

CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

AIR MAIL

IN REPLY REFER TO FILE NO.

VANCOUVER, January 6th, 1942.

Professor Henry Angus,
Department of External Affairs,
Government Buildings,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

773-2-1-40

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Dear Henry:--

I am sure you have been kept informed of developments as far as the Japanese situation in British Columbia is concerned. We have never needed your sane, steady-influence in this Province more than we do at this moment. It is impossible for me because of my official position to take any public part in the controversy but I did take an action yesterday in relation to Jack Scott's editorial in the News-Herald of which I have just informed the General Manager in a confidential letter. I am going to enclose a copy of this letter for your information, asking you to consider it confidential of course. I shall also enclose copies of the editorials and the letter to which I refer in my report to Mr. Murray.

I think it more than ever important that our thinking should be clear and as logical as possible in this matter and I feel strongly that whatever enlightened citizens of good will, such as yourself, can do will be of the greatest possible advantage to what may be a very difficult situation.

You remember what happened after Dunkirk - the attempted organization of the flying column, the whipped up enthusiasm of civilians to undertake individual or group action against so-called aliens. I shudder to think what might happen in British Columbia if we were, as is quite possible, to receive bad news concerning the Pacific situation.

Please accept my kindest wishes for the New Year. I hope it will be rich in achievement for you.

Yours sincerely,

I. Dilworth
I. Dilworth,

B.C. Regional Representative.

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AIR MAIL

VANCOUVER, January 6th, 1942.

Mr. Gladstone Murray,
General Manager,
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Murray:--

I have been very much worried about the local situation surrounding our Japanese population. There is a growing danger of our having an unfortunate situation arise here. Most people I think have been taking a very reasonable attitude toward the Japanese resident in British Columbia but there has been a concerted and organized attempt on the part of certain individuals to disturb the good relations which exist and to foment trouble between the Japanese and white Canadians. This move is centred around certain personalities; in Vancouver notably around Alderman Wilson.

The whole thing has culminated in the appointment of a Committee to go East to review the Japanese situation with the authorities. On this Committee there are representatives of the most violent anti-Japanese opinion.

Captain
I feel my responsibility as a citizen in connection with this matter very deeply. I know that it is impossible for me to do or say anything publicly because of my official connection with the Corporation but I feel we should not leave undone anything that is within our power which would help to stabilize the situation. I feel very strongly that the police and the authorities who have made very careful surveys of our Japanese population should be in possession of all the necessary information to control individual Japanese. Individuals such as Alderman Wilson and ~~Colonel~~ Colonel Magregor Macintosh who set themselves at the head of movements to take direct action are it seems to me in danger of wrecking the whole constitutional framework of our State. I cannot help looking upon such individuals as enemies of our democratic system. I believe their activities in most instances arise either from a desire to serve their own interests by gaining

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notoriety or from limited understanding of the situation.

I am enclosing a copy of what I think is an excellent editorial in the News-Herald of yesterday's date. I felt it within my province as a citizen to write to Mr. Scott complimenting him on his editorial. I enclose a copy of my letter. I enclose also a copy of this morning's editorial in which you will see that Mr. Scott has quoted from my letter quite harmlessly as far as I personally am concerned.

I trust you do not think I have gone too far in this matter. I am concerned as a citizen with two considerations: (1) that nothing should be done which would produce a situation which might easily entail danger to property and life among the citizens of British Columbia, and (2) concern that a minority group in our midst should be treated with justice and fairness.

You will perhaps wonder why I have bothered you with this matter at all. I should perhaps mind my own Corporation business of which I assure you I have plenty. Well my opinion is that as large a number as possible of key people should have the facts of the situation and should be seized of the importance of the issue. Anything you or anyone else can do in Ottawa to make it possible for people to see this situation steadily and clearly will, I am sure, be in the interests of our country as a whole.

I am writing to Henry Angus who has a very clear conception of the whole situation. Beyond that and this letter to you I am doing nothing. Naturally it is impossible for me to take any part in the controversy in the press or elsewhere locally.

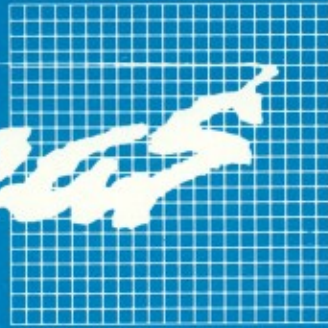
Kindest personal regards.

Yours faithfully,

I. Dilworth,
B.C. Regional Representative.

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IDEAS

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THE JAPANESE INTERNMENT IN CANADA THE WAR WE FOUGHT ON THE WEST COAST

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Lister Sinclair

Good evening and welcome to Ideas. I'm Lister Sinclair.

Mrs. Tagashira

Sister and I always wanted to go to a foreign country; but we could go to China or Manchuria anytime, but we don't want to go places not peaceful. I like to go to a country, have very peaceful country. I really like to go to peaceful country, so he ask me to go to the Canada, so naturally I won't say anything, I go with him.

Lister Sinclair

"For a thousand years past, these woods have not spoken. Summer stars." A Haiku by Canadian poet Midori Iwasaki. The Pacific Northwest Coast of the last century was the land of the Nootka, the Siwash, the Kwakiutl, the Haida. Then, in the 1890s, to this land and its millennial woods, came the first settlers from Japan, the Issei, adventurers from all walks of life, pioneers who cleared the land for farming, who logged and fished and built the wharves, canneries and sawmills that are the idiom of British Columbia.

Mrs. Tagashira

So I came to Canada with him, and we, you know, we didn't have anything, but we were very happy. He was very thoughtful, very kind. Then we got a little boy. It was way up in the country, no doctors, nothing. No what d'you call it, midwife. And then we worked together and he also go to day work. Then in the evening or weekend, he and I haul the big tree, then I got to crosscut. Then the evening, he chops, split the log. That's the way we worked hard, you know. But it was fun, and we had lots of hope, you see.

Lister Sinclair

Tonight on Ideas, you'll hear the story of what happened to the Issei and their children, the Nisei, in the first of two programs called Wasteland Gardens: The Japanese Canadian Internment in Canada.

Roy Kiyooka

I was playing hockey, shinny, street hockey, and after we had been playing, we went to a soda fountain-grocery store in the immediate neighbourhood. And it was a kind of a hangout, you know, if you had a nickel. A nickel was a lot of money in those days. And we went in to have a coke or something, I don't know what it was, and he had his radio on. He always did have his

radio on, it was part of the sociability of the place.

Announcer

We interrupt this program to bring you a special news bulletin. The Japanese have attacked Pearl Harbour, Hawaii by air, President Roosevelt has just announced. The attack also was made on all naval and military activities on the principal island of Oahu.

Roy Kiyooka

It must have been the CBC, retransmitting the first broadcast from Pearl Harbour that hit the mainland. Within moments of the whole thing, you know, having happened, and you could hear all the consternation and hysteria in the background and things like that. Here I was, I was 14 years of age. Well, from that time, from that day, everything changed, in actual sense. I was 15. For one thing, I never went back to school. I didn't complete the year, and I never went back at all. That was the end of my schooling.

Announcer

The Right Honourable Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, will now speak to the people of Canada. Mr. King's message on this momentous occasion will be heard throughout...

Mackenzie King

Out of a blue sky on a quiet Sunday afternoon, we in Canada heard that Hitler's Axis partner in the Orient had joined Germany in her effort at world domination. In all particulars, Japan was following the Nazi pattern of aggression by resort increasingly to deception...

Tom Shoyama

On that particular Sunday morning, I was sitting in the office of the newspaper where I was editor and publisher and using a battered old typewriter, thinking about a reasonable editorial for that week's issue. And suddenly, a colleague of mine with whom I had worked very closely during that period came bursting into the door to say that he had just heard on the radio that the Japanese air force had attacked Pearl Harbour, and a lot of things followed from that. It's not easy to recollect exactly. As I remember it, I was not that surprised because there had been any number of indications that something was going to happen soon and that it would likely happen in a dramatic way. And, in a sense, it brought to an end a long period of suspense. So, of course, one started to think

*Kunio?
yes*

immediately what would now transpire, given this. Obviously we were going to see a shooting war in the Pacific. A lot of things were going to be put to the test.

Mackenzie King

I wish especially to refer to the position of Japanese residents of Canada. All Japanese nationals will in principle be treated in the same way as nationals of Germany and Italy. Those who are considered dangerous are being interned at once. All other Japanese nationals and Japanese naturalized since 1922 will be required to report to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police...

Kay Shimizu

I was at home with my family, having just finished breakfast. And though there were certain events that occurred prior to Pearl Harbour that made us feel very much a community under surveillance, for instance being registered and having our picture on a little identification card, we felt that because of the fear of Japan attacking or entering into the war, some of these measures were justified. I guess when Pearl Harbour happened, it was a real shock, but we didn't think anything would happen to the community because we seemed to have obeyed all the restrictions placed on us and we were identified. And so what happened after Pearl Harbour was devastating. I don't think we ever thought that the government would go to the extreme of uprooting the whole community.

Announcer

"To male enemy aliens--Notice: Pursuant to the provisions of Regulation 4 of the Defence of Canada Regulations, the Minister of Justice has, on the 5th day of February, 1942, ordered that:

(1) All male enemy aliens of the ages of 18 years to 45 years, inclusive, shall leave the protected area herein before referred to on or before the 1st day of April, 1942.

(2) That, subject to the provisions of paragraph number one..."

Lister Sinclair

The measures taken by the government against the community of some 23,000 Japanese Canadians came swiftly and in an atmosphere of hysteria. To guide us through a reconstruction of those events in this first of two programs on the Japanese internment, here's Terry Watada.

Terry Watada

I'm a Sansei. That means my grandparents were born in Japan. The story you're about to hear, I

first heard, in part, from my parents when I was 19. It shocked me. You see, the Nisei, my parents' generation, were born in Canada. They speak English, they didn't have the vote, their employment was severely restricted, they were used to being discriminated against, but they believed in parliamentary democracy. Leaders like Tom Shoyama, editor of the Japanese Canadian newspaper, The New Canadian, urged them to comply with government orders, and they did. They believed they would be treated fairly--as Canadians.

Announcer

"Every person of the Japanese race shall leave the protected area aforesaid forthwith.

(7) No person of the Japanese race shall enter such protected area, except under permit issued by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

(8) In this order, persons of the Japanese race means, as well as any person wholly of the Japanese race, a person not wholly of the Japanese race, if his father or mother is of the Japanese race, and if the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police..."

Frank Moritzugu

There were several measures that sort of came at us in different ways. The curfew, a dawn to dusk curfew, you know, that we couldn't be wandering around outside. The fact that they were going to confiscate our radios. Not just short-wave radios, which is a natural enough security thing, but any radio, long wave, AM radios, standard radios were supposed to be given up. Cameras of any kind, and the Japanese even then were camera happy. At the very worst, we had a little box of Brownies, and so forth. We had to give them up. Not all of us automatically did, we just put them away in a drawer and so on. But anyway, it was just that this was happening only to us, and nobody else, in whatever part of B.C. that we were living in, you see. Only to those who were, okay, of Japanese descent, and it didn't matter whether you were a non-citizen, a landed immigrant, or you were Canadian born or naturalized, as many men were. It didn't matter, you were all treated the same. And as the government reaction and the local public reaction to what had happened at Pearl Harbour, and then the Japanese subsequently within weeks streaming right through Hong Kong and taking Singapore, doing all those things. They zipped right through Asia, you see, and took over most of the British posts. As this all happened, there's all kind of reaction because the other fear was, if

they'd come as far as Hawaii, they're going to come and hit the coast, whether it's the Canadian Pacific Coast or the American Pacific Coast. Submarines were going to come, if not dive bombers. And there was some shelling, and also all kinds of rumours about shelling, but there was at least, I think, one case of a submarine shelling some deserted part of Vancouver Island. And I'm not sure whether it also happened down coast in California or not, but there was all kinds of reports of this. So everybody was scared. We were into blackouts. Guess who was just as scared as anybody else about the Japanese attacking us? We were, of course, you see?

Terry Watada

Fishermen were the first and hardest hit, not, as it turned out, by enemy gunfire, but by the RCMP, who arrived at their doors and took away their boats. Bought after many years of hard labour, a boat was a family's livelihood.

