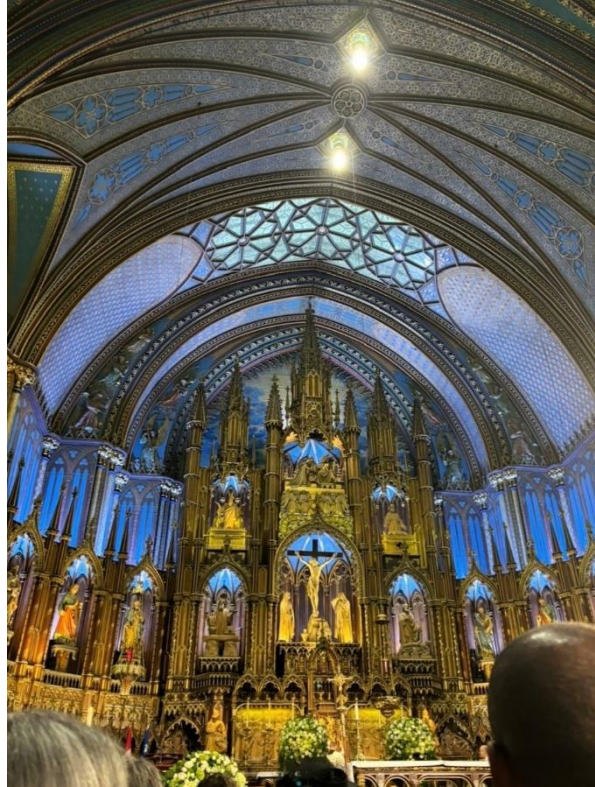


On attending the state funeral of former Prime Minister Mulroney

I would like to share with you my thoughts on the state funeral of former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, which took place on Saturday, March 23. It's going to be a little long, but I hope you'll stick with me.



Notre Dame Cathedral in Montreal

To start,

The state funeral was held at 11 a.m. at Notre Dame Cathedral in Montreal.

From Japan, Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Hosaka was dispatched as a special envoy of Prime Minister Kishida. On the evening of Friday, March 22, Special Envoy Hosaka departed Tokyo and came to Montreal via Toronto. Due to a considerable delay, Special Envoy Hosaka only arrived at his accommodations around 4 a.m. on the 23rd, which made for a very grueling schedule. Despite then having a briefing and meeting from 8 a.m., Special Envoy Hosaka did not seem tired at all and was fully prepared when we departed for funeral.

At the funeral, Japan's condolences were conveyed to Prime Minister Trudeau, Deputy Prime Minister Freeland, Foreign Minister Joly, Minister of Industry Champagne, Speaker of the House of Commons Greg Fergus, former Prime Minister Harper and former Prime Minister Chretien.



Prime Minister Trudeau and Special Envoy Hosaka

Memories of Prime Minister Mulroney

I myself woke up just after 5 a.m. and went from my official residence in Ottawa to Special Envoy Hosaka's lodgings in Montreal. I joined Special Envoy Hosaka for the briefing at 8 a.m..

As I left Ottawa, I could see a faint sunrise in the cloudy sky, but it turned to snow on the way, and by the time I entered Quebec from Ontario, the highway was white. As I gazed at the snowy scenery outside, I thought about former Prime Minister Mulroney.

I apologize for talking about myself, but as a young diplomat, I had my first brush with Prime Minister Mulroney during his visit to Japan in May 1991. At the time, I was an assistant manager of North American Division 2 and I was preparing the economic part of the remarks and responses for the Japan-Canada summit meeting with Prime Minister Kaifu.

At that time, amid Japan-U.S. trade friction, I was busy with those negotiations, but I also remember following the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement. The U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement was then expanding into the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico. Japan was emphasizing multilateral free trade and was skeptical about individual FTAs. I learned that the FTA movement in North America was initiated by Prime Minister Mulroney to deal with the protectionist moves of the United States since the 1980s. Such memories came back to me on that snowy drive.

