

The Japanese Canadians

By F. E. LaViolette



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Behind the Headlines

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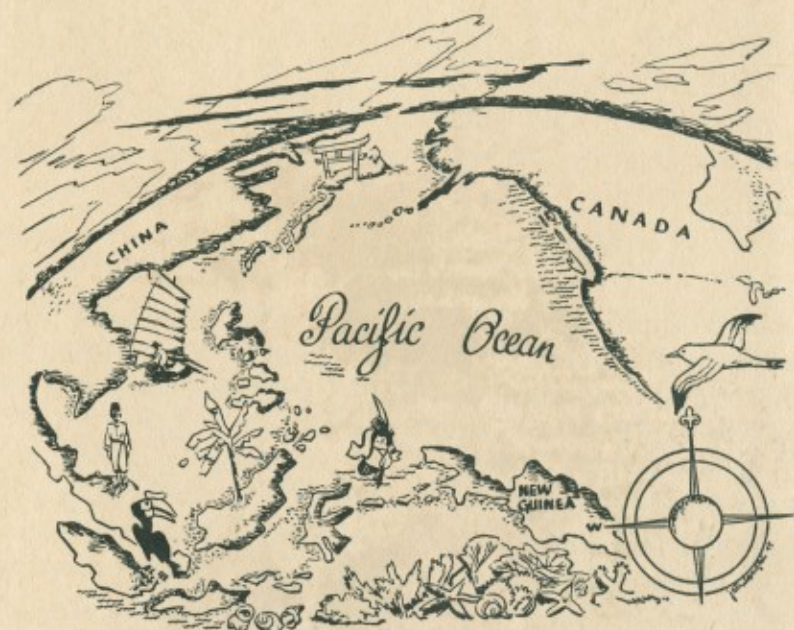
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The Japanese Canadians

by F. E. LaViolette*

The evacuation and resettlement of the people of Japanese ancestry living along the Pacific coast, carried out at a cost of about \$15,000,000.00 to date to the Canadian taxpayer, has created unprecedented problems. Although more than half the Canadian Japanese were born in Canada, and although many of their parents were naturalized citizens, they were moved by arbitrary order of Ottawa, their property was sold without their consent, and their rights of citizenship were

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ILLUSTRATIONS: The illustrations in the text are the work of Mr. Edmund Jakubowski of Toronto.

THE COVER: The publishing organization is indebted to the National Film Board for the cover photograph.

denied. Domestically, this treatment raises the question of the meaning of citizenship and of racial tolerance in Canada. Internationally, it raises complications in Canada's relations with the Far East, since Canada, as a nation of the Pacific area, must live in this "one world" with the peoples of the Orient, the Japanese as well as the others.

IMMIGRATION AND AGITATION

Oriental immigration to the Pacific coast commenced with the arrival of Chinese in 1858—the year of the gold strikes on the Fraser river sand-bars. The first Japanese are presumed to have arrived in 1877. They settled on the Pacific coast because it was near Japan and because it offered them an opportunity to earn a living in their traditional occupation, fishing. The other settlers of British Columbia did not welcome Orientals and there was agitation, particularly after 1884, about their presence in the province and about their continued immigration.

Fear of Competition

This agitation was based upon two important attitudes. The first arose from the fear of being unable to compete economically with Orientals, a fear based upon the fact that in the early days Orientals were quite willing to accept a lower standard of living than were the people of European ancestry. Accordingly, one aspect of the racial antagonism had an economic origin in the problem of who was going to do what kind of work, and how much they were going to be paid for doing it. The anti-Oriental attitude was intensified by the unstable nature of a developing economy in a frontier area. A new area of settlement, such as British Columbia



has been throughout its history,* is characterized by restlessness. The stability of life characteristic of the Maritime Provinces or of Quebec requires considerable time to develop, especially in an area where there is little agriculture and a predominance of lumbering, mining, and fishing.

