

Proposal Parts 1, 2, & Recommendations

Michelle Nolan

Jacquie Gawlowicz

Cassidy Udice

Tyler Collette

Peixuan Guo

Suffolk University

## Proposal

The overarching problem is the lack of AAPI representation in mainstream media and the widespread stereotyping of Asian Americans. We have determined that our target audience should be one that is less accepting of others and the least likely to be exposed to Asian Americans in the United States. We will target conservative White Americans aged 20 to 35 who dwell in suburban areas that lack significant AAPI populations. Our 60-minute documentary will seek to shed light on the most prevalent stereotypes surrounding AAPIs, as well as explain where common Asian tropes come from and how we can dispel those narratives within society. Furthermore, our interactive website will reinforce the ideas presented in our proposed documentary and offer resources for viewers to get involved in advancing Asian American visibility in society. To give the viewer agency, the site will include a quiz assessing the viewer's knowledge of contemporary issues facing AAPIs.

The narratives analyzed were about Asian Americans and their journeys to achieving their dreams, whether it was an undocumented student getting into Harvard, a Chinese woman traveling to America for a new life, or an ambitious man pursuing activism to bring about awareness. One very resonating narrative focused on Michelle Obama's stories about herself and her family. Some common elements that the narratives of the interviews seem to share are that they all try to make sentimental and emotional reaches to the viewers to pull them in. Each story uses some kind of personal touch, like nostalgia, inspirational stories, or touching accounts of loss.

We also examined web pages for Asian Americans in Massachusetts. Every site had a slightly different approach to advancing the narrative; some had more complex interfaces with

links, images, and videos, and others were more basic, containing less for the audience to explore.

We noticed that each website contained many commonalities. Many were filled with useful information regarding AAPIs and their stories as well as specific points of action unique to each organization. We found that most websites aren't very effective due to the fact that they don't compel the reader to want to learn more. Although the information they deliver is important, the target audience is not clear.

Among the five web pages, the front page of AACA seems the most effective. Their slogan is "Educate, Empower, Employ" which exemplifies their goal of helping Asian Americans with language learning, jobs, financial support, and other social needs. The interface is easy to navigate, and there are eight rotating pictures showing AACA's achievements and activities, and the purpose of this organization. There is also a video from the customer's feedback in the lower right corner of the frontpage, which can better improve the user's trust in AACA and establish a close relationship with the user.

### **Discourse Analysis**

#### 1. How can education create a sense of cultural awareness?

The first theme is that education helps create a sense of cultural awareness. Each participant talked about an experience that they had where they felt like an outcast or isolated from the rest of their community because they did not feel they belonged to the mainstream society. On their journey throughout school and eventually into their professional careers, each individual explained that being able to learn more and educate themselves on their culture as a

whole let them put it into a whole new light and perception where they learned to embrace their roots.

Richard Chu talked about Asian Americans as a model minority, people should also recognize their diversity and difference, rather than blindly integrating into American culture. In the stereotype of Asians, it is also necessary to admit that some people do not belong to this stereotype. Richard Chu said in the interview: “you know the other issue I guess is how we have to be aware that when we form pan-ethnic or pan-Asian groups you know for strategic purposes then we also have to remember that we are a very heterogeneous group. So, there’s something positive about coming together, but we also have to be careful you know not to recognize the differences. And so that’s one of the problems because for example there is an image of the Asians as a model minority, part of the model minority. And that I think divides as further and also discounts the fact that many other Asians don’t belong to that model minority stereotype and I feel if we are not careful at pointing that out then many of us in the Asian American community are really left out or just misrepresented.”(time code 0:51-2:09)

## 2. How can people educate themselves about sources of racial inequality?

The next theme is how non-AAPI people can educate themselves about the sources of racial inequality that plague the AAPI community. For decades, AAPI people have lived in communities that are underserved and which exist on the fringe. Many AAPI people feel the need to assimilate into a White society and disassociate from their cultural values as people of color. Both C. N. Le and Richard Chu assert that going to college, being engaged in one’s community, and analyzing how one’s own life experiences fit into the larger picture can assist in recognizing the sources of inequality. Chu advises students to use their education to expose



themselves to the world, especially to people who are less fortunate and who have much less than they do. Le explains how he teaches sociology in order to give students the opportunity to learn how their experiences fit into the larger histories and mechanisms of society, saying, “It wasn’t until I got to college that I and started studying sociology and Asian American studies that I finally saw how my experiences growing up fit into the larger history of racism and inequality against people of color.”

### 3. How can community engagement promote a sense of cultural identity?

Community engagement is a theme that comes up multiple times throughout the interviews; it’s something that allows AAPI immigrants to embrace their cultural roots and get a sense of what living in their new home is like. Community engagement gives them a chance to come together as one group and experience solidarity. Stephanie Yan talked about how she and other community members started a daycare achieving this very feeling. “We started a program... It was also an organization that brought together three communities, the Chinatown community, the South End community, and the Bay Village community.” Despite there being no official community or having zero official borders, the people were now all together. As she stated, community engagement encourages communities to celebrate their own cultural identity as one. Some of her advice to young people wanting to get involved was to “just volunteer.” To Stephanie, it’s something that is purely good. The more people in the community working together, the stronger the bond and sense of a true cultural home for the people in it.

C. N. Le explains that as an Asian who grew up in the white world. He is confused about his appearance and race. He tried his best to integrate into the white culture, but he lost his Asian identity and diversity. After studying sociology and Asian American studies, C. N. Le always

wanted to teach students how to adapt to this society while maintaining they're heterogeneous in a white-dominated society. C. N. Le said in the interview: "And growing up all my friends were white, everybody I saw around me was white, all my teachers were white. Everybody who I saw on TV and the media were white and. So you know that kind of socialized me to try to be as white as possible and I really lost my identity as Vietnamese and as Asian American." (time code 4:50-5:16) He also said in the interview: "Asian family in our neighborhood and just being socialized to thinking of myself as being white. When you're young a young person growing up you don't want to stand out and be different. You don't want to be seen as weird or strange. You wanna be like everybody else. You want to be like your friends. That's kind of how saw myself too." (time code 8:28-8:58)

4. How can AAPI's become contributing community members to help alleviate social injustice?

As a group, we wanted to know how AAPI people can become contributing members to help alleviate any social injustices they may face as a group or individual. Bhuwan Gautam believes that volunteering for programs and getting involved is the best way to get rid of any social injustices. Gautam recommends approaching governors and others, along those lines, with any problems that they may be facing. He believes that mayors, for example, do not know much about these type of communities because, at the organization level, communities are not being exposed to the outside world. According to Bhuwan, "it's pretty progressive for them to go into that higher level of advocacy and reach out for the other outside world, although other communities to know and enter in exchange of the information resources." (Time Code 27:52-28:12)

One last thing he would recommend to alleviate social injustice is, “[he] would ask you to give back to your communities, whatever the ways you can help enable the community members on the organizing efforts to solve the local problems.” (Time Code 34:54-35:09). He adds to this idea by mentioning, “I think I would take this as an opportunity for us to continue to speak and spread our word.” (Time Code 29:04-29:12). If there are more representation and strength for these groups, the more they will be able to expose any problems that they may be facing. “That’s the strength of the community, but it’s too sad that we don’t have many representatives.” (Time Code 33:34-33:42).

### **Historical Document Analysis**

The analyzed documents included seven newspaper articles, one film, one textbook, two Congressional documents, and three census summary files. Two newspaper articles were from the *Suffolk Journal* (1971), two were from *The New York Times* (1972 and 1974), one was from *The Boston Globe* (1979), one was from *Wisconsin State Journal* (1993), and one was from the *Baltimore Afro-American* (1973). The film was a biographical drama entitled, *Dragon: The Bruce Lee Story*, produced in 1993. The textbook, *Voices of Multicultural America*, did not include a publication date. The two 1998 Congressional documents were typed transcripts of testimonies from both the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs and the U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam. The three census summary files were charts with demographic information from the 2000 U.S. Census. Evidently, these documents have production dates ranging from as early as 1971 and as late as 2000. Most of the newspaper documents are from 1971-1974, with only one being from 1979. Our United States Census records are from the 2000 census, with data dating as far back as 1969 and one census record focusing specifically on data

from the year 1999. The movie was produced in 1993, and the Congressional testimonies were from 1998 hearings. There was one document with an unspecified publication date.

The documents covered a wide range of information from different places during different times that all show evidence of Asian American exposure within the US. We decided to search for documents produced between 1970 and 1979 based on our interview with C. N. Le, who was whose experiences come from that period of time. Our documents also take us through a time where Bruce Lee was one of the most popular actors in Hollywood, as well as his journey of what it was like to fight with the United States as an Asian American during the Vietnam War. The documents were accumulated with the goal of producing evidence that Asian Americans in weren't exposed to positive engagements, criticism, and ideas when it came to their presence in American society.

The first document is a newspaper from Suffolk journal, written by a Suffolk student at October, 14th 1971. It talked about the military draft extension act of 1971, the effects of the new law, and the Vietnam War. The second document is a biographical drama from 1993. This movie contains music, color, live action, dramatizations and background noise to describe the life and experience of Bruce Lee as an Asian, how he standing out in Hollywood while facing of racial discrimination and cultural shocks. The other written document is a speech and presidential document from Bill Clinton's presentation records. It talked about Japanese American lives, political activities in United States based on the background and historical events. How Japanese Americans performance in congress, science, writing and other fields. Another written document is a congressional document, from Washington, DC, US, at July 7, 1998 by Stanley O. Roth. The author testified the international trade, emigration, labor rights, human rights of Vietnamese

people. The last written document is a chart document. The data is from American Fact Finder census government from 1969 and earlier. Before 1969, the number of immigrants to the United States was only 98,491, and by 1998 the number had reached 1,060,865. From 1999 to 2000, the number suddenly dropped from 1,060,865 to 852,889. It shows the population of Asian people who moved into U.S. become more and more from 1969 to 1998, then suddenly goes down in 2000.