Redress Agreement

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney led the Progressive Conservative Party government for two terms and nine years, from September 1984 to June 1993. The Prime Minister's achievements are remarkable and have been praised across party lines, but as a Japanese person, it is the Redress Agreement that stands out. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, the federal government forcibly sent Japanese Canadians to internment camps and confiscated their property, despite them being Canadian citizens. For this atrocity, the Japanese Canadian community demanded an official apology from the federal government and personal compensation, known as the Redress Movement. Negotiations were difficult. Here's an overview:

In 1947, young second-generation Japanese Canadians formed the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association (NJCCA), expanding on the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy, which had been established in 1944 during the war. They began demanding compensation for wartime evictions and, in response, the Canadian government provided completely insufficient compensation for economic losses in 1950 without any negotiation with Japanese Canadians. Despite this, talk of the matter came to an end.

The centennial of Japanese Canadian immigration was in 1977, marking 100 years since the first Japanese Canadian immigrant, Manzo Nagano, arrived in 1877. The Japanese Canadians who had been deported and had their property confiscated during the war did not speak of it, and related documents were not made public, so the young second and third generation Japanese Canadians did not know the details of what had actually happened. However, on the occasion of the centennial, the reality of those wartime experiences began to be conveyed to the younger generation and this led to the start of a new movement demanding an apology and compensation, the Redress Movement. In 1980, the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association (NJCCA) was renamed the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC), which became the core of the Redress Movement.

The government at the time refused to compensate them, although then-Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau expressed his willingness to express regret rather than apologize.

There were also various positions among Japanese Canadians, also known as Nikkei, ranging from those who believed that an apology alone was sufficient, to those who believed that an apology along with group compensation and even individual compensation should be sought.

The movement seemed to have hit a dead end until the election of the Brian Mulroney government in September 1984. The Redress movement began to move in a big way.

Prime Minister Mulroney had become leader of the Progressive Conservative Party in 1983 and came to power after defeating the Liberal government in 1984. Reconciliation with Japanese Canadians was one of his campaign promises.

In December 1984, the Canadian government's chief negotiator, Multiculturalism Minister Jack Murta, visited Winnipeg, Manitoba, and met for the first time with the chief negotiator on the Japanese Canadian side, Art Miki, president of the National Association of Japanese Canadians. Formal direct negotiations began in January 1985.

Born in September 1936 and a third-generation Japanese Canadian, Art Miki was a longtime teacher and leader in the Nikkei community.

On the government side, the minister in charge of multiculturalism, who was heading the negotiating team, was an often changing political appointee and the negotiations were extremely difficult.

The basic strategy of the Nikkei side was to seek acknowledge and an apology for wartime injustices and compensation for lost property in one place. However, given the various opinions among Nikkei regarding the apology and compensation, Miki later said that it was very difficult to bring the Nikkei together.

In January 1986, the second head of the government negotiating team, Multiculturalism Minister Otto Jelinek, acknowledged wartime injustices and offered an apology; however, no progress was made on compensation because the objective amount of losses was unknown.

Therefore, the Nikkei asked several accounting firms to calculate the losses. While the market price for such a study was \$150,000, the Nikkei could only afford \$30,000 and so their requests were rejected across the board. If the amount of compensation could not be calculated, they were forced into a situation where there was no way to proceed with negotiations. It was then that the major accounting firm Price Waterhouse undertook the investigation because of the previous and then-president's firm belief that the Canadian government's wartime measures against Japanese Canadians were unjustifiable. They showed considerable flexibility to handle the payment problem. The full-scale investigation was launched and in May 1986, the total losses were calculated to be \$433 million.

The actual amount of loss may have been much larger, as the conclusion was based only on property for which there were still supporting documents; nonetheless, the negotiations that followed were proceeded based on the \$433 million results. Once the amount of damages was specifically enumerated, various media outlets began to take a favorable stance on the Redress Movement.

In July 1986, the chief government negotiator was replaced by a third Multiculturalism Minister, David Crombie.

Miki, aiming to reach a compromise with Minister Crombie, demanded \$25,000 in individual compensation for each of the 14,000 survivors and \$50 million for the Nikkei community, for a total of \$400 million. Miki negotiated tenaciously, but the Canadian side proposed only a \$12 million fund for community compensation and refused to consider individual compensation.

In the July 1987 negotiations, the government pressed for a deal on the grounds that \$12 million in community compensation was the final offer. The Nikkei refused, saying they could not accept any agreement without personal compensation. Negotiations had broken down and were effectively dead.