Fear of Numbers

The second attitude was simple but basic. What kind of people are eventually going to populate the area? The birth-rate of the Japanese was higher than that of persons of European origin and if the Chinese had had their wives with them, they too would have had a higher birth-rate. However, the white settlers wanted British Columbia to be filled up with British immigrants.† This was also the wish of government officials, but it was difficult, in the earlier days, to secure British immigrants or other Europeans, who were willing to go as far west as that. As long as there were mining booms to attract them, it was somewhat easier; but the need for sustained labour in order to build up the area, together with the desire to people it with British only, or, as a second choice with other European stock, created one dilemma which has come to be highly significant in the history of relations between British Columbia and the Dominion government.

Fear of Power

Despite the factors discussed above, it is not easy to comprehend the significance of the Japanese problem to British Columbians unless one stops to consider briefly the expansion of Japan as a world power. The rise and decline of Japan has taken place within a hundred years. The first Chinese-Japanese War of 1894 was the important beginning, although no one was especially alarmed at the time. In 1902, Japan signed a treaty of alliance with Great Britain, which allowed her a free hand in the Far East to attack Russia.

*Ever since the beginning of settlement, there have always been more males than females in British Columbia, a frontier characteristic. For example, in 1941 there were 114 men for every 100 women in that province. In addition to this frontier characteristic, the population has a very definite colonial characteristic, that is, most of the people born outside of Canada were born in the homeland, the British Isles.

†Many more details of these problems will be found in Charles J. Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient*, C.I.I.A., Toronto, 1941. \$3.00.

Her victory over Russia in the war of 1904-1905, being the first defeat in modern times of an European by an Asiatic power, shocked the western world. As early as 1906 people began to talk about the coming war between the United States and Japan, and by 1907 the people of British Columbia were continually expressing fears of her military might. In 1914 she joined the war against Germany. This led to rapid industrial expansion through her supplying ships and munitions to the Allies, and to imperial expansion as a result of her occupation, and later retention as League of Nations mandates, of the German islands in the Pacific north of the Equator. These she fortified contrary to agreement. Japanese expansion on the mainland of Asia started again with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931. By then the pattern of expansion was clear. The second Sino-Japanese war started in July, 1937, and from then until December, 1941, tension mounted, for it was clear that Japan was determined not to stop her empire building.

Each step in the expansion of Japan increasingly disturbed British Columbians and heightened their fears of Japanese, both within and without their borders.

Exclusion

These fears led to the demand that Orientals be kept out of Canada. The Dominion government, which alone has the power to control immigration, refused to do so because it had to abide by certain treaty agreements which London had signed with Tokyo. This was not to the liking of British Columbia. Immigration reached a high peak in 1907 and declined somewhat abruptly after that, but even though it was declining, demands for complete exclusion continued. Through restrictive legislation, Chinese immigration ceased completely by 1924, but similar legislation could not be made effective against the Japanese. Many British Columbians were irritated because Japan could not be treated like China. Finally in 1928 arrangements were made for a quota of 150 per year to be admitted to the Dominion, but this annual quota was never reached.

Neither arrangement settled the "Oriental problem" or the "Japanese problem" in British Columbia. Because there

were few Chinese women, the trend in that part of the Canadian population has been towards extinction. For example, between 1931 and 1941, the Chinese population dropped by 12,000, from 46,519 to 34,627 in the Dominion. On the other hand, there are many more women in the Japanese population, and although there were fewer Japanese in 1941 than in 1931, 23,149 as compared with 23,342, the Japanese segment of the Canadian population has a better chance of survival in Canada than the Chinese because of the relatively equal proportion of sexes. Because the Japanese birth-rate has been high, as is often characteristic of an immigrant group, it has been feared that the Japanese section might eventually become larger than the Occidental section of the population of British Columbia. In general a migrating group tends to take over the birth-rate characteristics of the group into which it migrates. It is still too early to see if this will be true of the Japanese, but the birth-rate has been declining because the younger generation of native-born children, often referred to by the Japanese as *nisei*, were not all at a possible age for marriage. Further, through personal acquaintance, one gains the impression that the families of the children who were born in Canada will not be as large as those of the parents born in Japan.*