There was ample information interpreted from the historical documents. Reflecting on the many newspaper articles, the film, the textbook, and the census data, we can make informed inferences about Asian American visibility and identity from the 1970s to the turn of the century. These documents taught us about public opinion of the Vietnam War, the societal experiences of Asian Americans, the exposedness of the AAPI community within the film and media industry, and enduring stereotypes and struggles. These primary sources enabled a glimpse into the past and allowed a lens for firsthand information that we would not be able to see in today's society. For instance, in the film we had chosen, we were able to see the life of Bruce Lee during the Vietnam War, one Asian American who was able to share the story for those who did not have such a platform. People cannot see the challenges those have faced during those times, since times are forever changing. These documents allowed us to see the past for what it was, which is something you may not be able to learn anywhere else.

The documents analyzed information about the common, racially charged problems that AAPIs faced throughout the early 1970s. They focus on issues of discrimination, inequality, stereotyping, and blatant racism. Each gives a unique insight into different AAPI experiences. The newspapers give an idea of the kind of institutionalized racism that they faced with casual

racism simply being a part of the stories. The journals give an idea of the kind of attitudes the world of academia had at the time towards them, and how it was estranged from that of the common public. The film was a biographical drama depicting the life of Bruce Lee, one of the most famous Asians in American pop culture, and how he was used as an instrument to stereotype other AAPIs. As a whole, the documents give a sense of the kinds of pressure and stresses placed on AAPIs in the 1970s and beyond.

In the historical document analysis, we have collected different aspects of Asian American documents, either from historical, political, and even entertainment industries. We have a newspaper from the *Suffolk Journal*, written by a Suffolk student on October, 14th 1971. It talked about the military draft extension act of 1971, the effects of the new law and the Vietnam War. We also have a biographical drama from 1993. This movie contains music, color, live action, dramatizations and background noise to describe the life and experience of Bruce Lee as an Asian, and how he stands out in Hollywood while facing of racial discrimination and cultural shocks. There is a transcript and presidential document from Bill Clinton's presentation records. It talked about Japanese American lives and political activities in United States based on the background and historical events.

### **Documentary and Interactive Website**

We would make a documentary film that takes an in-depth look at the different complex issues faced by AAPIs and all of the different factors that lead to the constant historical discrimination, prejudice and stereotyping they've faced. We would use historical documents to put this idea into a relatable context for viewers. By using historical documents to show the facts

at hand, the audience will be given a solid picture of the attitudes towards AAPI people in the past, but most importantly how that has shaped perceptions of them today. This documentary would also feature interviews with AAPI people to include personal narratives as an attempt to connect emotionally with the viewer.

The main theme we would like to present both on our website and in the documentary is, “How can education promote a sense of cultural awareness?” The census data and the textbook about prominent Asian American figures best demonstrate that theme and will be most useful to highlight in our documentary and on our website. The census chart from 2000 indicated the ability of Asian Americans to speak English and other languages at home. The chart highlights two main points. The first is that most Asian people 65 and over speak other languages, and few speak only English. On the contrary, there is a high number of people who speak only English, and speak it well in the 18 to 64 year age range. This shows that young people were more willing to speak English in order to integrate into the predominantly White society than to speak their own language and risk being seen as an outsider. However, the other takeaway pertains to the 5 to 17 age group. Among these younger people, the number of individuals who speak only English begins to decrease, and most can speak other languages. Our conclusion is that as Asian Americans became more educated, they also raised their own culture awareness. Take C.N. Lee for example- his family used to live in a community of all White people. They were the only Asian family. In order to better integrate into society, C.N. Lee made a lot of efforts to try to make himself more White. He spoke only English and resented his darker skin tone. In the end, though, he found that instead of turning himself into a different person, it was better to embrace his cultural identity and accept himself. C.N. Lee said, “Eventually, through studying sociology

and Asian American Studies, getting involved in student organizations, that kind of thing, to see my identity as an Asian American is a source of strength rather than embarrassment.” The text, *Voices of Multicultural America*, highlights prominent Asian American congresspeople, physicians, activists, and playwrights. These figures are highly aware of their Asian heritage, and use it to their advantage in their lives and careers. They effectively engaged with their culture through education to become successful, productive members of American society. For example, Patsy Takemoto Mink, a Japanese American attorney and member of the U.S. House of Representatives, was a third generation American who battled discrimination both as a woman and as an Asian American to get her seat in Congress. She was the first Asian American woman ever to serve in Congress, and her success was largely due to her pursuit of education and dedication to her cultural identity. Clifford I. Uyeda, a Japanese American physician and activist, is also a good example. Uyeda was heavily involved in supporting the moratorium on commercial whaling, and served from 1974 until 1978 as chairman of the JACL's Whale Issue Committee, a group that seeks to educate the public- especially Japanese Americans- on “the plight of the whales as symbolic of our need to save our oceans.” His work in engaging the Japanese American community for a cause that was important to him is exemplary of how education can promote a sense of cultural awareness.

The content on the front page of our website includes newspaper articles, text, and videos that help illustrate the underexposure of the AAPI Community and our desire to make them more visible through education, social justice, and community engagement. We also included a video that captures the experiences and emotions of AAPI community members who have been affected by negative stereotypes. We decided to put our historical documents on the front page



by placing them in a layout that catches the viewer's eye, engaging them. Tilting the images and placing them carefully lets the reader's eye wander naturally, without the feeling of looking at an online archive, which might present as boring.

The page includes four hyperlinked tabs that will help the audience navigate the site: Home (leading to the front page), Social Justice, Education, and Community Engagement. These links will constantly be on the screen as one scrolls up or down, making it easier to find other information within the site. At the very beginning of the frontpage, one would see a nicely photographed banner with the title of the page as "Education and Community Engagement for Asian Americans." Below are two brief summaries of our goal with spreading awareness and exposure for AAPIs and the results we hope to achieve by doing so. The banner and summaries seek to make people aware of what our goals without having to search for a mission statement, which is why both are placed at the top of the front page. Scrolling further down, one can see some samples of Asian Americans in the media in the form of newspaper articles. In between those photos are questions we had asked in order to help us find our answers for this particular project. Below that is a photo of a newspaper article on Bruce Lee, an Asian American actor with a wonderful quote about never forgetting who you are, "You know that no matter how others see you, it doesn't really matter. Your blood might have come from overseas, but your heart started beating here." Following those is a video about the struggles Asian Americans face today including identity, stereotypes, and microaggressions.

### Mockup Front Page of Interactive Website



[Home](#)

[Social Justice](#)

[Education](#)

[Community Engagement](#)



Education has been essential to Asian Americans' journey through history. Spreading awareness and giving more exposure to the AAPI community will drive their visibility in the future.



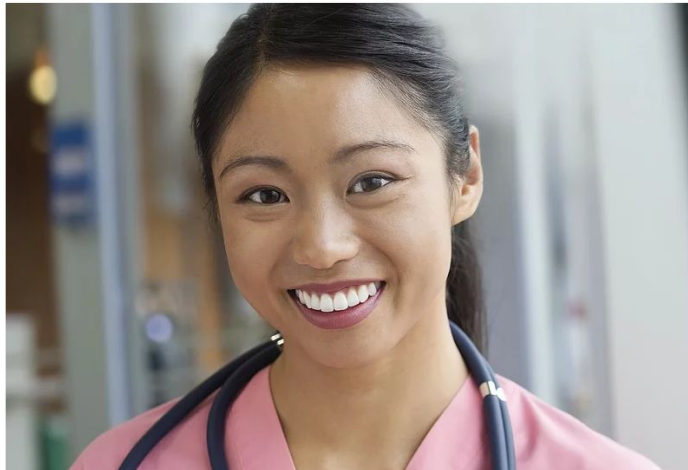
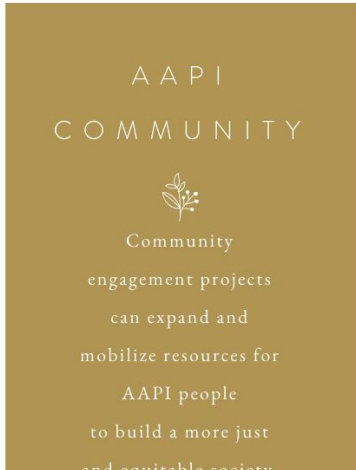


Home

Social Justice

Education

Community Engagement



Home

Social Justice

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Community Engagement



”

How can education create a sense of cultural awareness?



- Home
- Social Justice
- Education
- Community Engagement

**LOOK** Television, entertainment/5C ANN LANDERS/6C Wisconsin State Journal Friday, May 7, 1993

# Cast as his idol

## Fan stars as Bruce Lee

By Henry Sheehan  
Ozaukee County Region

**W**hen Jason Scott Lee, the 26-year-old star of the coming-of-age martial arts film "The Bruce Lee Story," was growing up in Hawaii, he was a devotee of the martial arts star.

"I was a big fan," the Asian-American actor says. "I wore a T-shirt with an image of him. I made chain neckties out of bromwiches. I tried to do some of his moves."

"I think that's what gave me the energy to do 'Dragon,' that the state when I knew him was a state of innocence and youth. As an adult, I could draw on that."

