Book Review, Art Miki, *Gaman – Preseverance: Japanese Canaidians' Journey to Justice* (Talonbooks, Vancouver, 2023)

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I. Introduction

In 2023, Art Miki published his memoir tilted, *Gaman - Perseverance: Japanese Canadians' Journey to Justice*, chronicling his family's history and the broader struggles of Japanese Canadians facing systemic discrimination and wartime internment during World War II. The memoir details Miki's early life in British Columbia, including a severe childhood accident and his family's forced relocation to a sugar beet farm in Manitoba. The memoir highlights his instrumental leadership as president of the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) in negotiating the historic 1988 Redress Settlement. Through personal reflection and historical documentation, Miki illustrates how endurance, community mobilization, and a steadfast belief in justice ultimately transformed a marginalized minority's plight into a recognized national milestone.

In his interview with John Greenaway, editor of the Bulletin (December 2023), Art explained why he wrote Gaman:

- Guilt Over an Unfinished Task: Art initially began drafting the manuscript around 1994 shortly after the redress settlement was achieved but set it aside because several books on the topic were already being published. Over the decades, he periodically pulled out the manuscript to add details before putting it away again. Around 2018, while reflecting on his life goals, he felt a nagging reminder and guilt about leaving the project incomplete, resolving to finish it "if it's the last thing I do".

- Expanding to a Personal Memoir: While his early draft focused primarily on documenting the redress campaign, Art realized he wanted to shift the focus to a broader memoir. He wished to pair the historical and legal account of the movement with his personal experiences—growing up on Manitoba sugar-beet farms, his 32-year career as an educator, his run in federal politics, and his decade as a Canadian Citizenship Judge.

- Passing Down Lessons to Future Generations: Art wanted to leave an archival record for younger Japanese Canadians (*Nikkei*) and broader Canadian society. He sought to demonstrate how a small minority community—making up less than half a percent of the population—could organize, build cross-cultural coalitions, and hold the federal government accountable to human rights principles.

II. Autobiography

The memoir also gives us an autobiography of Art and his family. Combining togther informaton from the book, we get the following autobiography.

Here is a comprehensive summary of Art Miki's family history and autobiography, compiled directly from his memoir *Gaman: Perseverance* in paragraphs:

1. Ancestral Roots and Grandparents' Arrival

Art Miki's ancestry was shaped by the first generation of Japanese immigrants (*Issei*) who departed Fukuoka Prefecture in southwest Japan to establish new lives in Canada. His maternal grandfather, Tokusaburo Ooto, and grandmother, Yoshi Ooto, left Yokohama in May 1903 and landed in Victoria, British Columbia. After initially working in mines and sawmills, Tokusaburo moved to northern British Columbia, where he worked at Cunningham Sawmills and secured an agreement with the Skeena River Commercial Co. Cannery to serve as an employment broker supplying Japanese workers to fish canneries in Port Essington. Seeking suitable educational opportunities for their children, the Ooto family moved south in 1918 to establish a fourteen-acre berry-and-fruit farm in Port Haney, BC. Meanwhile, Art's paternal grandfather, Yukutaro Shintani, arrived in Vancouver in 1892 as a sawmill worker at Hastings Mill. Following the death of his first wife and daughter, Yukutaro returned to Japan and entered an arranged marriage with Kiyo Miki, adopting her surname because her family lacked male heirs. To fund their return to Canada, the couple worked on a sugarcane plantation in Hawai'i in 1899 before settling in a logging camp in Tynehead, BC, in 1900. Yukutaro worked as a Fraser River fisherman until his death in 1922, leaving Kiyo—a feisty, independent woman who lived to age ninety-three—to raise seven children by running a rooming house.

2. Early Childhood, Logging Camp Accident, and Forced Relocation

Art (Arthur Kazumi) Miki was born in Haney on September 1, 1936, to Kazuo Miki—born in Tynehead in 1907—and Shizuko (Ooto) Miki, who was born in Port Essington. Named Arthur after a minister, his middle name Kazumi translates to "harmony". In 1938, the family moved to a logging camp north of Mission, BC, where Kazuo worked as a logging truck driver. In May 1940, four-year-old Art suffered a severe facial accident when a log rolled off a truck flatbed, tearing open his left cheek and requiring thirty stitches at Mission Hospital, which left a permanent scar. Following the outbreak of World War II and the Canadian government's 1942 removal orders targeting Japanese Canadians along the Pacific Coast, Art's mother, Shizuko, steadfastly refused government directives to enter an isolated BC internment camp. To keep the family together with her parents, the Mikis accepted relocation to Manitoba sugar-beet farms.

3. Hardships on Manitoba Farms and Resettlement in Winnipeg

Arriving in Winnipeg on May 22, 1942, the extended family endured a selection process at Immigration Hall described as resembling a slave market. They were transported to Les Lemoine's farm near Ste. Agathe, Manitoba, where eleven family members shared an uninsulated four-room shack lacking electricity and running water. While the adult family members toiled long hours in the fields for twenty-five cents an hour, pregnant Shizuko cooked for the household and obtained special police permits to travel alone to Winnipeg, where Art's younger brother, Roy, was born in October 1942. Six-year-old Art attended Ste. Agathe School, a Catholic institution where instruction was given in French by nuns, causing initial language trauma for a child who spoke Japanese and English at home. In late 1943, Kazuo secured permission to work as a machinist at Monarch Machinery in Winnipeg, enabling the family to move to North Kildonan in 1944. Shizuko worked at Dominion Tanners, and after Grandfather Ooto passed away in 1948 at age seventy-six, the family purchased a home at 631 Alexander Avenue in inner-city Winnipeg. Art completed his schooling at Victoria-Albert School, Hugh John Macdonald Junior High, and Daniel McIntyre Collegiate.