Limited Citizenship

Exclusion and the birth-rate trends did not satisfy the British Columbians, and they remained constantly disturbed by the Orientals in their province, especially by the Japanese. They were concerned about what was called "peaceful penetration" by Tokyo, about illegal entrants into the Dominion (cleared up by appropriate action) and by the suspicion that all Japanese were loyal to Tokyo even though they had been born and educated in Canada. Fearing competition, they tried both formal and informal means of restricting the occupations in which Japanese could earn a living. Within the restricted lines of work, this tended to

*In her study, *Cultural Differences in Family Size*, Bulletin F-2 of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, based upon 1941 census materials, Dr. Enid Charles shows that the average size of Japanese family for Asiatic-born women was 4.45 while for the Canadian-born women it was 2.75. The same averages for the Chinese group were 6.50 and 3.74 respectively.

increase competition, which led to an effort to exclude them from a further specific line. Not until 1942 was there a concerted and sustained effort to exclude them completely however. As well, British Columbians, along with other Canadians, have assumed that the Japanese could not become Canadians. Hence they, like other Orientals, have been denied full rights of citizenship such as voting, serving in the armed forces, jury service, etc.

Such are the historic and more general factors that set the stage for what followed after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941.

INTERNMENT AND EVACUATION

Security Measures

Although Canada declared war on Japan immediately, Canadian opinion regarding the Japanese in British Columbia did not become aroused until several weeks after Pearl Harbor. The Dominion government moved at once to intern any Japanese who were likely to be a threat to internal security. Their fishing boats were impounded. On the advice of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the leaders of the Japanese community closed their Japanese-language schools and newspapers. Already, in August, 1941, all Japanese on the coast had been registered and a committee had been appointed to handle the problem locally. This committee had recommended that no Canadian-born Orientals be drafted for military service. However, no plans had been made to evacuate the Japanese from the coast.

It now appears that British Columbians had always assumed that if war with Japan actually occurred, the government would evacuate all the Japanese in the province. Instead, its precautions seemed insufficient, especially in view of the mounting military and naval successes of Japan.



Irritated British Columbians of all kinds — politicians, professional patriots, solid citizens, along with organizations such as community service clubs were then given an excellent opportunity to organize opinion against the Japanese living on the Coast. A potent factor in controlling the moves of the Dominion government, was the fact that Canadians were prisoners-of-war in Japanese hands.

As the result of increased demands, Ottawa decided in January, 1942, to move Japanese males, 18 to 45 years of age, and who were citizens of Japan, out of the Defence Zone—a strip of about 100 miles wide along the Coast. It was also decided that the impounded fishing fleet would be put into operation once more by selling it to other operators.

These measures proved to be inadequate. First of all, the government did not want to apply any more force than necessary to the Japanese. They were extremely reluctant to go, as no provision for the care of their families or property had been announced. In the second place, these measures did not meet the expectations of the larger community. The scheme did not meet the needs of the Japanese, who by the middle of January were suffering either from unemployment or loss of business, nor did it meet the general expectations of what the government should do to protect British Columbia properly. Agitation increased; confusion among the Japanese increased. For these reasons Ottawa was finally forced to announce on February 26, 1942, complete evacuation.

This order made no distinction in citizenship. People were to be evacuated on the basis of race. It could, of course, only give general directions to the British Columbia Security Commission which was created to evacuate the Japanese and to provide for housing and all the other necessities which a group of 21,000 people would need during the period of war with Japan. But quite briefly, it did meet the demands and expectations of the British Columbians. It marks an entirely new phase in relations between the Occidentals and Orientals in Canada.