Tom Oikawa

When it was announced, that's the time I was working in Woodfibre, and I was in Woodfibre when it happened. And I owned a boat then, but that was confiscated. It was tied up here at what they call the wing dam, just close to New Westminster. And my boat was brand new then, and it was one of the fastest, so they used it for running around and getting supplies, I guess, things of that sort, until they ran through thin ice and they sank it.

Terry Watada

Boats first, people next. Three weeks after Pearl Harbour, the government called for the removal of all male Japanese nationals from the B.C. coast and 100 miles inland. Of the 23,000 Japanese Canadians in B.C. at the time, some 6,000 were Japanese nationals. It was hard to get citizenship because of the quota system and because you needed ten years of continuous domicile in Canada to be eligible. So on January 16, 1942, the RCMP started rounding up people.

Tom Tagami

So when Pearl Harbour broke loose there--on December 7--that night, a lot of my old friends, Japanese nationals they were immigrants that came from Japan, they weren't naturalized. Somehow or other, they'd been surveilled for years, just for some reason that I don't know. But they rounded up about six or seven. The one from my, the one old fellow used to come to our place, he's just a single bachelor, lives away up

in the bush by himself, works with a section crew. He picked him up for no reason at all. No explanation. Just went up there and said he wanted to take you for questioning. And in Duncan, there was three or four businessmen. They were also picked up and they were brought to the immigration building in Vancouver here, and just kept there.

Terry Watada

"They make me wear the rising sun on my back." March 4, 1942, three months after Pearl Harbour, it seemed all Japanese Canadians were perfect targets. The B.C. Security Commission was established to oversee the removal of all persons of Japanese origin from the protected area. Canadian citizens had become enemy aliens. Evacuation began in the towns and villages up coast and on Vancouver Island. Families just recovering from the Depression years were required to turn over their properties and their belongings to the Custodian of Alien Property. Husbands and wives, parents and children were separated.

Anonymous Woman

When the official evacuation order came, we were already on our way to Vancouver. Our family had a friend who had a very sick child who needed immediate medical attention, so we joined this family and we were on our way to Vancouver. My father stayed behind because he was so involved in the community, and he was one of the persons responsible for looking after the welfare of a lot of the people in the community. A lot of people were strapped for funds to pay for passage out of the protected area to come to Vancouver. It took a little while to clear all the community assets and so forth, and once that was taken care of, my father came down to Vancouver. We eventually found a place to stay and as soon as we were settled, my father volunteered to go to road camp. This was in March, so as of the beginning of March, our family was really spread out. We didn't know where Dad had gone. Mother and I and my baby brother, we were left to tend to ourselves. Because my mother did not speak English and my brother was just an infant, I became the head of the household, and I was only seven.

Terry Watada

Not all Nisei were so young. At the time of the evacuation, Muriel Kitagawa was 29, and she had four children of her own, two of them twins born one month after the attack on Pearl

Harbour. Muriel's brother Wes was studying medicine in Toronto. She wrote to him often.

Reader of Muriel Kitagawa's letters

"March 2, 1942. Dear Wes, Do you know what curfew means in actual practice? B.C. is falling all over itself in the scramble to be the first to kick us out from jobs and homes. So many night workers have been fired out of hand. Now they sit at home, which is usually just a bed or some cramped quarters, since they can't go out at night for even a consoling cup of coffee. Mr. Shimizu is working like mad with the welfare society to look after the women and children that were left when their men were forced to volunteer to go to the work camps. Now those men are only in unheated bunk cars. No latrines, no water, snow 15 feet deep. No work to keep warm with. Little food, if any. They had been shunted off with such inhuman speed that they got there before any facilities were prepared for them. Now men are afraid to go because they think they will be going to uncertain disaster, anyway, too much uncertainty. After all, they have to think of their families. If the snow is 15 feet deep, there is no work, and if there is no work, there is no pay, and if there is no pay, no one eats. The province reports that work on frames with tent coverings is progressing to house the 2,000 expected. Tent coverings, where snow was so deep. And this is democracy. You should see the faces here, all pinched, grey, uncertain. If the bank fails us, do you know what the kids and I have to live on--39 dollars, for everything--food, clothing, rent, taxes, upkeep, insurance premiums, emergencies. They will allow for only two kids for the Nisei six dollars per, monthly. It has just boiled down to race persecution, and signs have been posted on all highways-- 'Japs, Keep Out.' Mind you, you can't compare this sort of thing to anything that happens in Germany. That country is an avowed Jew baiter, totalitarian. Canada is supposed to be a democracy, out to fight against just the sort of things she's been boosting at home."

Anonymous Woman

My father left for road camp, and because the letters were all censored, we didn't know where he was, or how far away he was, or when we could be together again. There was so much uncertainty, so much rumour. Father used to write things in his letter to give us an idea what his living conditions were like, or where he was,

or what kind of environment he was in, by mentioning certain parts of Japan in his childhood, so that my mother would have some idea as to how cold it was or how far it was, the river was, and so forth. We had some idea of his own hardship. Dad was working for something like 25 cents an hour, and out of that he had to pay for room and board, and whatever was left, he sent to us to survive in Vancouver. So Mother and I had to live on ten dollars a month, and even in those days, it was very, very difficult. I can remember going to Safeway store on Hastings and Gore, and going there just when the bakery truck used to deliver fresh bread to the store. At that time, if you bought wrapped bread, it was seven cents, but we couldn't afford the seven cents, so we used to buy the unwrapped bread. Unwrapped bread was five cents, and we used to go as soon as the truck came so that there'd be less people touching it. My brother was just a year old, and in those days, there was no such thing as baby food, so he was still on a milk diet. Because of the change in his regular diet, it affected his bowel movement and he was so constipated that he eventually developed hernia and when he was in an awful lot of pain, and usually this happened towards the end of the day, my mother would ask me to go and get the doctor. And the doctor was just around the corner about a block away but we had this dusk to dawn curfew which meant that we couldn't leave our home, and because we had no telephone that meant going there to get the doctor. My mother couldn't leave the baby so she asked me to go fetch the doctor, and I knew, young as I was, that you were not allowed to go outdoors and it meant going to jail. And even with that fear, when you see your baby brother suffering, I went. That was life for me in Vancouver.

Terry Watada

Hastings Park is the home of the Pacific National Exhibition. It's where Vancouver has its agricultural fair. When the evacuation was underway, the B.C. security commission set up the Hastings Park Pool on the fairgrounds. The livestock building, and others, were used as a clearing house for the men on their way to road camp. There they would earn the 25¢ an hour that would go to support their families. The Hastings Park Pool also provided temporary housing--shelter is a better word--for the women, children, sick, and elderly, while the government tried to figure out what to do with them.

Tom Tagami

When we come to Hastings Park here there was a lot of, well, we all landed here in April 21 we were evacuated from the island. There was about 400 of us from the coastal valley there. And all we were allowed was one clothes bag and one small suitcase per person. The rest of our belongings like the family heirlooms, the photo albums, the furniture, vehicle, we had to leave them all behind in care of the custodian of enemy property, and never to be seen again. That was the end of the stuff.

Reader of Muriel Kitagawa's letters

"April 20, 1942. Dear Wes, I went to the pool yesterday to see Eiko, who is working there as a steno. I saw Sab, too, who is working in the baggage, old horse show building. Sab showed me his first paycheck as something he couldn't quite believe--11 dollars and 75 cents. He's been there for an awful long time. Eiko sleeps in a partition stall, she being on the staff, so to speak. This stall was the former home of a pair of stallions, and boy, oh boy, did they leave their odour behind. The whole place is impregnated with the smell of ancient manure and maggots. Every other day, it is swept with dichloride of lime, or something, but you can't disguise horse smell, cow smell, sheep and pigs and rabbits and goats. And is it dusty. The toilets are just a sheet metal trough, and up until now they did not have partitions or seats. The women kicked, so they put up partitions and..."

Shizuye Takashima

Oh, that was terrible. Yes, that was terrible. The smell, and oh, God, I'll never forget that. We went in July. You have to remember, they started incarcerating the people in March. I didn't put that in the book because I found this out later. They started putting them in there in March, and the stalls were not cleaned when they went. They had only 24 hours' notice, because these were the people that went there, mostly were people like the friends I knew, who absolutely had nothing after their husbands left. Now also, they came from the north, Prince Rupert, and shipping villages, which were cleared first, okay? So they were given 24 hours' notice, and they were thrown in there, and it was filthy, stank, and they all had diarrhea. They all had flu because it was very damp in March, and the food was bad. They had a strike a couple of times, and the government boasted that they fed the Japanese every day with 30 cents a day.

Reader of Muriel Kitagawa's letters

"Here and there, I saw a child's doll and teddy

bear. I saw babies lying there beside a mother who was too weary to get up. She had just thrown herself across the bed. I felt my throat thicken. An old, old lady was crying, saying she would rather have died than have come to such a place. She clung to Aiko and cried and cried. Aiko has taken the woes of the confinees on her thin shoulders, and she took so much punishment, she went to her former rooms and couldn't stop crying."

Tom Tagami

These are two-horse stalls, but my father and mother, they were in a single horse stall...

Terry Watada

The livestock building is a concrete cavern with vast, harshly lit ceilings. Tom Tegami, confined to a wheelchair because of a logging accident, shows us around. He and his family lived in Hastings Park for two and a half months.

Tom Tagami

Can you imagine them in here 24 hours a day, in this smell?

Interviewer

It's cold, too.

Tom Tagami

Cold, and wide open. I guess this is something similar to the one my dad and mother was in. The rest of the people, had stroke victims, stuff like that.

Interviewer

So why were they in without--where were you?

Tom Tagami

Well, men and women were segregated by sex, so all women and children were in the livestock building, and the sick people. So men and boys 18 years and older were in the pure food building, and the teen-age children were in another building up there, what they called the roller rink. So there were three separate buildings for us.

Interviewer

And how old were you?

Tom Tagami

I was 22 years old.

Interviewer

And was your father sick at the time?

Tom Tagami

Yes, he had had a stroke and was paralyzed pretty bad. Half, his right side was paralyzed and his speech was impaired, so they just put him in what they called a sick bay here. And the floor was just soaked in horse urine. They had it all scrubbed, but you could still see the urine all soaked in the floor boards and the maggots crawling between the cracks. It was just sickly. And he complained, you know, and this and that, but they says, well, that's the best they can offer, so there's nothing else he could do about it.

Reader of Muriel Kitagawa's letters

"Eiko is really sick. The place has got her down. There are ten showers for 1500 women, hot and cold water. The men look so terribly at loose ends, wandering around the grounds, sticking their noses through the fence, watching the golfers, lying on the grass. Going through the place, I felt so depressed that I wanted to cry. I'm damned well not going there. They are going to move the Vancouver women now and shove them into the pool before sending them to the ghost towns."

Kay Shimizu

That first day that I was asked to meet with the welfare supervisor at Hastings Park, the families had just been moved in that week, and had come from places up north, Prince Rupert and all along the coast, with maybe 48 hours' notice, at the most. And the mothers and children were separated from the fathers, who were in another building and soon to be removed to the road camps. And so there was a great deal of confusion, and the smell of the cattle barn where the women and children were, the smell of disinfectant mixed with manure, and the state of the toilets where the maggots were crawling all along the drain. It really was a devastating experience for me, and I had been asked by the welfare supervisor just to walk around and see if there was anybody who needed any help. Well, I mean, what was a student to do under those circumstances? All I could do was just feel that there was very little I could do among the screaming children and the crying mothers. However, after about an hour or so, one of the older women approached me. She was the leader among the women from Prince Rupert, a former Japanese school teacher, and she suggested I take a group of children out into the sunshine and play some games with them, and that certainly was very helpful, both for me and for the children.

Tom Tagami

This is a kitchen. It was back up in there where the Coliseum is. The new Coliseum is built right in here. So this is an amusement park. They used to have the Giant Dipper, what they call it, over there at that time, and there was a thing they called Shoot the Shute, the water shute, and this used to be the dancehall there. They called it Happyland. This is the kitchen, this side is for the men, mess hall for the men, and this side was for the women. There was a steep ramp going up in here, and this used to be formerly called the dog and cat show building. That's what we had for mess hall. So I used to sit there, I had a job as the janitor in the kitchen there. So Saturday night, I'd sit in the window and watch all the music playing and people dancing and things like that. It would sort of break my heart to see that one side of the fence they're free and the other side we're stuck in there, you know, and not enjoying myself, and being a Canadian. It really was sad to see something like that. You know, being a Canadian yourself, and think it could never happen to you. It did, you see. Nothing you could do about it.