4. Educational Career and School Leadership

After working as a clerk at the Board of Grain Commissioners, Art was encouraged by his supervisor to pursue higher education. He initially entered engineering at the University of Manitoba in 1959 before enrolling at Manitoba Teachers' College in 1961. His first teaching assignment in 1962 was at a two-room school on the Cross Lake Indian Reservation in Northern Manitoba. Returning to Winnipeg, he taught at Sargent Park School and Luxton School, utilizing his judo background to build positive rapport with challenging students. In December 1963, he married registered nurse Keiko Nishikihama, who had been interned as an infant in the BC Interior. Supported by Keiko, Art earned a Bachelor of Science from the University of Winnipeg in 1968, followed by a Bachelor of Education (1969) and a Master of Education in mathematics curriculum (1975) from the University of Manitoba. Joining the Transcona-Springfield School Division in 1968, Art taught gifted students in the Major Work program, served as President of the Transcona-Springfield Teachers' Association, and became Vice-Principal at Central School (1970) and Wayoata Elementary (1972). In 1974, he was appointed founding Principal of Harold Hatcher School, introducing an innovative, non-graded team-teaching structure and multicultural programs such as a mini-Folklorama. He later opened Joseph Teres School in 1984, implementing playground conflict-manager programs.

5. Leadership of the NAJC and the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement

Art was deeply involved in community organizations, serving three terms as President of the Manitoba Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association (MJCCA). In 1984, he was elected President of the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC), establishing its national headquarters in his Winnipeg home. On November 20, 1984, Art personally delivered the brief *Democracy Betrayed: The Case for Redress* to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, proving that wartime internment was driven by political racism rather than military necessity. Over four years of intense negotiations across successive Ministers of Multiculturalism, Art steadfastly rejected symbolic government foundation offers ($6M to $12M), insisting on an official parliamentary apology and individual monetary compensation backed by the 1986 Price Waterhouse socio-economic loss study ($443 million). In August 1988, Art led the NAJC strategy team in seventeen hours of secret negotiations in Montreal with Minister Gerry Weiner and Lucien Bouchard. On September 22, 1988, Art signed the historic Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement alongside Prime Minister Mulroney in Ottawa. The $450-million settlement provided $21,000 in tax-free individual compensation to each surviving internee, a $12-million community development fund, $24 million for the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, restoration of revoked citizenship, and expungement of War Measures Act criminal records.

6. Political Candidacy, Public Service, and Legacy

Energized by civil rights advocacy, Art ran as the Liberal candidate in the 1993 federal election for the riding of Winnipeg-Transcona, losing by just 219 votes to incumbent NDP MP Bill Blaikie. In February 1998, Art was appointed a Canadian Citizenship Judge for Manitoba and Saskatchewan, presiding over one thousand ceremonies and swearing in more than forty thousand new Canadians over a decade—a poignant milestone given his family's past denial of voting rights and citizenship. For his lifetime of public service and leadership, Art received the Order of Canada (1991), the Order of Manitoba (2012), the Order of the Rising Sun from Japan (2017), and Honorary Doctorates from the University of Winnipeg and St. John's College. Through his memoir *Gaman*, Art emphasizes that fundamental rights must be actively defended, leaving a lasting legacy of perseverance, reconciliation, and human rights advocacy for future generations.

III. Redress negoation

One of the most imprssive part of this memoir is that the stoiry of the negotiation team showing an extraoridinally degree of perseverance to overcome endless obtacles in their negotiaton with the federal governmnet.

During the Japanese Canadian redress campaign, the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) faced major internal, political, financial, and administrative challenges:

1. Internal Community Divisions and Power Struggles

- **Generational Differences:** The community held conflicting views across generations. Many Issei (first generation) feared public backlash or desired a quick resolution; some Nisei felt assimilated or believed seeking government compensation was futile; while younger, politically active Sansei and leaders insisted on individual compensation for human rights violations.
- **Leadership and Geographic Splits:** A bitter internal power struggle developed between the Toronto-based National Redress Committee (led by George Imai) and the national leadership in Winnipeg and Vancouver (led by Art Miki and Gordon Kadota).
- **Breakaway Groups:** After the NAJC Council dissolved the National Redress Committee for unauthorized talks with Ottawa, dissenting members formed the Japanese Canadian National Redress Association of Survivors. This group publicly opposed the NAJC's demands for individual compensation, supporting instead the government's lump-sum foundation offers and accusing the NAJC of representing mainly younger people asking for exorbitant sums.

2. Severe Resource and Operational Disparities

- **Volunteer Operation vs. Federal Bureaucracy:** Unlike the federal government's paid staff, legal teams, and PR resources, the NAJC operated as a localized, volunteer-run organization on a minimal budget. National headquarters were set up in Art Miki’s Winnipeg home, running out of his basement and dining room with an \$89 printer and an Atari computer.
- **Funding the Economic Losses Study:** When Minister Jack Murta asked the NAJC to quantify community losses, the NAJC approached accounting firm Price Waterhouse for a \$150,000 socio-economic loss study. The federal government refused to fund the study, and initial community fundraising raised only \$40,000 due to widespread skepticism about achieving redress.

3. Government Obstruction, Tactics, and Ministerial Instability

- **"Revolving-Door" Ministers:** Over four years of negotiations, the NAJC had to deal with four different Ministers of Multiculturalism (Jack Murta, Otto Jelinek, David Crombie, and Gerry Weiner). Each change required a new orientation process on Japanese Canadian history, stalling momentum.
- **"Divide and Conquer" Tactics:** Federal officials repeatedly attempted to bypass the NAJC by consulting dissenting community groups (such as Imai’s group) and government advisory bodies (like the Canadian Multicultural Council) to claim the Japanese Canadian community was too divided to negotiate with.