Here, as a new negotiating strategy, the Nikkei side reached out to a wide range of other ethnic groups, such as Indigenous people and Jews, to support the Redress Movement. Redress was not merely a matter for Japanese Canadians, but of national justice in Canada.

The turning point came in '88, four years after the start of negotiations, with Prime Minister Mulroney facing a general election that fall, his approval ratings stagnant, and in need of a revival plan.

By this point, the Japanese Canadian Redress Movement was seen as not just for Japanese Canadians, but also for Canadian civil rights and justice, and 61 organizations, including Indigenous peoples and other ethnic groups, supported it. Prime Minister Mulroney confronted the circumstances that led to the death of the negotiations and thus an agreement, a promise made in the 1984 election. In March 1988, he decided that it was time to move and appointed a fourth multicultural minister, instructing him to accelerate negotiations toward an agreement in earnest.

On Thursday, April 14, 1988, a large number of organizations participated in the march

in support of the Redress Movement on Parliament Hill, strongly showing that the movement was a matter of justice in Canada beyond Japanese Canadians. Furthermore, on August 10, President Ronald Reagan signed a bill to provide redress to Japanese Americans in the United States, including individual compensation.

From here, negotiations began to move despite strong opposition among Canadian veterans who had experienced cruelty during captivity after the Battle of Hong Kong in the early days of the Pacific War. To address this politically powerful bloc and silence dissent, the government promised to increase pensions for veterans.

Finally, on August 27, an official apology and compensation were agreed upon. Individual compensation was \$21,000 per person. Overall, compensation included \$12 million for the Nikkei community and \$24 million for the endowment of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, of which \$12 million was in the memory of the Japanese Canadians wronged. The Foundation remains active and influential to this day, a fitting legacy for those so harmed by injustice. With a total of \$306 million, the Nikkei had won 75% of the \$400 million demanded.

On September 22, in Parliament, Prime Minister Mulroney publicly apologized for the injustice against Japanese Canadians. He signed the Redress Agreement with Art Miki. September 22, 1988 remains a historic day not only for Japanese Canadians, but also all Canadians.



Prime Minister Mulroney and Mr. Miki shaking hands after signing

In December 2023, I had the opportunity to meet Art Miki. It was around the time that he published a book, "GAMAN/Perseverance," detailing the Redress Movement. Mr.

Miki spoke very frankly about the situation at the time, including about when the leadership of the ruling Progressive Conservative Party's opposition and risk aversion was strong, and about how he handled that. It was a difficult agreement to reach, like a camel going through the eye of a needle, and I was extremely impressed by the fact that Mr. Miki said, with deep respect, that he was able to realize it because of Prime Minister Mulroney.

In fact, after listening to Mr. Miki's story, I came to the conclusion that I would definitely like to pay a courtesy visit to former Prime Minister Mulroney. I contacted them to that effect; however, his family replied that it was difficult for him to do so due his health at the time and that he would like to find an opportunity after he recovers. I also received a lovely Christmas card. Alas, it was not meant to be.



Christmas card sent by Mulroney Family in 2023

Prior to the state funeral in Montreal on March 23, a memorial was held in Ottawa on March 19 at the John A MacDonald Building in front of Parliament. I had the opportunity to attend and express my condolences to the Mulroney family. When I expressed my sincere respect for the Redress Agreement, Mrs. Mulroney said, with a resolute yet gentle expression, that her late husband has been sure that it was the right thing to do and he worked hard to reach the agreement.

The life of Brian Mulroney

Here's a look back at the life of former Prime Minister Mulroney.

In March 1939, Martin Brian Mulroney was born into a Catholic family of Irish

immigrants in the frontier Baie-Comeau in the Côte-Nord region of Quebec, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. Since there was no English high school in his hometown, he went to a Roman Catholic boarding high school in Chatham, New Brunswick. As he was not from a wealthy family, his father, who worked in a paper mill, worked overtime to pay for his education.

