

**A CHALLENGE
TO PATRIOTISM
AND STATESMANSHIP**

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INTRODUCTION

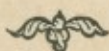
I HAVE pleasure in commending this pamphlet to Canadian readers. Its author, Dr. Norman F. Black, is a well-known educationist in British Columbia. He is Chairman of the Vancouver Consultative Council, which has been making a special study of the position of Japanese residents of Canada, and is well informed upon this subject. He advocates "geographical and occupational dispersion" as the solution of the "Japanese problem" in Canada. His article is put forth in this form in the hope that it may contribute to the securing of public support for just, humane, and Christian treatment of Japanese Canadians.

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CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COUNCIL OF CANADA.

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A CHALLENGE TO PATRIOTISM AND STATESMANSHIP



CANADA is a land of minorities. Consequently, there is cause for deep concern in an apparent Canadian tendency to antipathies based upon difference in ancestral stocks. At present those most definitely the target of public dislike are our Canadian residents of Japanese ancestry.

The reasons, of course, are various. We are at war with Japan. But we are also at war with Germany and, until recently, we have been at war with Italy; nevertheless we have treated German and Italian Canadians, and even German and Italian nationals, with considerable magnanimity. On the other hand, one recognizes something horribly suggestive of European fascism in the widespread hysterical animosity toward Japanese Canadians and Japanese nationals resident in Canada. In relation to these people there is clamour for public policies based upon racial hatred. Such passions do not require factual data to feed upon and are notoriously difficult to keep within bounds. Today the victims are our Japanese; tomorrow they are likely to include our Jews; the day after tomorrow, whom?

A Problem Insoluble by British Columbia.

Admittedly, the Japanese community in British Columbia involved in puzzling problems all parties concerned. These difficulties had their source chiefly in federal laws and policies relative to immigration and naturalization, and in other circumstances beyond British Columbian control. Indeed, for a generation, British Columbia—sometimes by methods the wisdom of which is open to question—has been vainly trying to awaken eastern Canada to recognition of these problems.

The overwhelming majority of Canada's oriental immigrants were settling in a province the total population of which is comparable to that of Toronto. They were not numerous in relation to the population of Canada as a whole—of which they constituted less than one-fifth of one per cent.—but they were embarrassingly numerous

in relation to the total population of British Columbia. They provided an example of the familiar evils of undue geographical and occupational concentration on the part of an immigrant minority.

Dispersion undertaken.

The rational cure for undue geographical and occupational concentration is geographical and occupational dispersion.

The federal authorities recognize this obvious fact and are trying to turn current evils to advantage by distributing across Canada those of our Japanese residents whose law-abiding habits and loyalty to Canada are not subject to doubt in official quarters. In this policy many of the second generation Japanese Canadians, and even some of the first generation, see their best hope for the future.

When the war with Nippon broke out, some 21,349 persons of Japanese ancestry were living in coastal British Columbia; about 1,200 elsewhere in the same province; 600 in Alberta; and approximately 370 in the rest of Canada.

According to the latest available information (February, 1944) these people had been redistributed as follows: 3,453 in Alberta; 159 in Saskatchewan; 1,120 in Manitoba; 2,334 (inclusive of all internees, about 450 in number) in Ontario; 322 in Quebec, almost exclusively in Montreal; about 30 in Yukon Territory; one or two in the Maritime Provinces; and the balance, nearly 15,000, in British Columbia. At time of writing, slightly more than twenty-seven per cent. of British Columbia's Japanese have moved east. When it is realized that those remaining in British Columbia include an entirely disproportionate number of women and children, from whom it is obvious that their men-folk now in the East cannot be permanently separated, the inadequacy of present dispersal methods is painfully evident.

Recently the Selective Service authorities have been taking a hand in the game and a few score of the Japanese resident in British Columbia have been ordered East to jobs of higher priority rating; but it is to be remembered that most of the able-bodied Japanese still in the Pacific province were already engaged in occupations with high priorities—cutting badly needed fuel, for example. In December, 1943, and the opening months of 1944, disper-

sion to easterly points came practically to a standstill. It is probable that the spring of 1944 will see some revival in the slow processes of relocation. However, it is evident that present policies are not very rapidly effecting such distribution of residents of Japanese stock as is desirable in their own interests and in the interests of Canada.

