

The Canadian Japanese, Redress, and the Power of Archives

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[Originally entitled: From the Shadows of the Second World War: Archives, Records and Canadian Japanese]¹

I am a government records archivist at Library and Archives Canada² who practises macro-appraisal.

It should be noted that the ideas of former President of the Bundesarchiv, Hans Booms³, inspired Canadian Terry Cook, the father of macro-appraisal -which has been the appraisal approach of my institution since 1991.

“If there is indeed anything or anyone qualified to lend legitimacy to archival appraisal,” Hans Booms wrote in 1972, ‘it is society itself...’⁴ As Cook asserts, Booms was “perhaps the first

¹ This Paper was delivered on 15 October 2019 at the Conference: “Kriegsfolgenarchivgut: Entschädigung, Lastenausgleich und Wiedergutmachung in Archivierung und Forschung” hosted by the Bundesarchiv, at the Bundesarchiv-Lastenausgleichsarchiv, Bayreuth, Germany. The views, thoughts and opinions expressed in this paper belong solely to the author and do not necessarily reflect those of Library and Archives Canada.

² Library and Archives Canada had its beginnings in 1872 as the Archives Branch of the Department of Agriculture. In 1903, the Archives absorbed the Records Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State. It was recognized by statute as the Public Archives of Canada in 1912 and continued under this name until 1987 when it became the National Archives of Canada as per the [National Archives of Canada Act](#), R.S.C. , 1985, c. 1 (3rd Supp.), accessed 10 January 2020. In 2004, the National Archives of Canada and the National Library of Canada. merged under the [Library and Archives Act of Canada](#), S.C. 2004, c.11 (accessed 10 January 2020) to form Library and Archives Canada.

See also Ian E. Wilson, [“A Noble Dream”: The Origins of the Public Archives of Canada](#), *Archivaria* 15 (Winter 1982-1983), accessed 17 August 2019. [Ian E. Wilson](#) was the former National Archivist of Canada, later Librarian and Archivist of Canada from 1999-2004 and President of the International Council on Archives from 2008-2010, accessed 17 January 2020. He was appointed a Member of the [Order of Canada / Ordre du Canada](#), in 2002, accessed 21 January 2020. The Order of Canada is the highest honour awarded to a Canadian for “outstanding achievement, dedication to the community and service to nation.” The motto of the Order of Canada is *Desideratum meliorem patriam* (“they desire a better country”).

³ Hans Booms (1924-2007) was the President of the Bundesarchiv from 1972-1989 and a former President of the International Council on Archives. He was a “Professor of contemporary history and archival science at Cologne University.... a prolific editor and writer and ... one of Europe’s foremost archivists.... “About the Author”, Hans Booms, [Überlieferungsbildung: Keeping Archives as a Social and Political Activity](#), *Archivaria*, 33 (Winter 1991-1992), accessed 23 Jan. 2020.

⁴ Hans Booms, [“Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources”](#), accessed 22 August 2019, reprinted in *Archivaria* 24 (Summer 1987) p. 104, ed. and trans. Hermina Joldersma and Richard Klumpenhouwer of Gesellschaftordnung Überlieferungsbildung; Zur Problematik archivarischer Quellenbewertung" originally appearing in *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 68 (1972) pp. 3-40.

major voice raised in favour of a new societal paradigm for archives”. This concept of society became a cornerstone for macro-appraisal: i.e., the functional analysis of a government institution must always be viewed through the lens of society and the needs of its citizens.

In 1997, Cook wrote the following Canadian appreciation: Hans Booms “remains the most important thinker on the philosophical underpinnings of archival appraisal”.⁵

I am also a *sansei* or a third generation Canadian of Japanese ancestry. Although mine is not the generation who lived through the Second World War, what happened to the Canadian Japanese⁶ community during the war and the subsequent fight for Redress has had a profound effect on my generation. Today, I will tell the story of Redress through the archival records that document it. The power of archival records to give life to a historical narrative is also the power to move, inspire, console, comfort, strengthen, and safeguard. It is deeply personal.

I ask three questions.

What does Canadian Japanese Redress⁷ mean?

How were archival documents critical to building the case for Redress?

What is the legacy of Redress?

Canadian Japanese Redress

Let me begin by recalling that in 2018 Canada commemorated the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Redress Agreement between the National Association of Japanese Canadians and the Government of Canada.

⁵ Terry Cook, “[What’s Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift](#)”, *Archivaria*, 43 (Spring 1997) p. 30, accessed 22 August 2019.

⁶ Note: “Canadian Japanese” is used in this paper –with the exception of organizational names such as the National Association of Japanese Canadians and quotes from books or government documents- to emphasize that 75% of the community of the 1940s was Canadian by birth or naturalization.

⁷ See Library and Archives Canada, “[Japanese Canadians: Redress Campaign](#)”/ Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, « [Les Canadiens japonais: campagne pour le redressement](#) », accessed 10 January 2020.

Prime Minister of Canada Brian Mulroney (left) and President Art Miki,⁸ President of the National Association of Japanese Canadians (right) signing the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement, 22 September 1988, Ottawa, Ontario Canada. In the background (left) Don Rosenbloom (legal advisor for the National Association of Japanese Canadians), Roger Obata, the Honourable Lucien Bouchard (Secretary of State), Audrey Kobayashi, the Honourable Gerry Weiner (Minister of State –Multiculturalism and Citizenship), Maryka Omatsu, Roy Miki.



2010.32.27 Nikkei National Museum⁹ Credit Gordon King

On September 22, 1988, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney stood in the House of Commons and solemnly announced the Agreement. Included in the Agreement was the formal, negotiated Acknowledgement¹⁰, which stated: “During and after World War II, Canadians of Japanese an-

⁸ [Arthur K. Miki](#) was appointed a Member of the [Order of Canada /Ordre du Canada](#) in 1991, accessed 17 January 2020. The Order of Canada is the highest honour awarded to a Canadian for “outstanding achievement, dedication to the community and service to nation.” The motto of the Order of Canada is: *Desideratum meliorem patriam* (“they desire a better country”).