In 1955, at the age of 16, he entered St. Francis Xavier's University, a public liberal arts school in Antigonish County in northern Nova Scotia. Around this time, he became involved in the political activities of the Progressive Conservative Party on campus. He joined the debate club and won consecutive matches in the intercollegiate debate contest. In 1956, he represented Nova Scotia at the National Young Leaders Convention in Ottawa, where he became acquainted with future Prime Minister John Diefenbaker. After graduating from St. Francis Xavier University with a degree in political science, he went on to Dalhousie University Law School in Halifax, also in Nova Scotia. However, young Mulroney neglected his studies and devoted himself to the re-election campaign of Nova Scotia's premier, Progressive Conservative incumbent Robert Stanfield. His health deteriorated, his grades dropped, and he ended up dropping out after one year. In 1960, he re-entered the Faculty of Law at the prestigious Université Laval in Quebec.

After graduating from Laval University in 1964, he moved to Montreal to join the law firm of Howard, Cate, Ogilvy et al, which at the time was the largest in the Commonwealth. Thereafter, he worked as a lawyer specializing in labour law until 1976.

In 1976, Mulroney ran for the leadership of the Progressive Conservative Party, despite not being an MP. This was when Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau was at the height of his popularity and the Progressive Conservative Party was the underdog. The 37-year-old Mulroney had big ambitions and took a gamble, but narrowly lost to Joe Clark. He was content with a close second place.

After that, he worked as a vice president of the Iron Ore Company of Canada. At the same time as improving the company's performance, he strengthened his personal connections not only in the industry but also in the political world.

Meanwhile, Joe Clark defeated the Liberal Party led by Pierre Elliot Trudeau in the May 1979 general election, leading to a Progressive Conservative government for the first time in 16 years. However, it was not a stable minority government, and its budget was rejected in December 1979. In March 1980, the party was forced into a snap general election and the Trudeau Liberal Party returned to power.

It is in such a political situation that the 1983 Progressive Conservative Party leadership election was held and once again, it was Clark vs. Mulroney. This time Mulroney was victorious and took the leadership. He had been involved in politics since his school days, had a talent for public speaking in both official languages, was a successful lawyer, and had proven his management skills in one of Canada's leading companies. Still, he did not gain a seat in the House until after he became the party leader. It seems that there were many people who were worried about his political skills at that time.

In September 1984, the party won a landslide victory in the general election, winning 211 seats, an increase of 111 seats over their prior count. At the age of 45, Mulroney became Prime Minister of Canada and went on to the lead for two terms over nine years. This was the final phase of the Cold War, the world economy was hit by a wave of protectionism, and environmental problems were becoming apparent. It was indeed a difficult task to steer the country.

In the midst of all this, as mentioned above, Prime Minister Mulroney reached the Redress Agreement with the Japanese Canadian community. In fact, Mulroney sent his own son to study judo at the Takahashi Dojo here in Ottawa. I learned this little aside from WHOM, a beloved elder in Ottawa's Nikkei community, and I think the fact that Mulroney had his son learn martial arts, which can be said a key facet of Japan culture, is a sign of the man's respect.

North American Free Trade Agreement and Anti-Apartheid

The U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement, which entered into force on January 1, 1989, is the result of Prime Minister Mulroney's foresight and political ability. The U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement was proposed by the Canadian side and negotiations were entered into at the U.S.-Canada summit meeting between President Reagan and Prime Minister Mulroney in March 1985. (The summit was colloquially called the Shamrock Summit after Ireland's national symbol because both leaders were of Irish descent.) The negotiations themselves were extremely difficult and there was a deep-rooted concern in Canada that the country might be swallowed up by the huge U.S. economy. Nonetheless, the agreement was enacted and is said to have laid the foundation for the current Canadian economy. In his eulogy for Mulroney, current Prime Minister Justin Trudeau enumerated the great achievements of Mulroney's leadership, including this agreement.

Another of Prime Minister Mulroney's most memorable achievements was his leadership on the sanctions against South Africa to end apartheid. In fact, during the Cold War, both President Reagan and UK Prime Minister Thatcher opposed the imposition of sanctions on South Africa, with Reagan even declaring that Nelson Mandela was a communist. Meanwhile, at the United Nations General Assembly in 1985, Prime Minister Mulroney advocated for sanctions. The following year, in August 1986, at a meeting of the Commonwealth countries in London, he directly opposed the intentions of suzerainty Britain and implemented 11 sanctions on South Africa. Prime Minister Mulroney's unwavering conviction deserves special merit. The day after Mandela's release on February 11, 1990, he thanked Prime Minister Mulroney in a telephone conversation. On June 18 of the same year, Mandela addressed the Canadian Parliament, his first speech abroad since his release. This is a proud achievement of middle-power Canada, one that set the course for the international community.

