

 **Nikkei**
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NIKKEI IMAGES



A Publication Of Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre
ISSN # 1203-9017 Spring 2014, Volume 19, No. 1

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THE FINAL NEGOTIATION

About the Cover: In an interview in August 2013, Cassandra Kobayashi recalled the final days of the redress campaign.

I was immersed in the redress movement from 1983-1988. It was a very intense time, with lots of low points.

By the summer of 1988, we weren't getting meetings. We would go and meet with other MPs from all parties and try and get support; try and get them to ask questions in Question Period. Then we got a call (in mid August 1988) that the Minister wanted to meet and it was different this time. It was going to be in Montreal and we normally didn't meet in Montreal. And it was at a hotel, which also seemed strange. Roy Miki and I particularly talked about this and felt that this could be it. Personally, I thought this could be the real negotiation and we may or may not come to a settlement but I was very hopeful and that is why I took my camera and actually got some pictures of that whole negotiation process. It took 17 hours over a couple days.

When we arrived there, we were taken up the back stairs of the hotel and led to this room. Lucien Bouchard was there, which was very unusual... He was Prime Minister Mulroney's right hand man and he was basically there to tell us that the Prime Minister wanted this meeting to happen and be successful. So we knew at that point that this was our opportunity to come to an agreement.

On September 22, 1988, the formal agreement was signed. It was an unbelievable moment. For years and years, I wondered if we would ever get to that point. And certainly having all the elements of the settlement there: the individuals, the community, the foundation, the acknowledgement. It was just a great settlement.

POST REDRESS

What does redress mean to you?

By Beth Carter

This is a question that I have been thinking about over the last six months as we prepared the Call for Justice exhibit. The more I worked on the research and spoke with people who had been involved in redress, the more I understood that the scope of redress was much larger than I had originally thought. While significant, the signing of the redress agreement was just the start of a new era in Japanese Canadian history and culture.

As part of our exhibit celebrations, we were very happy to work together with Kirsten Emiko McAllister and Roy Miki from Simon Fraser University to organize a discussion panel on the challenges and possibilities of research on Japanese Canadians. How have the politics of representation changed since the redress settlement? What directions can research take in the future?

Kirsten and Roy invited several prominent scholars to visit the museum and participate in the discussions. Audrey Kobayashi, Mona Oikawa, Jeff Masuda and John Price each spoke about their own research and shared their thoughts about the influence of redress on research today. Topics included the continuing fight against racism, the need for ongoing activism, and how the politics of representation continue to shift. There were also some interesting parallels between the pre-war treatment of Japanese Canadians and the attitudes towards marginalized communities today. There was general agreement that the achievement of redress was an important turning point for Japanese Canadians and everyone in Canada.



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Nikkei Images is published by the Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre

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Subscription to **Nikkei Images** is free with your yearly membership to NNMCC:

Family \$45 | Individual \$35

Senior Individual \$25

Non-profit Association \$50

\$2 per copy for non-members

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A Call for Justice

Fighting for Japanese Canadian Redress (1977-1988)

I know that I speak for Members on all sides of the House today in offering to Japanese Canadians the formal and sincere apology of this Parliament for those past injustices against them, against their families, and against their heritage, and our solemn commitment and undertaking to Canadians of every origin that such violations will never again in this country be countenanced or repeated.

– Brian Mulroney, 1988

I have to say that it was the happiest moment of my life and a very proud one too, to be part of this magnificent and historic achievement. I thought it might come, but I wasn't sure. When it came, it was a burden that was lifted.

– Art Miki, 2013

Twenty five years ago, on September 22, 1988, the public galleries in the House of Commons in Ottawa were crowded with Japanese Canadians to witness Prime Minister Brian Mulroney acknowledging and apologizing for the past injustices towards Japanese Canadians from 1942-1949. The Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement was the first of its kind in Canadian history. It helped lead the way for future governmental apologies.

In honour of this anniversary, the Nikkei National Museum recently opened a new exhibit to thank and pay tribute to the hundreds of men and women who fought for redress for Japanese Canadians, and especially the dedicated committees of the NAJC who committed thousands of hours of personal and professional time to this cause.

A Call for Justice - Fighting for Japanese Canadian Redress (1977-1988) examines this lengthy fight through historic photographs, archives and artifacts, poetry, personal statements, and Tamio Wakayama kindly contributed many wonderful photographs. A new video, *Children of Redress*, was created especially for the exhibit by Greg Masuda.

The exhibit asks some key questions: Does the idea of redress live on and remain significant for future generations?

Is redress just about the past or is it also about the future?

What does redress mean to you?

The exhibit is divided into five sections and looks at both the political struggle with Ottawa, and the internal struggle within the community to find consensus and a way to move forward. This fight took many years, and was an emotional, frustrating, and tiring process.

Igniting Voices

The 1977 Centennial of the first Japanese immigrant to Canada was a time of celebration, optimism and excitement. It also inspired younger Nikkei to think about their history, question their family experiences, and wonder about their links to their ancestry. Many *sansei* (third generation) and new immigrants learned for the first time about the internment experiences endured by the *issei* and *nisei*.

Celebratory concerts, banquets, tournaments, exhibits, and performances were held across the country. The first Powell Street Festival was held in Vancouver. The Legacy Sakura Trees were planted in Oppenheimer Park. A Dream of Riches, an important travelling exhibit and book of historic photographs, showcased one hundred years of Japanese Canadian history. It was an eye-opening experience for all generations. Although there were many attempts to gain restitution through the years, the roots of the final redress movement grew out of the Japanese Canadian Centennial in 1977.

Building Community

Redress in Canada took a grassroots approach. Starting with informal discussion groups and research in both Vancouver and Toronto, the support from community members gradually increased. Community meetings and newsletters helped get

the word out. House meetings were also a popular way to share food, drink, friendship and conversations about redress. Extensive fundraising was required to mount both local and national campaigns, and helped to bring people together for a unified goal. Mostly working without the benefits of computers, volunteers managed extensive mailing lists and communication networks. As the fight for redress became more formalized, the NAJC sought support from multicultural and human rights coalitions across Canada.

High and Low Points

The fight for redress was fraught with challenges and obstacles: with the community, the media, and the government. For several years, there was a major debate between competing factions over the topic of individual redress payments. Over the course of five years, the NAJC negotiated with two different governments and five successive Ministers of State for Multiculturalism: David Collette, Jack Murta, Otto Jelinek, David Crombie and Gerry Weiner.

There were also many exciting moments that helped to keep spirits up. The important Price Waterhouse report in 1986 detailed economic losses of over \$443 million and helped to strengthen the community request. The redress rally in Ottawa in April 1988 was probably the most exciting and public event of the redress campaign, when approximately 500 Japanese Canadians and their supporters from across Canada converged on Parliament Hill to march in support of redress. The parallel redress fight in the US helped to legitimize the struggle in Canada and caught media attention.