- **Unilateral Offers and Imposed Deadlines:** Ministers repeatedly attempted to force "take-it-or-leave-it" offers—such as symbolic \$5 million, \$6 million, \$10 million, or \$12 million community foundations—while refusing individual compensation. Government officials also attempted to impose arbitrary deadlines and insisted that talks were merely "consultations" rather than true "negotiations".

4. External Opponents, Stereotypes, and Public Backlash

- **Opposition from Veterans' Organizations:** Groups such as the Ontario Command of the Royal Canadian Legion and the Army, Navy and Air Force Veterans in Canada passed formal resolutions opposing financial compensation for Japanese Canadians.
- **Politician Insensitivity:** The NAJC faced cultural ignorance and insensitive comments from politicians. For example, Minister Otto Jelinek opened his first meeting with the NAJC by claiming he understood their plight because he was an immigrant, assuming non-white Canadians were not native-born citizens. Jelinek also repeatedly claimed to the press that "there isn't enough money in Canada to compensate Japanese Canadians".

5. Post-Settlement Implementation Hurdles

- **Restrictive Government Eligibility Rules:** After the September 1988 Redress Agreement was signed, government lawyers inserted narrower eligibility criteria into the Order-in-Council than what had been negotiated.
- **The "Grey-Area" Applicants:** This caused a prolonged stalemate over roughly 800 "grey-area" files, particularly involving children born in Japan between 1945 and 1949 to parents who had been exiled or repatriated. Furthermore, routine destruction of historical External Affairs and Immigration records caused significant delays in verifying eligibility.

IV. Lessons

Art Miki's memoir *Gaman* and his lifetime of advocacy offer several profound lessons and guidance for future generations of Japanese Canadians (*Nikkei*):

1. The Spirit of *Gaman* and "Anything Is Possible"

- **Endure with Patience and Dignity:** Art highlights the core Zen Buddhist concept of *gaman*—the determination to endure seemingly unbearable hardships with patience and dignity, just as the *Issei* and *Nisei* did during World War II.
- **Embrace Challenges and Risk Failure:** Art lived by the philosophy that "anything is possible" when approaching obstacles with a positive outlook. He encourages younger generations to take risks, face difficulties head-on, and treat setbacks or failures not as defeat, but as essential learning tools for growth.

2. Preserve History, Identity, and Family Roots

- **Remember the Past:** Art emphasizes the importance of keeping alive the memory of September 22, 1988 (Redress Day), as well as the history of wartime forced relocation and internment, so that future generations understand the sacrifices and triumphs of their ancestors.

- **Active Historical Preservation:** He encourages younger *Nikkei* (including *Sansei*, *Yonsei*, *Gosei*, and children of mixed marriages) to proactively explore their family roots through dialogue with parents and grandparents, family photographs, oral histories, films, and arts projects.
- **Adaptable and Inclusive Community Spaces:** Given high rates of intermarriage (around 95%) and assimilation, Art stresses that cultural centres and organizations must adapt, becoming open, creative, and welcoming to people of mixed Japanese heritage, new immigrants, and youth.

3. Stand Up Against Injustice and Racism Anywhere

- **Exercise the Right to Speak Out:** A core philosophy adopted during the Redress campaign is that "if a right as a citizen is violated, the citizen has the right to speak out" rather than remaining silent or trying to sweep past traumas aside.
- **Solidarity with Other Marginalized Groups:** Having experienced systemic racism, Japanese Canadians carry a responsibility to be among the first voices raised whenever bigotry or human rights violations rear up against others—such as Indigenous Peoples, Black communities, Asian Canadians facing hate, refugees, or religious minorities.
- **Confront Internal Prejudices:** Art urges the community to remain self-aware and sensitive, actively unlearning unexamined biases or discriminatory attitudes within their own ranks toward other minority groups.

4. Engage in the Political and Decision-Making Process

- **Eliminate the Void in Representation:** To ensure minority perspectives shape national decisions, Art calls on younger generations to actively participate in Canadian politics—whether by volunteering on campaigns, joining political parties, developing policy, or running for public office at all levels.
- **The Power of Democratic Organization:** The success of the Redress movement demonstrates that in a democracy, even small minority groups can organize effectively, form broad coalitions, and successfully hold governments accountable to human rights principles.

5. Foster Reconciliation and Cross-Cultural Coalitions

- **Build Allies Outside the Community:** Major societal change requires looking beyond one's own group to build alliances with churches, labor unions, human rights organizations, and the broader public.
- **Commitment to Reconciliation:** Art stresses the importance of face-to-face dialogue, mutual learning, and ongoing collaboration with Indigenous Peoples, recognizing shared parallels between the internment experience and the residential school system.

V. Short summaris of all chapters

Introduction: Anything Is Possible

The title of the Introduction reflects Art Miki's personal core belief—*"Anything is possible"*—which served as his guiding philosophy through WWII internment, a 32-year career in education, and

national civil rights leadership. He anchors the memoir in the Zen Buddhist concept of ***gaman***, which translates as "to endure the seemingly unbearable with patience and dignity". This belief was embodied by Japanese Canadians who faced systemic humiliation, loss of property, and displacement as "enemy aliens" during World War II.

Art credits his aunt, Kome Nagasaki, with instilling in him an infectious positive outlook despite her own WWII suffering. His personal approach to leadership was framed by his school office motto—*"If you don't make mistakes, you are not learning"*—and the conviction that setbacks are vital learning opportunities. The memoir documents the internal workings of the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) and its negotiation process with the federal government, serving as an archival resource for future generations on minority advocacy in Canada. Art also clarifies essential generational terminology: ***Issei*** (first-generation Japanese immigrants), ***Nisei*** (second-generation born in Canada), ***Sansei*** (third-generation), ***Yonsei*** (fourth-generation), ***Gosei*** (fifth-generation), and ***Nikkei*** (people of Japanese ancestry living abroad).