⁹ [Nikkei National Museum](#) 2010.32.27, accessed 26 January 2020.

¹⁰ The Redress Agreement is divided into two parts: the Acknowledgement document signed by Prime Minister Mulroney and the Terms of the Agreement signed by both the Prime Minister and Art Miki. It should be noted that the first resolution passed at the pivotal January 1984 National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) Council meeting stated that the “NAJC seeks **acknowledgement** [emphasis added] from the Canadian Government of the injustices committed against Japanese Canadians during and after World War II”. This was one of three resolutions

cestry, the majority of whom were citizens, suffered unprecedented actions taken by the Government of Canada against their community”.¹¹

According to the wording of the Acknowledgement, these actions, taken against some 21,000 Canadian Japanese included: “the forced removal and internment of Japanese Canadians... their deportation and expulsion following the war... disenfranchisement, detention, confiscation and sale of private and community property ... and restriction of movement, which continued after the war....”¹²

Accompanying this official Acknowledgement were symbolic, individual redress payments of \$21,000 (Cdn)¹³ to eligible survivors. Included were community funding and non-monetary Redress such as the restoration of citizenship lost between 1941 and 1949.

The individual redress payments were not identified in the Agreement as being “compensation” payments because the National Association of Japanese Canadians felt that using the word “compensation” gave the false impression that surviving Canadian Japanese were being given dollar for dollar compensation for all the individual and community property that was seized and liquidated by the Government of Canada.

By March of 1992, 17,402¹⁴ cheques had been issued to eligible Canadian Japanese survivors.

that would remain the “foundation of the redress movement until the settlement on September 22, 1988 was finally achieved”. It should be emphasized that the resolution used the term “Acknowledgement” and not “Apology”. Roy Miki and Kobayashi, Cassandra, *Justice in Our Time: The Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991), pp. 71-72.

¹¹ Cited from the text of the Redress Agreement between the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) and the Government of Canada, signed 22 September 1988 by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and NAJC President, Art Miki, as reproduced in Roy Miki and Kobayashi, Cassandra, *Justice in Our Time*, p. 138.

Some 120,000 American Japanese were interned after Japan’s attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii on 7 December 1941. Unlike in Canada, American Japanese were permitted to return to the west coast in December 1944 and their property was not seized and liquidated by the American Government. While American Japanese were allowed to enlist in the United States Army in 1942, Canadian Japanese were not allowed to enlist until 1945 -and only at the behest of the governments of Australia and Great Britain. In August 1988, the *Civil Liberties Act* was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan. Around 60,000 eligible, surviving American Japanese who had suffered internment and other human rights violations received individual compensation payments of \$20,000 (US) and a formal apology from the President of the United States. Sometimes, these American compensation payments are also referred to as reparations. See Julie Johnson, “[President Signs Law to Redress Wartime Wrong](#)”, *New York Times*, 11 August 1988, Section A, p. 16, accessed 17 January 2020.

¹² Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi, *Justice in Our Time*, p. 138.

¹³ Approximately 14,200 Euros (2019)

¹⁴ From 22 September 1988 to March 1992, 17,402 cheques were issued to eligible Canadian Japanese survivors who had suffered rights violations between 7 December 1941 and 31 March 1949. On 1 April 1949, the last restriction on the community was lifted and Canadian Japanese could return to the west coast. Library and Archives Canada, R15494, Volume 7, File 4010-8 Vol. 1 “Communications-Final Report”.

In 1941, roughly 21,000 men, women and children of Japanese ancestry lived along the west coast of Canada.¹⁵ This was about .2% of the Canadian population.¹⁶ Seventy-five percent were Canadians by birth or naturalization.¹⁷

Close contact between Canadian Japanese and the majority white population had led to festering racial tension. Canadian Japanese were highly motivated and economically successful, competing openly with the white population in farming, in fishing, and in business.

Sutekichi Miyagawa, a successful business man, and his four children (left to right) Kazuko, Mitsuko, Michio and Yoshiko in front of his grocery store, the Davie Confectionery, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, March 1933.¹⁸



[MIKAN 319216](#) Credit: Library and Archives Canada

¹⁵ For background information and resources about the Canadian Japanese community, see: Library and Archives Canada. "[Japanese Canadians: From immigration to deportation](#)", [Books and other Resources](#) and [Research materials](#), / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, "[Les Canadiens japonais: De l'immigration à déportation](#)", [Livres et autres ressources](#) et [documents de recherche](#), accessed 17 January 2020.

¹⁶ In 1941, the population of Canada was 11,506,655. From the Bulletin No. A-10, *Population of Canada, 1941 by Provinces, Electoral Districts and Sub-Districts*, published by the Authority of the Honourable James A. MacKinnon, M.P., Minister of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa, [n.d.], [n.p.], p.x.

¹⁷ Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976) p .414. Adachi compiled statistics from the Census of Canada 1941. *The Enemy That Never Was* is the most comprehensive history of the Canadian Japanese community and was published in association the Multicultural Program, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada as part of series of ethnic histories. It was commissioned by the Japanese National Citizenship Association. Adachi's research for the book was done without the benefit of archival sources, as such documents were still closed by the (then) 30-year rule. See footnote number 38 (p.8) for a discussion of *The Politics of Racism* by Ann Gomer Sunahara.

¹⁸ MIKAN Links are to the Library and Archives Canada Collection database.

For example, community farmers began cultivating wilderness land no one wanted and by 1934, Canadian Japanese farmers were producing 85% of the berries in the Fraser Valley located in southern British Columbia, Canada.¹⁹

Government actions against the Canadian Japanese were set into motion on December 7, 1941 when Japan bombed the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. On the same day, the Japanese Army attacked the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong. Nearly 300 of almost 2,000 Canadian soldiers defending the Colony were killed.²⁰ Canada and Japan were at war.