Acknowledgement vs. Apology

The Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement was the first of its kind in Canadian history. With thoughtful and clear guidance from the community, the NAJC Redress Committee pushed for a full settlement which included individuals, the general Japanese Canadian community, and the broader issues of civil rights in Canada. The redress settlement included:

- an acknowledgment of the injustice of the wartime events
- individual payments of \$21,000 to eligible Canadians
- establishment of a community fund of \$12 million
- clearing of criminal records for those charged under the War Measures Act
- restoration of Canadian citizenship to those exiled to Japan
- the creation of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, which was established in 1997

A Surge of Creativity

After the signing, the redress agreement inspired discussions and creativity around Japanese Canadian identity and experiences. It was a time to rebuild community institutions, both physical buildings and emotional networks. By December 1994, the Japanese Canadian Redress Secretariat had processed 18,534 applications for individual compensation. The Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation used the community fund to support over 160 community projects across the country, including seniors housing and services, cultural centres, human rights, and culture and history. The Canadian Race Relations Foundation was formed in 1997 to “foster racial harmony and cross-cultural understanding and help eliminate racism.”



The Nikkei National Museum appreciates the generous funding and financial support from Canadian Heritage, the National Association of Japanese Canadians, the Nikkei Place Foundation, Yoshi Karasawa, Deux Mille Foundation, and the Government of British Columbia.



Art Miki and Brian Mulroney, shaking hands after signing the Redress Agreement.
September 22, 1988 in Ottawa.

Photo by Gordon King. NNM 2010.32.89

A Burden That Was Lifted

- Art Miki remembers the final days of the fight for redress

At that point, we had this postcard campaign. We had all these postcards that people across the country signed, that were taken to the Prime Minister's office. And Gerry Weiner, who was the next Minister of Multiculturalism, actually took part. And he took some of our people right to the PM's office and helped them dump the postcards right in the office.

Gerry Weiner, who had just been appointed in April 1988, was telling us that his staff had told him not to attend this rally... because look what had happened to the previous three ministers and he didn't want to be in that position. But being of Jewish background, I think he had some sympathy for the kinds of racism and treatment that Japanese Canadians had received, so he attended. He said later on that he was so glad he had attended because he learned so much. He actually helped us break through to the PM's office. He was the one that eventually, after the rally, sent a note saying he wanted to meet, we want to sit down with you again, and resume negotiations.

I remember saying to him, "We're willing to meet, but if it's going to be the same old story that we've been hearing from the previous three ministers, then let's not waste time. It's not worth it." Finally he said to us, "I've talked to the Prime Minister – he wants to start the slate anew. Everything is on the table." So, we said, "OK, fine, we'll meet with you." And we sat down, and we realized at that point that they were willing to make some moves to get this issue resolved. And then, the bigger problem became, for the government, was how do they change face? At one point they had said it was over, how do you begin to say, well we've decided to change our mind. It was a big dilemma for them, in terms of what they could do in order to get this issue resolved.

We offered some suggestions. Things like, why don't you get a third party to mediate and then they could make a recommendation. Or get a panel of a few people, with one from our group and one from the government, and one that's neutral, and try to sit down.

And after all those suggestions, I got a call from the minister's office, from Gerry Weiner's office, that the PM had looked at all the possibilities and he thought that the best thing to do is just sit down and negotiate. Just prior to that, the American bill was signed by Reagan, August 8th I believe, and this was in about mid-August when we got this phone call about having a face-to-face meeting.

So on August 25th, in Montreal, we met as a group with government officials and we hammered out the redress agreement. It was very similar to what ended up in fact as the agreement that we signed with them that was announced in the House of Commons. One of the things we were told after the meeting, is that we are not to disclose the fact that there is any agreement at all, until the PM is prepared to make an announcement in the House of Commons. So we couldn't tell anyone that the issue had been resolved, but we had to wait for the time when they wanted to make a specific announcement.

On September 21, around noon, I get a phone call. In fact, in the morning I got a call from reporters, saying I understand that there is going to be an announcement in the House tomorrow. And I said, I haven't heard anything. They said, well, it's in Ottawa. I guess someone leaked the information. So I said, I don't know anything about it. Then around noon, I got a phone call from the Minister's office, saying tomorrow, the Prime Minister is going to make an announcement. Get all of your people, we've made arrangements so all they have to do is go to the airport. So we arrived in Ottawa that evening on the 21st and there were officials to meet us. Then we all ended up going to different places. I ended up in some bed and breakfast by myself. The other people were taken someplace else. I guess the reason was so the press would not know that we were having this announcement. Though it seemed they knew from the call I got. We were told to meet in the minister's office the next day, which we did. And that's when we got the briefing in terms of what would happen, about when the announcement would be made, and when the press conference would be held, etc. So that was reaching the day of redress, September 22nd.

When we sat down after the negotiation meeting in Montreal, we were just elated. I remember Roger Obata –who had gone through this as well as the Bird Commission – he just sat back and said, I can't believe this, I can't believe this happened. And that's the feeling that I had as well, just that everything had lifted, all the struggles that we went through, all of that became nothing, it was such a happy moment for all of us.

So when we were in the House of Commons that day, hearing the announcement, and cheering the PM for his speech and for doing what he did, I have to say that it was the happiest moment of my life and a very proud one too, to be part of this magnificent and historic achievement. I always thought it might come, but I wasn't too sure. When it came, it was a burden that was lifted.

Well, I think the education of people, learning about what happened, was more important from my perspective as an educator, that we know that part of history. That was always the motivation. Reporters used to ask that question quite often: aren't you frustrated, don't you feel like quitting? I said, yes it's frustrating but we're telling a story that should be told. And that was more important than ever getting an apology. So when you get it all, that's a very happy moment.

