descent since 1871, when British Columbia joined Confederation, to 1947. These laws and policies denied British Columbia's Chinese communities' basic human rights, including but not limited to, the right to vote, hold public office, or own property; imposed labour, educational and employment restrictions; subjected them to health and housing segregation, and prevented them from fully participating in society. The House deeply regrets that these Canadians were discriminated against simply because they were of Chinese descent. All members of this House acknowledge that we all aspire to be a fair and just society where people of all nations and cultures are welcomed, accepted and respected.

Be it further resolved that the House acknowledge that the Chinese Canadian Community endured untold hardships and persevered with grace and dignity. We acknowledge that despite being subjected to discriminatory laws, policies and practices, the Chinese community has made, and continues to make, substantial contributions to the culture, history and economic prosperity in our province.