Under the pretext of military necessity, practically the entire Canadian Japanese pre-war community²¹ was by force of law taken from their homes.

Canadian Japanese internees being relocated by truck in Slocan City, British Columbia (B.C.), Canada, the site of one of ten²² B.C. civilian internment camps.



MIKAN [3193865](#) (Ecopy# c47396) Credit: Tak Toyota Library and Archives Canada

¹⁹ Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, p.149.

²⁰ 1,975 Canadian soldiers from the Winnipeg Grenadiers fought in the Battle of Hong Kong, which ended on 25 December 1941 with 290 killed and 493 wounded. Two hundred sixty of these Canadian soldiers were to die in Japanese Prisoner of War camps. [The Canadian War Museum](#), accessed 30 September 2019.

²¹ There were certain exemptions, including “institutionalized [psychiatric] patients, 94 Canadian Japanese who were partners in mixed marriages and about 100 children who were their offspring”. Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, p. 235.

²² Tashme, Greenwood, New Denver, Sandon, Kaslo and in the Slocan area: Slocan City, Lemon Creek, Popoff, Bay Farm, Rosebery.

They were allowed to take only 68 kg per adult (34 kg per child) of their life's possessions. They left everything else behind -homes, farms, boats and businesses, all of which was understood by them to be held in trust by the Government of Canada.

Fishing boats seized and held at the Annieville Dyke of the Fraser River near New Westminster, British Columbia, Canada, 10 December 1941. Some 1200 Canadian Japanese boats were impounded by the Royal Canadian Navy. Boat owners had to be Canadian by birth or naturalization.



MIKAN [3193627](#) Credit: The Department of National Defence Library and Archives Canada

In 1943, by government order, everything was auctioned off -even children's toys.²³ The monies realized from these sales were used to pay for their own internment.

Approximately 2,000²⁴ men were sent into forced labour in some 20²⁵ lonely and isolated northern road camps. A little over 12,000,²⁶ initially, mostly women and children, were sent to uninsulated tar paper shacks in British Columbia civilian internment camps.

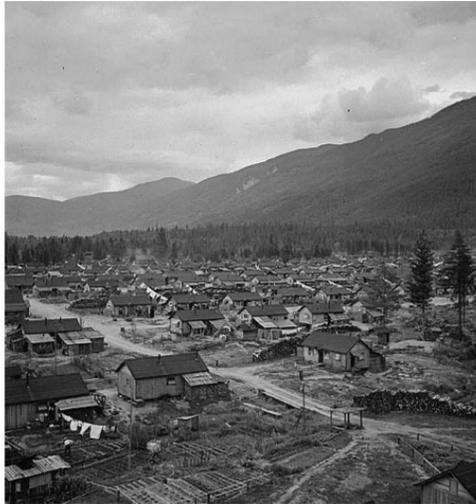
²³ Newspaper auction advertisement. *Vancouver Province*, 14 August 1943, p.8.

²⁴ 2,161 Ken Adachi, *The Enemy that Never Was*, p. 415.

²⁵ The Yellowhead-Blue River Project included seventeen camps (Geikie, Yellowhead, Lucerne, Fitzwilliam, Grantbrook, Rainbow, Red Pass, Tete Jaune [trans. Yellowhead], East, Tete Jaune West, Albreda, Blackspur, Gosnell, Lempriere, Pyramid, Thunder Bay, Red Sands and Blue River). There were two other highway projects: Sicamous-Revelstoke in B.C. (including Solsqua, Malakwa, Yard Creek, Taft and Three Valley camps) and Schreiber-Jackfish in Ontario (including Schreiber, Camp Black, Empress and Jackfish camps). Yon Shimizu, *The Exiles: An Archival History of the World War II Japanese Road Camps in British Columbia and Ontario* (Wallaceburg, Ontario: Shimizu Consulting and Publishing, 1993) pp. 102, 282, 477. Note: by 1 November 1942 there were 945 men remaining in road camps, the others having re-joined their families in the civilian internment camps in the interior of British Columbia. Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, p. 415.

²⁶ 12,029, Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, p. 415.

A view of the tar paper shacks of the civilian internment camp at Lemon Creek, British Columbia, Canada. [1945/06/16-1945/06/28]



[MIKAN 3191570](#) (Ecopy# a142853) Credit: Jack Long
Library and Archives Canada

Inside a tar paper shack at Lemon Creek, British Columbia, Canada. [1945/06/16-1945/06/28]



[MIKAN 5078709](#) (Ecopy# e999900337-u) Credit Jack Long
Library and Archives Canada

The car of the Delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Ernst Maag, stuck in the snow as he toured the civilian internment camps during the one of the harshest



MIKAN [5078779](#) (Ecopy# e999900407-u) Credit Ernst Maag
Library and Archives Canada

In order to stay together as a family unit, roughly 4,000²⁷ families accepted back-breaking, labour on sugar beet farms in the Canadian provinces of Alberta and Manitoba,²⁸ many were housed in uninsulated chicken coops and granaries.²⁹

Perhaps, most tragically, a year after the war in 1946, nearly 4,000³⁰ of the community - including the sick, elderly and patients in the Essondale [Psychiatric] Hospital- were deported to

²⁷ 3,991 Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, p. 415.

²⁸ Canadian-born Japanese were also sent to sugar beet farms in Ontario.

²⁹ 1,161 Canadian Japanese with financial resources moved themselves at their own expense to self-supporting camps in East Lillooet, Bridge River, Minto City, Christina Lake and McGillivray Falls. Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, p. 415; Ann Gomer Sunahara, [The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War](#), p.56, accessed 14 January 2020 or *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during Second World War* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1981) p.65.

³⁰ Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, p. 318.

the defeated and starving of Japan.³¹ Over 66% of the deportees were Canadians by birth or naturalization.³²

Canadian Japanese women awaiting deportation to Japan at Slocan City, British Columbia, in 1946.