It was almost ten days after the announcement of evacuation before the government indicated that it would appoint a commission for the purpose of evacuating and handling

all problems associated with the moving of the Japanese. The first immediate task was to move the Japanese people strung along the coast of the mainland and of Vancouver Island, living mostly in fishing villages. To care for these evacuees, the British Columbia Security Commission, headed by Mr. Austin Taylor and assisted by Mr. J. Mead, Deputy Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and Mr. John Shirras, Chief of the British Columbia Provincial Police, took over the exhibition grounds of Hastings Park, Vancouver, and used it for assembling and caring for evacuees until they could be moved to a better prepared area. People started moving into this Park on March 16. By October it was ready for use by the Canadian Army.

When people in the interior of British Columbia and other provinces heard that Ottawa intended moving the Japanese inland, a great number of incorporated areas sent protests to the government. The fact that the Dominion Government was moving the Japanese under the urgent conditions of war did not result in offers of co-operation from other Canadians. From the first the Security Commission was forced to follow the policy of trying to find interior homes for the Japanese only in those areas where an agreement could be reached with either provincial or local authorities. This limited the number of possibilities and hence created a very difficult problem for the Commission. It was finally solved by arranging to send Japanese evacuees to sugar beet farms in southern Alberta and in the Winnipeg area of Manitoba, and to former mining towns, the Ghost Towns. As soon as houses and hotels, and two-family dwelling units where needed, could be made fit again for human occupation, the Japanese wives, children, and older folk, who had stayed behind while the more able men went into the interior to do the work, were moved into what the Department of Labour now calls the interior settlements. Of the 21,000 people who were evacuated, about 16,000 remained in British Columbia, outside of the defence area, while the remaining 5,000 went to Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario.

In spite of the fact that conditions were very trying, that housing was very congested and firewood poor during

the first winter in the mountain region, the Japanese settled down in their new abodes and managed to get the Settlements organized. The Security Commission provided medical facilities, education through the eighth grade, and made certain that none were in want of food or clothing. If adults were employable, it was decided that they should provide their own income or else make use of their own savings in case they did not want to work. It was rather easy to state this basic policy of full employment or self-support, but it has not always been easy to define it in specific cases.

As part of the policy of full employment the Commission made arrangements for the men to cut fuel for the city of Vancouver; it also encouraged local employment where possible, and finally after it became clear that it was possible for more Japanese to go east and work in the areas where there were shortages of labour, the Commission encouraged as many as possible to resettle in eastern Canada. But this eastern movement never developed as fully as it was hoped that it would because of so much demand for Japanese labour in the West and because of the problems in eastern resettlement.

About 70 per cent. of the Japanese are Buddhists, so in two of the centres small temples have been built while in other centres services are held in available halls. The Christian group has been served by their own ministers with the assistance of missionaries who had returned from Japan. Some are helping with high school courses which parents provide by correspondence, as neither the Dominion nor Provincial governments have assumed this responsibility.

Grievances

Although the Japanese have kept in good health despite their accommodations, they have not been especially happy. This is due to a complex of factors, some easily understood, others more difficult since they are part of Japanese personality development as it reacts in acutely critical situations. Most of the Japanese have lived in Canada for more than thirty years. Citizens by birth have not been, per-

mitted to serve in the armed forces, except about 150 accepted in February, 1945. It was expected that there would be some losses of property, but when the government



started selling it without their consent, then they felt that their legal position in Canada was certainly not secure. A few of these men had fought at Vimy Ridge and Passchendaele and contrary to the claims of politicians, they did take pride in being Canadian citizens. Some of these conditions could have undoubtedly been tolerated as temporary by-products of war. However, since numerous agitators as well as members of Parliament

have insisted that they all be sent back to Japan, the evacuees, in addition to knowing that almost no city in Canada wanted them to live and work in it, have felt that their future in Canada was hopeless even though it was their adopted country or the land of their birth.