Chapter 1: Rough Beginnings

Art chronicles his family's ancestral roots in Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan. His maternal grandparents, **Tokusaburo and Yoshi Ooto**, arrived in Victoria in May 1903. After working in sawmills and as cannery employment brokers in Port Essington, they established a 14-acre fruit farm in Port Haney, BC, in 1918. His paternal grandfather, **Yukutaro Shintani**, arrived in 1892, later taking his wife **Kiyo Miki's** surname to preserve her family name. After working on a Hawaiian sugarcane plantation, Yukutaro and Kiyo settled in Tynehead, BC, in 1900. Following Yukutaro's death in 1922, Kiyo raised seven children by running a rooming house.

Art was born in Haney on September 1, 1936, to **Kazuo and Shizuko Miki**. Following the 1942 forced removal orders, Shizuko refused directives to enter an isolated BC internment camp, choosing instead to move the extended family to Manitoba sugar-beet farms to keep them together. Arriving in Winnipeg in May 1942, the family experienced a “slave market” selection at Immigration Hall before being sent to Les Lemoine’s farm in Ste. Agathe. Eleven family members shared an uninsulated four-room shack without running water or electricity, earning a capped wage of 25 cents an hour. Six-year-old Art attended a French Catholic school taught by nuns, suffering initial language trauma. In 1944, the family moved to North Kildonan on Winnipeg’s outskirts, where Kazuo worked as a machinist at Monarch Machinery and Shizuko worked at Dominion Tanners, later becoming a bookkeeper. Grandfather Ooto passed away in North Kildonan in 1948 at age 76.

Chapter 2: Adolescence to Adulthood

Art attributes much of his personal resilience to his mother, Shizuko, an articulate high-school graduate who advocated fearlessly for her children. After graduating from Manitoba Teachers' College in 1962, Art took his first teaching position at the Cross Lake Indian Reservation in Northern Manitoba, teaching grades K–4 in a two-room, wood-heated school accessible only by seaplane. Leaving Cross Lake after four months due to isolation, he returned to Winnipeg to teach grade four at Sargent Park School and grade six at Luxton School, using his judo background to connect with challenging students.

In December 1963, Art married registered nurse **Keiko Nishikihama**, whom he met at a Young Buddhist Association dance. Keiko had been relocated as an infant to the Minto internment camp and later a Middlechurch market farm. With Keiko as the primary provider, Art earned a B.Sc. in mathematics from the University of Winnipeg (1968), a B.Ed. (1969), and an M.Ed. in mathematics curriculum from the University of Manitoba (1975). Joining the Transcona-Springfield School Division in 1968, he taught gifted students in the Major Work program before becoming Vice-Principal at Central School (1970) and Wayoata Elementary (1972). In 1974, he was appointed the founding Principal of **Harold Hatcher School**, where he created a non-graded, team-teaching structure centered on multiculturalism, including a mini-Folklorama festival. He later opened Joseph Teres School in 1984, introducing playground conflict-manager programs. Art also served as President of the Manitoba Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association (MJCCA) and represented Manitoba on the National Japanese Canadian Centennial Society board.

Chapter 3: Redress: A Vision

This chapter details the political awakening of the ***Sansei*** generation during Canada's multiculturalism movement and the 1977 Japanese Canadian Centennial. Grounded in new historical scholarship, young *Sansei* discovered the full extent of wartime dispossession and internment. Art examines earlier failed attempts at compensation, notably the **Bird Commission (1947–1950)** under Justice Henry Bird, which paid approximately eight cents on the dollar for confiscated property and required claimants to sign liability waivers.

In 1976, the National Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association (NJCCA) formed the Japanese Canadian Reparations Committee (later renamed the Redress Committee). In 1980, the organization was renamed the **National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC)** to create a more inclusive national structure. Community opinion was deeply divided: many *Nisei* felt assimilated or believed seeking monetary compensation from Ottawa was futile. Conversely, educated *Sansei* professionals—including lawyers, educators, and academics—insisted that internment was an unconstitutional civil rights violation demanding an official parliamentary apology and individual financial compensation.

Chapter 4: Struggle Within

A severe internal power struggle developed between the Toronto-based National Redress Committee, chaired by **George Imai**, and the national leadership under President Gordon Kadota in Vancouver. At the January 1984 AGM in Winnipeg, Art Miki was elected NAJC President by a narrow margin over Toronto candidate Jack Oki. Art established the NAJC national headquarters in his Winnipeg home, running operations out of his dining room and basement alongside a volunteer President's Committee.

Tensions escalated when Imai favored a quick settlement through a government-offered \$5-million symbolic community foundation without individual compensation. Minister of Multiculturalism David Collenette attempted to bypass the NAJC executive to negotiate directly with Imai's committee. In June 1984, after discovering Imai had organized an unauthorized community delegation to attend a planned government announcement in Ottawa, the NAJC Council officially **dissolved the National**

Redress Committee. Prominent Japanese Canadians—including Joy Kogawa, Ken Adachi, Thomas Shoyama, and David Suzuki—sent a telegram to Collenette affirming Art Miki as the sole national spokesperson. On June 20, 1984, Collenette delivered a non-binding expression of regret in Parliament without NAJC support.