MIKAN [3191856](#) (Ecopy# c047398) Credit Tak Toyota
Library and Archives Canada

This number represented nearly 1/5 of the entire Canadian Japanese population. Over half of the deportees³³ were born in Canada and of these, 33% were dependent children under the age of sixteen.³⁴

³¹ For a more in depth look at the deportations, including first hand accounts of surviving deportees and the perspective of Canadian Government bureaucrats, see the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: “[Throwaway Citizens: The Deportations of Canadian Japanese](#)”, (accessed 17 January), *The Fifth Estate*, 1995. Host: Linden MacIntyre, Producer/Director: Margaret Slaght and Programme Consultant: R.L. Gabrielle Nishiguchi.

³² R.L. Gabrielle Nishiguchi, “Reducing the Numbers: The Transportation of the Canadian Japanese [1941-1947]”, Master of Arts Thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, 1993, “Abstract”.

³³ The names of the deportees can be found in a Department of Labour ledger newly digitized by Library and Archives Canada. [MIKAN 5033085](#), accessed 20 January 2020. For the story of the ledger and Dr. Henry Shibata (a 16-year-old Canadian-born deportee), see R.L. Gabrielle Nishiguchi, Library and Archives Canada Discover Blog, “

Canadian Japanese children awaiting deportation to Japan at Slocan City, British Columbia, in 1946. Children born in Canada were being deported to Japan- a country they had never seen.



MIKAN [3379268](#) (Ecopy# c047066-v6) Credit: Tak Toyota
Library and Archives Canada

Those community members remaining in Canada were not permitted to return to the west coast of Canada until 1 April 1949 – four years after the end of the war.

Despite the fact that 75% of their number were Canadian, the Government viewed and treated the entire community as enemy aliens, not as citizens.³⁵

It should be noted that some 800 German Canadians were interned at the outbreak of war as possible security risks. Most were released by 1943. This accounted for about .2%³⁶ of the German

[A deportation ledger and the story of a Japanese Canadian deportee](#)”/ “[Un registre dedeportation et l’histoire d’un déporté Canadien japonais](#)”, 17 September 2018, accessed 17 January 2020.

³⁴Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, p. 318. For the deportation story of a Canadian-born child of Japanese ancestry, see R.L. Gabrielle Nishiguchi, “Nobody We Knew: Sachiko’s Story”, in *The Land Newly Found: Eyewitness Accounts of the Canadian Immigrant Experience*, eds., Norman Hillmer and J.L. Granatstein (Toronto: Thomas Allen Publications, 2006) pp. 221-227; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *Canada: A People’s History*, Episode 15: “Comfort and Fear”, Part 1, [The Story of Sachiko Ohata] 9:26-11:49, Producer/Director: Susan Teskey, Programme Consultant: R.L. Gabrielle Nishiguchi, October 2000- November 2001.

³⁵ Before the *Citizenship Act*, which came into force on 1 January 1947, all Canadians were actually British Subjects. Julius H. Grey and John Gill, “[Canadian Citizenship](#)”, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 13 March 2019, accessed 30 September 2019.

³⁶ Approximately 800 Canadian Germans were interned out of a total of 464,682 persons of German origin in 1939. Statistics from K.M. McLaughlin, *The Germans in Canada*, (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985) p. 15-16; Some 600 Canadian Italians were interned out of a total of 112, 625 Canadian Italians or approximately .5%.

Canadian community. In contrast, the federal government interned 90%³⁷ of the Canadian Japanese living in B.C.

Building the Case for Redress

In 1981, Canadian historian and lawyer Ann Gomer Sunahara³⁸ used archival documents from the 1940s preserved by the (then) Public Archives of Canada to reveal that systemic and personal racism -and not military necessity- had driven government decision-making. These records had previously been closed for 30 years.

The National Association of Japanese Canadians recognized the critical importance of having access to these records, which provided irrefutable evidence of rights violations and federal government wrongdoing. And so, document by document the Association built its case for Redress.³⁹

On December 4, 1984, *The New Canadian*, a Canadian Japanese newspaper, reported that researchers from the National Association of Japanese Canadians had “spent months digging through government archives” to produce a report entitled *Democracy Betrayed*, which stated: “The government claimed that the denial of the civil [liberties] and human rights [of Canadian Japanese] was necessary because of security. [G]overnment documents show this claim to be completely false”.⁴⁰

To strengthen negotiations with the Canadian Government, the National Association of Japanese Canadians needed a credible, verifiable estimate of the economic losses suffered by the commu-

Patricia E. Roy, "[Internment in Canada](#)", *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 27 August 2013, accessed 26 August 2019; Bruno Ramirez, *The Italians in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989) p. 8.

³⁷ James H. Marsh, "[Japanese Canadian Internment: Prisoners in their own Country](#)", *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 23 February 2012, accessed 30 September 2019.

³⁸ Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism* (book publication and web publication), pp 1-4. This book was the first history about the Canadian Japanese community during the Second World War to make use of newly declassified Government of Canada documents. In 1981, Sunahara had access to these records covering the 1940s because of the (then) 30-year rule, which provided the public access to all records more than thirty years old with the exception of those declared exempt. This policy was embodied in Cabinet Directive No. 46 (CD 46) which was approved in June 1973 and was in effect until the promulgation of the [Access to Information Act](#) (R.S.C., 1985, c. A-1) on 1 July 1983. Robert Hayward, "[Federal Access and Privacy Legislation and the Public Archives of Canada](#)", *Archivaria* 18 (Summer 1984) p. 50, accessed 14 January 2020.

³⁹ Library and Archives Canada preserves a document entitled “The Case for Japanese Canadian Redress” which was compiled by researchers of the National Association of Japanese Canadians. Of its 113 legal-sized pages, fully half are copies of archival records. Library and Archives Canada, R 15494, Volume 11, File 4025-8, Vol. 1, "NAJC Legislative Committee on Bill C-77, 1 March 1988-15 March 1988".