EASTERN RESETTLEMENT

The evacuees who were moved to the sugar beet farms of Alberta and Manitoba can hardly be looked upon as permanently resettled. When evacuation was first planned, it was assumed that the Japanese would be moved into the interior and then, after the war, would return to the Coast. Upon this basis agreements were made with provincial governments to remove the Japanese, if requested, six months after hostilities ceased. Hence it is not certain that the sugar beet workers, though they have done an excellent job of providing labour for sugar production, will remain where they are now living. Some of these people wish to return to Japan as soon as possible. Some of them are not well adjusted to that type of work for personal or family reasons. Others will want to move east to live closer to relatives. And finally, some of them will not want to remain unless they can purchase farms and operate them as independent owners.

But since evacuation has taken place, about 3,000 Japanese moved to Ontario and Quebec in what is called the "east of the Rockies" movement. There have been many lines of work in which the evacuees could be employed and consequently the Security Commission found it desirable to establish regional offices in Fort William, Toronto, and Montreal to co-operate with National Selective Service and to assist in the permanent re-establishment of the Japanese in normal community life.

Government Favours Dispersal

In his speech of August 4, 1944, Prime Minister King stated that it was desirable for the Japanese to be dispersed across the Dominion. Since this could be done by persuading Japanese in British Columbia to take work in the eastern area where there have been labour shortages, it was hoped that many more than actually have, would take advantage of the Commission's offer to pay rail fare, a small meal allowance, and a resettlement allowance to settle permanently. But this programme never attracted as many people as expected.

In the first place, the Japanese have not wanted to leave British Columbia. To them, as with many other westerners, the east is a far distant and strange place. Many of the older folk can not speak English well. Perhaps more important, there have been jobs right there for everyone who wished to work. This has created a dilemma. Politicians have been trying to rid British Columbia of all its Japanese while at the same time various economic interests in that province have needed them.

Also living conditions in the east have been very difficult for the Japanese. In addition to racial discrimination against them by some owners, wartime congestion has made it difficult to secure accommodations for families. Furthermore, the Dominion Government early in 1942 prohibited Japanese from buying houses and farm properties.

Uncertainty and Confusion

In addition, there has been no certainty about the final aims of the whole programme of resettlement. Even in the fall of 1945, almost four years after Pearl Harbor, no gov-

ernment official has any basis on which to tell a Japanese that if he does resettle, he will be permitted to remain where he wishes to stay. The delay of the Cabinet in promoting its programme has been a definite handicap to officials who have been trying to encourage resettlement. If conditions of resettlement had been more liberal, then a larger number would have quite likely moved east.

Finally it should be recognized that the psychological developments among the Japanese who have lived in the Ghost Towns have not been favourable towards resettlement. Many of the Japanese have been confused about the future and unable to make a decision, a characteristic which develops among people who are, for example, interned, or prisoners of war.

Some Good Samaritans

Some organizations have assisted with resettlement. A few committees of citizens emerged to assist with welfare problems and with recreational and other community activities. But help to the individual resettler cannot be extended in all aspects of his problems. Time is required for each one, perhaps six to twelve months, to rid himself of emotional disturbances due to evacuation and residence in the ghost towns. And this internal emotional healing goes on mostly if the resettler is able to establish a set of sympathetic relations so that he can readjust himself according to his own individual needs. The over-solicitous samaritan can be just as harmful as the hostile employer or politician. Furthermore, it is important that the Japanese assume responsibility for establishing themselves into normal community life again. This is, essentially, the aim of the citizens' committees. A large scheme of resettlement proposed by some church groups was a failure because of the complex problems involved, and insufficient staff available to overcome the complexities.

It is not likely that many more Japanese will resettle in Ontario and Quebec. In the Montreal area, they are not conspicuous because of racial features, but it is difficult for a Japanese to compete with French Canadians unless he has some special skill or unless he has capital with which

to start a business. In the Ontario areas of resettlement, there are still opportunities, but the closing of the war will bring about entirely new conditions.

It is expected that those who are in Ontario and Quebec are likely to remain there, and preliminary reports indicate that they are getting along very well in being able to support themselves and in fitting into eastern communities.