Excerpted from an interview with Art Miki, August 2013



**Brief meeting before final announcement.
September 22, 1988 in Ottawa.
Photo by Gordon King. NNM 2010.32.110**

REDRESS AFTER 25 YEARS – AN IMMIGRANT PERSPECTIVE

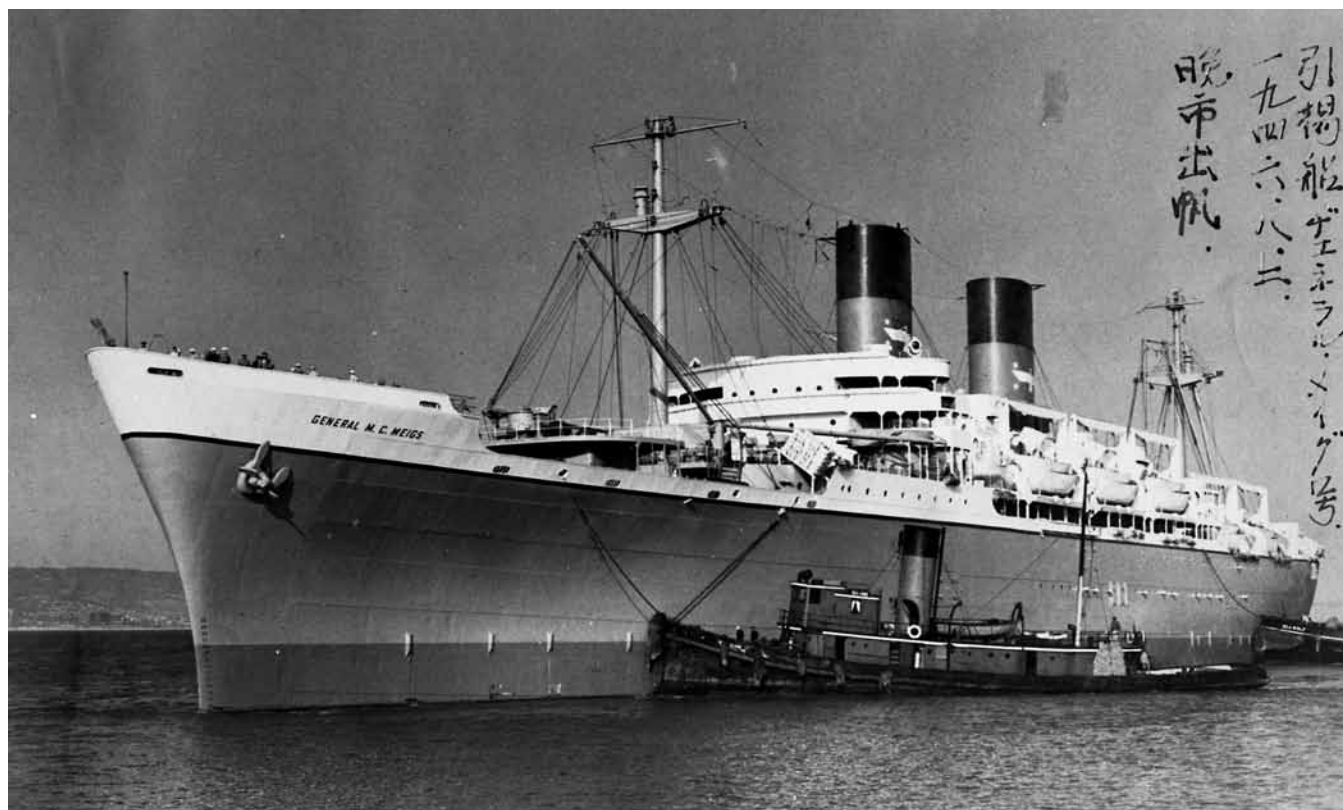
By Tatsuo Kage

The redress settlement on September 22, 1988 was an exciting moment for all Japanese Canadians. And after 25 years, on September 25 of this year, the Counsellors of the City of Vancouver unanimously approved a motion to apologize for its 1942 motion of unjust calling for the removal of the “enemy alien” population from the Pacific Coast.

At the city council meeting, Mr. Ken Noma, the president of the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC), thanked the City of Vancouver for an inclusive apology. He further commented:

“...when we accepted the redress apology in 1988 we also accepted a tacit responsibility that we speak on behalf of other Canadians whose human rights and citizenship have been violated. I think the challenges faced by our First Peoples here in Canada must be a priority not just of the NAJC but of all Canadians.” (Quoted in: Lorene Oikawa, City of Vancouver Apology. *The JCCA Bulletin*, November 2013. 15.)

Looking back, we were fortunate in achieving redress, even though I myself did not have any experience of the wartime uprooting or incarceration as I came to Canada as a postwar immigrant in 1975. After the redress settlement some of us, including myself, expected the community’s enthusiasm and energy generated during the redress campaign could be directed for further promotion of minority rights, human rights and the elimination of racism in Canada and elsewhere. In other communities they had many years of struggle. For example, Chinese Canadians



SS General M.C. Meigs 1946. General Meigs was one of the ships that took deported Japanese Canadians to Japan. NNM2012-29-2-41



Japanese Canadians leaving the Immigration building in Vancouver, to be exiled to Japan 1946.
NNM1996-182-1-21

have been working on the Head Tax issue. Also the First Nations people were seeking compensation and reconciliation for abuses in the residential schools. We believe our achievement in 1988 has been an encouraging precedent for other Canadians. Further, for us Japanese Canadians, we were fortunate to obtain an apology from the Province in 2012 and more recently from the City of Vancouver.

Human Rights Activities

In the early 1990s when the Redress Committee of the Greater Vancouver JCCA was dissolved, we formed a Human Rights Committee under the Greater Vancouver JCCA as some of us including myself wanted to work on the promotion of human rights and anti-racism for all of those who have been the target of discrimination.

During the past 20 years, the JCCA Human Right Committee organized a number of events and participated in conferences and workshops. For example, in the 1990s we organized a sexual

orientation workshop which attracted people from different backgrounds. The Human Rights Committee also published the *Bilingual Human Rights Guide for Japanese Canadians* (in 1995 and revised edition in 2003). Our work has been co-ordinated through the NAJC Human Rights Committee. In the above mentioned *Human Rights Guide*, we expressed our concern right after 9.11 in 2001. A press release of the NAJC dated September 17, 2001 states:

"The NAJC is concerned during this challenging time at the growing number of incidents of hate and racism. We must all speak out and be vigilant in opposing hateful actions, and support those who are in fear of backlash and violence. We urge governments to protect and ensure the safety and rights of members of the Islamic, Arab and other communities under attack." (2003 edition, 33.)

My Involvement with the JC Community

By 1977, a few years after arriving in Canada, I got

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Exiled Japanese Canadians leaving Slocan City, 1946. NNM1994-76-3

to know a number of *Nikkei* people including those who had been involved with the Centennial project as they were starting to work on the redress issue. I also got to know a number of *issei*, *nisei* and *sansei*. Further, through my involvement in the founding of an immigrants association and community work through MOSAIC, a multilingual service agency for immigrants and refugees, I got to know minority people from various parts of the world.

Fearful of Backlash

Around that time I became a board member of the Greater Vancouver JCCA. I recall that in 1984 the redress issue was brought up at a Board meeting of the JCCA. I was supportive by stating the JCCA should actively get involved with the issue. Right after the Board meeting one of the *issei* elders on the Board approached me and warned me to be careful. He said that by pursuing redress, Japanese Canadians may lose what they had already achieved in the postwar period in Canada, such as the right to vote, pension benefits, established prosperous businesses, etc. Such a possible backlash may have been a source of anxiety for him. But I did not believe what he told me. I was convinced

that as a democratic country, Canada has the capacity to acknowledge and amend past wrongs. It was about that time when Art Miki was elected as the President of the NAJC and redress became a priority issue for the Japanese Canadian community. The following four years of campaign and negotiation with the Federal government was a period of struggle. This process has been researched and documented in detail by the leaders of the redress movement, such as Art Miki and Roy Miki. (Arthur K. Miki. *The Japanese Canadian Redress Legacy – A Community Revitalized*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: National Association of Japanese Canadians, 2003. Roy Miki. *Redress: inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice*. Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2004.)

My involvement in the Redress for Japanese Canadians

While I was a member of the Greater Vancouver JCCA Redress Committee, I was asked by a *nisei* member why I had been interested in and involved with the issue. It is true that most members of the committee were either *issei*, *nisei* or *sansei* and there were hardly anyone else like myself who did not have either the experience of wartime incarceration or who had relatives with such experiences. My response was that even though I had

no personal involvement with the wartime experiences of the community, I had been interested in the democratic process in general in Canada and the way the community could work toward the amendment of past wrongs.