⁴⁰ National Association of Japanese Canadians (Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1984), *Democracy Betrayed: The Case for Redress, A Submission to the Government of Canada on the violation of rights and freedoms of Japanese Canadians during and after World War II*, Summary”.

nity. To calculate the losses, the Association turned to the records of the Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property⁴¹ preserved by the (then) Public Archives of Canada.

In 1942, all Canadian Japanese over the age of fifteen⁴² were forced to declare their financial assets to a representative from the federal Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property.

Under the supervision of the accounting firm Price Waterhouse, a team of Ottawa researchers⁴³, drawn primarily from the community, worked to statistically sample 15,630⁴⁴ surviving Custodian financial case files.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See Library and Archives Canada, Japanese Canadians: Research Material, [Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property](#), Vancouver Office: Case Files and Index, 1942-1951 (RG 117, Series c-3, MIKAN 135185, accessed 10 January 2020 /Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, [Bureau du sequestre des biens ennemis](#), Bureau de Vancouver: dossiers et index, 1942-1951 (RG 117, série C-3, MIKAN 135185, accessed 10 January 2020.

⁴² Judith Roberts-Moore, “[Studies in Documents: The Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property: An Overview of the Office and its Records](#)”, *Archivaria* 22 (Summer 1986), p.101, accessed 28 August 2019.

⁴³ For more detail about the heroics of researchers Molly and Akira Watanabe and other community researchers, see R. L. Gabrielle Nishiguchi, Library and Archives Canada Discover Blog, “[How archives can protect human rights.](#)”/”[Les archives au service de droit de la personne](#)”, 2 October 2018, accessed 10 January 2020.

⁴⁴ National Association of Japanese Canadians, *Economic Losses of Japanese Canadians After 1941* (Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada: National Association of Japanese Canadians, 1986) p. 22.

⁴⁵ Access to the Custodian records was made available to the Price Waterhouse Research Team through Section 8(2)j of the [Privacy Act, RSC 1985 cP-21](#), accessed 14 January 2020. Under the *Act*, these kinds of personal records would normally have been closed requiring the individual’s consent for each file. But the *Act* sets out specific circumstances in which government institutions may disclose personal information. The relevant exemption for the Custodian case files was Section 8(2)j: “for statistical and research purposes.” (continued on page 10)

According to the *Act* an exemption is granted:

“8 (2)jto any person or body for research or statistical purposes if the head of the government institution

(i) is satisfied that the purpose for which the information is disclosed cannot reasonably be accomplished unless the information is provided in a form that would identify the individual to whom it relates, and

(ii) obtains from the person or body a written undertaking that no subsequent disclosure of the information will be made in a form that could reasonably be expected to identify the individual to whom it relates”.

Canadian Japanese filling out “JP” forms for representatives of the Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property at Hastings Park, which was the “holding station” for the internees in Vancouver, British Columbia, July 15 1942. Credit and record details.⁴⁶



C44958 Credit: [Library and Archives Canada]

The Custodian case files were meticulously detailed. If I may be allowed a personal recollection, while working on the Price Waterhouse study, a crystal clear memory is seeing the Custodian file of an elderly man. He had died in one of the internment camps and among his possessions a bureaucrat had recorded: "undershirt - used".

On May 8, 1986, the study was released to the public. Price Waterhouse estimated community losses at \$443 million⁴⁷ (in 1986 Canadian dollars).⁴⁸

This figure gave form and legitimacy to the personal losses of the survivors. Moreover, it fixed the enormity of the community's losses in the minds of Canadians.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ [Library and Archives Canada] as attributed in Judith Roberts-Moore's, "[Studies in Documents: The Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property: An Overview of the Office and its Records](#)", *Archivaria* 22 (Summer 1986) p. 103, accessed 28 August 2019.

⁴⁷ \$443, 139,000. The National Association of Japanese Canadians, *Economic Losses of Japanese Canadians*, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Approximately 300 million Euros (2019).

It should also be mentioned that the Canadian Japanese Redress model has been utilized by other Canadian communities and individuals⁵⁰ seeking accountability for past rights violations by the Federal Government.

For example, in 2006, the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement⁵¹ set aside \$1.9 billion dollars (Cdn)⁵² for some 80,000 Indigenous survivors, who as children, suffered horrific physical and psychological abuse at government-sponsored boarding schools. Archival documents⁵³ in the Collection of Library and Archives Canada provided evidence for the validation of these claims.

⁴⁹The Custodian records were used again by the federal Japanese Canadian Redress Secretariat --the federal entity established in 1988 to oversee the distribution of Redress payments-- to assist in confirming the eligibility of survivors. Judith Roberts-Moore, "[Establishing Recognition of Past Injustices: Uses of Archival Records in documenting the Experience of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War](#)", *Archivaria* 53 (Spring 2002), p. 72, accessed 14 January 2020.

⁵⁰ The Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement opened the door for a wave of community and individual redress and reconciliation: e.g., Maher Arar (2007); Canadian Ukrainians (2008); Canadian South Asians -Komogata Maru incident in 1914 (2016); Abdullah Almalki, Ahmad El Maati and Muayyed Nureddin, LGBTQ2 [Note in Canada LGBTQ; Internationally: LGBTI]; Omar Kadr, Newfoundland and Labrador residential schools (2017).

⁵¹ See the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada](#), / [Commission de vérité et réconciliation du Canada](#), accessed 10 January 2020, for more information about the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. See also, the Government of Canada web page: [Indian Residential Schools / Pensionnats indiens](#), accessed on 10 January 2020.

⁵² Approximately 1.3 billion Euros (2019). Tabitha Marshall, "[Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement](#)", *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 11 July 2013, accessed 10 January 2020.