Chapter 5: Optimism

Momentum shifted in May 1984 when Progressive Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney publicly pledged that a Conservative government would compensate interned Japanese Canadians. The NAJC drafted a comprehensive submission, ***Democracy Betrayed: The Case for Redress***, drawing on archival research by Ann Gomer Sunahara (*The Politics of Racism*) to demonstrate that internment was driven by political racism rather than military necessity. On November 20, 1984, Art Miki personally delivered copies of *Democracy Betrayed* to Prime Minister Mulroney in the Parliament rotunda.

Newly appointed Multiculturalism Minister Jack Murta attempted to push a unilateral settlement, claiming community elders did not want individual compensation. Murta adopted "divide and conquer" tactics by meeting with Imai's breakaway group, the Japanese Canadian National Redress Association of Survivors. At a national council meeting in Calgary in February 1985, the NAJC formally resolved that acknowledgment, non-monetary redress, and **individual monetary compensation** constituted an indivisible bargaining package. During a joint appearance on CBC's *The National*, host Barbara Frum challenged Murta over his admission that the government intended only to "consult" rather than "negotiate," undermining his credibility and contributing to his replacement by Otto Jelinek in August 1985.

Chapter 6: Stalemate

The replacement of Multiculturalism Minister Jack Murta with **Otto Jelinek** in late 1985 marked the beginning of a prolonged political deadlock for the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC). Jelinek simultaneously retained his portfolio as Minister of Fitness and Amateur Sport, prioritizing preparations for the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics over redress negotiations. Their initial meeting at Winnipeg International Airport in September 1985 got off to a flawed start when a ministerial aide mistakenly addressed Art Miki as "Mr. Oki," revealing that government officials had already been in private contact with Toronto-based community dissenters.

Throughout his tenure, Jelinek employed aggressive "divide and conquer" tactics to avoid formal bilateral negotiations. He routinely highlighted internal community friction between the NAJC and George Imai’s Japanese Canadian National Redress Association of Survivors to claim that Japanese Canadians were too divided for a negotiated settlement. In November 1985, Jelinek's advisory body, the Canadian Multicultural Council, publicly endorsed the government’s position without consulting the NAJC, drawing sharp criticism from Conservative MP Gus Mitges during parliamentary committee hearings. Jelinek repeatedly made inflammatory statements to the media, asserting that "there isn't enough money in Canada to compensate Japanese Canadians" and falsely claiming that elderly survivors only wanted a symbolic apology.

In January 1986, Jelinek issued an ultimatum giving the NAJC one month to submit a financial figure or be bypassed in favor of other groups. He publicly claimed the NAJC was demanding "billions of dollars," which ironically elevated expectations in the public mind. Despite government opposition, the NAJC commissioned an independent socio-economic loss study by accounting firm Price Waterhouse, funded in part by company president Phil Barter to honor his father's memory.

Released in May 1986, the landmark report ***Economic Losses of Japanese Canadians after 1941*** calculated that Japanese Canadians suffered at least \$443 million in economic losses (\$333 million in lost income and \$110 million in lost property in 1986 dollars). Concurrently, an NAJC national survey proved that an overwhelming majority of affected Japanese Canadians supported individual monetary compensation.

Armed with these findings, the NAJC National Council met in Winnipeg in May 1986 and formally articulated its comprehensive redress proposal: **\$25,000 in individual compensation** per affected survivor, a **\$50 million community fund**, the creation of a Human Rights Foundation, restoration of citizenship, expungement of criminal records, and amendments to the War Measures Act. Jelinek immediately dismissed the Price Waterhouse report and continued threatening unilateral action. However, widespread editorial criticism and commentary by Conservative strategist Dalton Camp—who warned that Jelinek's abrasive demeanor imperiled Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's honor—made an imposed deal politically untenable. On June 30, 1986, Jelinek was removed as minister in a Cabinet shuffle and replaced by David Crombie.

Chapter 7: Allies and Adversaries

The Japanese Canadian community represented less than 0.5 percent of Canada's total population and was geographically dispersed across the country after World War II, leaving it without electoral leverage in any single riding. Recognizing this political reality, Art Miki and the NAJC realized that winning redress required educating the Canadian public and constructing a broad national coalition. Media coverage proved essential, bringing personal accounts of internment to light—such as the story of World War I hero Masumi Mitsui, a Vimy Ridge veteran who threw his military medals down in anger when branded an "enemy alien" in 1941.

The NAJC cultivated strong parliamentary allies across party lines. Opposition multiculturalism critics Ernie Epp (NDP) and Sergio Marchi (Liberal), along with NDP MPs Dan Heap and Margaret Mitchell, consistently advocated for the NAJC in the House of Commons. Heap publicly affirmed the NAJC's sole mandate, countering efforts by Toronto dissenters to undermine its credibility. On the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, Conservative MPs Gus Mitges and Andrew Witer expressed sympathy for redress, though Vice-Chair Bill Lesick attempted to challenge the NAJC's mandate using telegrams from breakaway survivor groups. Art also engaged national television audiences through appearances on *Front Page Challenge*, where panelist Pierre Berton recounted how wartime Coast newspapers had deliberately whipped up anti-Japanese hysteria.

The most formidable public opposition came from veterans' organizations. The Ontario Command of the Royal Canadian Legion passed formal resolutions opposing financial compensation for Japanese Canadians. A major public controversy erupted with Clifford Chadderton, chief executive of the War Amputations of Canada and patron of the Hong Kong Veterans Commemorative

Association. After NAJC Vice-President Roger Obata clarified on television that veterans' claims against Japan were separate from Canadian citizens seeking redress from their own government, Chadderton urged veterans' groups to oppose payments to Japanese Canadians. Additionally, retired Air Commodore Leonard Birchall, a former POW in Japan, resigned from the PC Party to actively campaign against government compensation. In November 1986, the Army, Navy and Air Force Veterans in Canada passed a resolution absolving the government of wartime responsibility. To mitigate these conflicts, NAJC leaders held constructive meetings with Chadderton, solicitor Brian Forbes, and veterans' representative Ben Bianchini, clarifying that Japanese Canadians harbored no opposition to veterans' claims. The NAJC also countered academic opposition from historian J.L. Granatstein, who argued that internment was justified on national security grounds. Throughout the campaign, Miki and NAJC executive members received derogatory hate mail and threats, but maintained their resolve as public understanding and coalition support expanded.