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We just thought, well see this is, you know, this is our life. And I just felt that well, this is it, this is how we're going to live the rest of our life--you know, when you're young, well, this is it. You just give up, sort of. So I did, at that time, because we'd just lost our father just the year before, so it was pretty...

Terry Watada

Hastings Park was not the end. New Denver, Slocan, Tashme, Kaslo, Sandon, Greenwood--these are some of the ghost towns of old mining communities and other isolated locations in the B.C. interior. They were to be the final destination of the Japanese Canadian internment. Meanwhile, one group at a time, the men were moved out to work camps.

Reader

"A sharp police whistle blows. My blood stops. We see a uniformed Mounted Policeman drag an old man and hurl him into the train. More curses, threats. The old train bellows its starting sound. White, hellish smoke appears from the top of its head. It grunts, gives another shrill blast, slowly, slowly the engine comes to life. I watch from where we stand, fascinated. The huge, black, round, ugly wheels begin to

move slowly and faster and faster. Finally, the engine, jet dark, rears its body and moves with a lurch. The remaining men rush toward the train, scramble quickly into the moving machine. Men crowd at the windows. Father is still on the steps. He seems to be searching the crowd, finally sees us, waves. Mother does not move. Uki and I wave. Most remain still. The dark brown faces of the men become small. Some are still shouting. Uki moves closer to mother. The long, narrow old train quickly picks up speed as it coils away along the tracks, away from all of us who are left at the station. Mother is silent. I look at her. I see tears are slowly falling. They remain on her cheeks. I turn away, look around. The women and the children stare at one another. Some women cry right out loud. A bent old woman breaks out into a Buddhist prayer, moves her orange beads in her wrinkled hands, prays aloud to her God. Mother and the other women bow their heads. The silent God seems so far away."

Shizuye Takashima

I don't know. Because I was a child, I felt vaguely it's wrong and I felt frustrated, and I felt sad that they were all disappearing. I couldn't figure all, you know, I didn't know how long, my mother said we don't know where they're going to go. They didn't tell us where they're going to go, you know. They just were put on a train and nobody knew where they were going, and it was a curious thing about the government. They put them on the old train and they just sort of disappeared on the horizon.

Frank Moritzugu

I remember it as such a terrible feeling that I almost felt physically ill. We were in a coach, CPR train coach. It was locked, the doors were locked on the ends, and in the vestibule, there was an RCMP officer sitting there. I don't know whether he sat in that vestibule during the whole trek overnight up to near Revelstoke, because he must have frozen to death, even though it was April. But still. So, there was this real sense, having said our goodbyes to whoever came to see us off, of being prisoners, being sent away. We were not somebody just taking an exciting train trip, you know, and the longest train trip I guess I'd ever taken, to that stage, anyway, in my life up until then. Anyway, what really hurt me, my brother, the one that was going to come and join me when he turned 18 in a few months, he came down to see me off. I said goodbye to Mum and the other kids, and so forth, at home. He came down to see me off, and what

was interesting was that there must have been, oh, I'd say about 35-40 of us who were the first group to go to this particular camp, which eventually had over 100 men. And of the 35-40, I knew three or four people from our part of Vancouver, the others were total strangers to me, and several of them were older, they were in their 30s and 40s, and they were married, unlike, you know, a total bachelor like me, only 19 years old. And the married men saying goodbye to their wives at that CPR train station in Vancouver, that was the thing that I just couldn't get over. And I suppose, you see, we're so egocentric, all I could think of was how terrible the whole business was happening to me, and I suddenly saw there was that extra thing that these guys had and how much it was hurting them, and the whole business of the women crying and the men trying not to show anything. And then once the doors clanged shut and the RCMP constable took his position in the vestibule, and then we were inside, and some of the older men in particular needing comforting. And I remember, everything raced through me, you know, all of it was hurt and anger at how the whole world had turned into a situation that we could be treated like this, you know.

Shizuye Takashima

The curious thing about the whole thing was when we looked back on it, we were so naive and innocent when the government told us that they're going to look after all our belongings, don't worry about it. You have to remember, the older people were taken away from us first, right, my father first and then all my brothers, four brothers, because they're all over 18. So it was just my sister, my mother and I were left, so how can we make any major decisions, right? So what happened was, we all did the same thing. We put all the good things in wood boxes and put it in a closet, and locked it up and took all our old things, because we had a quota, how many pounds we could take, per person. So of course my mother said-- we all said, my cousins, they said we're going to the wilderness, why take anything decent? So we just took our old things, old dishes. My grandmother's nice things that was given to us, my mother's wedding presents, all those things we just left behind. And not only that, people who offered to buy anything from us would just offer us one dollar, you see, for this, or 50 cents for that, because they knew our predicament. So rather than just sell it like that, we just left it there, and we all thought we'd be back in a couple of months, and of course the government sold it while we were in camp

and without our knowledge. And who knows, maybe someone broke in and stole it all. We don't know what happened to it. They sold our houses and our property. Well, what we lost is nothing compared to some people. Some people lost huge stores, tracts of land. My cousins had huge farms, dairy farms and trucks and things like that. You have to remember, it was a backbreaking job to clear these lands because nobody wanted it at that time.

Announcer

"Final evacuation registration of all persons of Japanese origin. Take notice that all persons of the Japanese race remaining in Great Vancouver, including Burnaby, B.C., must report to the British Columbia Security Commission representative at 314 Powell Street, Vancouver, B.C. between now and October 15 at 10 a.m. for the purpose of completing evacuation papers. This is the final evacuation registration to complete the shipment of all Japanese from this area. Take notice that at 10 a.m. on Thursday, October 15, 1942, is the final date for registration and anyone failing to register by that time will be liable to prosecution under P.C. 1665.

British Columbia Security Commission,
Austin C. Taylor, Chairman,
9th October 1942."

Anonymous Woman

Our evacuation order came in September of 1942, and we boarded a train for what is now referred to Tashme, which is 14 miles east of Hope. We boarded a train and, to this day, I can't remember whether we had lunch or whatever. All I remember is getting on and getting off. We were not allowed to disembark at the regular railway station in town. The train stopped at a siding outside of town and we were met by a truck, and it was I guess around what to this day we would call a one-ton truck, I guess. And it had just railing on the side and a pole across the back, and there was rows of benches, so we either sat sideways or frontways. And there was one young fellow there to tell us when to duck when we were winding our way down to the camp. A lot of us had never travelled that way before, so I can remember a lot of us getting carsick. I could recall, there was one pregnant woman there, and after going so many miles, this young man was kind enough to stop the car and we were able to get some drinks, some fresh water from a waterfall on the roadside. This is

the way that we were transported through those winding roads into camp.

Terry Watada

"For a thousand years past, these woods have not spoken. Summer stars." The silence my grandparents encountered in the ancient forests of the B.C. coast was full of possibility and hope. For their children interned in ghost towns, Canada had become a land of a different kind of silence, which was to last more than a thousand days.

Mrs. Tagashira

Sister and I always wanted to go to a foreign country, and we could go to China or Manchuria any time, but we don't want to go places not peaceful. I like to go to country and have a very peaceful country. So he asked me to go to the Canada, so naturally, I won't say anything, I go with him. So I came to Canada with him, and we didn't have anything, but we were very happy. He was very thoughtful, very kind. Then we got a little boy. It was way up in the country, no doctors, nothing. No what do you call, midwife. And then we worked together and he also got day work. Then in the evening or weekend, he and I hauled a big tree, then I gonna crosscut. Then in the evening, he chopped, split the shingle. That's the way we work hard, you know. But it was fun, and we had lots of hope, you see.

Lister Sinclair

On Ideas tonight, you've been listening to Wasteland Gardens, the first of two programs on the Japanese Canadian internment in Canada. Next week at the same time, the second program in this series follows the Japanese Canadian community through the years of internment to the years of dispersal, when in the wake of Japan's defeat, the government of Canada set about relocating the thousands of Japanese Canadians who had been uprooted from their community. Tonight's program was presented by Terry Watada and prepared by Jenifer Lepiano. Haiku and other Japanese poems by Canadian poets Midori Iwasaki and Takeo Ujo Nakano were read by Uichi Harota. Selections from the letters and writings of Muriel Kitagawa, "This is My Own," were read by Brenda Kamino. Gina Bertoya read from "A Child in Prison Camp" by Takashima.

Technical operations for tonight's program by Lorne Tulk. Production assistance by Gail Brownell and Brian Hickey. Wasteland

Gardens: The Japanese Canadian Internment
was produced by Damiano Pietropaolo.

PART II**Lister Sinclair**

Good evening and welcome to Ideas. I'm Lister Sinclair.

"Night thoughts on this journey far away from my family. Cricket comes to me, crying." A poem by Canadian poet Takeo Ujo Nakano. In the early winter months of 1942, in the atmosphere of hysteria following Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour, the Canadian government acted swiftly against the Japanese Canadian community. Japanese nationals, naturalized Canadian citizens and their children born in Canada, all were to become enemy aliens. First the nationals, then all the men 18 and over, and finally, women, children, the old, the sick, the entire community was moved off the coast of British Columbia and placed in hastily constructed internment camps in the interior.

Kay Shimizu

We certainly didn't think we were going to be held for very long. Most of us kind of moved in a state of feeling it was the only thing we could do, was to obey the laws of the country. There were some, of course, who rebelled, and then they were sent to concentration camps, Angler and Neys and places like that. And we were told that the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property would look after our property and our businesses and we could entrust them with the government, and we all felt that it was going to be a short duration and we would be back. My family never saw Japan winning the war. I mean, they just thought that Japan was crazy to think of bombing the United States and the war would be over very shortly after Pearl Harbour. So we saw ourselves coming back to the house that we lived in in Vancouver.

Lister Sinclair

Tonight on Ideas, in Wasteland Gardens, part two, "The Dispersal Years," we look at the years of internment and their aftermath, where in the wake of Japan's defeat, the government set about to relocate the community it had uprooted. It was a time many would like to forget. Here to help us remember is our guide, Terry Watada.

Terry Watada

I was born in Ontario and that's where I grew up. But I'm different. There's always been that feeling. Different from the other kids at school, different from the white people on the streets who look at me and speak to me as though I'm Japanese. When I was 19, I started wanting to know about this difference. I started asking my parents questions about my background. I was completely unprepared for what they told me. Later, I found out there was so much more to learn. Here's a letter written by Muriel Kitagawa in the early stages of internment.

Reader of Muriel Kitagawa's letters

"Uncle's camp is eight miles from the station up into the hills. Men at the first camps all crowd down to the station every time a train passes with the nationals and hang onto the windows, asking for news from home. Uncle said he wept. But the men are luckier than the women. They are fed, they work, they have no children to look after. Of course, the fathers are awfully worried about their families, but it's the women who are burdened with all the responsibility of keeping what's left of the family together. Francis went to Revelstoke, bag and baggage and baby. When I heard that, I felt choked..."

Terry Watada

Muriel was a Nisei. That's my parents' generation, the first to be born in Canada. Their community was uprooted and divided, and then divided again. There are as many stories of those days as there are voices to tell them.

Tom Oikawa

My mother, she was resigned to the fact that we were all going to be shipped to Japan, so before we left, she had the address of her place in Japan. Of course, I had no idea where that place was or anything, but she did leave every one of us, well, my brother. My sister was the oldest, she was married. I was the second and I had another younger brother. But the others were all too young to be on their own, so us older ones, she gave us the address. I lost it. She gave me a dozen socks and a bag full of raisins and nuts and she says, when you get hungry, eat this. When you get really hungry, nothing to eat, have this. But the first week, I ate it all up, and my socks, well, this was in Roseberry. I was put in charge of this place and I had to walk about five miles between Roseberry and New Denver. New Denver was where the head office was for that district.

Tom Tagami

On June 30, my older brother and I signed up to go to Slocan. They said they were building, repairing old dilapidated hotels and putting up some, hastily putting up some new shacks for the people to live in. So not knowing what the situation was, we signed up, went ahead like. When we got there, this was a hot first of July day and it was about 90 degrees Fahrenheit, and just hot. And when we got there, we were stuck in an old skating rink, ice rink, and dirt floors, and we were in double-bedded bunks on one side and they had tables set up on the dirt floor, all the dust flying around, where we ate. And in the meantime, we got temporary quarters in the dilapidated old mine building, which was partitioned off to hold about ten families. And eleven of us got one partitioned section about, oh, 10 by 20, about 200 square feet, where we slept in and ate in. Then they had one small kitchen stove where all the families would take turns cooking on it, but we had to eat in our own separate room, cramped quarters like. But that was just temporary until we could get, they were building a 14 by 28 house, or shack we called them, till our turn to get one of those.