⁵³ See footnote number 71 (p.16) regarding the kinds of records that provided evidence for Indigenous survivors.

Indigenous children at the Fort Resolution Indian Residential School in the Northwest Territories, Canada. Credit and record details.⁵⁴



Credit: [Library and Archives Canada]

Another example involved the Canadian Chinese community.

Between 1885 and 1923⁵⁵, approximately 82,000 Chinese immigrants paid nearly \$23 million dollars (Cdn)⁵⁶ in the form of a discriminatory tax in order to be permitted to immigrate to Canada. Citizen activists used C. I. 5 certificates,⁵⁷ a few of which are preserved in Library and Ar-

⁵⁴ [Library and Archives Canada] as attributed in “The Healing has Begun: An Operational Update from the Aboriginal Healing Foundation”, May 2002, p. 20.

⁵⁵ Arlene Chan, "[Chinese Head Tax in Canada](#)", *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 8 September 2016, accessed 30 September 2019.

⁵⁶ Approximately 16 million Euros (2019).

⁵⁷ C.I. stands for Chinese Immigration. C.I. 5 certificates were colloquially known as “Head Tax” certificates. They contained a photograph of the Chinese immigrant and the dollar amount of the tax, which was required to be paid for the bearer to be permitted to immigrate to Canada. For details about the “C.I.” certificate series and the Canadian

chives Canada's holdings, to legitimize their successful claims for financial redress. In 2009, a symbolic payment of \$20,000 (Cdn)⁵⁸ was paid to about 800 Canadian Chinese.⁵⁹

The Canadian "Head Tax" Immigration Certificate⁶⁰ of 11-year-old Jun Bok Gun dated January 3, 1901. The tax payment on his behalf for entry into Canada was \$500 (Cdn).⁶¹ As an example of the enormity of this sum of money, five hundred dollars (Cdn) in 1914 would be worth \$15,296.07 (Cdn)⁶² in 2019. Credit and record details⁶³



RG76, Vol. 712, File /Dossier C.I. 5,28,3036 Credit: Library and Archives Canada

Chinese community history, see also Library and Archives Canada, Immigration history: Ethno-Cultural Groups: [Chinese](#) / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Histoire de l'immigration: Groupes ethniques et culturels: [Chinois](#), accessed 17 January 2020.

⁵⁸ Approximately 13,000 Euros (2019).

⁵⁹ On 22 June 2006, survivors and their families received an official apology from the Canadian government. In 2009, a symbolic redress payment of \$20,000 (Cdn) was paid to 785 Canadian Chinese. Arlene Chan, "Chinese Head Tax in Canada". See footnote 55.

⁶⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RG76, Vol. 712, File /Dossier C.I. 5,28,3036.

⁶¹ Approximately 340 Euros (2019).

⁶² Approximately 10,500 Euros (2019). Figure is from the [Bank of Canada Inflation Calculator](#) / [Feuille de calcul del'inflation](#) based on Statistics Canada data, accessed 10 January 2020.

⁶³ Library and Archives Canada, RG76, Vol. 712, File /Dossier C.I. 5,28,3036.

The Acknowledgement document and the Terms are two separate parts of the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement. The Acknowledgement document was signed by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. A copy was included in the correspondence sent to eligible surviving members of the Canadian Japanese community accompanying each Redress payment. Credit and record details⁶⁴



Credit: Canadian Race Relations Foundation

⁶⁴ [Canadian Race Relations Foundation /Fondation canadienne des relations raciale](#), accessed 17 January 2020. “The Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF) is Canada’s leading agency dedicated to the elimination of racism and all forms of racial discrimination.... Under the terms of the 1988 Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement, the federal government also promised to create a Canadian Race Relations Foundation, which would ‘foster racial harmony and cross-cultural understanding and help to eliminate racism.’” The federal government “proclaimed the [Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act](#) (S.C. 1991, c.8) into law on 28 October 1996. The foundation officially opened its doors in November 1997.” From the CRRF website.

And one final note about the Acknowledgement as a physical document.

It is crucial to understand that the words of the Acknowledgement, which I quoted in the opening of my presentation, were painstakingly negotiated. Each rights violation has been carefully enumerated.

These words embodied in an archival record are a bulwark against revisionism. Their power derives from being the official words of the Government of Canada executed in ink and imprinted on an archival record, which the state will preserve in perpetuity. In other words, this truth cannot be unheard.

French historian Arlette Farge has written eloquently about the palpability of the past experienced through an archival record. She writes: “The archive’s allure, nonetheless, lives on.... It comes from the conviction that the preservation of the... records has created the space of captured speech.”⁶⁵

I find it moving that some in the community have chosen to hang a framed copy of the Acknowledgement in their homes. These framed documents resonate with Farge’s “space of captured speech”.

Through an archival record, the words of the Acknowledgement speak of restitution, but more significantly of restoration. They enter into a person’s private, physical and psychological space.

This is the power of the archival record.