Chapter 8: False Hopes

The appointment of **David Crombie** as Minister of Multiculturalism in June 1986 initially brought renewed optimism to the Japanese Canadian community. As former Mayor of Toronto and Minister of Indian Affairs, Crombie enjoyed a reputation as a compassionate listener and skilled negotiator. In October 1986, Crombie met informally with Art Miki, Roger Obata, and Roy Miki at a Toronto restaurant, promising to personally navigate negotiations and thoroughly read literature on the internment by authors like Ken Adachi, Joy Kogawa, and Muriel Kitagawa.

However, ambiguity quickly resurfaced when Crombie's chief of staff, Ron Doering, clarified in writing that the minister had not recognized the NAJC as the sole negotiator and intended to consult broadly across the community. While Crombie met with individuals like Thomas Shoyama, Ken Adachi, Joy Kogawa, Raymond Moriyama, and dissenter George Imai, the NAJC insisted that formal negotiations could only take place with elected community representatives. In March 1987, NAJC leaders established valuable contacts in Ottawa, meeting with Speaker of the House John Fraser—whose father had opposed internment—and Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski.

On March 27, 1987, Crombie issued a formal letter rejecting individual compensation, proposing only a parliamentary acknowledgment and non-binding legislative promises. On May 9, 1987, Crombie presented a "take-it-or-leave-it" offer of a **\$12 million community foundation**, flippantly explaining that he had simply doubled Jack Murta's earlier \$6 million proposal. Divided among 14,000 surviving victims, the offer amounted to a mere **\$850 per person**. The NAJC Council formally rejected the offer in Vancouver in May 1987, with Miki declaring he would rather walk away from the table than sell out individual rights.

To break the impasse, NAJC chapters launched a national letter-writing campaign, sending deeply personal accounts from elderly internees detailing property losses and emotional trauma directly to Crombie, Prime Minister Mulroney, and MPs. Momentum accelerated on September 17, 1987, when the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Civil Liberties Act granting individual compensation to interned Japanese Americans. During a meeting with the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, an irritated Prime Minister Mulroney repeatedly slammed his reading glasses onto his desk while expressing anger at Miki's insistence on individual compensation. In March 1988, Crombie was replaced by Gerry Weiner, the fourth multiculturalism minister in four years.

Chapter 9: The Last Hope

Following the breakdown of negotiations with David Crombie, the NAJC strategy team shifted to direct public mobilization. On April 14, 1988, the NAJC organized a historic national rally on Parliament Hill, where over 500 internees, supporters, and prominent figures like David Suzuki and Mary Jo Leddy marched. Internees delivered sacks containing 15,000 signed postcards to the Prime Minister's Office asserting that redress was a fundamental Canadian human rights issue. Newly appointed Minister **Gerry Weiner** attended the rally, was moved by the dignity of the elderly victims, and publicly declared that Crombie's \$12 million offer was no longer the government's final position. Substantive progress occurred within the Prime Minister's Office when Vera Holiad was appointed senior advisor to Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski and helped place redress on the Cabinet agenda. On August 24–25, 1988, secret negotiations were convened at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Montreal. The NAJC team—Art Miki, Roy Miki, Roger Obata, Maryka Omatsu, Cassandra Kobayashi, Audrey Kobayashi, and lawyer Don Rosenbloom—met with Weiner, chief of staff Dennison Moore, Rick Clippendale, Anne Scotton, legal advisor Alain Bisson, and Cabinet Minister **Lucien Bouchard**. Bouchard, who possessed the Prime Minister's direct confidence, opened the session by proposing individual recognition.

Over 17 hours of intense negotiations across two days, the teams hammered out a comprehensive agreement. Weiner offered **\$21,000 in tax-free individual compensation** to each surviving internee alongside a **\$12 million community development fund** under full NAJC control. The NAJC accepted the \$21,000 individual figure as a vital symbolic victory exceeding the U.S. \$20,000 amount, reflecting the greater severity of the Canadian experience.

Additionally, the government agreed to pay the outstanding \$110,000 Price Waterhouse study debt, allocate \$3 million for NAJC settlement administration, and involve the NAJC directly in drafting implementation guidelines. On August 26, 1988, NAJC Vice-President Roger Obata and Gerry Weiner signed the tentative agreement under strict secrecy, allowing Mulroney time to secure Cabinet approval. On September 21, 1988, Weiner called Miki to summon the strategy team to Ottawa for the official announcement.

Chapter 10: The Day of Celebration

On **September 22, 1988**, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney delivered a historic address in the House of Commons, formally acknowledging that Canada had wrongfully incarcerated, dispossessed, and disenfranchised Japanese Canadians during World War II. Sitting in the visitors' gallery, emotional Japanese Canadian elders and NAJC leaders witnessed the official acknowledgment they had sought for over four decades.

Following the address, Mulroney and Art Miki gathered in the Centre Block press room to sign the official Redress Agreement. Mulroney turned to the community leaders and remarked: "this is a moment of long coming, of tolerance and for justice for your community and for Canada". The comprehensive **\$450-million settlement package** provided **\$21,000 in individual redress** to each surviving internee, a **\$12-million community development fund**, **\$24 million** (including matching funds) to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, restoration of revoked citizenship, and the expungement of War Measures Act criminal records for curfew violators.