It's easy enough to imagine Lee today in that old T-shirt. Displaying a lachrymose pervenience to the onslaught of publicity he's suddenly received, the actor — who also stars in the recently opened "Map of the Human Heart" — has shown up for a meeting with the press wearing a tank top and a small '88 around his neck.

He slouches in his seat so much that he's almost camouflaged by his co-star, Laurence Holly, sitting next to him. There's no air-

Cohen had found Jason Lee reeling. "Well, it was funny not being a martial artist, what kind of it and what kind of era was going to take on he says.

And then there prospect of playing "one a cool figure a of the film, the director.

"The scope of the plot, the character, the gravitas of which he was taking someone who getting him into it."

"The scope of the plot, the character, the gravitas of which he was taking someone who getting him into it."

Lee says that he knew he was a martial arts star. "I was a big fan," he says. "I wore a T-shirt with an image of him. I made chain neckties out of bromwiches. I tried to do some of his moves."

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- Home
- Social Justice
- Education
- Community Engagement

29 The Struggles Of Being An Asian American | Refinery29

Watch later Share

REFINERY29

## Appendices

### Newspaper Articles

1. Fact Sheet on Military Draft Extension Act – 1971 – Suffolk Journal
2. Antiwar Action Calendar – Suffolk Journal
3. An Anthology of Asian-American Writers – New York Times 1974
4. Two Old Enemies Sip Tea Together – New York Times 1972
5. The Chinese and Westerns – Boston Globe 1979
6. Who Is Your Favorite Actor? Dragon: The Bruce Lee Story – The Afro American 1973
7. Cast as His Idol: Fan Stars as Bruce Lee – Wisconsin State Journal 1993

### Speech Excerpts

8. Profiles of Asian-Americans and Speech Excerpts, Clinton Presidential Records

### Congressional Document

9. Testimony of Stanly O. Roth, 1998
10. Testimony of Douglas “Pete” Peterson, 1998

### Demographic Data

11. Year Householder Moved Into Unit, 2000
12. Age By Language Spoken At Home By Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Over, 2000
13. Sex By Work Status in 1999 by Usual Hours Worked per Week in 1999 By Weeks Worked in 1999 for the Population 16 Years and Over, 2000

### Comic

14. One for the money, thieu for the show. *The Suffolk Journal*, 1971.



# Fact sheet on military draft extension act - 1971

## Background to 1971 Draft Act

President Nixon's Record: Appointed Commission on an All Volunteer Armed Force 27 March 1969, headed by Thomas Gates; report with recommendations on volunteer army and interim draft reforms submitted 6 February 1970. Message to Congress, 23 April 1970, calling for lottery, 20 per cent pay raise, deferment modification, national uniform call. By Executive Order President limited vulnerability to one year instead of seven (during 19th birthday or year after losing deferment), and set policy of calling youngest men first. Pay was increased 7.1 per cent in 1970.

Congress in 1970: Passed President Nixon's lottery bill, rejected 20 per cent incentive pay raises. House debated other draft reforms, asked by the President, late in the year, but neither house took action.

## Congressional Action in 1971

President's Message, 28 January 1971: Extend draft two years till 1 July 1973, enact Draft Board reforms, modify deferments, increase pay incentives, authorize uniform national call.

House of Representatives: On 1 April 1971 passed its version (H.R. 6531) of the President's bill, voting 293-99. Accepted 30 July 1971 House-Senate Conference Report on 4 August 1971, voting 297-108.

Senate: On 24 June 1971 passed H.R. 6531 with 28 amendments-changes, voting 72-16. Accepted Conference Report on 21 September 1971, voting 55-30.

## Changes Under New Law

1. Student Deferments: President was given authority (which he has said he will exercise) to end student deferments starting with the 1971-2 academic year. Men in college before this year may retain deferments for four years total or until the age of 24, whichever comes first. Students drafted while in school may postpone induction until end of the academic year. Current new students are not entitled to student deferments, but may complete their year's work.

2. Uniform National Call: President was given authority (which he has also said he will exercise) to induct men on a national, rather than local, basis. Thus men with the same lottery number will be inducted at the same time, regardless of the location of their draft boards.

3. Draft Board Composition: Maximum service for members is 20 years (down from 25). The minimum age is 18 (previously set at 30) and maximum 65 (down from 75) for Board members. Local boards may be consolidated with the governor's consent.

4. Other deferments: Divinity students may obtain deferments but lose them if they do not enter the ministry immediately upon graduation. Sole surviving sons continue to be eligible for exemptions. Any man whose father, brother or sister was killed in military service starting 1 January 1960 is also exempt, and if already in service, may retire. Aliens cannot be drafted until they have lived in the U.S. for one year, or if they have served in the armed forces of any U.S. ally.

5. Manpower Authorization: No more than 130,000 may be drafted in fiscal year 1972, or 140,000 in 1973. The total authorization for all armed forces is set at 2.4 million for fiscal 1972, compared with 2.7 million in fiscal '71.

6. Military Pay: Total payroll increases amount to \$2.4 billion, with \$1.8 billion going for first term enlisted men and junior officers. The increases are effective 1 October 1971, pending a ruling of the Cost of Living Council.

## Vietnam Troop Withdrawal

In the Conference Report the so-called Mansfield Amendment, setting a nine-month timetable for withdrawal of all U.S. troops (and stipulating release of all POW's and accounting of men missing in action), was modified to meet House objections to a fixed date:

## TITLE IV -- TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES IN INDOCHINA

"Sec. 401. It is hereby declared to be the sense of Congress that the United States terminate at the earliest practicable date all military operations of the United States in Indochina, and provide for the prompt and orderly withdrawal of all United States military forces at a date certain subject to the release of all American prisoners of war held by the Government of North Vietnam and forces allied with such Government, and an accounting for all Americans missing in action who have been held by or known to such Government or such forces. The Congress hereby urges and requests the President to implement the above expressed policy by initiating immediately the following actions:

"(1) Negotiate with the Government of North Vietnam for an immediate cease-fire by all parties to the hostilities in Indochina.

"(2) Negotiate with the Government of North Vietnam for the establishing of a final date for the withdrawal from Indochina of all military forces of the United States contingent upon the release at a date certain of all American prisoners of war held by the Government of North Vietnam and forces allied with such Government.

"(3) Negotiate with the Government of North Vietnam for an agreement which would provide for a series of phased and rapid withdrawals of United States military forces from Indochina subject to a corresponding series of phased releases of American prisoners of war, and for the release of any remaining American prisoners of war concurrently with the withdrawal of all remaining military forces of the United States by not later than the date established pursuant to paragraph (2) hereof."

## Draft Calls

Defense officials have said unofficially that no more than 19,500 more men will be inducted for the rest of 1971. Along with the 88,000 that were inducted through June, that would total 107,500 for the year -- 40,500 less than Defense Secretary Laird estimated earlier this year -- and 36 per cent of the total 1968 inductions.

Actual and estimated draft calls for the past few years are as follows: 1968 -- 299,000; 1969 -- 289,900; 1970 -- 209,300; and 1971 (est.) -- 107,500.

The lottery numbers called so far, plus an estimate at the rate of 703 per birthday for the rest of the year, suggests that the top number to be called will be 125, compared with 195 in 1970, which yielded 209,300. By June this year, the top number was 125, compared with 170 last year.

William's Game Water

Women forming



center studies.  
It is also a wise document, telling the reader why he must care what happens to the Savannah River even if he has a private swimming pool and hates fish.

"It is essential to remember just

should find some facts to startle them in the account. And for those industrialists and their apologists who claim it can't be done and pollution is the price of progress, "The Water Lords" contains a beautiful account of a paper mill so

used as a model for hundreds of task force studies across the country. No place, alas, is so clean and so safe that its citizens would not be wiser and safer for a good long look in a strong bright light at what is being done to their water and air.

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## Appendix 2: Antiwar Action Calendar – Suffolk Journal

# ANTIWAR ACTION CALENDAR

### ***October 13: Moratorium***

Meetings, rallies, demonstrations, teach-ins, and other activities in every city and town to demand immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia. A time when the not-so-silent antiwar majority can make their feelings known.

### ***October 25: Veterans Day***

Vets and civilians will transform this traditional holiday into a day of solidarity with Vietnam veterans and GIs against the war.

### ***October 25 to November 5: National Peace Action Weeks***

Activities relating the war to the problems of the many constituencies of American society. Women, religious groups, labor, students, Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, Native Americans, gays, GIs, professionals, and others are urged to select a date during this period for actions by their constituencies.

### ***November 3: Student Strike***

Junior high, high school, and college students will transform their campuses into centers for reaching out to the rest of the population to build the demonstrations on Nov. 6.

### ***NOVEMBER 6: A DAY OF MASSIVE REGIONAL ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATIONS***

Giant demonstrations in major population centers will cap the fall campaign. The constituencies who demonstrated during National Peace Action Weeks will unite on November 6, concentrating on the nation's largest cities. The demand for "Out Now!" will be raised by hundreds of thousands, and hopefully by millions.

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ju



## Going beyond the clichés

# An Anthology of Asian-American Writers

Edited by Jeffery Chan, Frank Chin, Lawson Fusao Inada,  
Shawn Hsu Wong.

200 pp. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press. \$7.95.