Anonymous Woman

When we reached camp, I can still remember the fox farm and how desolate the place was and how cold it was. We were assigned to a hastily constructed house, and because we were there, what we call the early arrivals, I mean, people were coming in faster than the houses were being put up. So because there was no school and there was nothing for children to do, we were even recruited into helping the carpenters pick up nails and things like this so that they could proceed with the building as quickly as possible. By the end of September, we were having heavy frost and we used to have to crack the ice on top of the water, so by October, we were right into winter. And that first winter, because the houses were built on wet lumber, when we started heating the house, the condensation was unbelievable between the heating and the body heat, I guess. About 8 to 10 inches of ice used to form on the inside of the house, and as soon as it got a little bit warmer, it would melt and run down the side of the house and form puddles on the floor. There were three families in our house, so we had one room each, and the fourth room was used as a storage place. In our particular room, there was no door, there was just a curtain hung for privacy. Now, if you had a double bed and a crib, you only could walk sideways to get to the other side. There was two

feet of clearance for all your clothing and your personal belongings. So I, being the fourth person, had to sleep like a bunk bed style that my dad had improvised, and even as a seven-year-old, I could not sit up because my head would touch the ceiling. And I can remember my mother telling me not to complain, it will get better.

Terry Watada

"In winter desolation, fence or tree, no difference." For my parents and their generation in prison in the country of their birth, life got better only slowly. As the months of internment turned into years, the government grew anxious to find a more permanent solution to the problem of the "enemy aliens." It offered the inmates ways out of camp, but the offers were sometimes threatening and often humiliating.

Tom Tagami

They would forever harass us again to go further eastward, sugar beet farm, Alberta, Manitoba. Being a big family, you know, they like to have a big family as working people, which the farmers prefer. So then the harassment starts again. My younger brother and I went to work in February 1944 in a logging camp. Oh, this was about 25 below zero Fahrenheit, and we were living in tents, working in a logging camp, and we didn't have no proper shoes, boots or anything like that, so we had just a pair of leather boots to work in the cold winter in the snow. We just about froze our toes off till we were able to enough money to pay for new rubber boots and caulk 'em up. But all the money I earned, two-thirds of it went to my family, to pay for their support in Slocan internment camp. So by the time I paid board, I had nothing left. All I get is a slip of paper.

Frank Moritzugu

I had been warned a few weeks before, since I was the one, with my command of English, although I was one of the younger ones, who used to be the spokesman when we had problems with the bosses. And the last time that there'd been a sit-down because the powder man had left some blasting caps undetonated in a boulder and the powder crew had been digging holes and had just come quite near one and nearly got blown up. And they'd walked off the job, and the resident engineer from Revelstoke came down and the rest of the camp walked out, until the powder man, who tended to drink very seriously, could be much more reliable, and things like

this. And, of course, I worked in the kitchen as one of the flunkys, the chief flunkey as a matter of fact, and I was the person who spoke up and explained our position, etc., and tried to get somewhere against the bosses. After that meeting was over, the camp foreman took me aside and said, "Okay, Moritzugu," he said, "next time, you say anything to us, you're on a train to Ontario," which, of course, to somebody who grew up on B.C. on the coast is the most awful thing you can say to anybody. But under the Department of Labour regulations controlling wartime manpower needs, he himself probably couldn't do it, but all he had to do was get in charge of whoever was looking after all the Japanese Canadians and down would come the order, and on would have to go my coat, my suitcase and my kit bag, and I'm on a train heading for the wilds of Northern Ontario, or whatever. So I had to get out of camp anyway.

Kay Simizu

I think of that period as a period that I want to forget because I never felt so helpless as a human being. And after eight months of helping to set up the welfare services, first in Hastings Park and then in the ghost towns, in Kaslo and New Denver, and I guess it was Kaslo first, Slokan next, after I'd completed the diploma program and became a full-time employee of the B.C. Security Commission. And then it was New Denver and finally it was Tashme, and by April--no, it was earlier than that. I left Tashme in February of 1943--I felt that I could help my family and my community better by establishing myself in a more regular situation out east. And so I was able to leave the camps by applying for a domestic position in Toronto.

Terry Watada

Stripped of property, possessions and the right to travel, the Japanese Canadian community had few options. Some, like Tom Tagami, Frank Moritzugu and Kay Shimizu, were able to cut short the period of internment by taking jobs as labourers and domestics, but the majority stayed in the camps for three years.

Shizuye Takashima

You know, when we were thrown in the wilderness, I'm sure the government felt let them starve there, to hell with them. We turned around and surprised them. We cleared the land and we made a beautiful garden. We grew everything, because we didn't have enough money to buy the things, so we grew everything,

right? We had concerts. We made our own clothes. We even made noodles, for God's sakes. You know, we did everything, and we had our own community president and vice-president, and this and that, and they had their little local meetings, and it was really a little Japanese village. And it was run as such. It had nothing to do with the outside world. We were completely cut off. We had no radio, we had no electricity for a long time. We had a newspaper come in which was three days late from Vancouver, you know, so the news of the war was far away. See, we were in a different time space. It was a very unusual time. That three years to me was like ten years.

Announcer

A short time ago, an American airplane dropped one bomb on Hiroshima and destroyed its usefulness to the enemy. We are now preparing to destroy...

Reader

"It is August in the ghost town internment camp, New Denver, early morning. A woman runs back from the water pump empty handed. Hiroshima bombed. Thousands dead. The city in ruins. All day, the whispers gather like shadows behind the long line of shacks until out of the night, a voice rises with the moon. The moon rises like a piece of broken heart."

Terry Watada

What did the Nisei know about Japan? Fairy tales. Tales of Samurai warriors. Their parents' nostalgic memories. Then suddenly, after Hiroshima, they knew a different story, the story of Japan in ruins. They understood English and could read the newspapers, the tales of misery.

Announcer

"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 policy of dispersal.

(3) Failure to accept employment east of the Rockies may be regarded as..."

Tom Tagami

So in 1945, they brought a paper around, saying that to show your loyalty to Canada if you signed for repatriation to Japan or else go east of the Rockies, or else you could lose your job. So they sent the company all the forms to fill in, sign. If you didn't sign, you'd lose your job and they'd call you disloyal to Canada, so you'd be deported automatically. So just to stay there, I signed, well, a bunch of us signed for repatriation, as a reprieve, you know, just for a stall, like. And we figured being Canadian, after they pushed us this far, they can't push us any further. They said get out of the 100 mile limit, well, we were out of the 100 limit. We took that chance, like, and signed, to keep our jobs, because we had to support the family, see. Our families had to eat. So we signed for repatriation. I didn't know nothing about Japan.

Reader

"Father insists on returning to Japan. He is still very bitter about the way the Canadian government has treated us. David has written us not to sign to return. He says the people in Ontario were curious and suspicious at first, but it's changed. Jobs we could not hold in Vancouver are open to us here, he writes. Many have been kind and helped us. If you insist upon returning to Japan, I want you to know that I will not join you, but will remain in Canada. Uki says see, there is a future for us here. Mother looks at father. 'I will not go back to Japan without my children.' She tries to sound gentle. She speaks very quietly, but father stiffens, his hands clench, his lips tighten. I am confused. Why do we have to make such decisions? Mother and I just wait, hoping. Then one day, out of the blue, father says quietly, 'We go east. I have placed an application. We sign to go to Toronto.' He speaks quietly, more to mother than to me. 'It is useless to return now. My family, God knows where they are, if they are still alive. I'm glad it's over. We'll just have to start again. It won't be easy for us.' He looks strange. He rises from his chair quickly and walks out. I feel sorry for him. The atomic bomb has upset everyone deeply. It seems so wrong. Mother looks at me, smiles. Her eyes beam. 'See, I told you. I told you he would see the sense in remaining here. We can't return to Japan. They have nothing now, no food, clothes, houses

for their own people. Here we have each other. Write to Uki and David." I write immediately."

Shizuye Takashima

I knew they were torn, because you have to remember, my father's whole family was still there. My mother's family were all here. Because his brothers, sisters, his mother was gone--his parents were gone, but all his relatives were there, so it was terrible because he didn't know what was happening to them during the war, and I felt sad for them, you know, sad for my father and sad for the people I didn't know. And I used to feel sorry for the people and the soldiers who were being killed because it didn't make sense somehow, you know.

Terry Watada

"Japanese nationals and others of Japanese racial origin who will be returning to Japan." Returning to Japan? How can you return to a country you've never seen? But that was the choice Japanese Canadians were given--return to Japan or move east of the Rockies. There was to be no return to the coast where people owned, or had once owned, houses, land and boats, not to mention furniture and dishes and photo albums, family treasures hastily packed into closets or entrusted to neighbours.

Shizuye Takashima

See, a lot of people don't know this, we were scattered, that out of 22,000, over 7,000 signed to go back to Japan because they had nothing. They were terrified. Four thousand returned to Japan. They lost their Canadian citizenship and they returned to a war-torn country. My second cousins, they came from a middle class family. That's why he went back, right? They were thrown out of their home. Their parents were dead when they arrived. They didn't know that. So their brothers and sisters said why are you here for? They said at least you had food in Canada. We don't have even food! How dare you come back? And it was, it was...

Terry Watada

Mass deportation was the government's solution to a tricky problem. It was a cruel and outrageous solution, and at last, citizens, church groups and unions out east began to take notice of what was being done to Japanese Canadians. A committee was formed to fight deportation. It lost the first round in the Supreme Court, but led by lawyer Andrew Brewin, it went on fighting. Eventually, Mackenzie King and his government rescinded on repatriation, and in

the end, of the 7,000 who had signed to go to Japan, only 4,000 went. Four thousand Japanese Canadians were exiled to war-torn Japan.

Announcer

"(5) Those who do not take advantage of present opportunities for employment and settlement outside 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..."

Anonymous Woman

When the so-called voluntary repatriation order came, because the enticement that the government gave to the people was that if you signed up to go back to Japan, they would give you 200 dollars, and 50 dollars for a child, whereas if you went east of the Rockies, it was only 30 dollars an adult and 12 dollars per child. So when you're very, very strapped for money and just living day to day, a lot of people's will was broken. My father had always considered himself a citizen of this country, and he strongly advocated the people to keep calm and not sign the order, but because he was making so much noise, the government and RCMP weren't very happy with him. Just by chance, we happened to find out that we were put on a deportation order list and we were to be deported back to Japan. But my dad didn't want to be deported, so we had no alternative but to seek the closest centre that we could settle in. And we did find a place and we settled there, only to go to a worse condition than it was in Tashme, because it was a so-called self-supporting settlement where you had to pay for everything yourself. This included schooling, housing and the upkeep of the community. In order to survive, I became a worker at the age of 11.

Terry Watada

"One hundred and five degrees in this shadeless town. Shrivelled flowers." Four thousand went to Japan. Another 4,000 went to work as family labourers on the sugar beet farms of southern Alberta. It was a rough, joyless life. Recovery was slow and painful. Meanwhile, rumours were coming back from those who had chosen to go east of the Rockies, to Ontario. The early reception of Japanese Canadians was unfriendly, in places hostile. City council resolutions were passed, barring the settlement of Japanese Canadians. In the St. Catharines

area, crosses were burned. No one wanted us. This was to change, slowly.

Reader of Muriel Kitagawa's letters

"When we first came east, we couldn't do anything without a permit. The RCMP dogged our every footstep, and the Department of Labour ordered our every move. We couldn't buy a house or lease one for more than a year. We couldn't start any businesses. We had to go through a special process to get a job. We had to get a permit to travel. Fortunately, most of these taboos have been lifted, but still there are enough restrictions left to make us only second class citizens. We can't travel without permits over any provincial border, or go to B.C. unless some relative is dying, and we can't get fishing licences. We still can't vote in B.C. and there are recent reports that the Chinese and East Indians might be allowed to vote, but not the Japanese. How stubbornly they cling to foolish prejudices, inconsistent and dangerous in precedent. Their original denial of our rights long ago brought on this train of injustices on a very helpless minority. They intend to go along on their path of hate and destruction while, with lip service, they dedicate themselves to democracy, a principle they know nothing about."