The Legacy of Redress

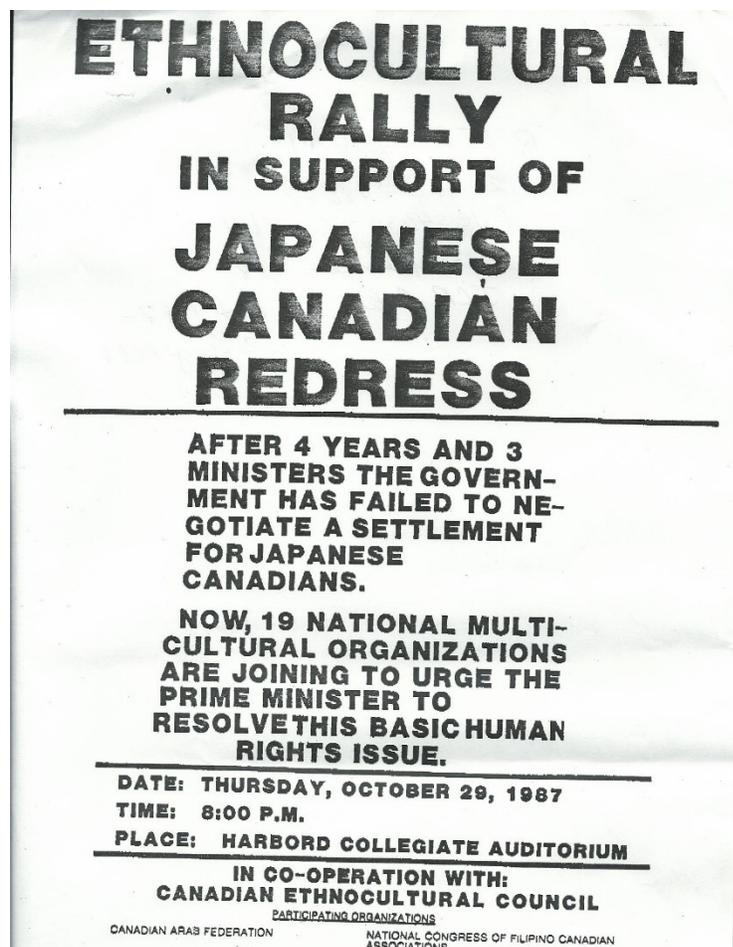
Within the holdings of Library and Archives Canada, archival memoranda, correspondence, Cabinet documents, proceedings, reports, etc. of the 1940s tell the story of how the State exercised political control over the Canadian Japanese community (i.e., the Government’s “official policy line”).

In addition to the records of accountability from the 1940s, Library and Archives Canada preserves archival records of the 1980s that document the fight for Redress and a new, minority narrative. A Memorandum to Cabinet -now declassified- dated June 2, 1986, reveals a lengthy and impressive list of 40 groups who publicly supported the National Association of Japanese Canadians and the campaign for Redress. These included the Mennonite Central Committee of Canada, the United Church of Canada, the Canadian-Arab Federation, the United Steel Workers of America and the League of Canadian Poets.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Arlette Farge, *The Allure of Archives*, trans. Thomas Scott Railton (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013) p. 54.

⁶⁶ Library and Archives Canada, R15494 Vol.11 File 40-30-2 Vol. 2 “JCR Policy Memo to Cabinet 5 February 1986-5 June 1986”.

A poster advertising a rally supporting Canadian Japanese Redress. Nineteen national, multicultural organizations gathered in solidarity with the Canadian Japanese community on October 28, 1987 at the Harbord Collegiate Auditorium in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Credit and record details⁶⁷



R15494 Vol. 14 File/Dossier 4030-8, Library and Archives Canada

In such records, we can see how engaged, sustained citizen-state interaction impelled the Federal Government to create space, absorb and mainstream a new alternate, minority account of the events of the 1940s. This new narrative has, as I have discussed, strengthened and supported the redress causes of other individuals and communities in Canada.

Part of the archival Legacy of Redress underscores facts that may seem remarkable to Canadians when told, but which generally go unrecognized and unheralded by them. It was the archivists

⁶⁷ Library and Archives Canada, R15494 Vol. 14 File/Dossier 4030-8 “Pre-September 1988 JCR Policy 4 October 1987-12 August 1988”.

employed by the State that had committed the rights violations, who made these records of the 1940s accessible to community activists. State transparency and integrity are *sine qua non* for democratic governance.⁶⁸ Moreover, it was the (then) Public Archives of Canada, which furnished the reprographic services that allowed the National Association of Japanese Canadians to use copies of archival documents as part of their negotiations with the Government.

Furthermore, the declassification of previously closed records by the Archives, as has been discussed, was paramount for building the case for Redress and highlights the value of access to information legislation.

Hans Booms, was also a long-standing champion for citizen access to government records. He understood the intrinsic value of the 30-year access rule or more generally in providing citizen access to government records within a reasonable time frame. He recognized that fundamental to democratic governance is the ability of citizens to hold a government accountable within their own lifetime and the lifetime of some of the key officials who were responsible for the public policies that had impacted citizens. Canadian Japanese Redress allowed the community to begin to heal precisely because it happened during the lifetime of the survivors.

One of the highest societal priorities is the defence of human rights. Part of the Legacy of Redress stresses the exigency for archivists to identify such records. While access to archival records is essential to safeguarding these rights, so is the critical need to identify and preserve them.

⁶⁸ Cracks in the transparency of a State Archives can easily appear in the face of political pressure or in the anticipation of pressure. On 17 January 2020, The Washington Post newspaper reported that the National Archives of the United States altered a photograph in its collection for the exhibit “Rightfully Hers: American Women and the Vote.” In the original photograph of the January 2017 Women’s March taken by Getty photographer Mario Tamo, the “street is packed with marchers carrying a variety of signs, with the Capitol in the background. In the Archives version at least four of those signs were altered.” As an example, “God hates Trump” was edited to “God hates.” According to the reporting, National Archivist, David S. Ferriero, supported the edit. “As a non-partisan, non-political federal agency, we blurred references to the President’s name on some posters, so as not to engage in current political controversy, Archives spokeswoman Miriam Kleiman said... Our mission is to safeguard the nation’s most important federal records, and our exhibits are one way in which we connect the American people to those records. Modifying the image was an attempt on our part to keep the focus on the records.” Karin Wulf, a history professor at the College of William & Mary and executive director of the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, said “If you don’t have transparency and integrity in government documents, democracy doesn’t function.” Joe Heim, “[National Archives exhibit blurs images critical of President Trump](#)”, The Washington Post, 17 January 2020, accessed 17 January 2020. The National Archives walked back their defence of the edit in a statement: “We made a mistake... This photo is not an archival record held by the National Archives, but one we licensed to use as a promotional graphic. Nonetheless we were wrong to alter the image.” See David S. Ferriero, “[Accepting Responsibility Working to Rebuild Your Trust](#)”, The blog of the Archivist of the United States (AOTUS), 22 January 2020. The response of the Archivist of the United States to the altering of an exhibit photograph of the 2017 Women’s March in Washington, D.C. , accessed 24 January 2020. For the complete statement and the response from The Society of American Archivists (SAA), see [SAA Statement: National Archives and Records Administration \(NARA\) Exhibit on 2017 Women’s March in Washington, D.C.](#), 19 January 2020, accessed 21 January 2020. (The SAA is the oldest and largest national professional association of archivists in North America.)