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By JAN CAREW

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There is a persistent American myth based on a melting-pot theory: its contention is that American democracy will eventually, like the mills of God that grind slowly but exceedingly sure, convert all its polyglot races, colors, creeds and nationalities, if not into true blue WASPS, then into almost perfect facsimiles. There are, of course, those who continue to make the right kind of noises about the country's rich and diverse cultural heritage, and on various national days there are parades and festivities, but these are rituals of form rather than of content. The more institutionalized the ritual becomes, the more distant the memory of its living origins and the more empty its content.

Once the black peoples of America had won a grudging official acknowledgment that they could be different—not stealthily different but openly so, could have their own culture and still be American—it was inevitable that other submerged ethnic groups would begin to surface and to ask for the same concessions that the blacks had won for themselves.

This anthology of Asian-American writing makes the claim very eloquently. Beginning with a lucid and unusually helpful preface and two introductory essays, the editors launch the reader into a collection of short stories, excerpts from novels and a short play. "The Asian-American writers here are elegant or repulsive, angry and bitter, militantly anti-white or not, not out of any sense of perversity or re-

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Jan Carew is a novelist and critic.

venge but of honesty," the preface warns, and indeed the ensuing stories prove every word of the warning to be true. The stories are also slyly ironical, strewn with new insights buried in the flesh of the narrative; they illuminate areas of darkness in the hidden experiences of a people who had been little more than exotic figments of someone else's imagination.

The book brings to life a marvelous array of Asian-American characters who break away from the stereotype of silent impassivity to which they had been assigned for so many generations. It demolishes those comfortable clichés about the mysterious, cunning, impassive, silent and invincibly polite Oriental. In Jeffrey Chan's short story, "Chinese in Haifa," one of the best in the collection, the leading character Bill Wong, who is neither a hero nor an antihero, emerges as a very distinctive human being; it would be very difficult to find a stereotyped mold into which he would fit. Chan is a fine creator of moods in his writing. He is able in a few sentences to shift from the sublime to the ordinary. He manages to make one feel that Bill Wong is a symbol of modern man gnawing at the bones of secret griefs and yet living a full and rewarding life.

"An Anthology of Asian-American Writers" is a useful introduction both to the diverse strains of one of America's minority cultures and to some heretofore unheralded writers. The collection presents a representative cross-section of current Asian-American writing and artfully portrays the human strengths and weaknesses, common to all of us, that have often been obscured by myths of the exotic Oriental. ■



# Two old enemies sip tea together

By John Paton Davies

In the millennium and a half of contact between China and Japan, the forthcoming meeting between the Chinese and Japanese Premiers will be the first encounter in which each side treats the other as a great power.

The situation will not be without irony. It would seem only proper, for example, when Mr. Kakuei Tanaka visits Peking, for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to the Premier of Japan. After all, had it not been for the Japanese invasion and eight years of war against China, the Chinese Communists might not now be in power. For it was Japan's expulsion of Chiang Kai-shek's regime from much of China and its mistreatment of the peasantry—in effect, driving the populace into the arms of the Communists—that created preconditions for the Communist conquest of China.

But if President Nixon, who preceded Tanaka in the pilgrimages to Peking, did not see fit to thank Mao and Chou for so scaring the American people as to contribute to General Eisenhower's and his election in 1952, the chairman and his head of Government may be excused, perhaps, if they fail to express their appreciation to the Japanese Premier. There is something to be said for letting bygones be bygones.

Although Japan and China are both Northeast Asian countries with self-consciously modern societies, they are also strikingly unlike. China is ruled by a Communist oligarchy. Japan is a constitutional monarchy, democratically governed. China is a huge continental nation, larger than the United States. Japan is an archipelago one twenty-sixth the size of China. With a population of perhaps 800 million, China has nearly eight times as many people as Japan.

The Chinese are still essentially farmers, nearly self-sufficient and inward-looking. But the Japanese, crowded on their rocky, mystic islands, must manufacture, look outward and trade across the oceans to be able to survive. This they have done superbly, so that their Gross National Product is two and a half times that of China's. While the Chinese per capita annual income is estimated to be about \$100, the Japanese is more than \$1,500. Finally, China's rate of economic growth—on which there are no authoritative figures—has probably been laggard because of the spectacular disruptions created by the recent Cultural Revolution. Japan's growth rate has exceeded those of other industrialized nations. Thus the economic gap between Japan and China has been widening.

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*John Paton Davies, a U.S. Foreign Service officer for many years, served in China before and during World War II, and is the author of the recently published "Dragon by the Tail."*

China and Japan are alike in one important respect. They are both part of the balance-of-power quartet: the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan. The balance-of-power interplay among the first three has been evident for some time. But now, with the diplomatic movement out of Tokyo to Washington and Peking (and can Moscow be far behind?), it appears that the trio has grown into a quartet. There can be little doubt that Japan is qualified to join the three. It may not overtake and surpass the United States and the Soviet Union, as Herman Kahn predicts in "The Emerging Japanese Superstate." But if the United States and the Soviet Union are superpowers, Japan is in economic actuality and military potential on the verge of being a semisuperpower. Japan's importance is heightened by its acutely strategic location within the triangle formed on the west by China, on the north by the Soviet Union and on the east by the United States. In this situation, Japan can scarcely avoid functioning in terms of balance of power.

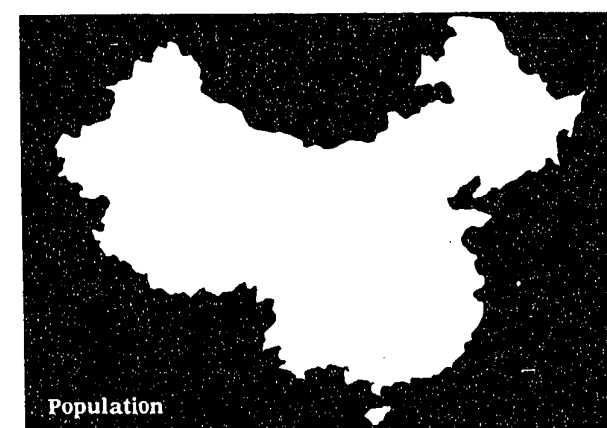
At this point it should be said that although the Western European nations enter into American and Soviet balance-of-power calculations, none of them, unless it be possibly Germany, now has the weight in balance-of-power interplay that either China or Japan has. If and when Western Europe, or any considerable part of it, coalesces to the degree that it functions as a political entity, then the power quartet will become a quintet. Meanwhile, Western Europe has for Peking and Tokyo differing significance. For Peking it is military—a sharp concern that Western Europe does not let Moscow feel so secure on its Western borders that the Kremlin could then move against China without anxiety for its rear. For Tokyo, Western Europe is an exciting market for trade and investment, one that Japan is now vigorously entering.

In their relations with the two superpowers, China and Japan share an apprehension of the Soviet Union. China's is more lively at this time than Japan's because of the rivalry and open rancor between Moscow and Peking. Not being possessed by an ideological vision, Japan does not challenge and offend the Bolsheviks as China does. However, both China and Japan have irredentist claims against Russia. China's are of long standing and are for extensive territories, particularly some stretching north and east of the Manchurian border. Japan's claims are for certain off-shore islands north of Hokkaido, seized by the Soviet Union at the end of World War II. Moscow angrily rejects Peking's and Tokyo's claims.

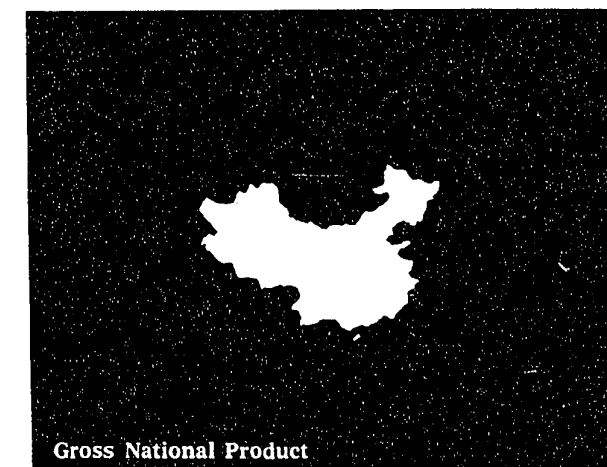
With the Soviet Union as the more menacing to them of the superpowers, China and Japan each looks to the Americans as a counterbalance to the Russians. Peking's reliance on Washington is recent and tacit, implied in the new rationalized relationship between the two Governments. Tokyo has had American forces on the islands since the end of



Area

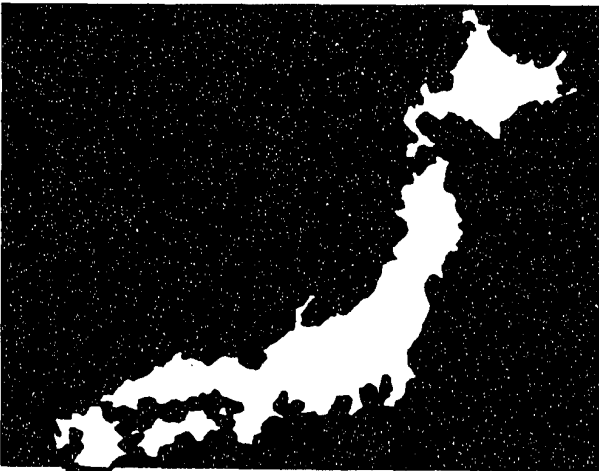
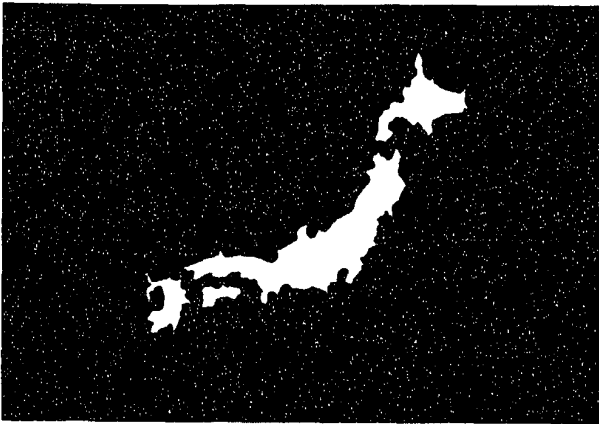


Population



Gross National Product

*Neighbors: Chou's China (here drawn to scale) dwarfs Tanaka's Japan, about 1/26 in area. China's population of 800 million is eight times Japan's*



World War II, forces in effect committed to the defense of Japan, and since 1951 a security treaty with Washington. Japan's defense is therefore explicitly guaranteed by the United States.