Shizuye Takashima

When I came out of camp and went to high school, first time in 1945, I'll be very honest, I had a very hard time with relating to these people at first because they would say oh, where did you come from? Because I lost a couple of weeks or a month by the time I was settled in Hamilton, you see, and I remember being ashamed to say I just came out of a camp, because to me, it sounded horrible. I wouldn't say it. And it's very interesting, isn't it, the government put me there. I wasn't there because I did something rotten, you know, but it was a curious teen-age reaction. And I didn't want to talk about it, I remember that, because then I'd have to explain the whole thing and what would a 15, 16-year-old kid know about it here, right? And I just didn't want to talk about it, so I didn't say anything. And I was very shy for a long time, I'll be very honest, and I missed my friends I knew in camp, because some of them were still there. They were there, some of them, two more years, you see. Some of them were there three years, four years. It didn't close for a long time.

Kay Shimizu

My mother and father were very forward looking

in wanting us to accept Canadian ways. For instance, we were the only family in our neighbourhood who attended a Christian church because they felt that if we were going to live in Canada, we should know about the Christian religion. They reached out to become part of the labour movement, and the labour movement rejected the Japanese as not being welcome in the established trade unions, and so, you know, we set up trade union-like organizations separate from the established ones. The sawmill workers, for instance, and the fishermen's unions were separate from the established ones. And I think the whole experience of the evacuation soured them on Canada, to a degree. They began to turn inward and just think about their own survival, and they survived very well. Financially, they did very well in Toronto, but all their energies were directed towards their own survival rather than towards the survival of the Japanese community, which was what they were doing before Pearl Harbour.

Reader

"Today, as before,
 they wash white rice,
 Alter hems
 and pleats to fashion,
 Reconciled
 to eastern snow.
 Their faces tell
 of nothing remarkable:
 Their lives are less or more
 than each other;
 They talk of their children
 who have it so easy,
 Speak without accent
 perhaps without point.
 They have joined
 the past to the present
 without any seams
 to indicate
 labour.
 But late at night,
 they spread the mesh
 on the table again
 like some old map."

Terry Watada

The poem is called "Nisei," by Kevin Idie. It wasn't easy to join the past to the present. Frank Moritsugu left a road camp in B.C. early and came to St. Thomas, Ontario. His family joined him there. They worked together as farm labourers. But Frank felt it was up to him to make peace with his country. The war was not

yet over. He wanted to join the army.

Frank Moritzugu

When I decided that I was going to enlist because in early 1945, when we finally got the chance because until then, those of us who were born in British Columbia of Japanese origin were prohibited from joining any of the services, despite conscription, despite everything else. When I decided to enlist because they finally wanted us, both my father and mother were, of course, not terribly crazy about the idea, because well, I suppose, after all, we had finally come together as a family in southern Ontario, having been split and sent in all kinds of directions. We'd been reunited. After what we had gone through in British Columbia and so forth, I suppose it was very natural for my parents to ask, for instance, when I said, "Well, I'm going to join up," they said, "How could you? How could you possibly think of joining up, the way we have been treated?" "We" including me. And so we went through, I suppose, about three steady nights where we had hardly any sleep at all. We're on a farm. We have to get up at a hideous hour to go to the barn and look after the cows, all this stuff. But we stayed up all night, talking, discussing, arguing, shouting, crying, all sides, etc. Time to come to a resolution. They're trying to talk me out of it and my being totally determined that I got to go. My brother saying you're the oldest, Frank, you should stay home and we'll go instead. You know, since they agreed that somebody should go from our family and there were three of us who were old enough. And I said no, no, I'm the oldest and not only that, I'm the one who's thought about it the most and I'm the one that's got to go, etc. And so this all prevailed, but it was a very natural thing. On the other hand, once the decision was finally made, and after all I am an adult, even though I was living with my parents and my family. Once it was finally made, they both accepted it, okay, because there were others who joined, the same group, and went overseas with me or went training elsewhere in Canada and so forth, about whom many stories were told of their families totally forgot all about them and refused to talk to them. And in a couple of cases, the father said I'm not going to talk to you ever again, and never did the rest of their lives, and incredible things like this. But we didn't have any of that, and one of the reasons perhaps was my parents did come to understand why I felt it was necessary. I said the way we've been treated is because we are considered not Canadian,

okay, and now that we've finally been given the opportunity to serve our country, we've got to go, because after all we're not going to go anywhere except stay here in our country and make our future in our country. We're not going to go back to British Columbia again, but in Ontario, which is our new home, we're going to start our new lives. And after the war, people are going to say well, what are you guys doing all this time, when the other veterans all come back. So I got to go. So it was a pragmatic as opposed to a real Union Jack patriotic reason. But of course that was there, and being very frustrated when the guys I went to high school with were all in the army and the air force and had been for years, and used to write to me from all over the world, from the various stations and stuff like this. And there I am, not being able to go because I'm not Canadian enough, or something. So yeah, I needed to go. When one enlists and one is issued a uniform, nothing fits right, and that khaki serge stuff they give you is awfully itchy, and we looked terrible in our uniforms. When you really think about this, the odd photograph of us, and we looked awful. But God, it was wonderful. To walk around with Canada flashes up, for me, almost three years to the day that I had to get on the train in Vancouver to leave the coast forever, and to go to a camp. Three years later, I'm walking around the streets in London and St. Thomas on my enlistment leave with "Canada" up here on the shoulders, wearing a witch cap and wearing the uniform. Yeah, that was fantastic, really fantastic. I don't think I ever got used to it.

Terry Watada

It's a good thing Frank didn't get used to his Canadian uniform. When he got back from service overseas, he was reissued his Japanese registration card, restricting his travel within Canada. In fact, it wasn't until 1949, four years after the war had ended, that Japanese Canadians were allowed to return to that protected area 100 miles from the B.C. coast, and even then, life was slow to get better. It isn't easy to stop being an enemy alien. Here are Tom and Kay Oikawa.

Tom Oikawa

For a while there, well, I was younger then too, at the beginning, I was really ashamed of being a Japanese, through no fault of my own, because they used to treat us in such a way that it made you feel inferior and also that you were criminals. And that didn't make me feel that--I used to say to myself, well, why wasn't I born

white and then I can get some of these nice jobs and do what I want to do? We're restricted in our jobs, our work and everything. So I guess most of the people in my position would have felt that way.

Kay Oikawa

Oh, yes, after, well, mind you, our first son was born in Birch Island, when we were in Birch Island. And then from Kamloops, we felt that gee, there is little future. And then we built a home there, and we thought, well, we'll settle there. But you know, he had fishing in his blood, so he came out to see how fishing would be, and he was out here a couple of years by himself, just came home in the wintertime. And so by then, our oldest son was ready to go to school, so we thought well, we'd have to settle somewhere, so we all came back here.

Tom Oikawa

It was really tough for, oh, I think about ten years. As you say, we were starting from scratch. So by that time we had four kids.

Kay Oikawa

In those days too, fishing wasn't always good. It's such a gamble, you know. So we had it tough, but yet we were free. I felt free. Our children were able to go to school, you know, any school they wanted. So no, it was a different feeling altogether, nothing like living in New Denver. But even in Kamloops, there's still "old Japs," this kind of thing, you know. Of course, there was a lot here, more here than Kamloops, discrimination when we moved back here, they were. But where we lived, in around this vicinity, well, the people were very good. But in the city, say, even Westminster was, I thought was the worst place as far as discrimination goes. But anyhow, for many years, we lived in a house and we rented another little better house, then finally we built this, and we've lived here ever since.

Reader

"Without any seams
to indicate
labour.
But late at night,
they spread the mesh
on the table again,
like some old map
where memory
runs
in every direction,
Marking where they've escaped

with their lives,
 Where only their words are still
 held captive,
 Snagged
 on the snarl
 that crosses each thread
 to show
 where they were
 cut off together.
 While above that, the same tame fabric
 continues,
 Mended again
 By hand."

Tom Oikawa

Yes, there was a feeling of bitterness, especially when times get tough, when times are tough, you do feel a little, you blame it, you know, not on yourself, but on the events that happened. And yes, we were, I was, anyway, very bitter. I didn't show it too much. We used to talk about it once in a while, but not that often, because you start talking about it and then you really do feel like giving it all or to heck with it. But somehow or the other, we managed. But the bitterness is something that, every time I think of it now, it does come back to me. The humiliation and the discrimination, of course, and the indignities that we suffered. When I think of it all, it just makes me boil. I have to leave the room.

Reader of Muriel Kitagawa's letters

"Nisei, if we must suffer this humiliation, let us suffer with dignity. Let us do nothing that will be held against us now or ever afterwards. Let us always remember that there are many, many occidentals who think that this treatment is a damned shame. Yes, we are bitter, with a bitterness we can never forget, which will mark us for the rest of our lives. But we are not fools. This is not the end, but only the beginning. If we rant and rave and give up hope now, what reserve shall we have left to endure the still darker days to come? This is the time to tighten our belts, to gird our courage, to condition ourselves to every kind of privation and endure, endure, and still endure. We must survive this phase of our history to emerge stronger with the resilience of tempered steel. Whatever comes, whatever happens, let us forge a record of dignity and endurance to leave as a proud heritage for our sons and daughters to come."

Terry Watada

Well, I was one of the sons who came, and as I mentioned before, I was 19 before I learned about my proud heritage, the record of dignity

and endurance. For a long time, my parents refused to talk about it. That's what it was like, growing up Sansei in Toronto. I was surrounded by so much silence on the subject of my heritage that I didn't even know I had one. Those who returned to the coast were faced with constant reminders of the past. It was harder for them to forget, or pretend to forget. Did families in B.C. talk about internment?

Tom Oikawa

Not too much, but since this redress question came up, then they ask, so, what they ask, we tell them. But it's hard to explain to them that--well, they feel, they have an idea that we did something wrong. So there, we tell them no, we did not do anything wrong, it was just the colour of our hair, perhaps, the colour of our skin that caused all this. But see, when you do that, then when you tell them that, you're kind of bringing down the government and we don't want too much of that. So we do tell them, now that they're older, we explain to them exactly what happened. That's about as far as we can go.

Kay Oikawa

So we had a lot of, like, about jobs too, you know. And I know our children have never noticed, because they were all hired. But the first few jobs, I know that if there is comparison between the Japanese Canadians or you know, they would prefer the whites. But our kids, I don't know, they've never, I don't think things like that ever entered their minds, because I told them I was the first Japanese actually to get a job at Woodward department stores. Eaton's and New West wouldn't hire any orientals, so I was the first Japanese oriental in Woodward's. This is 21 or 22-3 years ago. I worked there as part-time for 21 years, and they weren't, you know, and I was the first one. And the managers came and said that I was the trial case, that I do so well, that they have, after that, hired East Indians, all the other different nationalities. You go there now and you see all kinds of them, but I was the first one on trial basis. This is what they told me.

Terry Watada

"For a thousand years past, these woods have not spoken. Summer stars." I think that part of the struggle is learning to put words to what was only silence before. This is what my community is doing now, joining together with other groups such as the native Canadians to let people know we can't take democracy for granted. Here is Tom Shoyama.

Tom Shoyama

I think that democracy is always very fragile, but capable of expanding and broadening and flowering. But even flowers, as you know, wither and fade too, so there has to be constant renewal, I'm sure of that, and new perceptions of the real meaning is. Well, we're seeing it, for example, in the feminist movement, and that was as strange, shall we say, in 1939 as the notion of votes for Japanese Canadians was. So I think that there has been some progress, yes. What does Steinbeck say? We ascend by the stairs of our perceptions, or stairs of our--oh, I've forgotten the expression. But the ideas continue to move into the stratosphere, or what seems to be the stratosphere, and then you find the fact that it's not the stratosphere, it's part of the atmosphere, but there is still a stratosphere there.

Reader of Muriel Kitagawa's letters

"Don't ever think you are free, yet, because you are not. In leaving B.C., we left family and friends. Many were reunited, but it was not the same, nor will it ever be the same. And in going forward, we tried with many a backward glance to keep in sight all that we held dear to our hearts. The time comes when we must lose the last link to these, too, and until the moment when one takes the last step into oblivion, one remembers the sound of fading footsteps, the quiet sadness of a silent farewell. So we said goodbye to the past. Perhaps we have better homes now, perhaps we have new treasures, perhaps we don't want to go back to B.C. anyway, and perhaps we don't care much one way or another how an election goes. Perhaps we want nothing better than to forget the raw wounds of yesterday, to cover the scar with illusions of security. But what was once taken away can be taken again. Who knows that the next time will be made easier for the plunderers

because we shrugged and said "Shigata sa nai". If you have fought for freedom in your small way and you cherish its dream still, then cherish that dream dearly, for you will be called upon one of these days to confirm your faith. Interpret freedom to your children so that they will not be frightened of it some day when they shall be free. Meanwhile, remember those who fought for you."