As a member of the Vancouver Redress Committee, I played the role of interpreter and translator as we had to reach *issei* who do not fully understand the process. On the other hand, most leaders of the movement were *nisei* or *sansei* who had difficulty in communicating with *issei* elders in Japanese.

Soon after the redress settlement in 1988, the government office of the Redress Secretariat set up redress offices with the assistance of the NAJC. I was appointed as the co-ordinator of redress implementation for Western Canada. Through the office in Vancouver, with several bilingual field workers, we assisted thousands of redress applicants in BC for several months from the end of 1988 to the early part of 1989.

Assistance to the exiled people

During our redress campaign in the 1980s we hardly discussed the Japanese Canadians in Japan. There were people in Canada who had connections with those in Japan, such as relatives or friends but in our redress campaign we focused on Japanese Canadians in Canada. There were reasons for this exclusion. To begin with, we in Canada emphasized redress as a Canadian issue of discrimination and racism toward Canadians. In other words, we focused on acknowledging and amending the violation of our human rights and citizens' rights in Canada. Besides, we did not have enough funds for the campaign within Canada and we could hardly afford to reach out to people in Japan.

After the redress settlement, we wanted to help a number of Japanese Canadians who were exiled in 1946 and remained there ever since. There were 3,964 people who were exiled or deported in 1946 under the government's "repatriation" program. (In addition, as government records indicate, there were 1,483 minors and 205 adults in Japan when the war in the Pacific broke out.)



Exiled Japanese Canadians on board the SS General MC Meigs, 1946. NNM1995-106-2-4

Soon after the redress settlement these exiled people in Japan formed an organization called the Association of Japanese Canadians in Japan. I started to correspond with Kazuyuki Ide, President of the Association. The government Redress Secretariat decided to send a joint delegation of the government and the NAJC to Japan. The delegation visited Japan in August 1989, led by Anne Scotton, the Executive Director of the Redress Secretariat and Art Miki, the President of the NAJC. I joined this ten-person delegation, and had a role to play as an interpreter of information meetings and a liaison person for the Japanese media. Through my previous contacts with major Japanese media such as the NHK (national TV and Radio network) and the *Asahi Shinbun* (a major national daily paper), I informed them in advance about

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our visit. Our visit was well covered by the major media, for example, NHK-Wakayama produced a documentary of our visit.

During our visit we held nine meetings in Japan (Tokyo, Osaka, Mihama-Cho (Wakayama), Kyoto, Hikone, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Kagoshima and Sendai). All together at our series of meetings, 683 exiled Japanese Canadians attended and nearly 300 people filed applications or supporting documents. (Arthur K. Miki, *The Japanese Canadian Redress Legacy*, 43.)

During our visit I got acquainted with a number of exiled people. One of them, Mr. Yoshiaki Nakagawa in Fukuoka, was pleased with our visit as a government representative brought an apology of the Canadian government to them. He said then, "I feel that at long last, the war has ended." (Tatsuo Kage, translated by Kathleen Chisato Merken, *Uprooted Again – Japanese Canadians Move to Japan After World War II*. Victoria, B.C.: TI-Jean Press, 2012. 9.)

My Research of Exiles

I became aware that the experience of the exiled people was neither well known nor documented in Canada, so I decided to look into their experiences and archival records. (There are a few exceptions: Michael Fukushima. *Minoru: Memory of Exile*. National Film Board of Canada, 1995. A record of a panel discussion is included: Randy Enomoto, ed., Tatsuo Kage, Victor Ujimoto, co-eds., *HomeComing'92: Where the Heart is*. Vancouver: NRC Publishing, 1993. A recent work discussing "exiles" is: John Price. *Orienting Canada: Race, Empire and the Transpacific*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.) Since I was born and brought up in Japan, I was able to relate with the hardships that the exiled people experienced immediately after their arrival in Japan. I interviewed some of them between 1989 and 1995, either in Japan or in Canada as we had some members of our community who had returned to Canada after the restrictions were lifted in 1949.

When I interviewed them I had a few questions in mind, for example, when the federal government (RCMP) surveyed the Japanese Canadians in spring 1945 when the end of the war was in sight. What were the circumstances for their decision?

The "choices" were either they move again to eastern Canada (east of the Rockies) or go to Japan after the war.

Those who "chose" to be exiled had to renounce their Canadian citizenship as they were regarded disloyal by refusing the government policy of moving them to the east. After 4 years internment many of them were too discouraged and unsure about re-establishing themselves in the unfamiliar land of Eastern Canada. If they couldn't go back to coastal B.C. where their homes were, many of them preferred to go to Japan. In some cases, they wanted to join family members who had been stranded because of the outbreak of the war. Some JCs were disappointed with Canada's unjust treatment of removal and incarceration. They saw the hypocrisy of the Canadian government: While Canadians were fighting the autocratic regimes in Europe and Asia – Germany, Italy and Japan - for the sake of freedom and democracy, the Government treated its own citizens as enemy aliens.

For a few years right after their arrival the exiled people faced extreme shortage of essential goods - food, clothing and housing. Most Japanese including myself experienced similar situations. Soon after their arrival, many exiled teenagers and young adults with their language abilities got work with the occupation forces in order to support themselves and their families. It alleviated the shortage of essential goods to a certain degree.

After the restriction for Japanese Canadians was lifted in 1949, many exiled people came back to Canada. But others remained in Japan, now for over 50 years. Their employment or family situation (marriage with a Japanese national) may have been a factor for them to remain in Japan. (Records of 14 people's interviews or memoirs were published: *Japanese-Canadian Stories from Japan*. Compiled by Nobuko Nakayama and Jean Maeda. Tokyo, 2011.)

Another Exploitation

It is well known that Japanese Canadians lost their assets and incomes during the removal and incarceration. However, it is not well known that the exiles experienced additional exploitation and hardships. When they left Canada, they had to surrender dollars in their possession and received a note that was proof for receipt of an equivalent amount of Japanese Yen when they arrived in Japan.

Both the American and Japanese governments were interested in the recovery and stability of the Japanese economy and the exchange rate was made artificially

unfavorable for those who had to exchange dollars to Yen. The black market value of dollars was three times the official rate. It meant that exiled Japanese Canadians were exploited for the benefit of the US and Japanese governments. In other words, by crossing the Pacific Ocean, 2/3 of their money disappeared, as Lt-Col. Orr (a Canadian military officer stationed in Japan in charge of receiving exiles) noted. (Tatsuo Kage. *Nikkei Kanadajin no Tsuiho*. Tokyo, Akashi Shoten, 1989. 63-65. Kage, *Uprooted Again*. 25-26.)

Whenever I met with exiled Japanese Canadians I was impressed with their resilience and perseverance. Their stories have to be told and recorded for their families and their community. The redress movement was successful, but the struggle against xenophobia continues. I hope that the records of their experience will remind future generations of the danger of repeating the errors of the past. In other words the story of the exiles of 1946 is not a trivial incident nor a closed chapter in Canada's history, but a source of inspiration for the relentless struggle to ensure access to human rights for all regardless of their racial or cultural background.