So in the context of present global power relationships, Japan and China appear to have compatible and, in some cases, common interests. At any rate, none of their vital interests at this stage appear to be in conflict, and so the negotiations which they have been preparing to hold this fall are likely to produce at least some measure of rapprochement.

The two premiers who will try to work out an accord are disparate personalities. Tanaka is a new and untried head of government. Chou is probably the most experienced and ablest statesman now on the world scene. In 1918, the year that Tanaka was born, Chou was 20 and at a Japanese university in Kyoto discovering Marxism. Two years later, back in China, he was jailed for several months because of anti-Japanese activities. After that he left for France, where he helped organize in 1922 a branch of the Chinese Communist party and established contact with the Comintern, the international Communists. By this time, Richard Milhaus Nixon was attending grade school. For 50 years, Chou has negotiated with all manner of men, from Chiang Kai-shek and George C. Marshall to Nehru and Nasser. From Stalin to John Foster Dulles and, recently, Nixon.

Tanaka will probably find the Chinese calmly realistic in their dealings. This would not be a new departure for Chou and company. In 1944 when I was acting as political adviser to the American commanding general in China, I visited Mao and Chou at their wartime headquarters at Yen-an and was struck by the rational attitude of the Chinese Communists regarding the future of Japan. At that time powerful figures in the American Government advocated that the Emperor of Japan be tried as a war criminal. I had dined in Chungking with high officers of the American command and an astonished Madame Sun Yat-sen before whom the officers vied in calling for Old Testament retribution against the Japanese—kill all of the males; yes, and sow the fields with salt. Consequently, it was startling to encounter the Chinese Communist party line, which was that more harm than good would be done by trying to crush Japan, and that the problem of what to do about the institution of the Emperor should be solved by the Japanese themselves.

The Chinese Communists were not soft on imperialism. They simply believed that a certain amount of indulgence in these matters would best advance the cause of a Communist take-over in Japan. They had reached this conclusion on fairly expert advice. For they were hosts at Yen-an to Sanzo Nosaka, who had been Japanese representative on the former Comintern, and his small front organization of Japanese revolutionaries. Chou's understanding of Japan therefore includes not only

schooling at Kyoto and Tokyo, but also close association during the war years with Japanese Communists.


Now in 1972 what do Mao and Chou want from the Japanese. What is Chou going to ask of Tanaka? Obviously, Peking wants Tokyo to acknowledge that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate Government of China. Concomitantly, the Chinese will ask the Japanese to agree that Formosa is an integral part of the People's Republic and to sever relations with Chiang Kai-shek's regime. Tanaka will probably accede to these two Chinese wishes but, like Nixon, he can hardly be expected to act immediately, at least in the matter of breaking with Taipei. Japan has extensive economic interests on Formosa which it will seek to preserve or convert while making the transition to the new relationship.

The Chinese may well introduce some of the concerns that grow out of past experiences with Japanese aggression. Korea, for example, has been an historic corridor for Japanese invasions of the Asian mainland—and for General MacArthur's irruption to China's borders on the Yalu. With these memories, Peking reacted abusively to an American-Japanese statement in 1969 prosaically linking Korea and Formosa to Japanese security needs. So Chou may try to get assurances from Tanaka on the Korea connection. This would be a long-term precaution, for Japan now possesses no significant offensive capabilities.

The American-Japanese alliance, naturally, is a major factor in Peking's strategic thinking. Currently, it is no threat to China. To the contrary, so long as the Soviet Union glowers along 4,000 miles of border with China, it is convenient for Peking that the Americans are militarily situated close by, in Japan, on Russia's flank. As a long-term arrangement, however, the American-Japanese alliance is not at all to Chinese liking. It represents too much consolidated power on its sea frontiers. Peking wants Japan detached from the United States and independent so that it would be more available in Chinese balance-of-power maneuvers, possibly even as an ally of China.

The Japanese are not going to be against lessening their dependence on the United States. Nationalism is on the rise. The American-Japanese security agreement is looked on by many Japanese as placing their country in a position subordinate to the United States. Nevertheless, the realities of the situation are that Japan is not now able to defend itself against a major attack, and it must rely on American protection, including the nuclear deterrent. In prudence, Japan should first resolve for itself the extent to which it will rearm, and whether it will make itself a nuclear military power, before it makes a decision on whether to alter its security pact with the United States. In any event, Chou is unlikely at this stage to get more from Tanaka than statements of intent to

(Continued on Page 26)

 (here scaled proportionately). But China's Gross National Product lags; Japan's Gross National Product is about 2.5 times greater than China's.

DRAWINGS BY SAUL LAMBERT

(Continued from Page 21)

pursue an increasingly independent policy—which may be all the Chinese expect.

This Oriental summit meeting is less important to Japan than it is to China. In political terms, Tokyo wants little more than to create a harmonious atmosphere and lay the groundwork for the development of friendly, formal relations with Peking. In economic terms, Tanaka will try to increase opportunities for Japanese business in China. In this respect, China needs Japan more than Japan needs China. As a developing country, China needs capital goods and a wide range of sophisticated industrial products, for which Japan is the natural supplier. China has to offer, in return, agricultural products, some raw materials and textiles. While this trade is attractive to Tokyo, its volume has not been hitherto impressive — less than one-tenth of that with the United States. Although some Japanese share the century-old vision of an enormous Chinese market, the Japanese Government is likely to be cautious toward business in which politics is in command, not economics.

A simplistic, straight-line projection of Chinese-Japanese

relations growing out of the Chou-Tanaka meeting would look something like this. In a matter of months or a year or two (for the gestation period in these affairs is uncertain), China and Japan would establish diplomatic relations. Tokyo would acknowledge Formosa to be subject to Peking, if Taiwan had not already acceded to the People's Republic through political manipulation or a coup. Japan would have by 1975 asserted a more independent relationship with the United States. Trying not to offend the Americans nor to provoke the Russians, Tokyo would have established a cautious entente with Peking. The two Asian nations would develop their complementary economies, to the irritation of the superpowers, against whom they would tend to collaborate in a triangular balance of power. Japan would probably not have been able to resist the temptation — perhaps mostly because of national pride — to make itself a military nuclear power, with unpredictable repercussions on the other three of the quartet.

What will actually happen, of course, will be something rather different, involving surprises both nasty and nice.

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## Two of the new big four



Nixon and Tanaka at their recent meeting in Honolulu.

Who, for example, would have predicted only two years ago that Nixon would cozy up to and sip tea with the anti-Christ Mao Tse-tung? The relationships between China and Japan — and the two superpowers — are shot through with possibilities for the unexpected.

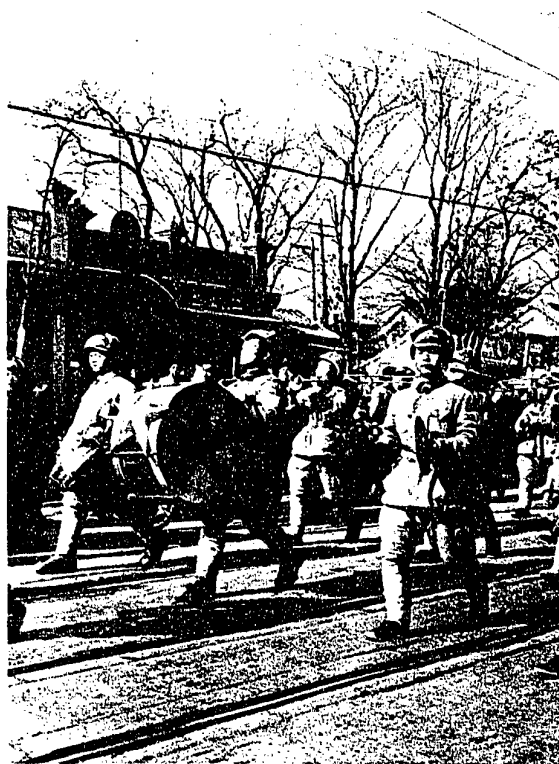
This is conspicuously so in the case of China. It was only a year ago that the comrade whom Mao had anointed as his successor, the military hero, Lin Piao, plotted to assassinate the Chairman and seize power. Lin's treachery was uncovered, whereupon he literally took flight for Russia with a few confederates, only to crash and die in Mongolia. It seems that Lin had resisted Mao's desire to return the army to a position subordinate to the party after the Chairman had used the military, first to help purge the party by means of the Cultural Revolution, and then to repress the fanatics of that revolution. Furthermore, Lin allegedly opposed the Mao-Chou line of a *détente* with Washington and, "monster" that he was, was in cahoots with Moscow. Whatever the detailed facts of this melodrama were, it is evident that the hand of Mao the helmsman has not gone unchallenged. Although the Chairman squelched the opposition in the party and has been purging the army, it is not clear that he is secure in his primacy.