Terry Watada

I didn't understand what freedom meant until I was 19. Then and only then did I realize there was a fence around my parents' lives. When I heard their story, the fence broke open. Today, Muriel is gone. My parents are gone. So I live as a Canadian, working towards taking away the fence entirely to allow the garden to grow once again.

Lister Sinclair

"From iron wire, a mass of purple passion flowers. Broken fence." A Haiku by Canadian poet Minoru Furusho.

Tonight on Ideas, you heard Wasteland Gardens, part two, "The Dispersal Years." Poems by Canadian poets Midori Iwasaki and Takeo Ujo Nakano were read by Yoichi Haruta thanks to Coach House Press, Toronto for permission to broadcast. Selections from the letters of Muriel Kitagawa, "This is My Own," were read by Brenda Kamino thanks to Talon Books in Vancouver for permission to broadcast. Other poems and selections from "A Child in Prison Camp," by Takashima, were read by Gina Bertioia, thanks to William Morrow & Co, for permission to broadcast. The program was presented by Terry Watada and prepared by Jenifer Lepiano. The producer was Damiano Pietropaolo, with technical operations by Lorne Tulk.

Lister Sinclair

Good evening. I'm Lister Sinclair and this is Ideas. The Japanese Canadian community has been anxiously watching recent events in the United States. Last month, the U.S. Senate voted to compensate Japanese American citizens interned during the Second World War. Each person who lost his or her rights during that time will receive twenty thousand dollars. All that is needed is President Reagan's signature and people could have their money by the end of the year. Here in Canada, the National Coalition for Japanese Canadian Redress is still lobbying the federal government. So far, the government has offered the community a fund of twelve million dollars. But the Japanese Canadians have rejected that. They want individual compensation to recognize the suffering they went through during and after the war. Last week on Ideas and the week before, we heard testimony by Japanese Canadians about their internment in a two-part program called Wasteland Gardens. Tonight, freelance broadcaster Mickey Rogers examines the government's policies towards Japanese Canadians in the context of the war. Her program was first broadcast last year in British Columbia. It has won two prestigious awards: the Gabriel award, given in the United States by the National Catholic Association for Broadcasters and the B'nai B'rith award for human rights. The program is called *The War We Fought on the West Coast*.

Alice Murakami

When Japan bombed Pearl Harbour, President Roosevelt had said that this day will live in infamy. But to me, the day that the RCMP dragged my father off his land and his house and his home will be the day that will live in infamy in my memory.

Frank Bernard

I witnessed the security risk myself in the camps because the Japanese--and I'm the first to admit that most of the Canadian Japanese were loyal, but amongst them there were some traitors, very few in number, but if the security of Canada depends on one traitor, then the movement was justified.

Roy Miki

Democracy in this country was betrayed when the rights of citizens were violated without just cause.

Norman Mullins

War is hell. There isn't any question about the imposition on everyone in Canada of wartime emergency measures. We acknowledge that. But what they want is some sort of a national bending of the knee by our government of Canada to apologize to one sector of the community.

*

We lost our shirt when we first got moved out. We lost

everything. We'd just renovated our house and had a car and everything. Lost that.

Norman Mouat

There's a lot of people on this island that are sitting in homes that belong to Japanese people. If I wasn't sitting here with my family, somebody else would be.

Tom Berger

Countries aren't just flags and anthems and marching bands. Countries represent the ideals that they profess to live by, and deeply felt ideals of human rights are part of what we believe in in Canada, and that's something that we're obliged, Canadians of every race, are obliged to uphold.

*

Forty-five years ago, the Mackenzie King government ordered all people of Japanese ancestry off the Pacific coast. Japanese Canadians were forced to leave their homes, abandon their communities, give up their fishing boats, farms and jobs. They lived in exile from the west coast for seven years. Now, forty-five years later, the Japanese Canadian community wants a formal acknowledgement for this unjust treatment and millions of dollars in compensation for those lost years.

Kimiko Murakami

This is all my property up to here. We got 17 acres here, but not like before. This is all torn down. This cherry tree, my husband planted when my...

Mickey Rogers

This is the voice of Kimiko Murakami, and this farmland used to be her property. At 83 years of age and only four-feet-eight, she stands strong in her memory of earlier times.

Kimiko Murakami

We lived behind here. Oh, dear. We bought this property so more like a bushland, but my husband cleared by himself. That time, no machines.

Mickey Rogers

Salt Spring islanders used to call this section of the island Little Tokyo, but now the Murakamis are the only Japanese left on the island. Kimiko's daughter Alice Murakami recalls the day they were sent off the island.

Alice Murakami

Mr Gavin Malt put his arm around my mother and said, "Kimiko,"-- my mother's eyes were full of tears, but he put his arm around my mother and said, "Kimiko, when you come back from wherever you are going, when you come back to Salt Spring Island, don't ever worry." He

said, "Not even one pair of chopsticks will be missing." And he kept on saying, "Don't worry, don't worry."

Kimiko Murakami

We work hard. This is my husband built house here. He made this rock garden. It's so nice. Oh, we had awful time in wartime.

Mickey Rogers

The trauma of those years has stayed with Kimiko's daughter Mary. Although she was only eight at the time of evacuation, her memories are vivid.

Alice Murakami

When I think back to all that happened to our family, what stays with me and continues to make me feel sad is my parents' dreams were never allowed to come to fruition. My parents had to struggle so much, and the fact that they were such loyal citizens, and you know, they struggled hard to be good Canadians. I think because of the fact that they were put through such terrible hardships and told in no uncertain terms that they were enemy aliens, this gave them the drive to try to be better Canadians, better Canadians than any other Canadian. And so the message that they continued to give their children was that we must always be good Canadians, do our very best and be loyal to the country, whatever the price.

Announcer

Ladies and gentlemen, the Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King.

Mackenzie King

An order in council was passed, recommending the authorization by His Majesty the King of a proclamation declaring the existence of a state of war between Canada and Japan from December 7th.

Frank Moritsugu

At that initial moment on that morning of December 7, 1941, the real sense was "we're in trouble."

Mackenzie King

I wish especially to refer to the position of Japanese residents of Canada. All Japanese nationals will in principle be treated in the same way as nationals of Germany and Italy. Those who are considered dangerous are being interned at once. All other Japanese nationals and Japanese naturalized since 1922 will be required to report to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and assigned the undertaking required by all enemy aliens.

Alice Murakami

You see this man coming to the door, and he has this uniform on. My mother opens the door and he said that

he had orders to take this man named Katsuyori Murakami into custody and to take him away into Vancouver for interrogation and to be sent to a road camp.

Mackenzie King

As a precautionary measure, persons in Canada of Japanese origin have been registered and fingerprinted. The competent authorities are satisfied that the security situation is well in hand and are confident of the correct and loyal behaviour of Canadian residents of Japanese origin.

Tom Tagami

For no reason at all, they want your fingerprints. You didn't do nothing bad. Your own country betraying you and then you've got to put your own fingerprints on this. It makes you feel like a criminal. It's just an awful feeling. And I was born right on Vancouver Island, near Duncan there.

Mavor Moore

Mackenzie King's government moved quickly to soothe the fears of the British Columbia public. Four days after the bombing of Pearl Harbour, over a thousand Japanese Canadian fishing boats had been rounded up.

Ted Mori

They just gave you notice. When we lost our boat, navy people came to my door and said you take your boat into New Westminster. Shiama, Shiroso...and three of us took it in, and that was it. That's the last time I saw my boat.

Tom Oikawa

This was my dream boat. I worked hard and finally accumulated enough money to have it built. It was something special because I had something to do with its design.

Ted Mori

So who are you going to blame? That short custodian guy, eh? "Don't worry, we'll look after." Hey, we never even got a receipt or whatever. What're you going to say? If we knew what were going on, as now, as if oh, why didn't we get our receipt. But that's too late. That's past.

Mavor Moore

The government imposed sunrise to sunset curfews on the Japanese community, closed Japanese language schools, confiscated radios and ordered all men over the age of 19 to road camps, regardless of their citizenship. Yet by late January of 1942, British Columbians were calling for more urgent action. Canadian soldiers had been captured by the Japanese in Hong Kong on Christmas Day. The Imperial Japanese forces seemed

invincible. Vancouver Sun columnist Denny Boyd remembers the winter of 1942.

Denny Boyd

Unless a person is over 55 or 60 years old, they just don't know what it was like on the west coast of British Columbia in, say, early 1942. It was an atmosphere of terror and of doom and gloom. There I was, eleven years old, given a steel helmet and told to patrol my section of my block in suburban Victoria to watch out for incendiary bombs. Twelve years old at the time, my God, with a bicycle.

Mavor Moore

Like many immigrant communities in Canada at the time, the older generation, the Issei, knew little English and clung to the traditions of Japan. Their children, the Nisei, were quickly becoming Canadianized. They believed strongly in the British justice system. But the Nisei were young in 1942. The majority were under twenty years old. There were few who could articulate the views of the community, and this was especially critical in the culture that honours its elders. So in February of 1942, when the news of the total evacuation finally came from Ottawa, the Japanese Canadian community was virtually leaderless. Frank Moritsugu was nineteen years old and a reporter for the New Canadian, a Japanese Canadian newspaper.

Frank Moritsugu

Everybody was running very scared and feeling totally helpless and out of control, and also not having anybody to turn to who would listen to us. No matter what I tried to say to anybody and people like me tried to say, nobody official wanted to pay any attention and said, well, because you look like one of them, you must be one of them, and therefore the hell whether you were born here and whether you have citizenship or not. And that is a terrible thing that I don't think I've ever gotten over.

Mavor Moore

Two days after the bombing of Pearl Harbour, the Fisherman newspaper clamoured for the removal of all Japanese Canadians from the coast. By the time of the total evacuation order, the Fisherman newspapers was not alone. Divers groups, such as the Provincial Council of Women, the National Union of Machinists, Fitters and Helpers, the B.C. Poultries Industries Committee and the Vancouver Real Estate Exchange pressed politicians such as Ian MacKenzie, B.C.'s representative in Canada, for action. Even the provincial CCF signed a telegram calling for the "total evacuation of all Japanese Canadians."

Grace MacInnis

There was no use of trying to prevent the evacuation at this point, and all we could do was to try to make it as

humane as possible and as brief as possible, and to see that the dislocation would be kept to the minimum.

Mickey Rogers

Grace MacInnis was a prominent member of the CCF at that time. Before the war, the CCF, a predecessor to the New Democratic Party, had championed the cause of the Japanese Canadians. While other political parties in British Columbia had anti-Asian election platforms, the CCF fought on behalf of the Japanese Canadians. They supported the minority's demand for the vote, yet the hysteria of the war proved too much even for a party concerned with civil liberties in Canada.

Grace MacInnis

You know what the psychology of a wartime situation is? We had blackouts here every evening. There was hysteria here among a great many people here that Japan was just on the edge of bombing us. You don't go around and defend rights when people are being picked up and taken away quite regularly and in a solid bloc. That is the time when you try to protect the people.

Alice Murakami

All of us on Salt Spring Island packed one clothes bag and one suitcase of our belongings, and we went on this boat to Vancouver. And the bus came and took us to Hastings Park. Hastings Park was where the horses were kept, and I cannot today forget the smell of manure, the dirty straw and the lime that was thrown in the toilets. In Hastings Park, we had to go to eat at a communal table, and I remember vividly there was food poisoning, and everybody came down with diarrhea. And because the toilets had no partitions, it was just an open stall-type. The water was running, the smell of stench of feces and of lime. And all these people were moaning and groaning, and they weren't able to have any doctors come to see them.

Mickey Rogers

Are the politics and ethics different during wartime? We invited a panel of four people into our studios to discuss this question. Roy Miki, head of the Vancouver Japanese Canadian Citizenships Committee on Redress. Charles Kadota, a businessman, was twenty years old when he was sent to road camp. Frank Bernard, honorary consul for Spain, was responsible under the Geneva Agreement for the treatment of the Japanese nationals in the internment camps. Norman Mullins represented the government's actions during a court case involving Japanese Canadian property. Roy Miki began the discussion.