Tatsuo Kage is a historian and an active member of the Greater Vancouver JCCA Human Rights Committee. He has been a resident of Vancouver since 1975. He is a certified English/Japanese translator in B.C. and Canada since 1984. In 2012, he was honoured to receive the NAJC Dr. Gordon Hirabayashi Human Rights Award.

Public meeting in Sendai, Japan, Aug 1989.
From left, Art Miki, Tatsuo Kage, Anne Scotton,
Photo courtesy of Tatsuo Kage





Community forum, 1985. Photograph by Tamio Wakayama



Mrs. Hide (Hyodo) Shimizu sorts piles of petitions and postcards, Ottawa, 1988. Photo by Gordon King. NNM 2010.32.43

I think we need to instill in young people that it could happen to anybody. Injustices seem to pop up all over... The 25th anniversary could be a start off point where we can educate our children.

– Roy Inouye, 2013

WHAT DOES REDRESS MEAN TO YOU?

The Centennial was a year to confirm our pride in our heritage, to celebrate our 100 year history and contribution to Canada, and to re-establish our bond as a community. It was a year of reunification.

– Roger Obata, 2000

Moments of utter despair and disappointment... those were the moments when we realized that some people still had a very mainstream understanding of what Canadian citizenship means.

– Audrey Kobayashi 2013

The Ottawa Rally brought together Japanese Canadians of all ages, all parts of the country, with support from all quarters, in particular from non-Japanese Canadians. It stands as one of the proudest and brightest moments of the redress campaign.

– Jennifer Hashimoto, 2000

I don't know how else to express my feelings but to jump up, shout and yell, which I won't do, but that's the kind of feeling I have. I'm very proud to be here today, and very proud to be a Canadian.

– Art Miki, 1988

We never really sought what's called an apology – we were always seeking an acknowledgement. It's more the type of responsibility, accountability... By seeking redress, we were actually strengthening the democratic system.

– Roy Miki, 2012



David Suzuki and Art Miki at the Parliament Hill Rally; Ottawa, ON, 1988. Photo by Gordon King. NNM 2010.32.33

The role that Japanese Canadians play in Canada is to be living reminders of our failure as a country to live up to these ideas. Not to make people feel guilty, but to remind people of how fragile democracy is.

– David Suzuki, 1988



Terry Watada performing his redress song, Ottawa, 1988.
Photo by Gordon King. NNM 2010.32.46

Because we have the unique experience, I think it is our obligation to tell our story and to make it meaningful so that we can educate other Canadians and make sure it doesn't happen again.

- Maryka Omatsu 2013

The Redress Song

Lyrics by Terry Watada (c) 1988

This land is your land. This land is my land.
From the Great Lake waters to the BC coastline,
From St Urbain St. to Main and Portage,
This land was made for you and me.

As I went warlking to Powell and Jackson,
I saw the mountains so far above me,
And the fertile farmland of the Okanagan.
This land was made for you and me.

So I went rambling across the nation
To feel the spirit of Prairie Obon,
I danced and sang to the Tanko Bushi,
This land was made for you and me.

As I was standing at Bay and Dundas,
I thought about our loggers and farmers
Our fishermen and the railroad workers,
This land was made for you and me.

Yes we want redress for past decisions
And we are acting like Canadian citizens.
From coast to coast now, we want to stand tall,
This land was made for you and me.

Cause this land was made for all of us.



Mrs. Itoh Miyagawa reads the NAJC Redress Brief, Vancouver, November 1984. Photo by Tamio Wakayama

These redress grants have allowed people to move beyond the traditional... to create some new forms of expression that are really a hybrid and truly Japanese Canadian, as opposed to Japanese.

- Kerri Sakamoto, 2003



Community Forum, 1985 with Cassandra Kobayashi, Don Rosenbloom, Roy Miki, Gordon Hirabayashi and Art Miki. Photo by Tamio Wakayama



Randy Enomoto at the Homecoming '92 conference in Vancouver.
(Randy Enomoto, centre; Joy Kogawa, right). NNM 1995-147-1-7-36-1

A PERFECT STORM

by Randy Enomoto

Originally, I had given some thought to an article on *sansei* and *nisei* attitudes towards redress — how they were congruent and how they might diverge.

In truth, the accomplishment of redress drew upon the strengths of all generations, and I will focus now on a particular instance of collaborative effort between myself as a *sansei* and a group of *nisei*.

September 22, 1988, of course, stands out in people's minds as the day that the redress agreement between the

government of Canada and the National Association of Japanese Canadians was announced.

However, the date of March 22, 1994 is also important to certain members of our community. Most people assume that on September 22, 1988, the long wait for justice for Japanese Canadians had ended. This was, however, not the case.

The Redress Agreement of 1988 applied only to Japanese Canadians living in Canada under the War Measures Act between 1942 and 1949. There were many Japanese Canadians visiting

Japan before the outbreak of World War II who were trapped in Japan and unable to return to Canada until the early 1950s.

NAJC representatives Roy Miki and Paul Kariya, who sat on the redress advisory committee (the body that reviewed each application for individual redress payment), argued the case for those stranded in Japan but government representatives who had the majority on the committee refused to accept these applicants. Roy Inouye, president of the NAJC at the time, argued strenuously with Johanne Lamarre, the administrator at the Redress Secretariat

in Ottawa. Again to no avail. Then there came an “aha” moment for me. Tony Tamayose, administrator for the Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation, pointed out that someone at Johanne Lamarre’s level in the bureaucracy simply had no authority to make such decisions. Essentially, we were barking up the wrong tree.

In the meantime, a federal election was in the offing. During one of Jean Chrétien’s swings through Vancouver, I hand-delivered a brief to him citing the Quadra MP, Ted McWhinney’s response to a letter I had written asking for Liberal support to include the trapped and stranded in the redress agreement. McWhinney had replied:

“... the principles are very clear. I really can’t see what the problem is, on a governmental level, and if we become the next government I’ll ask the Prime Minister to correct the matter and I expect he’ll agree. And I expect we’ll do it relatively quickly. I mean, it’s pretty clear. I think it’s even more outrageous, perhaps, than the original, internal deportation. Our constitution established one citizenship and people that are called citizens are citizens, period, and there’s nothing else to it ... I can assure you that our caucus will support immediate action in the matter.”
(Letter dated October 14, 1993)

On March 22, 1994, six years after the Redress Agreement had been announced, I led a delegation of six *nisei* women to Ottawa to meet the new Minister of State (Multiculturalism and Status of Women) Sheila Finestone. I don’t have prior permission to cite the women’s names, so I’ll stick to the points raised in the brief I delivered on behalf of the NAJC. The brief was titled, “Profiles of the Excluded — The Case for Justice for Canadian Citizens in Exile.”