The veteran Marshal Yeh Chien-ying is acting as caretaker of the armed forces. Yeh, whom I came to know and respect at Yen-an, is intelligent and able. General Marshall told Chiang Kai-shek, to the generalissimo's distaste, that Yeh was the best general in China but Yeh is now an old man and does not have the vigor necessary to pull together and command the huge, dispersed, and now shaky Chinese military establishment. There hangs a fog of uncertainty over just who is in operational authority over the branches of the armed forces and the five big field armies.

The very diffusion of military power at present, enabling Mao to play one element off against the other, may be a source of political strength to the chairman, whatever its effect on the defensive capabilities of the nation. On the other hand, animosities may exist toward Mao and be a binding force among the com-



*"Had it not been for the Japanese invasion and eight years of war against China, the Chinese Communists might not now be in power. For it was Japan's expulsion of Chiang's regime from much of China and its mistreatment of the peasantry that created preconditions for the Communist conquest." Above, a Japanese officer uses a Chinese corpse for combat practice in 1937. At right, in 1949, the Red Army enters Peking.*



manders who have survived the purge. Stalin's impunity, after liquidating his best generals in the nineteen-thirties, is not a reliable parallel. For the Chinese generals have been a more powerful force in internal affairs than the Russian commanders were in the Soviet Union. But be that as it may, the situation in China is essentially unstable. At any moment Mao can cease to exist as the pre-eminent figure on the Chinese scene, whether because of a coup d'état, incapacitating illness or death.

With his going there is as of now no legitimate successor. This problem of legitimacy of succession is, of course, a major weakness and destabilizing influence in dictatorships.

Chou is the most visible of potential successors to Mao. Were he to take over after Mao, he might be expected to continue the present pragmatic policy in foreign affairs. But Chou's genius has been in mediation, conciliation and compromise, not in ruling. His power base, if it can be called

such, is the governmental bureaucracy, not either of the two arbiters of national policy — the party, from which Liu Shao-chi challenges Mao, or the armed forces, from which Lin Piao bid for power. Mao might be followed by a collective leadership in which Chou would figure. But this could hardly last long. The strongest man would soon surge to the top and he might not be Chou but a younger, more ruthless and less rational man. What the attitudes of such a successor might be toward the United States, the Soviet Union, and Japan is wholly unpredictable.

Another possibility is that someone with lower visibility than Chou would promptly seize authority. This could not be done without at least the consent, and probably the cooperation, of strong elements in the armed forces. For power, as Mao observed, grows out of the barrel of a gun. And in this context, his successor could be one who himself held the gun, but hardly one of the aging marshals from the Long March and the nostalgic Yen-an days. The history of China is replete with instances in which fierce, bold characters emerged from obscurity to organize malcontents and adventurers and seize power.

But Mao has so purged both the party and the armed forces that there may be no potential nucleus of opposition cohesive and strong enough to take over decisively. A fourth possible outcome of Mao's departure, then, would be a breakdown of central authority and the gravitation of power to regional centers. This would not necessarily mean a rejection of communism or the disappearance of a national government, simply that Peking could act only on the sufferance of regional Communist commanders. There are ample precedents in Chinese history for such a centrifugal development.

Accordingly, the future nature and orientation of the Chinese Government is an enigma. If China is convulsed by a struggle for power in the wake of Mao's passing, the new Japan is not, in contrast to prewar Japan, apt to attempt to take advantage of such a crisis. Moscow, on the other hand, assuredly would. Because of its strategic apprehensions about China, it has been meddling, so far as it has been able to do so, in Chinese internal affairs, seeking the ouster of Mao and his replacement with elements at least

not antagonistic to the Kremlin. So the Russians would go to considerable lengths to exploit to their advantage a leadership crisis in China.

The uncertainties regarding Japan are not so lurid. But they are more pervasive and perhaps no less profound. They have to do with the unsureness with which the Japanese perceive themselves and their future. These proud and insecure people have within a century undergone two deep transformations — from archaic feudalism to industrialism and rampant imperialism, and then out of the trauma of defeat and military occupation, to a neo-American democracy, G.N.P. - oriented. With all of their recent objective successes, the Japanese are now subjectively troubled. What is their identity and what is their role? Should they cultivate their traditional Japaneseness, or should they continue to rocket away from their heritage into an orientalized Babbitry and hedonism? Should Japan as a nation assert itself politically and militarily commensurate with its economic power, or should it continue, behind the American spear and under the American nuclear umbrella, as a prosperous eunuch?

On the surface, Japan seems steady enough. But as Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski observes in the "Fragile Blossom," "Japanese society can be said to be characterized by a kind of metastability, that is to say, a stability that appears to be extremely solid until all of a sudden a highly destabilizing chain reaction is set in motion by an unexpected

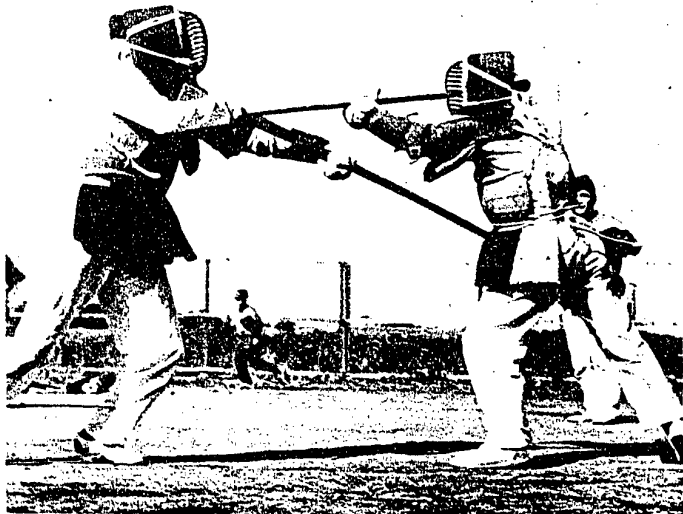
input." The most evident source of potential shock to the Japanese is the American Government.

The acute sensitivity to Washington goes back more than half a century to the insult of discriminatory immigration laws and the first feelings that the United States was hemming Japan in and determined to deny it the kind of territorial expansion that the Americans themselves had indulged in when they took Guam and the Philippines. As Tokyo persisted on into the nineteen-thirties in its imperial aggressions, Washington retorted with an "input" of protests that were as ineffectual as they were sanctimonious. The American Government's posture was to the Japanese that of a winner at the poker table who rises with his gains in pocket to announce that because he has seen the light and decided to swear off cards, the game is over. In the Old West this was cause to begin shooting, which is what the Japanese did at Pearl Harbor.

Then with the father figure of MacArthur dominating the occupation in 1945, the Japanese began a relationship of dependence on the United States. At the outset it was a helpless dependence. With profuse American aid the Japanese freed their economy from reliance on grants from Washington, only to replace it with reliance on American trade. In its approach to national security, Japan was bound by the thoughts of General MacArthur, which are enshrined in its constitution and which

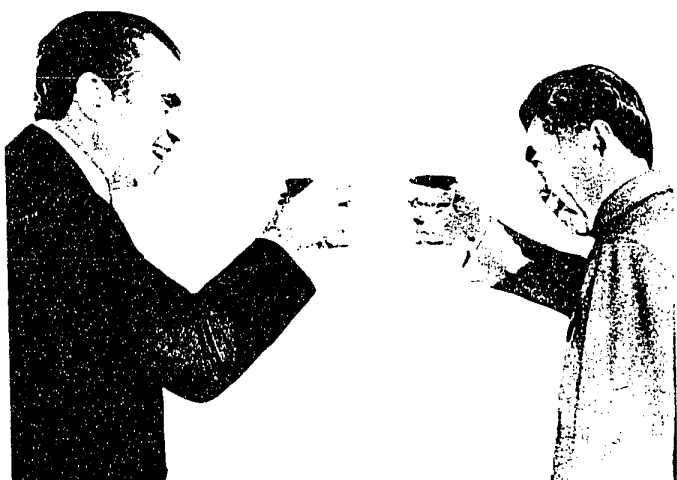
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## Non-nuclear weapons



*Bayonet practice by men of Japan's Self-Defense Forces. In the future, will they put down bayonets in favor of nuclear weapons?*

## Who would have guessed?



*Nixon and Chou toast each other during the President's visit to Peking last February. The future, too, will contain surprises. A China-Japan alliance, for example, is not an impossibility.*

*(Continued from Page 37)*

were, as originally expressed by the supreme commander, "Japan renounces war even for preserving its own security. It relies upon the higher ideals which are now stirring the world. No Japanese Army, Navy or Air Force will ever be authorized . . ."

Four years later, with the start of the Korean War, MacArthur ordered the Japanese to form a national police reserve. Inevitably, the police reserve has developed at American behest into the Self-Defense Forces, ground, maritime and air, now totaling more than a quarter of a million men, and equipment that includes aircraft and fighting ships. But these forces, smaller than those of South Vietnam, are tailored to limited defensive needs. At this stage, forward defense and defense against major attack are still an American responsibility — the spear and the umbrella.

How long Japan will continue with a great-power economy and a small-country defense and diplomacy — and how long its alliance with the United States lasts — may depend largely upon Washington's reactions to Japan's economic accomplishments. Having launched the Japanese economy on its meteoric rise, the American Government has come to resent and fear it. But the Japanese are only doing what the Americans had commanded them to do: Eschew military conquest and make an honest living by peaceful manufacturing and trade. The trouble is that the Japanese have extensively out-manufactured and out-traded the Americans so that, at the present rate, Japanese ex-

ports to the United States in 1972 will exceed corresponding imports by well over \$3-billion.