The fault does not lie with the B.C. Security Commission. Its attitude and services deserve public gratitude. That it has made mistakes, nobody denies; but the real reason for its failure to bring about any large-scale dispersion of our Japanese residents lies in the fact that it has been assigned a task which, under present public policies of provincial and federal authorities, is and must remain impossible.

That those authorities realize these facts can scarcely be doubted. Apparently, however, they do not think that public opinion is sufficiently well informed to endorse the policies for which the circumstances obviously call.

Why present policies are failing.

It is high time that more serious attention was being given to those influences that are operating to make the movement from concentration settlements to employment in the East so dishearteningly slow.

In the first place there has been as yet no adequate recognition by the people of Canada of two major facts: first, that the problem under review is essentially federal rather than provincial; and, second, that without whole-hearted co-operation on the part of the several provinces, results disastrous to Canada must ensue.

Even yet there is a widespread tacit assumption that no permanent settlement of the up-rooted Japanese is pressingly necessary since they will naturally return to their former homes immediately on the resumption of peace. It is true that a recent Gallup Poll reflected the fact that in British Columbia, as in other provinces, a substantial majority opposes the suggested exile of the 13,600 persons of Japanese stock who actually are Canadian citizens by birth or naturalization, whatever may have to be done in the case of Japanese nationals now resident in this country. But we have to do with something that no longer is simply a question of race.

With the evacuation of the Japanese from the coastal area, new social and economic conditions have arisen, and

any wholesale return of evacuees would be a calamity to all concerned. Let us suppose that, in the interests of Canada, it for some reason had been felt necessary to expel from their homes and occupations, for a term of years, any other group—for example, all left-handed people, or all members of some blameless religious body—and that their homes and means of livelihood had been transferred to other people; does anybody suppose that these latter would not bitterly resist any attempt at large-scale restoration of the dislodged group to their former homes and occupations? Does anyone care to envisage what would happen on the streets of Vancouver if twenty thousand or ten thousand or even only five thousand homeless and jobless Orientals were suddenly to trek back to that city?

That British Columbia is ready to shoulder its share of the responsibility resultant from federal military policy may be assumed. But any attempt to leave the whole responsibility on the doorstep of that province would strain the unity of this Dominion to something dangerously near the breaking point.

So far as anyone now can see, the present war with Japan is likely to endure for years. It is imperatively necessary that in the meantime the evacuees find relatively permanent homes and become economically self-supporting. If lifted from despair by wise and humane treatment, and scattered—a few families here and a few families there—throughout the Dominion, they would soon cease to present Canada with any problem of great magnitude. Meantime, the situation is becoming more serious with every day's delay in policies of dispersion. In the concentration settlements, social and economic conditions are so abnormal as to ensure the progressive deterioration of people formerly conspicuous for energy and enterprise.

Baseless accusations.

Hesitation in welcoming evacuees has been deplorably augmented by deliberate dissemination of all manner of groundless accusations and misinformation, to which, unfortunately, we can spare in this pamphlet only a few brief paragraphs.

One still hears it alleged that wholesale sabotage and fifth column activities on the part of Japanese Americans in Hawaii show that these are people who do not deserve confidence. The reply is obvious. In the first place, there is something the matter with the ethics and logic of

those who insist upon punishing innocent people in this country on account of offences committed by other people, in another country. In the second place, the alleged criminal treachery did not occur. Mr. Stimson, the American Secretary for War, has officially declared that "the War Department has received no information of sabotage committed by Japanese during the attack upon Pearl Harbour"; and Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, reported in terms still more emphatic and sweeping: "There was no sabotage committed prior to December 7, on December 7, or subsequent to that date." These facts have been abundantly attested by Mr. Knox and by a multitude of responsible local observers whose sworn statements were long ago published in the reports of the Tolan Committee.*

The reader has quite possibly heard it alleged that the Japanese are disposed to crimes of violence. What are the facts here in Canada? When the Japanese represented 3.2 per cent. of the population of British Columbia they provided less than one-fifth of that percentage of the penitentiary inmates who when at liberty were domiciled in the Pacific province. This situation was not exceptional. In California, an investigation by Professor Walter B. Beach showed that the incidence of crime among residents of Japanese stock was "only about half as high as the average for the state." Similar facts were revealed in Hawaii, where also the Japanese had the lowest juvenile delinquency rate. All people well informed on these matters know that, in British Columbia likewise, Japanese juvenile delinquency records have long been conspicuously better than those of our population as a whole. All these statements are easily verifiable by anyone caring to study official data.