These are the issues I brought to Minister Finestone’s attention (citing from the Executive Summary):

- *“In some instances, Canadian citizens stranded in Japan were stripped of their citizenship and forced to re-apply for citizenship status before being permitted to return to Canada;*

- *The War Measures Act and other legislation had a direct and devastating affect on family members stranded in Japan. Parents in Canada had had assets and properties confiscated by the government and were financially imperiled, and therefore had to save for years before they could afford to repatriate stranded family members. To claim, as government officials have, that the War Measures Act and the Transitional Powers Act had no direct affect on those in Japan is to ignore the very concept of family. Families by definition are unitary social systems whose members are interdependent on one another. Social trauma and economic hardship inflicted on parents must necessarily affect their offspring;*

- *The government of Canada denied Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry the right of free passage and insisted on financial sponsors before these citizens were permitted to return to their own country. In essence, they lost citizenship status and were treated as immigrants;*

- *Japanese Canadians stranded in Japan experienced extreme difficulty in securing passports and travel documents — delays of a year or more from time of application were not uncommon;*

- *The War Measures Act and the prohibition against Japanese Canadians returning to the West Coast until April 1, 1949 was a major obstruction to those trapped in Japan. They were prevented from returning to their homes and places of birth and limited to living away from the so-called “protected zone” of the West Coast.*

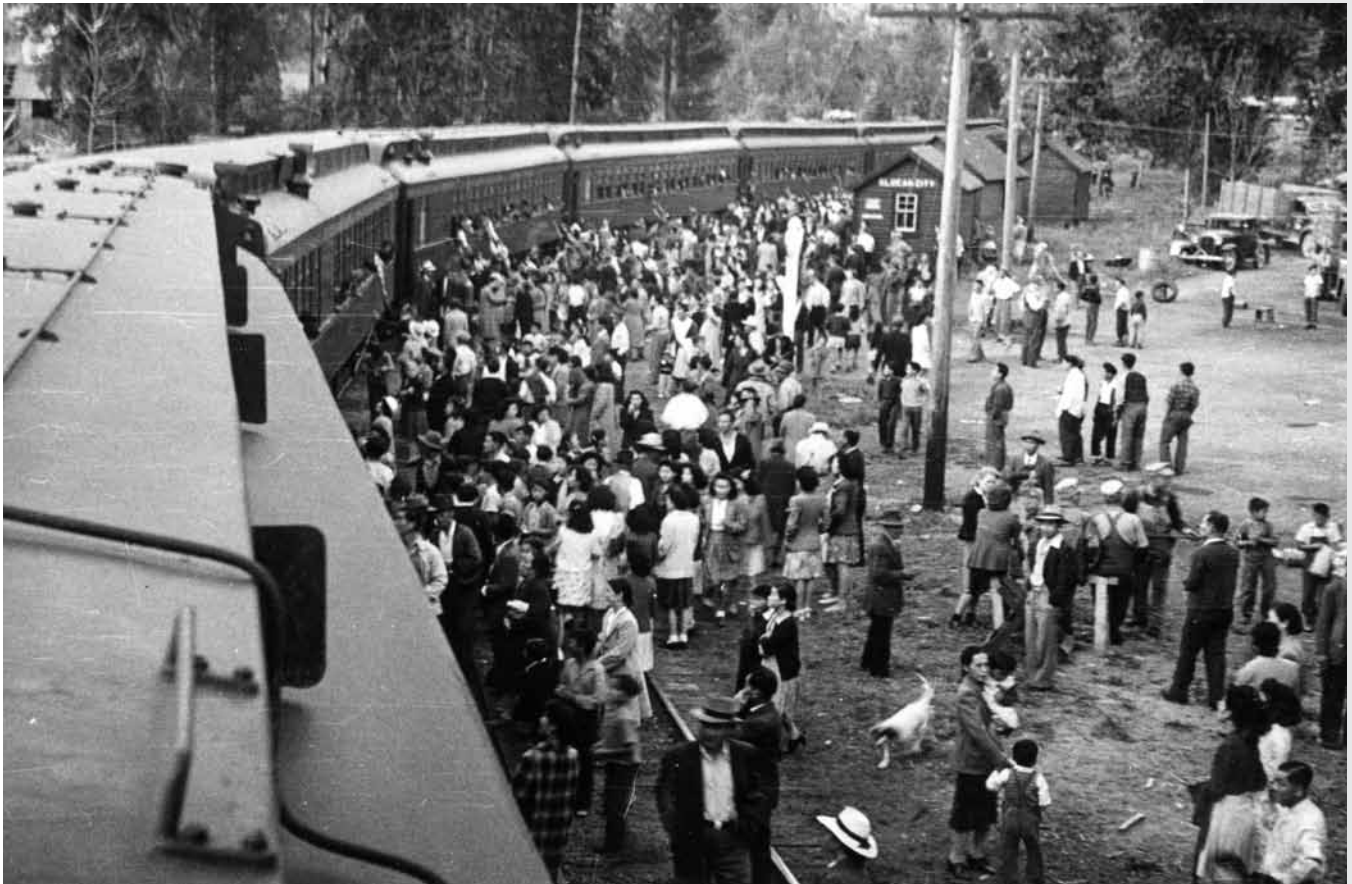
- *It is abundantly clear from the information presented in these profiles that in the majority of cases, the “failure to return” to Canada at an earlier date was actually a failure of government to protect the rights of its own citizens. It was precisely because of the racist and exclusionary actions and policies*

of the government of Canada that these individuals were prevented from returning to Canada in timely fashion.

It doesn’t happen often, but I think our delegation chanced upon a perfect storm, a confluence of events that dovetailed to our advantage. Here was newly appointed Minister Finestone, Secretary of State for the Status of Women, faced with a roomful of women asking for justice. We had MP McWhinney’s previous characterization that the exclusion of these applicants was “... even more outrageous, perhaps, than the original, internal deportation,” and a Liberal minister not bound by her Conservative predecessor’s views.

Minister Finestone listened attentively to the women’s profiles, interjecting a few questions and after the presentation ended she turned and gave instructions to Anne Scotten, the executive director of the Redress Secretariat. Thus it came to be that those previously excluded from the 1988 redress agreement became eligible for individual redress payments.

Randy Enomoto was actively involved in the Japanese Canadian Centennial Project Committee and on the Redress Action Committee. In 1989 he was president of the National Association of Japanese Canadians.