SEGREGATION AND REPATRIATION

Wartime Suspicions

A country at war is a country suspicious of all people within its boundaries. No one is excluded. If any of the people bear close relationship to enemy countries, much suspicion and hostility will be directed towards them. In addition to suspicion, a country at war is a country concerned about loyalty and equality of sacrifice. The crisis of war is so profound that none are exempt. These statements are generally applicable to all segments of the Canadian population. In addition, the Japanese have undergone during peace times a questioning of their loyalty and so conditions of war have made it even more difficult for them.

Because of Canadian ideas of citizenship, fair play, and justice, it was expected by both citizens and government officials that some steps would be taken to separate the loyal from the disloyal Japanese. People who are familiar with such problems state that this is an extremely hard task because of difficulties in defining loyalty and disloyalty. Prime Minister King stated in his speech of August 4, 1944, that none of the Japanese in Canada, even the non-citizens, had been guilty of any offense against the security of Canada, that it would be desirable to disperse them across the Dominion, that it would be necessary to try to determine the loyal and disloyal, and that this latter group would be sent to Japan after the war. He also stated that he considered any post-war immigration to be undesirable. This statement committed the Dominion Government to a programme of segregation, and the Prime Minister said that a quasi-judicial tribunal would be established to handle the whole problem of determining loyalty.

Given a Choice

After this announcement, nothing happened until early spring, 1945. It was then decided that a group of R.C.M.P. officers would visit each Japanese settlement and ask the people if they wished to remain in Canada or go to Japan. It was also decided that if a person wished to remain in Canada and was unemployed but able to work, it would be advisable for such a person to take work in the east. Plans were made so that different application forms would be used for Japanese nationals, for naturalized citizens, and for native-born Canadians.



Such a decision as each Japanese over 16 years of age had to make was a major one. In view of the uncertainty of the future in Canada as well as in Japan, it could not be made easily. Although segregation appears to be simple, the statements by the press, especially in British Columbia, the variation of interpretations by the Japanese themselves and by some government employees have all confused the mind of the individual Japanese. Hence it is not clear as to what their motives actually were for signing up to return. On September 5 a news dispatch stated that 9,000 wanted to return to Japan. It is variously claimed that this number signed up as a protest against the treatment they have been accorded in Canada, as a ruse to remain in British Columbia and then cancel application for repatriation later, and as a response to nationalistic leaders who "forced" many to sign against their will.

As a result of this confusion, a group of Japanese initiated a law suit against the British Columbia Security Commission in the courts of British Columbia, trying to secure an injunction against deportation, but the judge agreed with government attorneys that the British Columbia Security Commission was no longer a legal entity as it had been dissolved by Order-in-Council in February, 1943, when a Japanese Section of the Department of Labour was organized. It is unlikely that the Japanese would appeal the decision to a higher court as V-J has occurred since the suit

started, and the whole policy and programme would likely be completed before any legal injunctions could be obtained. It would, also, be very expensive.

Now that the war with Japan is over, it is expected that some will go to Japan as soon as possible. Until military occupation is completed, this is a very indefinite prospect. Negotiations will undoubtedly be carried on between the Canadian Department of External Affairs and the Allied Supreme Commander. Since the United States has a number of Japanese who wish to repatriate, the same plan is likely to be followed by both countries.

DOMESTIC ISSUES

The necessity for evacuation of all Japanese, regardless of citizenship, has never been questioned. The people of British Columbia were unwilling to take any chance, and they had become disposed that way as a result of the long historical setting of attitudes hostile towards the Japanese. In general all members of the Japanese race were looked upon in the same way as those who lived in Japan proper. Since the power of the federal government was based upon the War Measures Act, the legal authority of the government has not been challenged. Issues, then, arise from the policy and programme which emerged after evacuation if they were not already issues which had been established long before evacuation.

An outstanding issue, defined by all Canadians as well as those living in British Columbia, is the unsatisfactory definition of Canadian citizenship.