Of course, in any considerable body of people, of whatever racial or national stock, one may reasonably expect to find folk of all sorts, including those lacking even in

*An educationist prominent in Hawaii writes as follows from Honolulu under date of January 16, 1944: "The embarrassment and humiliation of the Japanese people following the blitz of December, 1941, reduced their morale to almost the vanishing point, but it has been greatly improved by the opportunity given the boys of Japanese ancestry to volunteer for enlistment in the armed forces. Out of a possible 27,000 of draft age, 9,500 volunteered and 2,875 were taken. Since the original enrolment, 550 have been enlisted as interpreters. There is scarcely a Japanese family that does not have friends or relatives in the armed forces. Many of these boys are seeing service in Italy and the casualty lists already published have been long!"

common honesty. However, in connection with the aspersions frequently cast upon the integrity of the evacuees, as in connection with almost all other aspects of the Japanese problem, the most authoritative reference book conveniently available to all inquirers is Young, Reid and Carrothers' *The Japanese Canadians*, which was published in 1938 and reprinted just before the outbreak of World War II. The following quotation is here relevant:

"In their business dealings, where honesty is measured in dollars and cents, the Japanese in many places enjoy an enviable reputation. More than one bank manager stated that the Japanese were among the most reliable customers they had. An interesting incident would seem to support the evidence of the bankers. A complaint reached the officials of the provincial government in recent years that the Japanese farmers in the Fraser valley were getting fertilizer from White companies for much less per ton and for longer credit than were Whites. This seemed incredible but proved on investigation to be true. The White companies claimed that it was merely a matter of business: the Japanese farmers used more fertilizer, a much larger percentage were sure to pay for it, and they were likely to pay more quickly than the Whites."

People as people are very much like other people. Easterners into whose communities a handful of these luckless refugees are admitted need have no fear of any resultant deterioration of average standards in such matters as respect for law, the ethics of day-by-day relationships among neighbours, good manners, industry and the love of soap and water. Evil consequences need be feared only if the local community takes the arrival of the newcomers as a signal for an emotional debauch and the release of hateful passions previously held in restraint.

If all this be true, it may well be asked why in British Columbia, where they are best known, the Japanese became the object of so much dislike.

Unpopularity in British Columbia.

In the first place, that dislike has always been very far from universal and has probably been commonest among whites who had little or no personal contact with individual Japanese. Many white people in British Columbia include Japanese among their most highly respected personal friends. A still larger percentage simply knew them as orderly and industrious working people. Many other whites are neither especially friendly nor positively hostile. And students of sociology will not be surprised when told

that where active hostility exists it is based on vague but real economic fears and perplexities that clamour for scapegoats.

The Japanese were welcomed into British Columbia because, in certain quarters, a reservoir of cheap labour was considered desirable; and in that and related facts lies the clue to popular dislike in many circles. Lower standards of living made it possible for the newcomer to accept wages lower than whites were demanding. A remedy for that situation should have been sought in the unionization of all workers and in a minimum wage law that would prevent the exploitation of the poverty of the Orientals. But efforts in these directions were in general half-hearted and ineffective. In prosperous times cheap Oriental labour did not materially affect the white worker, but during years of depression he became painfully conscious that there were not jobs enough to go around, and in the Oriental worker he saw a competitor who he vaguely felt had an unfair advantage.

Rising suspicions were fed by accusations which were widely accepted simply because so often repeated. It was argued, for example, that, until evacuated from the coastal area, the Japanese were increasingly usurping the fisheries and other major industries of British Columbia. The demonstrable facts point in a direction quite opposite. The data summarized below reflect the persistent and increasing exclusion of the Japanese from these industries, with consequent economic disturbances in other fields.

SALMON FISHING LICENCES ISSUED IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Year	Trolling Licences			Gill Net Licences		
	Whites	Indians	Japanese	Whites	Indians	Japanese
1922	743	438	1,989	1,440	1,032	332
1933	2,101	531	970*	2,878	1,192	161†

*Includes 63 who served in the Canadian army in World War I.