Roy Miki

We're talking really about a system of checks and balances that broke down at a certain point because individual rights were not taken into account. The very

principles that Canadians were going out to fight for were being violated in their home territories.

Frank Bernard

You forget that in wartime, many principles break down. Wartime is a different era entirely.

Charles Kadota

You're trying to protect democracy, and my democracy was betrayed. I'm as Canadian as you are.

Frank Bernard

I sympathize, as everyone else does, with the Japanese. If I was a Japanese, I would feel it was a time of great hardship.

Charles Kadota

May I interject here? Mr. Bernard keeps referring to us as Japanese. We are Canadians.

Frank Bernard

People of Japanese origin, if you want to be technical. We all know who we're talking about.

Roy Miki

We're talking about Canadians, aren't we?

Frank Bernard

We're talking about Canadians and Japanese nationals mixed together.

Roy Miki

We're talking about Canadian citizens.

Mavor Moore

But these Canadian citizens didn't enjoy the same rights as other Canadians. In 1942, they couldn't vote. They were excluded from professions such as the law and dentistry. They were constant targets of racial hostility in the fishing industry and other businesses. The federal government in the '20s limited the number of fishing licences the Japanese Canadians could obtain.

Mickey Rogers

Tom Shoyama, the editor of the New Canadian in 1942, remembers these times well. Although he graduated with honours from the University of British Columbia, no one would hire him. Later, he became the deputy minister of finance during the Trudeau years. I spoke with Tom Shoyama about British Columbia in the '30s.

Tom Shoyama

Growing up as a person of Japanese origin in B.C. at that time was a constant battle against the notion that, somehow or other, you not only were an inferior person, but that in fact you were a potential threat to the

security of the realm. And that was the constant din, day after day.

Mickey Rogers

Peter Ward is an associate professor at the University of British Columbia and the author of White Canada Forever.

Peter Ward

Asian migrants challenged some basic assumptions people in British Columbia had about the cultural destiny of their region. Asians were often considered to be essentially unassimilable. It was generally thought that they could never form part of the community in the long run since the stereotypes of Asians put them outside the limits of that possibility. They were continuing objects of animosity, and from time to time, when certain sorts of tension in the community emerged, this latent racism became active and directed specifically at these groups, particularly against the Japanese community.

Alice Murakami

Today, as I am older, I now feel for the Jewish people when the Gestapos came to their home and dragged the father and mother and children away to camp. All of us were herded into a train, and I remember the train ride because of the black soot that were all along the window sill and along the seats. But I'm sure the people who put us on the train didn't care what condition the trains were in because they were sending all these enemies off to camp.

Mickey Rogers

The question of Japanese loyalty was the major consideration for Howard Green. During the war, he represented Vancouver South.

Howard Green

Nobody could tell who was loyal and who wasn't, and of course you could hardly expect a Japanese citizen to tell anybody that he was against Canada when he was living in Canada. Everywhere the Japanese armies went, they had people living there who were friendly to them and came out and helped them. That was one of the big dangers. You couldn't tell who would be loyal in the case of an attack.

Frank Bernard

I witnessed the security risk myself in the camps because the Japanese--and I'm the first to admit that most of the Canadian Japanese were loyal, but amongst them, there were some traitors, very few in number, but if the security of Canada depends on one traitor, then the movement was justified.

Charles Kadota

I was not a security risk. Don't tell me I was a security risk.

Frank Bernard

How are we to know?

Charles Kadota

It was justifiable to incarcerate 95 per cent of the Japanese Canadians for the sake of the 5 per cent that might have been--

Frank Bernard

For one traitor, I would do it. For the security of my country.

Charles Kadota

Oh, well, that's not democracy.

Frank Bernard

Wartime is a very unhappy time. It's a miserable time.

Charles Kadota

Yes, but the principles of democracy cannot be thrown out the window, otherwise we'd become a dictatorship.

Norman Mullins

In wartime, we are a dictatorship. What we have to rely on is the honesty of our politicians that when the war emergency is over, we revert back to democracy. We had exactly the same situation with the FLQ crisis. Pierre Trudeau, having seen to the implementation of the War Measures Act at that time, was in the position of a national dictator of Canada.

Mickey Rogers

When Pierre Trudeau imposed the War Measures Act in 1970, he had the support of nine out of ten Canadians. Yet the supposed insurrection in Quebec proved groundless. According to Peter Ward, the internment of the entire Japanese community was a similar phenomenon.

Peter Ward

The military intelligence files that I've looked at don't suggest that there is any security threat posed by the Japanese community to British Columbia security at all. There was, of course, some suspicion on the part of both military authorities and the RCMP as well who also were subjecting the Japanese community to surveillance, suspicion that there might be public disorder, suspicion as well, I suspect, that the loyalties of Japanese Canadians were not unambiguous. But at the same time, there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that the police or the military officials who were responsible for surveying the community knew of any subversive threat posed by the Japanese Canadians at

all. Not only that, but they passed this information on to their senior officers, who passed it on in turn to the War Cabinet. And so when the decision to evacuate the Japanese Canadians was taken, it was taken in the knowledge that the Japanese Canadian community posed no security threat to British Columbia at all.

Mickey Rogers

But York University historian Jack Granatstein disagrees.

Jack Granatstein

There is some new evidence that has been discovered in the last six months that shows that the Japanese consul in Vancouver had been ordered to create an espionage ring. There is a reasonable presumption that he may have had some success in so doing, although we don't know that precisely. He was directed to seek information on military movements, for example, and he was ordered to recruit Canadian Nisei, second generation Canadian Japanese, for this task. That, too, was not within the normal realms of diplomatic activity. So I think that was a very substantial factor, had the Canadian government known this, would have had some substantial impact. In the records that my research assistant and I have found in the United States, there are other telegrams that demonstrate very clearly that the Japanese were spying. There is no indication as yet that the Canadian government knew anything of this. So when I say that the Canadian government may have had some justification in moving the Japanese off the coast, I say "may" because there is no evidence that they knew of these intercepted telegrams.

Peter Ward

Well, it's a catch-22 situation then. He may be right about that. There may well have been espionage going on that nobody knew about, but I can say with some assurance that those factors never were taken into account when the decision to remove Japanese from the coast was actually taken. And, of course, those are the crucial factors that we have to keep...attempting to understand the decision, we have to understand the basis on which it was made. We do know, with a great deal of assurance, that the security risk was nonexistent and that the people who took the decision knew that it was nonexistent. I do have a quarrel with the idea that the possibility of subversion justifies mass evacuation.

Mickey Rogers

Here in the Slokan Valley, there are few reminders of the internment of the Japanese Canadians. The local museums make no mention of it. The memorial in the park in New Denver commemorates Japanese immigrants without acknowledging the years they spent in camp. Only one house still stands in its original condition--Spud Matsushita.

*

Time when the Japanese were evacuated, each house had about, a large one had eight person and the smaller house had six. I'll show you how it looked, the original house looked inside. It's turned into a garage now. It's just a shell, you can see. There was no ceiling. As you see, you can see the two by four, the rafters are sticking out, and the side wall was one thickness, and just outside wall and sort of a building paper inside. No insulation at all. In fact, two by fours showing. Around that time, it used to get really cold. The first winter, it went down to about 20 degree of Fahrenheit. That's when we had all the frost halfway up the wall, and every nail head or the nail coming through the wall had frost on it.

Frank Bernard

Never in the history of warfare have members of an enemy race been treated so humanely. And I'm going to go further and make another statement, and this'll surprise the people that haven't heard the other side of the story. Eighty per cent of the Japanese, both Nisei and Issei, that were removed, had their standard of living raised in wartime.

Charles Kadota

No way.

Frank Bernard

And 20 per cent had it lowered. Now, this, I can prove it.

Roy Miki

This is real mainstream bigotry.

Charles Kadota

Yes, it is absolutely.

Roy Miki

It is so off the mark. I have gone to hundreds and hundreds of homes now in the last five years, and I can tell you simply by sheer numbers that individuals lost and they never recovered.

Charles Kadota

And I'm telling you that we all lived in clean homes, we had clean beds, and we had food on the table. And when I was sent to the road camp in Schreiber, they put me on an old railway coach and gave us some dried buns and canned sardines. Do you call that standard of living being raised?

Alice Murakami

By every morning, the young enthusiastic teachers would tell the students to stand, and they would open class by singing "Oh, Canada." When they sang that, they used to sing, "Oh, Canada, our home and native land, true patriot love," and so on and so on. And I think that most of us really believed it, and we kept on

thinking, tomorrow, tomorrow, the government will say we made a big, big mistake. You are indeed true Canadians and we will send you back home.

Mavor Moore

But on the coast, houses were being vandalized, possessions were being stolen. Businesses needed more attention than the small staff at the office of the Custodian of Enemy Property could give them. Handling all the property of the Japanese Canadians proved to be an administrative nightmare. By late 1942, Glen MacPherson, the representative of the custodian's office in Vancouver, wrote to Ottawa recommending the sale of the property. This administrative solution was equally attractive to the politicians. The Japanese Canadians could pay for their own internment and the loss of their property diminished the likelihood of them moving back to the west coast.

Glen MacPherson

Under the wartime conditions, I felt that something had to be done to get these lands back into production, to get their properties into production. Their homes, there was a shortage of housing here with the wartime industries like the Boeing plant being built here, and these Japanese houses, for instance in Vancouver and Steveston, were vacant for a long time. The ethical questions are not for the custodian. The custodian was merely a branch of the Canadian government and he carried out government policy. So my personal opinion as to whether it was ethical or moral isn't involved here from the custodian point of view. As the representative of the custodian, I carried out the Canadian law.

Tom Shoyama

The announcement that in fact all these properties were to be sold off came as a really very unsettling and shocking sort of realization that in spite of some of the good words that had been said beforehand, here was another instance essentially of government duplicity.

Mickey Rogers

Nowhere was the ethical question more apparent than on Salt Spring Island. Gavin Mouat was a representative of the custodian for the gulf islands and a part owner in a real estate firm. When the property was confiscated, the custodian, Gavin Mouat, bought land that belonged to Torazo Iwasaki. His son Norman Mouat sees no conflict of interest.

Norman Mouat

He was a friend to these many Japanese families. It was not his decision that the land was to be sold, it was a decision made in Ottawa by the federal government. The properties were then advertised. It wasn't he personally who bought it, it was Salt Spring Lands, the company he had 20 per cent in, that was the high bidder,

consequently they ended up acquiring the property. Had they not been the high bidder, someone else would have acquired the land. There's a lot of people on this island that are sitting in homes that belonged to Japanese people. If I wasn't sitting here with my family, somebody else would be.

Mickey Rogers

Mr. Iwasaki didn't recognize the sale of his property. He wanted his land back. Because of pressure from Japanese Canadians after the war, the federal government set the Byrd Commission to look at property grievances. At that hearing, Mr. Iwasaki was awarded an additional twelve thousand dollars. Although he signed the release to his property, that was not the end of the issue. In the '60s, Mr. Iwasaki sued the federal government for fraudulently conveying his land to the custodian, Gavin Moutat. The case was heard in Vancouver and Mr. Iwasaki lost. Lawyer Norman Mullins represented the government in that case.

Norman Mullins

Mr. Justice Bird investigated everything that was done about the sale of the lands, and then he said this: "I am satisfied on the evidence adduced before me that the very owner's task imposed upon the director of the custodian's office at Vancouver was completely performed with due regard to the interest of the owners of such property, notwithstanding that the task had to be performed in an atmosphere of public hysteria induced by war. The fact that I have found that in certain respects fair market value was not realized on sales in no sense reflects upon the work of the custodian's organization. On the contrary, the evidence strongly supports the conclusion that this organization, in spite of the magnitude of the responsibilities, has substantially succeeded in administering and subsequently selling property of evacuated persons with due regard to the owner's interest." He then found that there were certain cases where the appraisals were wrong. He ordered new appraisals done and the people were paid the difference between what they had earlier been paid and what they were later paid, and an enormous effort was made in difficult wartime circumstances to see that those properties were handled as fairly as could be.

Mickey Rogers

But Ann Gomer-Sunahara, a lawyer and the author of *The Politics of Racism*, disagrees.

Ann Gomer-Sunahara

My review of Cabinet documents show that when the Cabinet made up the terms of the Bird Commission, they restricted that commission very narrowly, so that the administration of the sale of property could be looked at but not the actual policy itself.