In 2016, the Human Rights Working Group of the International Council on Archives circulated an important document entitled *The Basic Principles on the Role of Archivists and Records Managers in Support of Human Rights*. In it, is the compelling principle:

“[Principle] 4. Archivists ... should consider in *each* appraisal decision [emphasis added] the utility of that body of archives to support or identify a claim of human rights.... to permit the identification of persons who held positions that might have involved them in human rights violations, to clarify the events that led to the violation of human rights... or to enable individuals to seek compensation for past violations of human rights...”⁶⁹

In other words, as part of the appraisal process -whatever methodology is utilized -government archivists are called not only to identify, but also to identify *proactively* in each appraisal decision, records that could form part of future citizen actions against the State.

While a macro-appraisal analysis eschews attempting to predict the future needs of researchers, records that support human rights are part of a special document category which is of an exponential order of magnitude above general research. They are directly tied to what Terry Cook described as a “hot spot”⁷⁰ of governance, reflecting the critical interaction between the citizen and the state. This “societal paradigm” of Hand Booms is the hallmark of macro-appraisal.⁷¹

Lastly, in 2000, in an interview, former National Archivist, Ian E. Wilson, described the meaning of archives: “Archives enable one generation to talk to another”.⁷²

⁶⁹ International Council on Archives, *Principles on the Role of Archivists and Records Managers in Support of Human Rights: A Working Document of the International Council on Archives*, September 2016, p. 5, accessed 17 May 2019; *Principes de base relatifs au rôle des archivistes et des gestionnaires de documents pour la défense des Droits de l'Homme*, p.6, consulté sur 7 mai 2019. (This document has also been translated into [Spanish](#), [Portuguese](#), [Japanese](#), [Serbian](#), [Chinese and Korean](#), accessed 14 January 2020).

⁷⁰ A “hot spot of governance”: Terry Cook, “[Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives](#)”, *Archivaria* 51 (Spring 2001) pp. 30-31, accessed 9 May 2019.

⁷¹ A brief aside about the kind of records with human rights implications. A significant record type to which government archivists need to be sensitive are lists of names related to state interactions with minorities. As discussed, Indigenous persons and their representatives used Library and Archives Canada records to furnish proof of eligibility for compensation payments. Regarding the type and level of records which were invaluable to this process, Library and Archives Canada archivist Jason Bennett has written: “Without the preservation of records that, in nearly every other context, would have been destroyed –class lists identifying students, [lists of] admittance and discharge of students from residences – the capacity of former students to hold the government to account would have been compromised”, Library and Archives Canada File 6240-50/J1-2017/013 Appraisal Report for Records Disposition Authorization 2017/013, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, p. 4. Lists of names associated with vulnerable minorities may exist in lower level records not normally acquired by national archives.

⁷² Ian E. Wilson Interview, “Travel in the Fourth Dimension with Ian E. Wilson, National Archivist”, *The Archivist*, Number 19, 10 April 2000. See footnote number 2 (p.1) for a brief biography of Dr. Wilson.

This generational communication between citizens --whether inspirational or cautionary-- takes place through archival records. And in the case of the Canadian Japanese, what is being communicated is monitory.

Perhaps the most powerful legacy of Canadian Japanese Redress is that it warns us how racism can corrode and corrupt the core values of a government and its citizens. It warns us how this can happen even in a democratic country like Canada whose soldiers during the Second World War were giving their lives for tolerance and equality. While Canada is not proud of its treatment of the Canadian Japanese, the 1988 Redress Agreement represents a mature and democratic country's response to such wrongdoing. It also helped a rejected community to become whole again.

As Archbishop Desmond Tutu told the 2003 International Conference of the Round Table on Archives (CITRA) about apartheid: "We are ashamed of that part of our history, but it is our history nonetheless. And it stands recorded in our National Archives to remind us of the awfulness we survived and of which we were capable. No one can say ... [we] never knew..."⁷³

May I end on a personal note? On both sides of the Atlantic, at this very moment, records of accountability are being created that are documenting undemocratic state policies and practices -- policies and practices that are undermining human rights and causing harm to both citizen and non-citizen.⁷⁴ With Canadian Japanese Redress in mind, what will our future appraisal decisions reflect? Will we proactively identify records of accountability in order to protect the rights of the vulnerable among us?

As we move from generation to generation, and sometimes risk forgetting, we as archivists have a professional responsibility to ensure the survival of records in support of human rights. If we have the courage to face our past, it is up to archivists to proactively identify these special records and make them accessible to the citizenry of the State.

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⁷³ From "Archives and Human Rights", a speech given by Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the XXXVth Round Table of the International Council on Archives (CITRA), Cape Town, South Africa, 20-26 October 2003.

⁷⁴ For example: The American Civil Liberties Union estimates that at the United States southern border with Mexico, more than 2,000 migrant children were separated from their parents --this, even before the official start of the Donald J. Trump Administration's "Zero Tolerance" policy. This federal policy of separating children from their parents was put into place to deter migrants from making their way to the US southern border.

Two thousand does not include the thousands already separated since "Zero Tolerance" began in April 2018. Jasmine Aguilar, *Time Magazine*, 21 September 2018, "[Here's What to Know About the Status of Family Separation at the US Border, Which Isn't Nearly Over](#)", accessed 11 September 2019.

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