†Includes 7 who served in the Canadian army in World War I. In like manner, between 1923 and 1934 (inclusive), the years covered by Professor Carrothers' analysis of relevant official data, the number of Japanese employed in logging fell from 1,420 to 634; those in planing mills, from 299 to 58; those in sawmills, from 4,105 to 1,627; and those in shingle mills, from 1,826 to 474. This spectacular expulsion of Japanese from so many former sources of livelihood inevitably produced a corresponding and excessive shift to agriculture and to urban occupations, particularly those in which the family could be the working unit. This contributed to the establishment or survival of abnormal

Fear was also fed by use of the bugbear which many purported to see in the Japanese birthrate. People came across Japanese with conspicuously large families and assumed that such conditions were general. Once again, analysis of the relevant statistics is likely to occasion surprise. At the time of the survey made by Young, Reid and Carrothers, the average size of Japanese families in the Fraser Valley was 4.11; in the Okanagan Valley, 3.97; and in Vancouver, 2.47. It is quite true that in the years immediately following the arrival in Canada of the original relatively large contingents of Japanese immigrants, the birthrate among them was considerably higher than at present prevails among Occidentals in western Canada. A study of the age tables makes the reason obvious: the average age of the Japanese women entering this country was 25.4 years and that of their husbands was 31.8 years. If the birthrate for Occidental Canadians of the same age group were segregated, it also would be found to be much higher than that of the Canadian people as a whole. Moreover, since those early days, the records show a continuously declining Japanese birthrate and a steady rise in the age of marriage. The percentage of single male adults in our Japanese population is higher than is recorded for the people of Canada taken collectively.

Again, enormous harm has been done by the dissemination of the silly myth that there is some mysterious and inevitable difference between what does or can happen in the cortex of an Oriental and anything that does or can happen in that of an Occidental. No responsible psychologist endorses any such theory, unless in Nazidom, where unscientific concepts of race and of racial differences have been elevated to the status of religious dogma. The important fact is that character, ideas, ideals, habits, attitudes, and the like are not transmitted by physical inheritance. They are acquired after birth and are shaped by human contacts. A child is born as naked of ideas and loyalties as he is naked of clothes. He acquires his basic stock of ideas, habits and loyalties from the people around him. One may change and outgrow the habits and outlook adopted from one's early associates, but in general

working conditions which further threatened the standard of life prevailing among white competitors. Many of the latter were driven out of business because there was no adequate legislation for the protection of working conditions. All these facts contributed to the rise of unreasoning animosities.

the crucial consideration is the character of the influences brought to bear in childhood and in early manhood, and especially during one's schooldays. The thoroughness of the Canadianization of any particular Japanese resident will generally be proportionate to the intimacy and friendliness of his contacts with Occidental Canadians. At school, in most cases, the Occidental Canadian and the Oriental Canadian meet on terms of equality and mutual good will, and presently their attitudes and reactions become almost indistinguishable. To assume that children and adolescents, educated wholly in Canadian schools and mingling freely with Canadian associates, will grow up with anything but a Canadian outlook, upon life and this land of their birth, is a preposterous libel on the teachers of this country.

The writer has had abundant opportunity for personal observation of the reaction of children of Japanese parentage to Canadianizing educational influences, and his judgments in that regard are supported by many others who have had intimate contacts with second generation Japanese Canadians. The suggestion that young people of Japanese stock, educated in Canadian schools and universities, are incapable of appreciating or sharing in Occidental culture, or of being inspired by patriotic affection for Canada, is a wicked or ignorant falsehood. The writer is personally acquainted with numerous representatives of this group who are as thoroughly and as obviously Canadian in their thinking as anyone in this Dominion. Many of them are at present eating their hearts out because precluded from service in the armed forces of Canada.

A more serious difficulty is raised by many people who are concerned as to the possibility or desirability of racial intermixtures. They assert that no matter how industrious and law-abiding and intelligent many of these Japanese Canadians may be and no matter how sincere their loyalty to Canada, the fact remains that socially they are beyond the pale; Occidentals and Orientals will never fuse by marriage.