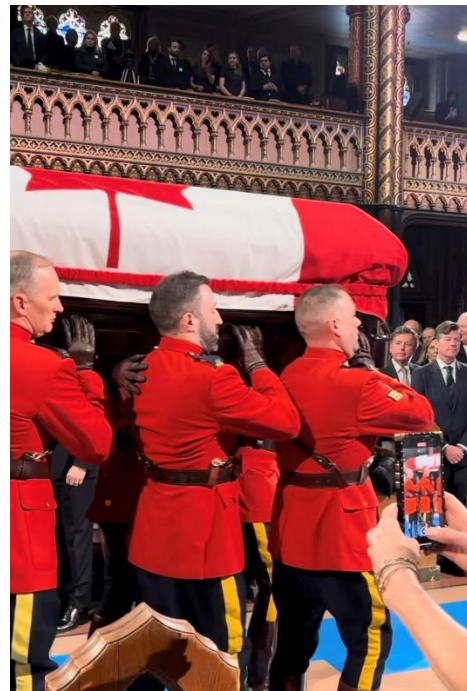
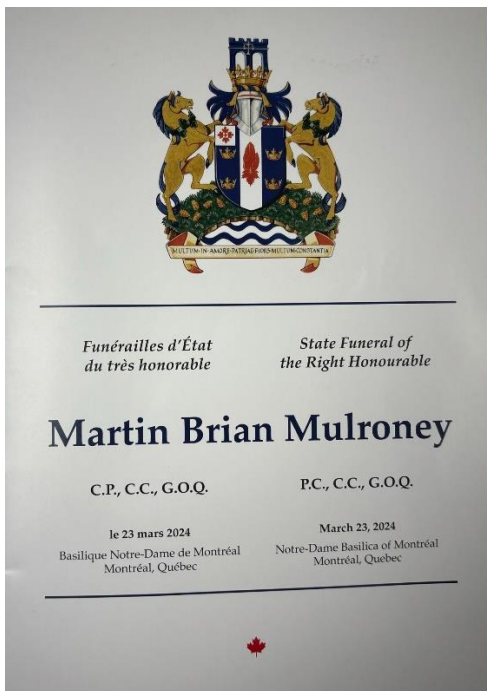
State funeral

The state funeral of former Prime Minister Mulroney was the first in 24 years, since the state funeral of former Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau on October 3, 2000. On the day of the event, CBC News had a special program from early in the morning, broadcast live from Notre Dame Cathedral. From the arrival of the coffin, a solemn Catholic ceremony presided over by Archbishop Christian Lépine was broadcast in detail. The performances of Mozart's "Requiem" and "Ave Veru" by selected members of the prestigious Montreal Symphony Orchestra, led by the young and charismatic conductor Raphael Payare, were particularly impressive.

Special Envoy Hosaka was seated in the fifth row from the altar. I was allowed to sit next to the envoy. It was a ceremony full of dignity and reverence for the deceased. He was remembered not only for his admirable achievements as a politician, but also for his personality, full of humanity. The eulogies by Canadian icon, hockey player Wayne Gretzky, with whom he had a close relationship, and James Baker, who was Secretary of State in the Reagan administration, both struck a chord with me.

I was also struck when his granddaughter Elizabeth sang her grandfather's favourite song, Edith Piaf's famous "What's Behind Me" with tears in her eyes. I felt the deep love of his family. The next song was Bing Crosby's "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling". As his granddaughter sang, I heard a deep baritone— former Prime Minister Mulroney's own voice, taking up the song that showcases the optimistic and warm character of the Irish people. Scott Platt's piano accompaniment enveloped the recording of former Prime

Minister Mulroney's voice and made it feel like he was singing right in front of us all.



That was the state funeral of a great politician who the Canadian people are proud of. I was indescribably moved.

Brian Mulroney was 84 years old. We pray for the peaceful repose of his soul.