In the Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament, September 6, 1945, reference was made to the desirability of passing legislation to correct problems arising from the present citizenship laws.

Right to Vote

On the Pacific Coast this general problem has been aggravated by the fact that the Province of British Columbia would not permit Orientals, either naturalized or native-born, the right to vote. As a result this has made first and second class citizens in British Columbia.

There the franchise has become the focal point around which the conflict between Occidentals and Orientals has been organized. It has become a political issue, giving rise to bitter debates in the Legislative Assembly at Victoria. It was apparently one of the central reasons why both Chinese and Japanese, born and reared in Canada, were not drafted into the military service, the former not until August, 1944. It was probably the reason why Bruce Hutchison, writing in *The Vancouver Sun*, was able to say that a request from Britain for Canadian-Japanese soldiers was virtually turned down. It was a form of sabotaging the war effort.



Right to Freedom of Opportunity

A second aspect of the citizenship problem which may become an issue is the demand of many outspoken British Columbians who want long-term restrictions against the Japanese. Some of these are promoted by economic interests, such as the fishermen who do not want the Japanese to return. Others are promoted by politicians who seek support by proposing that Japanese not be permitted to live in certain districts of Canada. A few want them out of British Columbia completely and permanently while others want them restricted from the Pacific Coast proper. These are quite obviously demands for setting up a ghetto, demands which are contrary to the whole Canadian historical development. Some Japanese are going to remain in Canada. Are they to have legal restrictions on their right to choose their occupation and place of residence? It is, again, part of the problem of citizenship.

Right to Own Property

Although we have not discussed the numerous details of the property problem, the central issue is simply this: Does the Canadian Government have the right to sell the property of a citizen without his consent? This has been done in the case of Japanese evacuees. There is no evidence that the selling of the property promoted the war effort in any way or contributed to the welfare of the Canadian people. There were alternative ways of handling the problem, such as expropriation and arbitrating any cases in which returns appeared unfair. There is considerable discussion among the Japanese, and among some other Canadians too, about the fact that there have been numerous sales at low prices.

The Japanese took the case to the Exchequer Court in Ottawa, on May 29, 1944. No decision has been given yet.

There are other problems which will likely be straightened out by government action and are, perhaps, not quite what we would call issues. For example, the Province of British Columbia refused to assume responsibility for any education of Japanese children. If some of them remain in that province, as is likely to be the case, what will be the legal status of those children with respect to educational opportunities? Is the federal government to be responsible for the welfare of Japanese who were removed from British Columbia, or will they become residents of Ontario, of Manitoba, or of Quebec and thus no longer welfare charges to be borne by Ottawa?

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

It is very difficult to assess the international issues which are involved because developments in China and Japan have not as yet indicated how they are likely to go. But in general these appear to be some of the issues involved as they are related to what emerges in Japan.

Immigration

Prime Minister King has already stated that no immigration after the war would be desirable, but he did not feel that this should be a permanent commitment. Since 1922 the number of Japanese coming to Canada has been

negligible. It may be expected that British Columbia will insist upon total exclusion. Even under those arrangements, it should be possible for traders, tourists, students, and other specialized classes to live or visit in Canada. As we shall undoubtedly re-establish diplomatic relations with Japan, this would be desirable.

Trade

Canada will want to trade with Japan. To trade with a country means that some good feelings should exist between the two peoples. The people of Japan will need many decades to live down the past 25 years of their history, but that is where far-sighted Canadians will see an opportunity to try to help rather than hinder. It is to the very definite interest of Canada in the long run that Japan be a well organized, going concern. Canada cannot avoid getting along with Japan in some manner.

As compared with the treatment which Canadian citizens and military men have received while in the hands of Japanese authorities, the programme of evacuation in Canada has been humane. Canadian officials have tried to do all that they could so that Japan would have no cause to treat Canadian citizens inhumanely. This has, according to news reports, been in vain. From time to time Canadians at home have demanded that the Japanese in Canada should be treated as they thought Canadians in Asia were being treated. To have done this would have reduced us to exactly the same moral level as the Japanese in Asia. This is not characteristic of Anglo-Saxons or many other Europeans. Hence in our international dealings with Japan, we must operate on our own moral principles and not on theirs.