Mickey Rogers

But the Japanese Canadians did challenge the policy in the courts.

Ann Gomer-Sunahara

They brought a court action in 1943, in the Exchequer Court of Canada, but the problem is to sue under the War Measures Act or to sue the government at that time, you had to have the government's permission. That permission was not given for an entire year. Then the matter was heard before a judge who had been a member of the Cabinet that had uprooted Japanese Canadians, Mr. Justice J.T. Thorson. He adjourned the matter to render his decision in 1944 for three years, and in 1947, he decided they had sued in the wrong court.

Mickey Rogers

Ian MacKenzie, British Columbia's representative in Cabinet, seized lands in the Fraser Valley and the Gulf islands for returning veterans. Once again, Ann Gomer-Sunahara.

Ann Gomer-Sunahara

The confiscation of property occurred initially because Ian MacKenzie wanted Japanese Canadian farms for veterans. Six weeks after the orders to uproot Japanese Canadians, he began the process of freezing Japanese Canadian farms, the sale of them, in order that they could be bought by the Veterans Land Act board. The motive behind it was to get farms for veterans who could vote. Japanese Canadians could not vote. Whether the farms were depreciating and becoming useless is another question. Ian MacKenzie certainly paints them as a rosy investment in his letters in 1942, when he's attempting to convince the soldiers' settlement people to get interested in them.

Mavor Moore

Before the bombing of Pearl Harbour, Canada and the United States agreed to follow similar policies regarding the Japanese question. But the American government didn't sell off the properties of their citizens, and there were other major differences. Civil liberties lawyer Tom Berger.

Tom Berger

The experience of the Japanese Americans illustrates why a charter of rights was needed in Canada. In the United States, they had a bill of rights, and under the Bill of Rights, the Japanese Americans challenged their internment. Now, the first two challenges did not succeed, but then they went to the Supreme Court on the third challenge, in 1944, and the Supreme Court of the U.S. held in their favour, and they were allowed to return to the west coast. The federal government of the United States didn't stand in their way. The Japanese

Americans, indeed, formed their own regiment in the United States Army and fought against the Germans.

Mavor Moore

During the war, Britain wanted Japanese Canadians to act as translators in the Pacific, but Mackenzie King was opposed to this. He was worried that those soldiers would demand the vote. In spite of this, Canada did send 150 Japanese Canadians overseas. One of these was Frank Moritsugu.

Frank Moritsugu

When I came back from overseas and when I was with the rest of the Canadian Army, then I had my uniform on, my flashes up and my three stripes up, and so forth, there was total acceptance. As soon as I became a civilian again, three or four days after I was discharged from the Canadian Army, having served overseas, I hadn't gone back to work yet and I was in the farmhouse down in St. Thomas. And there was a knock on the door, and I opened the door and there was an RCMP constable who'd come down from the detachment in London. And he said, "Are you Moritsugu, F.A.?" And I said, "Yes." And he had this brown envelope that he pushed at me and said, "This is your stuff." And I opened it, and in it were my national registration card which we used to have to carry in those days, my Japanese registration card which only we had to carry, which also had a portrait or a mug shot and a thumbprint on it, and a few other things. Well, registration card you gave up when you enlisted and you got the soldier's paybook instead. So I accepted them and then he said, looking at the Japanese registration card which I got back in 1940 and had had to carry with me through this entire time until I joined the army, he said, "The picture there is getting awfully worn, and so I want you to go into town and get some portraits made to replace that and send us a copy." I am just this brand-new civilian who had been an NCO in the Canadian Army, and a part of me, this typical veteran, thinking, saying who is this young punk and where the hell was he when we were overseas kind of stuff. But anyway, I picked up the envelope, standing in the kitchen as he turned to go out, and I threw it at him and used some of the best words that I had learned in the army. And I thought, Welcome home.

Announcer

The National Broadcasting Company has interrupted all of its program schedules to bring you the historic announcement of the Japanese surrender. This dramatic event has been recorded by radio correspondents and it comes to us now by shortwave from the Pacific.

Attention, the peoples of the world...

Mavor Moore

After the war, all Japanese Canadians had to leave

British Columbia. This dispersal policy met with widespread approval. The Japanese were given an alternative. Instead of going east to the Rockies, they could emigrate to Japan. It was this plan to deport Japanese Canadians that finally stirred opposition voices in Canada after the war.

Ann Gomer-Sunahara

The orders to deport Japanese Canadians were passed at the very dying days of the War Measures Act, just before it was replaced by the National Emergency Powers Act of 1945. In the process of passing that Act, the government had tried to give itself the power to deport anyone from Canada, and Parliament had refused them that power. When they used the back door method to get orders in council deporting Japanese Canadians passed, that really angered many politicians. It also alerted the press, finally, without any press censorship, to what was being done to Japanese Canadians and how it was being done. The result, between the press and the campaign launched by Canada's churches, was a massive surge of public opinion against deporting Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry.

Norman Mullins

The regulations under which the Japanese nationals were deported recited that they were being deported because they had expressed disloyal attitudes during the war.

Roy Miki

No, that's a false statement. They did not express disloyalty. They had expressed a desire for what the government called repatriation and they signed under duress.

Norman Mullins

In 1945, you're already attacking the validity of the deportation regulations.

Roy Miki

January, 1946.

Norman Mullins

Okay, but what I'm saying is that the Japanese people, Japanese Canadians, Japanese nationals, the amorphous group--

Roy Miki

They were trying to remain in Canada at this point because the government had gone to the point where it was planning to deport citizens.

Norman Mullins

That's not a fair comment either because the regulations gave the naturalized Japanese Canadians and Canadian

born Japanese Canadians the option to go back to Japan or not.

Roy Miki

Back? They'd never been there.

Norman Mullins

Well, the naturalized Japanese had been in Japan and they became naturalized British subjects.

Roy Miki

But the government was planning to deport 10,000 people in the fall of 1945.

Norman Mullins

The regulations ordered the deportation of Japanese nationals. British subjects naturalized in Canada or those who were born in Canada were given the option of going or of not going.

Mickey Rogers

Tamia Tagahashi.

Tamia Tagahashi

We left for Japan from Tashme, and then when we first landed, we went to our village. Oh, gee, everything was so different from the Canadian ways. That was the first time I'd ever seen Japan. We had to live on the ration, and mother and I always used to exchange our stuff, you know, for rice. That's how bad it was. But we went right into the heart of the farming district, but even so, they were rationing the rice too. So we were out every day, scrounging for rice. Oh God, it was just terrible and I just wanted to come back so bad, but I had to stay there for seven years. Oh, boy. I never got used to it, too, never. Seven years.

Mavor Moore

For Japanese Canadians, the exile from British Columbia lasted until April 1, 1949.

Mickey Rogers

But it was another five years before the Murakami family could return to Salt Spring Island. They saved their money by working in the beet fields of Alberta and operating a restaurant.

Kimiko Murakami

I come back here, '54, so my husband want to buy back his property. They say no. So we decide to buy that place, only about six acres there. This is a 17 acre plot. I hate to come back here, but my husband said no, let's go back to island. He liked the island, so we come back. Only my family come back here. Nobody want to come back.

Charles Kadota

We are taught from day one to persevere, and I think it's

that training that we had as children to persevere. You know, there's a word in Japanese called "gaman," which every mother uses from the time a child is two years old. Whether the child is hungry or whether he tumbles and hurts himself, or whether he's tired and sleepy, the mother says "persevere." And so we were taught to persevere and I think that stood us in good stead, and we were able to persevere.

Frank Bernard

Why didn't you start persevering between '45 and four years ago? The thing was dead for forty years.

Charles Kadota

I can explain that fully. You know, I was twenty years old when we were interned, okay, and I had to go to a road camp. I could not complete my university education. I had to find work, I had to get married, you know, and I had to raise a family. And you ask why we didn't start getting our act together in 1945. Well, good heavens, in 1945 I was 23 years old, I was single, I had no money.

Roy Miki

The existing constitution would not guarantee that anyone's ethnic background would not be abused again, you know, that rights would not be violated on the basis of ethnic background.

Norman Mullins

Well, the premise of the charter is that discrimination is prohibited unless it's necessary and recognized as the proper thing in a democratic society. And when you have a national emergency like an invasion or a war or a national insurrection, that obviously would override even the charter.

Roy Miki

Now, we do have provisions under the new charter, though, that if the rights of citizens are abused under the War Measures Act, that there are provisions now for redress, and if it were to occur now, there would be grounds for redressing.

Norman Mullins

Well, subject to the point I made a little earlier, that--

Roy Miki

In other words, that there is a recognition in the constitution that there can be injustices. We can't create a perfect... We can't guarantee that everyone's rights will be protected forever. That's ludicrous and naive. But what we have to do is protect to a certain point and then be able to deal with the violations when they occur, and violations usually mean compensation and redress to those whose rights were violated.

Norman Mullins

Don't forget that the charter is not retroactive. It applies only back to 1982.

Roy Miki

I realize that. That's right, so the redress thing is a political and moral issue. As you say, it's not a legal issue.

Norman Mullins

And if you look at it from the point of view of politics and morality in the eyes of the people of Canada in 1941 to '45, '46 if you like, there was nothing illegal or immoral about it in those days.

Mickey Rogers

In 1984, the Japanese Canadian community presented its brief, "Democracy Betrayed," to the government. In it, they outline their request for redress. They demanded three major items from government. First, a formal acknowledgement for unjust treatment and violation of rights. Second, legislative changes made to the War Measures Act. Third, money. They want a 50-million dollar community fund set up and 25,000 dollars for each individual affected by the uprooting. Individual compensation is a contentious issue, even within the Japanese Canadian community, but Frank Moritsugu considers this a key element.

Frank Moritsugu

The money is a symbol. You can't pay us enough to make up for what we experienced. Even if we were not physically mistreated, psychologically we were told we were traitors. We were told we were not good enough. It was a curious kind of a humiliation and it was absolutely official, and it only happened to us. It did not happen to all of the Canadian citizens of German or Italian descent during that same war. No, the money is symbolic and the individual part is really wanting a say in what I'm going to do with the compensation that the government finally gets down to me. Give me a choice because you sure as hell didn't give me any choice back then in 1942.

Mavor Moore

But politicians have been reluctant to speak on this issue. Prime Minister Pearson stated that the treatment of the Japanese Canadians was a black mark against Canada's traditional fairness and devotion to human rights. In the '70s, Prime Minister Trudeau apologized, in Japan, for Canada's treatment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War. But he never apologized in Canada. When the Conservative government was elected, Prime Minister Mulroney said he would give this issue significant priority. Three years later and three cabinet ministers later, it's no closer to a settlement.

Norman Mullins

There's no way we can look at this thing through the reverse end of binoculars. All of this happened 46 years ago. Why should this generation be compelled to pay penalties for the wrongs, if we perceive them to be that, of a generation ago?

Roy Miki

It's the same generation.

Norman Mullins

No, not really.

Charles Kadota

My democracy was betrayed.

Frank Bernard

This is a lie.

Charles Kadota

It is not a lie.

Frank Bernard

That's an insult to Canada.

Charles Kadota

I was forced to work on the TransCanada Highway.

Frank Bernard

That title is an insult to this country and I resent it. Democracy betrayed. You say Canada betrayed democracy, and they fought and died for it.

Roy Miki

Democracy in this country was betrayed when the rights of citizens were violated without just cause.

Norman Mullins

There isn't any question about the imposition on everyone in Canada of wartime emergency measures. We acknowledge that. What they want is some sort of a national bending of the knee by our government of Canada to apologize to one sector of the community.

Frank Bernard

This is simply a vote getting manoeuvre by politicians who don't know the real story.

Roy Miki

I believe in democracy and I believe in the political process that allows a country to have its own citizens come forward and criticize its policies. And that when these policies go wrong, as they often do, because of the nature of human beings, that if there is something that goes wrong, citizens of a country that is a true democracy should be able to go to the government and-

say We are the government as well and we were wronged.

The real trial that we're going through right now is defining democracy and how much freedom this country's going to allow its citizens to come back on its government, to criticize it and to get that government as well to pay attention to individuals. The government can't just walk in and sign a few documents and then go out of power and say we aren't responsible. We are all

responsible. This government is ours.

Lister Sinclair

Tonight on Ideas, The War We Fought on the West Coast, prepared by Mickey Rogers, who narrated the program with Mavor Moore. Production in Vancouver was by Don Mowatt. Technical operation was by Jame Reid.

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