Train leaving Slocan City with community members returning to Japan, 1946. NNM1996-178-1-37

"NO JAPS FROM THE ROCKIES TO THE SEA": B.C.'s SECOND ETHNIC CLEANSING

Part 1 of Narratives from the Wakabayashi Papers

by Stan Fukawa

*The Wakabayashi Papers is a collection of over 100 pages of documents saved by Jisaburo Wakabayashi, representing Japanese Nationals at Rosebery, B.C. who regularly submitted reports to the Spanish Consul in Vancouver and Montreal. Under the Geneva Conventions of 1929, Spain acted as the Protecting Power, monitoring the conditions of the Japanese Nationals in Canada. The Papers include reports and correspondence with Spain, personal letters and newspaper clippings, giving a valuable and rare glimpse into the lives of Japanese Canadians in those difficult times. This first narrative combines material from the Papers, my own memories and information from Ann G. Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism*, 1981 and Ken Adachi, *The Enemy that Never Was*, 1976.*

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR, CANADA
NOTICE

To All Persons of Japanese Racial Origin
Now Resident in British Columbia

1. Japanese Nationals and others of Japanese racial origin who will be returning to Japan, have been informed by notice issued on the authority of the Honourable Minister of Labour, that provision has been made for their return and for the filing of an application for such return. Conditions in regard to property and transportation have been made public.
2. Japanese Canadians who want to remain in Canada, should now re-establish themselves East of the Rockies as the best evidence of their intentions to cooperate with the Government's policy of dispersal.
3. Failure to accept employment east of the Rockies may be regarded at a later date as lack of co-operation with the Canadian Government in carrying out its policy of dispersal.
4. Several thousand Japanese have already re-established themselves satisfactorily east of the Rockies.
5. Those who do not take advantage of present opportunities for employment and settlement outside of British Columbia at this time, while employment opportunities are favourable, will find conditions of employment and settlement considerably more difficult at a later date and may seriously prejudice their own future by delay.
6. To assist those who want to re-establish themselves in Canada, the Japanese Division Placement Offices and the Employment and Selective Service Offices, with the assistance of local Advisory Committees, are making special efforts this Spring to open up suitable employment opportunities across Canada in various lines of endeavour, and in areas where prospects of suitable employment are best.
7. The Department will also provide free transportation to Eastern Canada for members of a family and their effects, a sustenance allowance to be used while in transit, and a placement allowance based in amount on the size of the family

T. B. PICKERSGILL,
COMMISSIONER OF JAPANESE PLACEMENT
Vancouver, B.C.
March 12th, 1945

Japanese Canadians had been forced to leave the Pacific Coast in 1942. Three years later, I remember how frantic my parents were when we, in an internment period shack in the Okanagan, were informed by the government that "persons of Japanese origin" would now no longer be allowed to stay in B.C. but had to move again, either to Japan at the end of the war, or to another Canadian province. Every Japanese family in B.C. faced the same crisis. We each had to deal with the Canadian government's "policy of dispersal"-- what we would today call "ethnic cleansing." The policy came from P.M. Mackenzie King and his Cabinet yielding to the racist views of Ian Alistair Mackenzie and the B.C. Federal M.P.'s who were convinced that the presence of Japs was a blight on British Columbia and that we must all be removed. The "No Japs..." quote had been a campaign slogan of Mackenzie, a notorious Jap-hater, a common trait among B.C. politicians in those days.

..... Continued on next page



The Izumi Family arriving in Japan, 1946. NNM 2012-29-2-2-52

Mackenzie King announced the policy in August of 1944, and in the following spring the RCMP went around to ascertain directly which of the two choices each Japanese resident in British Columbia had accepted for the war's end-- (1) to be "voluntarily repatriated" (meaning for those with Canadian citizenship, being deported to Japan, and then stripped of their Canadian citizenship) or (2) to move to another province in Canada. The War Measures Act allowed the government to do this on top of what it had already done in declaring all of our race to be enemy aliens, seizing our property, selling it, and moving us out of coastal B.C. This was reviewed by the Supreme Court and Privy Council and declared to be legal.

I was only seven and a half at this time so that my memory of it is not detailed. I was glad that my parents were at least able to correspond with my aunt and uncle in Alberta through whom they

could stay in touch with my adult cousins and the discussions among the *nisei*. The newspapers were full of stories about communities all over Canada which proclaimed loudly that they would violently eject any Japs that dared to show up in their communities. Thanks to all the war-time propaganda that was everywhere every day, there seemed to be very few who would dare to defend us. We were portrayed as a treacherous race, ready to kill for the Emperor and it was all in our genes--this was the popular "once a Jap, always a Jap" theory. The Prime Minister had been forced to admit in Parliament in 1944 that not one Japanese Canadian had even been charged with a disloyal act, but nobody heard information that disagreed with their biases. Of the 10,000 residents in the interior camps, 72% signed for repatriation. In the rest of B.C. 33% of the 5100 signed, and in the rest of Canada, only 13% of the 8500 chose that option but that low ratio results from their not having

to move at all. In the end, 43% of the 23,800 in the forced choice situation chose “voluntary repatriation.”

Canada east of the Rockies was almost completely unknown to my parents, and not being proficient in English they felt the need of the support of a Japanese community to live comfortably and safely. They could not do this if they had to live in the semi-isolation that suspicious whites wanted for us as they feared Japs in groups. So my parents chose “voluntary repatriation” as the better alternative, as many others did. This would at least buy them some time because the war with Japan was still on and the move east of the Rockies was an option now.

They concluded that if they went to Japan, they would have the support of relatives and not have language problems. However, when the war ended and they heard more about the realities of life in a defeated country, they tried to take back the decision to repatriate.

Some 10,357 people were eligible for repatriation according to the answers they gave in response to the questions of the Commissioner of Japanese Placement, with two-thirds being adults and one-third, their dependents. The program was halted after 4,600--slightly less than half of the eligible repatriates--had been sent to Japan. On Jan. 24, 1947, the federal cabinet revoked the legislation to “repatriate” the remaining Japanese Canadians and the deportations came to a halt. My family stayed in B.C.

Many Japanese Canadian families who “repatriated” subsequently came back after years of unnecessary suffering which had been brought about by the ethnic cleansing policies of British Columbia’s racist politicians.

The struggle of Japanese Canadians against racial discrimination was far from over. We were still forbidden to enter the security zone within 100 miles of the Pacific Ocean until March 31, 1949, whereas in the U.S. where Japanese Americans’ citizenship rights were upheld by the constitution

and the courts, they were allowed to return to the coast in the fall of 1944, even before the war was over.

Opposition to Japanese Canadian settlement was not limited to B.C. Even in Alberta, where Japanese Canadians could vote and had been accepted into the Canadian army from the days of the First World War although not yet in this war, there was opposition from nativist and right-wing religious groups such that some Japanese Canadian women who found work as domestics in Lethbridge were refused permits to work there. Edmonton would not even grant a six-week permit for a student to take up residence for an automotive engineering course for fear of setting a precedent.

The tide in the cause of minority rights in Canada did gradually begin to turn. Notable support for Japanese Canadians came from the CCF, the churches, the Winnipeg Free Press, civil libertarian groups and some WWII veterans. The last group saw the government bullying of the Japanese as the kind of evil against which they had fought and risked their lives.

The cause of minority rights was highlighted internationally after World War II, when the United Nations set forth a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Canada could see in this document (whose first draft had been authored by John Peters Humphrey, a Canadian legal scholar - Sept. 1948) direct and embarrassing proof that such practices as deporting her own citizens, stripping them of their citizenship and of their property were not acceptable acts. Canada’s laws and actions could henceforth be easily examined against a clear world standard.

To Come: Narratives from the Wakabayashi Papers

Part 2: the Jisaburo Wakabayashi narrative

Part 3: the B.C. racist narrative

A previous article on Ian Alistair Mackenzie appeared in Nikkei Images vol. 11, No. 4, pp-11-13 by Mary Taylor.