CONCLUSION

Canadians must assume domestic responsibilities which are imposed upon victors in the modern democratic world. These responsibilities are as follows:

1. The correction of citizenship legislation so that it is applicable to all peoples in Canada, regardless of race or country of origin, that they may enjoy complete equality with respect to duties and privileges of being a Canadian.
2. Redress of grievances with respect to property sales so as to maintain our own sense of justice with respect to property rights and so that no propaganda charges can be used by foreign countries as anti-democratic indoctrination.
3. Maintenance of the right of Canadian citizens to live in the residence of choice.
4. Educational efforts towards eliminating prejudice against Canadians because of race.

Canadian public opinion polls show that a little more than half of the people, including those living in British Columbia, are favourably disposed to permit citizens of Japanese ancestry to remain in Canada, and since this appears to be an accurate statement of Canadian opinion, it then remains to put beliefs into action by accepting unconditionally as Canadians a small group such as the Japanese in Canada.

READ

JAPAN — OUR NEIGHBOUR

By H. F. Angus

A brief, to-the-minute discussion of the fundamental causes of Japanese aggression and on the problems faced by the United Nations in governing defeated Japan.

Behind the Headlines, 1946 Series, No. 3

Questions for Group Discussion

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1. What domestic issues are raised by the wartime treatment of the people of Japanese ancestry in Canada? What international issues?
2. What is the relation between domestic policy towards Orientals in Canada and Canadian international responsibilities as a nation of the Pacific area and a member of the United Nations?
3. Should Canadian citizenship mean the same rights and responsibilities for each citizen throughout Canada regardless of racial origin, religious beliefs, or social status?
4. What should government policy be now towards people of Japanese ancestry in Canada? Send them all back to Japan? Eject only the disloyal? Restore full citizenship rights to those allowed to remain?

SOME READING SUGGESTIONS

Books

- The Japanese Canadians* by C. H. Young, H. R. Y. Reid, and W. A. Carrothers. 1938. University of Toronto Press for C.I.I.A. 299pp. \$2.25.
- Canada and the Orient* (A study in International Relations) by C. J. Woodsworth. 1941. Macmillan for C.I.I.A. 321pp. \$3.50.
- The Governing of Men* by A. H. Leighton. 1945. Institute of Pacific Relations. 450pp. \$3.75. (Japanese relocation — a rehearsal for civil administration).
- Prejudice. The Japanese-Americans, a symbol of racial intolerance*, by Carey McWilliams. 1944. Little, Brown. 337pp. \$3.75.

Pamphlets

- What about the Japanese-Canadians?* 1945. Vancouver Consultative Council. 30pp. 10c.
- What about our Japanese-Americans?* by Carey McWilliams. 1944. Public Affairs Pamphlet. 20pp. 15c.
- Democracy and the Japanese Americans*, by Norman Thomas. 1943. Post War World Council. 26pp. 15c.
- The Problem of Race* (Democratic Way Series) 1944. Canadian Association for Adult Education. 26pp. 10c.
- The Races of Mankind*, by R. Benedict and Dr. G. Weltfish. 1943. Public Affairs Committee. 31pp. 15c.

Periodical Articles

- "Democracy and the Japanese-Canadians" — *Canadian Forum*, July, 1945, p.87.
- "Two Years of Japanese Evacuation in Canada" — *Far Eastern Survey*, May 31, 1944. (LaViolette).
- (The Japanese) — *Canadian House of Commons Debates*, May 5, 1944, pp.2740-66.
- "The Japanese Family in America" — *Annals*, September, 1943.
- "The American-Born Japanese and the World Crisis" — *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, November, 1941. (LaViolette).

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By V. W. Bladen

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