Well, never is a long day. It is true that inter-racial marriages are generally in disfavour with the Mrs. Grundys and view-it-with-alarmists of both camps. Indeed if two of my own young friends were contemplating such a marriage and did me the honour of consulting me, I would advise against it. I would be afraid for the young couple.

I would feel it likely that I knew more than they about the ignorance and arrogance and sadism of exponents of racial purity in Canada as well as in Germany.

Certainly there will be no rapid or general inter-marriage. But we may as well recognize that such marriages have occurred, are still occurring and will continue to occur. Young lovers will be as little concerned about the opinions of the older generation regarding miscegenation as about its opinions regarding lip stick. They know that if the scum of one race be blended with the dregs of another, the resulting mixture is likely to be pretty bad. They probably also are aware that no outstanding geneticist commanding international respect supports the thesis that miscegenation, in and of itself, is biologically objectionable. They are likely to know that where the blending of racial strains involves no social disapproval—as in Hawaii—the children of such marriages are as clever and as beautiful and as lovable and as good raw material for citizenship as the children of the strictest racial purists.

In the foregoing pages the author has sought to share his convictions that our Japanese problem constitutes an exceedingly important challenge to the patriotism and statesmanship of Canadians; that it is a problem insoluble by British Columbia without the loyal co-operation of other provinces; that the federal government is wise in promotion of policies of geographical and occupational dispersion; that the movement of Japanese from concentration settlements to new homes and employment beyond the Rocky Mountains is very disconcertingly slow; and that the dissemination of misinformation regarding these people has militated seriously against the success of federal plans. However the relative failure of dispersal measures is in large part due also to lack of co-operation upon the part of the Japanese themselves. It is imperative that some dispassionate thought be devoted to the reasons for the disinclination of the Japanese to leave their present settlements.

Why many Japanese are disinclined to dispersion.

In the first place, the more enterprising of the younger people have already gone east, and this means steadily deteriorating leadership among those left behind. Parental influence, always strong in a Japanese community, is frequently not on the side of dispersion. The older people naturally include a larger proportion of folk whose Canadianization has been less thorough than that of the second generation. They resent the disruption of their families. Most of the people caring to accept agricultural employment have already gone east, and jobs offered do not attract men who are skilled mechanics, boat-builders, businessmen accustomed to the conduct of independent enterprise, experienced "white-collar workers" of various sorts, or men familiar only with fishing. Many are sadly dreaming of their once prosperous garage, or green grocery, or cleaning and pressing establishment, or tailor shop, or insurance agency, or apartment house, and in eastern news they see nothing to encourage a belief that they will be allowed opportunity to devote themselves to occupations for which their training and experience best fit them. They are concerned about the housing situation; remaining where they are, they at least have a roof over their family, and they have no assurance that such would be the case if they ventured into distant places where they have good reason to believe that the housing shortage is very serious. In the concentration settlements they have about them the comfort of friendly and familiar faces; even the whites with whom they come in contact—members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, officials of the Security Commission, teachers, missionaries and others—they know to be their friends. They also know that a friendly welcome among strangers in distant places is something upon which they cannot count. They know that under orders-in-council at present operative they have no chance to buy the property that may be necessary to their economic independence. They know that so long as they remain in the concentration settlements, the Security Commission will stand between them and actual want and they are afraid to venture forth at the risk of the welfare of their dependants.

They are unhappy; and unhappiness does not make for clarity of thought.

The Japanese are very keenly interested in the education of their children. Their attitude in this connection recalls

the best traditions of Scotland. Many of them own property that is paying taxes for the support of schools for white children, while the buildings and equipment available for the education of their own families are inadequate or unsuitable. While the teachers are young Japanese Canadians of good ability and manifest high ideals of public service and are doing a remarkably good job in spite of their handicaps, they almost without exception are professionally untrained.* The Security Commission has no responsibility for the education of Japanese children beyond the elementary grades. Such high school instruction as is available is provided chiefly through the generosity of missionary bodies. While this friendly help is greatly appreciated, it is felt to be an intolerable hardship that the governmental authorities have made practically no provision for children of high school grades. Some of these children are taking correspondence courses but the fees are so high as to be beyond the reach of parents of limited means.