EULOGY FOR MICHIKO “MIDGE” AYUKAWA

by Karen Kobayashi

How do you begin to sum up the life of one of the most esteemed scholars on Japanese Canadian history? You do as Midge would have done, you assume the role of *good researcher*, and you reach out to connect with people whose lives intersected with hers. You seek out their stories, their memories, their recollections of an extraordinary life. Quite a tall order, I realized quickly, as there are just so many who were touched by her strong and gracious presence. And so, this reflection on Midge’s “other life” – her life as a scholar and teacher – is really a brief summary, a snapshot of sorts, of the innumerable contributions that she made to the introduction and advancement of scholarship on Japanese Canadian history as an academic, a writer, an instructor, a mentor, and above all, a friend.

A trip to Japan in 1983 is credited as the impetus for Midge’s “third age” (post-retirement, although some would say that she never really retired from anything) academic career in Japanese language, literature, and the histories of both Japan and Canada, at the University of Victoria. She completed a BA and an MA in the Department of History and was awarded a PhD in 1997 at the “ripe young age” of 67 under the supervision of Dr. Patricia Tsurumi. In 1999, Dr. Patricia Roy and Midge worked together on the history

of Japanese Canadians for the Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples. It was out of this collaboration, that Pat encouraged Midge to publish her PhD work. Almost a decade to the date of her doctoral defense in 2007, Midge realized the success of her labours when her dissertation, “Creating and Recreating Village:

Hiroshima and Canada 1891-1941” was adapted for publication by UBC Press. It was met with very positive reviews. To add to the reach of her work, the book was recently translated into Japanese by Masami Izumi, Midge’s longtime colleague and friend from Doshisha University.



Midge Ayukawa, c.1980s. Photograph by Tamio Wakayama

Midge published many articles on the history of Japanese immigrants, especially women, and the experiences of Japanese Canadians during World War II. She co-edited several books and papers that touched on the topics of memory, identity, and redress, but her real passion was giving voice to the stories of Japanese Canadian women. Dr. John Price, a long-time colleague and friend from the Department of History at UVic, remarked that her 1995 article in *BC Studies*, “Good Wives and Wise Mothers: Japanese Picture Brides in Early Twentieth Century British Columbia,” was, with Tomoko Makabe’s book, *Picture Brides: Japanese Women in Canada*, a turning point in bringing women and gender into the discussion of Japanese Canadian history. Indeed, its importance is duly noted as it has been audio archived as one of the 40 most popular articles in the journal.

Midge continued writing into her later years. Her review for *BC Studies* of *Sakura in the Land of the Maple Leaf* in 2008 reflects her preoccupation with attention to detail and her generosity in recognizing contributions by non-specialists in the field. Around this time, she joined with a group of BC scholars in forming the Asian Canadian Working Group, and actively participated in discussions to promote Asian Canadian Studies. She continued to speak regularly, as a guest lecturer in university and college classrooms, as an invited speaker for the Japanese American National Museum in 2010 and at numerous other Japanese American events, and, most recently, at the symposium on the 70th anniversary of the uprooting,

organized by the Asian Canadian Working Group in February 2012. On one of her last trips to the UVic campus, she participated in the meeting of the JC Education and Research Network with Joy Kogawa. It was such a thrill for me to see two of the most influential female *nisei* scholars in the same room discussing future directions for education and research in our community.

On a personal note, I had the good fortune of serving as a director on the Board of the Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives Society (JCNMAS) alongside Midge from 1997 to 1999, one of her many volunteer efforts in the community. During that time, a formative period for museum, she would make the bi-monthly trips over on the ferry in her car and stay with me overnight in Vancouver. I vividly remember our post-meeting tea and Japanese sweets, during which I would endlessly “pick her brain” and ask for feedback on multiple drafts of my own PhD dissertation which focused on intergenerational relationships in aging Japanese Canadian families, a topic on which she said, as a older mother of five adult children, she had much experience and wisdom to offer. When I was nearing the end of the final draft in the summer of 1999, she looked at me one night over our third cup of tea and said, “It’s good. You should be very proud of the work you’ve done.” I have to say that at that moment, this validation from Midge meant just about as much to me as my supervisor’s declaration later that month declaring that my dissertation was ready to go to defense. You see, through the years, I had come to so deeply value and respect the incredible

knowledge bank and intellectual capacity of Dr. Midge, as I came to lovingly refer to her as, that I came to crave her approval in a way that paralleled my feelings of awe that I held for my PhD supervisor.

Maya Angelou once said, “What I hope I have and what I pray for is humility. Humility says there were people before me who found the path.” Women like Midge paved the way for women like me, and countless others like me, and for that, I will be eternally grateful. I am honoured and privileged to have had my life intersect with hers, a sentiment that, I am sure, is echoed by all who are in attendance today. Your inimitable spirit will be greatly missed Midge.

Karen M. Kobayashi, PhD is Associate Professor and Graduate Chair in the Department of Sociology and Centre on Aging at the University of Victoria.

Dr. Michiko “Midge” Ayukawa (nee Ishii) died peacefully with family by her side on October 24, 2013 in Victoria, BC. Michiko, was born on June 26, 1930, in Vancouver to Kenji and Misayo Ishii and was the only sister to brothers Hideo, Yoshio, and Kazuo. Michiko attended Strathcona Public School in Vancouver, and during World War II was interned in Lemon Creek. After the war, she studied Chemistry at McMaster University. In 1955, Midge married Kaoru “Karl” Ayukawa and worked at the National Research Council in Ottawa until 1956 when she started a family. Following the death of her husband in 1981, Michiko studied Japanese history and language at the University of Victoria. She will always be remembered as a devoted wife, mother, grandmother, academic, intellect, writer and dedicated contributor to her community. Her commitment to the preservation of history and to her family will be her legacy.

TREASURES FROM THE COLLECTION

Dinner Plates

c.1980

TD 926, Shishido Collection

These plates, bearing the emblem of the now defunct Canadian Pacific Airlines, were repurposed as part of a fundraising campaign to help support the redress movement. The plates were manufactured by Noritake, a Japanese dinnerware company, through Hiro Distributors, a company started by Charles

Kadota in 1961 that imported and sold products from Japan.

Canadian Pacific Airlines ordered these plates through Hiro Distributors to be used as dinnerware for their first-class flights. 10,000 plates were produced through the agreement, but they were rejected by Canadian Pacific Airlines because of an unforeseen design flaw. When they were heated up, they expanded and would not fit into the airplane trays. New plates were ordered as a replacement.

Charles Kadota was a prominent Japanese Canadian community member who was active in the fight for redress. Over the course of his life, he served as president of the Japanese Canadian Citizens'

Association, the Vancouver representative of the National Association of Japanese Canadians and was a fundraiser and board member for Tonari Gumi. He decided that the rejected plates could be used to raise funds for the redress movement and they were sold for a dollar each. Like other projects, such as the creation of t-shirts and several generous artist commissions, these plates are a symbol of the grassroots support for Japanese Canadian redress.

Scott Owens is a Masters student in the School of Library, Archival and Information Studies at UBC. He is currently working with the museum as an interim Collections Manager.