If Washington's reactions to Japan's superior competitiveness come to be interpreted by Tokyo as threatening to Japan's livelihood, then something like the American-Japanese syndrome of the nineteen-thirties may well recur in accelerated form. Japan would be alienated from the United States and, in wounded pride and bitterness, probably turn chauvinist, build up self-sufficient defenses, including nuclear weapons, and adopt a positive foreign policy, seeking through closer ties with China and even the Soviet Union to counterbalance what it considered to be American hostility.

Both Peking and Moscow are aware that the American-Japanese alliance can degenerate. And both would be pleased to accommodate an aggrieved Tokyo. They might even be expected to compete for Japanese favor.

While Chou and Tanaka will be keenly conscious of the uncertainties in both of their countries, they will also take into account the American input in its relations with Japan. Will Washington react to the challenge of Japanese economic competition so as to avoid alienating Japan? If so, Japan can move, as it inevitably will, to a more independent and self-sufficient status and to friendly relations with China without seriously changing the four-way balance of power. But if not, the propulsion of Japan away from the United States and toward China and the Soviet Union will gravely upset the balance of power to the disadvantage of the United States. ■



# The Chinese and Westerns

By Vernon Scott

United Press International

HOLLYWOOD — All the horse operas have been done save one.

The history and legends of the American West have been exploited repetitiously in movies and TV since Hollywood's first film, "The Great Train Robbery."

Each facet of the frontier from the Pony Express to the gold rush has been dramatized ad infinitum. The gunfight at the OK Corral, the Oklahoma land boom, ranchers vs. sheepmen and cowmen vs. sodbusters are etched in American folklore.

Covered wagon trains, Indian ambushes, the trampas walk, the Clantons, the James Boys, Wild Bill Hickok, Billy the Kid, Annie Oakley and Wyatt Earp are stamped in the minds of viewers and filmgoers.

The wild West has been dramatized from the point of view of settlers, traders, Indians, blacks, immigrant Swedes and French trappers.

But one colorful group that played a key role in the West has been ignored, according to John Mantley, producer of more TV westerns than anyone else.

Mantley said Chinese coolies who built the western half of Union Pacific's transcontinental railroad and subsequently played historic roles in the West have been forgotten by novelists, screenwriters and TV producers.

Mantley, who has produced 600 movies and TV shows — including 400 "Gunsmoke!" episodes — has spent almost a million dollars to tell the story of Chinese in the West in the "China Girl" segment of "How The West Was Won," tonight at 9 on Channel 5.

He would like to have dramatized the story of coolie labor on the railroad, topping it off with the driving of the golden spike at Promontory Point, Utah. But he couldn't afford to do it correctly on a TV budget.

Instead, Mantley brought a Chinese family from the old country, in 1869 to San Francisco to work in the gold fields.

"My research turned up the most fascinating dramatic material I've ever seen," he said. "It is a magnificent study in courage and a will to survive under the worst possible, inhumane conditions imaginable. The Chinese fled famine in their own country in slave ships. When they got here, they weren't treated like human beings. Blacks were fed, clothed and housed because they were valuable property. Not the Chinese.

"Brokers brought them over as indentured workers and made a fortune. The coolies were paid \$1 a day for 15 hours work. But the broker got 80 cents of each dollar, leaving the Chinese to live on 20 cents a day.

"The conditions under which they lived and the cruelty involved — when white kids stoned Chinese elders in the streets while policemen bet on how long they'd last — gave birth to the term, 'He doesn't have a Chinaman's chance.'

"Brokers brought girls from 12 to 15 years old to California and openly sold them as prostitutes on the streets of San Francisco. They were indentured from three to five years.

"I have a copy of one of those contracts. If the girl missed a day of work, a month was added to her contract. If she ran away and was recaptured, she was a 'slave' for life. The contract actually used the word 'slave' although slavery of blacks had been abolished for 20 years.

"When the young prostitutes became diseased, they were encouraged to commit suicide. Most of them did. If not, they were strangled.

"That's part of the story in 'China Girl.' There are other elements of life that are worked into the story, which brings a Chinese family to a gold mine on the Machan land where they are befriended by Zeb Macahan (James Arness)."

Mantley regrets his story of Chinese in the West was not done on the scale of "Roots." He thinks he could have done justice to the subject in a 10-hour miniseries with a multimillion dollar budget.

Other producers told him he wouldn't be able to round up enough good Asian actors to do the show.

But he hired 200 extras and such polished Oriental actors as Keye Luke, Beulah Quo and Soon-Teck Oh. The title role was played by an astonishingly beautiful newcomer named Rosalind Chao.

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THE AFRO-AMERICAN, WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 18-22, 1973

## Who Is Your Favorite Actor?








Sidney Poitier

Ron O'Neal

Richard Roundtree

Max Julien

### Bruce Lee Leads

Elva Barnes of the 2800 block of Boardman Avenue, Baltimore, writes I would like to give all my votes to Bruce Lee, all the way. Bruce Lee is with it and he knows his stuff. One question is Bruce Lee dead? If so, answer yes in the margin. Also, the Hong Kong folks no way getting votes, and he should stop aside for Bruce Lee, who is the King of them all. I could write a book about Bruce Lee, but I would have to put it in my own words.

Mrs. Frances Mitchell of the 800 block of Bantalan Street says I would like to vote for Jim Brown as my favorite actor. I think he is

every girl dream of a man. He has everything it takes to make a marvelous actor.

Saggle of B'more writes: Hey Man of Writ's! Hoping my favorite actor is Bruce Lee. The first time I saw his movie I just flipped and I love the way he fights, his crazy yell, and most of all, I think he is cute. When I heard he had died, I cried.

Minna Wilkins of the 3980 block of Fernhill Avenue, Baltimore, writes. If I had a thousand and one spaces to fill in my favorite actors names, I'd fill every line with the wonderful name of BRUCE LEE! - At first I

hated the karate pictures, but after I saw Bruce Lee, my whole attitude changed. Bruce Lee is the one for me.

Karen Womble of 2200 block of Eastaw Place, Baltimore, thinks Bruce Lee and Jim Kelly are fantastic and wants to see more stories written about her favorite actors.

Fans, because of the enormous number of requests we have received, this week the Favorite Actor column is being dedicated to your chosen star... BRUCE LEE.

Included is a brief bio on Lee and all the comments received from the people who loved him. Many have requested photos, and here they are.

His enormous skills as a martial artist and his considerable acting talents led Bruce Lee to become a major international film star.

Three years ago Lee, a karate expert with an acting background, began starring in martial arts movies made in Hong Kong. This

year he starred in Warner Bros.' "Enter the Dragon," the first martial-arts movie to be made by an American film company. It is Lee's last screen performance. He died at the age of 32 in Hong Kong shortly before the picture was released.

Bruce Lee was born in San Francisco in 1940 and raised in Hong Kong. While still a child in Hong Kong, Lee appeared in several films and began to study the martial arts. When his family moved to the United States, Lee continued studying martial arts but gave up acting.

By the time he entered the University of Washington as a philosophy major, Lee was a master of the martial arts and had developed his own style of self-defense called jeet kune do. While at the university, Lee also met his Seattle-born wife, Linda.

After the university the Lees moved to Los Angeles where Lee opened a series of karate schools. Among his students were Steve McQueen, James Coburn, Lee Marvin and James

Garner. The influence of those clients, plus the fact that he was "discovered" at an international karate tournament in Long Beach in 1964, led to his first screen role — that of Kato in the television series "The Green Hornet." Following this, Lee appeared in the "Hulman" and "Longstreet" series. In 1968 the film "Marlowe" gave Lee his first screen role.

Lee starred in "Fists of Fury," "The Big Boss," and "The Chinese Connection" which set new box-office records. It was the enormous success of these films in Europe, South America and the United States that catapulted Bruce Lee in international stardom.

Mark Hall, 2630 block of Gwynn Oak Avenue, Baltimore, votes for Bruce Lee, Max Julien, and Richard Roundtree. Then adds, Lee is my man because he's a real cool dude, and he is trustworthy. I saw him play in the Green Hornet when I was a little boy and I would watch him at the

time.

Al Murray 3700 block of Woodhaven Avenue, Baltimore, votes for Jim Brown, Jim Kelly, and Bruce Lee. I like Bruce Lee because he makes good karate and Kung Fu pictures.

Mrs. Annie B. Doty of the 2800 block of Winchester Street gives all her votes to William Elliott because he has great race pride. I am proud of him because he is my son.

D'Vere Hollis and Bertha Barnes of the 2600 block of W. Laramie Street, Baltimore, vote for Bruce Lee, Richard Roundtree, and Max Julien. We like these actors because they are good actors, handsome, and not phony.

Henry Powell, III, of the 4700 block of Liberty Heights Avenue, Baltimore, likes Bruce Lee, Jim Kelly, and Clarence Williams, III. The other actors are all right, but these are my favorites. Bruce Lee is my kind of actor because he is the real thing. I've seen most of his pictures, and I'm going to see "Enter the Dragon" soon.