At a joint press conference in the National Press Building, Miki called September 22 "a great day for justice and human rights," telling reporters he felt like jumping up, shouting, and yelling. National media hailed the settlement with headlines such as "Justice Is Finally Done" (*Calgary Herald*) and "A Nation Apologizes" (*Toronto Star*). Over the next seven months, community celebration dinners were held in fourteen cities across Canada, beginning in Montreal on October 8, 1988, helping survivors shed decades of unmerited wartime shame.

In the fall of 1989, Consul General of Japan Yuzuki Kaku hosted Miki and Keiko at his residence in Winnipeg, marking the first time the Japanese government officially acknowledged the redress victory. Reflecting on the achievement, Miki praised Prime Minister Mulroney for his courage in righting past wrongs, emphasizing that the settlement affirmed minority rights and strengthened Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms for all citizens.

Epilogue

In the Epilogue, Art Miki reflects on the enduring lessons of the redress campaign and his lifetime of public advocacy. He re-emphasizes the Japanese concept of ***gaman***—persevering through seemingly unbearable hardships with patience and dignity—as the core spirit that sustained both the wartime pioneers and the modern redress movement. He notes that the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement established an indelible landmark for Canadian democracy, serving as a precedent and model for subsequent federal apologies and settlements regarding the Chinese Head Tax, World War I Ukrainian internment, and Indigenous Residential Schools.

Miki highlights his extensive collaboration with Indigenous leaders, including Assembly of First Nations Grand Chief Ovide Mercredi and Phil Fontaine. He shared the NAJC's negotiation strategies to assist First Nations in addressing residential school trauma and land claims, emphasizing shared parallels in language loss, forced relocation, and institutional discrimination. He also supported Indigenous veterans seeking denied wartime benefits, leading to a \$20,000 individual compensation package from Ottawa.

Reflecting on his decade of service as a **Canadian Citizenship Judge** (1998–2008), Miki describes swearing in over 40,000 new Canadians as a profound "full circle" moment, considering his own family had been denied voting rights and citizenship until 1949. Addressing demographic shifts within the Nikkei community—where intermarriage rates exceed 95%—he urges community organizations to adapt by welcoming *Yonsei*, *Gosei*, mixed-heritage individuals, and new Japanese immigrants.

In light of contemporary human rights challenges, including Anti-Asian hate, the Black Lives Matter movement, and the discovery of unmarked graves at residential schools, Miki insists that Japanese Canadians must actively defend marginalized groups. He concludes with a final message to younger generations: to honor family histories, embrace civic engagement, take risks, and maintain the fundamental belief that *"anything is possible"* when people unite to confront injustice.

Vi. Comparsion with other memoirs

There are several books on the federal redress negotion. Four of them are:

- Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi, Justice in Our Time: The Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991)

- Maryka Omatsu, Bittersweet Passage: Redress and the Japanese Canadian Experience (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1992)

- Roy Miki, Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2004)

- Art Miki, Gaman – Perseverance: Japanese Canadians' Journey to Justice (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2023)

Their characteristics can be summarized in the following matrix.

Dimension	**Justice in Our Time (1991)**	**Bittersweet Passage (1992)**	**Redress: Inside the Call for Justice (2004)**	**Gaman – Perseverance (2023)**
Author(s)	Roy Miki & Cassandra Kobayashi	Maryka Omatsu	Roy Miki	Art Miki
Author's Role in Movement	Strategy Committee member & Community organizer	Legal Counsel & Strategy Committee member	Lead strategist, communications coordinator, academic	NAJC President & Chief Negotiator
Primary Genre	Official community record / Documentary history	Literary legal memoir / Personal narrative	Scholarly political treatise / Critical history	Presidential memoir / Leadership autobiography
Temporal Perspective	3 years post-settlement	4 years post-settlement	16 years post-settlement	35 years post-settlement
Negotiation Vantage Point	Public record, campaign milestones, media reaction	Inside the legal strategy room and psychological impact	Exhaustive tactical chess game and socio-political theory	The table itself: face-to-face exchanges with Ministers and the Prime Minister

A. Core Similarities Across All Four Works

1. **The NAJC Mandate as Non-Negotiable**

All four authors assert that the NAJC was the only democratically elected body authorized to speak for the dispersed community. They consistently contrast the NAJC's transparent public council with the Ottawa-favoured National JCCA or accommodationist individuals (such as George Imai) who were willing to settle early for token group funds without individual restitution.

2. **The Defense of Individual Compensation**

Every volume treats the $21,000 individual payout as an essential moral and constitutional necessity rather than mere monetary compensation. In each account, the government's repeated offers of a community-only foundation (Jack Murta's initial $6 million package, David Crombie's proposed $12 million fund) are characterized not as compromise, but as attempts by the state to buy an inexpensive, collective pardon while evading accountability for the violation of individual habeas corpus and property rights.

3. **Grounding in the Price Waterhouse Study**

The four works point to the 1986 Price Waterhouse economic losses study (which calculated property and income losses at not less than $443 million in 1986 dollars) as the decisive empirical turning point that legitimized their monetary claims against government accusations of greed.

4. **Intergenerational Dynamic**

Each book explores the psychological generational shift: the quiet endurance (*gaman*) of the immigrant Issei, the internalized trauma and caution of the second-generation Nisei, and the assertive, civil rights framing introduced by the third-generation Sansei.

B. Differences in Purpose

1. *Justice in Our Time* (1991) – *The Official Record and Educational Tool*

- **Purpose:** Published jointly with the NAJC shortly after the agreement, its aim was to establish the official factual record before counter-narratives took hold, provide high schools and universities with accessible curriculum materials, and offer survivors an illustrated tribute to what their collective struggle had accomplished.
- **Focus:** Visual and archival—heavy with historical photographs, political cartoons, archival government orders, newspaper clippings, and official communiqués.