Many of the Japanese remember with resentment that their seized automobiles were sold at prices which, as they believe, entailed much loss. They feel affronted by what they consider to be libellous attacks made upon them in newspapers and in legislative halls. Some of their fishing boats were stripped of expensive equipment by thieves and were otherwise subjected to unnecessary injury, all of which involved the evacuated owners in heavy charges for repairs and re-equipment. They allege violation of original understandings between the evacuees and the Security Commission, and they fail to see that certain promises, made in good faith by responsible persons, are no longer possible of fulfilment. Their hopes still centre about abandoned homes to which it is now highly improbable that many of them will be able to return.

Many of the evacuees are heartsick over the fact that farms, poultry ranches and fruit ranches which they had developed by years of toil have fallen into ruinous neglect even though largely on account of the labour shortage. They bitterly resent the compulsory sale of their property, even while they readily admit that the Custodian has made a conscientious effort to ensure fair prices. The legality of governmental procedures in this connection is at present

*Provision made in 1943 for a summer school course in school administration, teaching methods, and allied subjects, aroused profound gratitude and was an invaluable contribution to the support of slipping morale.

sub judice and therefore cannot here be discussed. However, while few are inclined to question the paramount authority of the Dominion government to expropriate—particularly in war-time—any property the transfer of which is in public interest, it is felt that to compel a private individual to sell his property to the government is quite a different thing from compelling him to sell it to another private individual.

For these and other reasons a majority of those still remaining in the concentration centres are disinclined to co-operate in the present dispersal policies of the government.

And when fifteen thousand law-abiding people sit down tight, they are not easily moved.

Unless the mere semblance of democratic procedure be abandoned.

It is constantly to be borne in mind that the Canadian authorities, civil and military, have been emphatic in their repeated statements that the evacuation of coastal Japanese was not motivated by any misconduct on their part and involved no reflection upon the loyalty of more than a small minority; and these there has been ample opportunity to segregate and intern for the duration.

If for military reasons involving the general security of Canada, it had been necessary to evacuate whites from any region in which they were resident, the evacuees would no doubt have been handsomely compensated; but these unfortunate people were of a different complexion, and their economic ruin, incidental to enforced migration, sits very lightly upon the conscience of Canada.

Those who are concerned for the honour of Canada have reason for gratitude toward the authorities of the Dominion government for persistent reiteration of their determination that Canadian policies in relation to our Japanese residents must continue to be based upon fair play and sympathetic recognition of the unhappy circumstances in which our Japanese Canadians find themselves, through no fault of their own. Federal resistance to the clamour of extremists has been admirable. But the time has now come for such revision of dispersion policies as the circumstances make necessary.

Only one solution seems practicable.

All Japanese property the transfer of which seems necessary in the public interest should be expropriated at

a fair price, not peddled to private buyers who look upon the Tenth Commandment as suspended "for the duration." In cases where government purchase does not provide the capital necessary for re-establishment, this Dominion must recognize its moral obligations: it must, if necessary, advance the first payments on the purchase of new homes and of such equipment as may be essential for self-support. The dispersion at which the governmental authorities are aiming must be made not only economically possible but economically attractive.

The policy here advocated as just and necessary to achieve the geographical and occupational dispersion of our Japanese Canadians is one that will pay us big dividends, irrespective of what procedures may be adopted after the war is over. All disaffected persons of Japanese origin should of course be sent back to Japan, together with any others of their stock who may go voluntarily. Few will so choose. They are having a hard time of it, but most of them have lived too long in a democracy ever to go back to such a state as Japan. Many of them know that in that land they would be more truly foreigners than here in Canada.

Few people in Canada think that it would be in the interests of any of the parties concerned to have the Japanese formerly resident in coastal British Columbia return *en masse*, though British Columbia can and should take care of its fair share of the evacuees. How in a democratic country it is going to be possible for the government to dictate to individual residents just where they are to live in time of peace, I do not know. And just in case we are not going to be able to liquidate them by exile or otherwise, Canada had better see to it that at the earliest possible moment they are helped to acquire homes so chosen that no new Little Tokyos will arise in this country.

A substantial equity in and a substantial mortgage on a really desirable piece of property would provide the best insurance against premature removal from the place where the Japanese Canadian finds himself when the bells ring for peace.