2. *Bittersweet Passage* (1992) – *The Legal Critique and Moral Reckoning*

- **Purpose:** To deconstruct the explicit legal mechanisms of Canadian state-sponsored racism and reconcile them with personal and familial grief. Written by the first woman of East Asian descent appointed as a judge in Canada, it interrogates how the *War Measures Act* and the Canadian judiciary were weaponized against citizens.

- **Focus:** Literary, personal, and juristic. It moves between courtroom analysis, archival discovery of cabinet memos, and intimate family narrative, explicitly highlighting the cost of waiting: many who suffered the worst atrocities died before redress was achieved.

3. *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice* (2004) – *The Scholarly and Systemic Deconstruction*

- **Purpose:** Written with sixteen years of critical distance, Miki's purpose was to produce the definitive, exhaustive intellectual and political history of the movement. He places the redress struggle within the larger canvas of Canadian colonial nation-building, white supremacy, critical race theory, and institutional resistance.
- **Focus:** Academic depth and strategic deconstruction. It reveals behind-the-scenes fractures within government departments, cross-cultural coalition-building with other racialized and labour groups, and how the Canadian state attempted to co-opt the language of multiculturalism to evade legal accountability.

4. *Gaman – Perseverance* (2023) – *The Statesman's Memoir and Leadership Blueprint*

- **Purpose:** To provide the long-lens leadership account from the person who actually signed the agreement alongside Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Miki's objective was to capture the personal burden of leadership, preserve institutional memory for future generations, and reflect on how the 1988 settlement catalyzed systemic human rights reforms across Canada (such as the creation of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation and the repeal of the *War Measures Act*).
- **Focus:** Executive decision-making, political diplomacy, interpersonal dynamics with elected officials, and the personal discipline required to withstand intense public scrutiny and internal community dissent.

C. Differences in Descriptions of the Redress Negotiations

The accounts diverge sharply in how they describe the climactic, high-stakes negotiations between 1984 and 1988:

***Justice in Our Time* (Miki & Kobayashi, 1991)**

- **Description:** Focuses on the public campaign and institutional milestones.
- **Details:** It charts the revolving door of Multiculturalism Ministers (David Collenette, Jack Murta, Otto Jelinek, David Crombie, and Gerry Weiner) through formal correspondence, press conferences, and nationwide rallies.
- **Negotiation Texture:** It documents the public posture of both sides, demonstrating how the NAJC used public pressure, letter-writing campaigns, and cross-party support to corner the Mulroney government into returning to the negotiating table.

***Bittersweet Passage* (Omatsu, 1992)**

- **Description:** Highlights the legal arguments, ethical pressure points, and internal room dynamics of the strategy committee.

- **Details:** Omatsu details the legal deliberations that shaped the drafting of the settlement terms—specifically the clearing of criminal records under the *War Measures Act*, the restoration of revoked citizenship, and individual payments.
- **Negotiation Texture:** Her depiction is visceral and psychological. She captures the tension of the strategy team holed up in hotel rooms, dissecting bureaucratic rhetoric, smelling the stale coffee, and weighing whether refusing an inadequate government offer would cause elderly Issei to die without seeing justice.

Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice **(Miki, 2004)**

- **Description:** An hour-by-hour tactical dissection of the endgame negotiations.
- **Details:** Drawing from extensive internal strategy memos and declassified cabinet records, Miki lays out the geopolitical and electoral factors that gave the NAJC leverage in mid-1988:
    - The impending federal election timeline facing Mulroney.
    - The sudden momentum and passage of the U.S. *Civil Liberties Act of 1988* (signed by Ronald Reagan in August 1988).
    - Gerry Weiner's vulnerability as a minister under intense pressure to deliver an agreement.
- **Negotiation Texture:** He details the covert maneuvers during the August 1988 meetings in Montreal (at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel) and Ottawa, breaking down how government negotiators tried to split the NAJC team and how counter-proposals were drafted under intense deadline pressure.

Gaman – Perseverance **(Art Miki, 2023)**

- **Description:** The direct personal account of the man sitting opposite the ministers and Prime Minister Mulroney.
- **Details:** Where Roy Miki and Omatsu analyze the external and legal tactics, Art Miki details the personal interactions:
    - Private, unscripted hallway conversations with Gerry Weiner and Lucien Bouchard.
    - The direct psychological dynamic with Brian Mulroney, who had an instinct for a historic deal but was constrained by a conservative cabinet wary of setting a precedent for other historical claims.
    - The final August 26–27, 1988, breakthrough in Montreal, where Miki held firm on the $21,000 individual figure despite intense pressure to settle for less.
- **Negotiation Texture:** Miki focuses on the emotional and moral weight carried by the negotiator. He candidly recounts the exhaustion, the fear of walking away with nothing, the quiet caucus votes within the negotiating team, and the private phone calls that finally closed the gap between the government's ceiling and the community's bottom line.

D. Distinct Contributions to the Literature

- **Read Kobayashi & Miki (1991)** for the **visual, archival immediacy** and public record of the campaign as it was experienced by the community at the time of victory.

- **Read Omatsu (1992)** for the **legal deconstruction and personal emotional stakes**, illustrating how the law was both an instrument of oppression and a tool of reclamation.
- **Read Roy Miki (2004)** for the **definitive historical and socio-political analysis**, detailing the broader civil liberties implications and strategic maneuvering behind closed doors.
- **Read Art Miki (2023)** for the **first-person leadership narrative at the bargaining table**, detailing the political instincts, direct ministerial confrontations, and enduring legislative legacy of the settlement.