### WE WANT MAIL DON'T BE SHY VOTE

1. Name.....
2. Address.....
3. Why?.....

Mail To:  
Favorite Actor, What's Happening  
AFRO-AMERICAN News—628 N. Eutaw St.  
Baltimore, Md. 21201

Bruce Lee's Film :

"Dragon: The Bruce Lee Story"

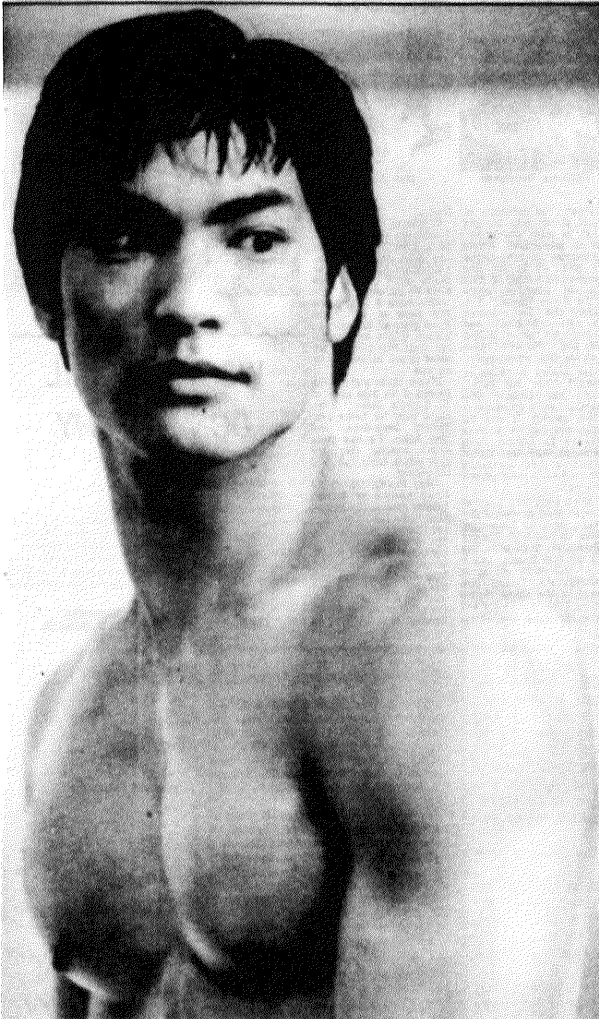
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# LOOK

■ COMICS: Calvin and Hobbes/4C  
■ Television, entertainment/5C  
■ ANN LANDERS/6C

1C

Wisconsin State Journal  
Friday, May 7, 1993



## Cast as his idol

Next Page

### Fan stars as Bruce Lee

By Henry Sheehan  
Orange County Register

**W**hen Jason Scott Lee, the 26-year-old star of the coming "Dragon: The Bruce Lee Story," was growing up in Hawaii, he was a devotee of the martial arts star.

"I was a big fan," the Asian-American actor says. "I wore a T-shirt with an iron-on decal of him, I made chuk sticks out of broomsticks. I tried to do some of his moves."

"I think that's what gave me the energy to do 'Dragon,' that the state when I knew him was a state of innocence and youth. As an adult I could draw on that."

It's easy enough to imagine Lee today in that old T-shirt. Displaying a laid-back imperviousness to the onslaught of publicity he's suddenly received, the actor — who also stars in the recently opened "Map of the Human Heart" — has shown up for a meeting with the press wearing a tank top and a small tiki around his neck.

He slouches in his seat so much that he's almost camouflaged by his co-star, Lauren Holly, sitting next to him. There's no arrogance to the posture — his answers are invariably thoughtful, if occasionally stumbling.

It's just a surfer's informality. And it's a

Cohen had found his Bruce Lee.

Jason Lee confirms he had early doubts.

"Well, it was first of all walking into it not being a martial artist, and understanding what kind of responsibility that was and what kind of critical pressure that I was going to take on from martial artists," he says.

And then there was the intimidating prospect of playing Bruce Lee, who has become a cult figure since his death in 1973.

"The scope of the legendary status that he had, the charisma, the energy, the explosiveness, the grace, the balletic movement of which he was capable, it was like taking someone who wasn't a dancer and putting him into the 'Rudolf Nureyev Story,'" he said of Bruce Lee. "I was in good physical condition, but I didn't in any way, shape or form have the kind of sinewy physique or explosiveness that I saw in Bruce Lee as a child."

Lee spent four months studying jeet kune do, the martial art developed by Bruce Lee, under the tutelage of Jerry Poteet, once an associate of the late star. Much of it involved learning the intricacies of the hybrid form, but, Lee says, was spent "sitting and not even physical, sipping tea and sharing thoughts, my fears."

The other assumption also

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# Daniel K. Inouye

1924–

*Japanese American member of the U.S. Senate*

A hero of World War II and the first Japanese American to serve in the U.S. Congress, Daniel K. Inouye has served the people of Hawaii since their island home became the fiftieth state in 1959. Initially a member of the House of Representatives, he was elected to the Senate in 1962, and there he has wielded considerable power and influence for the Democrats in a characteristically low-key fashion that emphasizes compromise over confrontation. It is an approach that has brought Inouye the respect of his colleagues within the government and the support of his constituents, who have re-elected him to national office a total of seven times.

Inouye is a member of the generation known by the Japanese term *nisei*, which describes the U.S.-born children of parents who emigrated from Japan. His father was just a young boy when he arrived in Hawaii with his own parents. Later, as an adult, he worked in Honolulu as a file clerk to support his family, earning just enough for him, his wife, and four children to live in a state of genteel poverty. But as his son Dan later recalled, his childhood was a happy one, and he grew up with the feeling that a better future awaited him if he were willing to work for it.

By the time he had reached his senior year of high school, Inouye's dream was to become a surgeon. But those plans changed forever on the morning of December 7, 1941, as he and his family were getting ready to go to church. Over the radio came news of the Japanese air raid then in progress at Pearl Harbor. Inouye, who had been teaching first aid at the local Red Cross station, rushed there to help and stayed on duty for nearly a week. He ended up spending much of the rest of his senior year attending classes during the day and working a twelve-hour shift for the Red Cross at night—a manic schedule he felt compelled to observe out of guilt over the fact that the attack had been carried out by the Japanese. Meanwhile, in the streets of Honolulu, he and other Hawaiians of Japanese descent endured taunts, insults, and sometimes outright hatred from whites.

In the fall of 1942, Inouye enrolled in the pre-med program at the University of Hawaii. He also added his voice to those of many other young *nisei* men who were petitioning the U.S. government to allow them to serve in the armed forces and thus demonstrate their loyalty to the country. Finally, in January 1943, the War Department announced that it would accept fifteen hundred *nisei* volunteers for a

new unit, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Inouye quit school and immediately joined up.

The 442nd went on to become the most decorated unit in U.S. military history; its four thousand members—who adopted “Go for Broke!” as their motto—received more than eighteen thousand medals for bravery. Inouye earned fifteen of them himself as one of the 442nd’s most heroic leaders. Fighting in Italy during the last few months of the war, he was critically wounded while directing a difficult uphill assault against a heavily-fortified German position on a high ridge. He spent the next two years in the hospital recovering from multiple bullet wounds to his abdomen and leg and the amputation of his right arm.

Upon returning home in 1947, Inouye resumed his education at the University of Hawaii. No longer interested in pursuing a career in medicine, he opted instead to study law with an eye toward one day entering public life. So, after receiving his bachelor’s degree in 1950, he headed to Washington, D.C., where he attended George Washington University Law School. Following his 1952 graduation, he returned to Honolulu and became involved in politics as a Democrat, winning election to the Territorial House in 1954 and serving two terms as majority leader. In 1958, his bid for a seat in the Territorial Senate met with success, and there, too, he assumed the role of majority leader.

By the time Hawaii was admitted to the union as the fiftieth state in 1959, Inouye was so popular with his fellow islanders that he easily captured the new state’s first seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Three years later, he decided to run for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by one of Hawaii’s first senators and ended up beating his Republican opponent by more than a two-to-one margin.

From the very beginning of his congressional career, Inouye has tended to hold a liberal opinion on social issues but a more moderate or even conservative one on economic and defense issues. He has, for example, consistently supported civil rights legislation through the years, including the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964, and also backed the “Great Society” social welfare programs of President Lyndon Johnson. As a loyal Democrat, he sided with the president on the conduct of the Vietnam War but aligned himself with the forces in his party calling for peace once Republican Richard Nixon took office.

Inouye’s loyalty was rewarded during the 1960s with his appointment to a number of high-ranking positions in the party, including assistant majority whip and vice-chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. He was also mentioned several times as a possible vice-presidential candidate, particularly after he delivered the following keynote address to delegates attending the Democratic National Convention in Chicago on August 29, 1968. At the time, the country was in turmoil—race riots had exploded in many major cities over several previous summers, shock waves still reverberated from the recent assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert F. Kennedy, and antiwar demonstrations were erupting on university and college campuses across the nation (and even right outside the convention hall). Inouye won widespread acclaim for a stirring speech in which he criticized the forces threatening to tear apart the United States and urged concerned citizens to take positive rather than negative action to correct political and social ills. It is reprinted here from *Vital Speeches of the Day*, September 15, 1968.



My fellow Americans: This is my country. Many of us have fought hard for the right to say that. Many are struggling today from Harlem to Danang so that they may say it with conviction.

This is our country.

And we are engaged in a time of great testing—testing whether this nation, or any nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to opportunity for all its citizens, can not only endure but continue to progress. The issue before all of us in such a time is how shall we discharge, how shall we honor our citizenship.

The keynote address at a national political convention traditionally calls for rousing oratory. I hope to be excused from this tradition tonight. For I do not view this occasion as one for either flamboyance or levity.

I believe the real reason we are here is that there is a word called "commitment," because we are committed to the future of our country and all our people, and because for that future, hope and faith are more needed now than pride in our party's past.

For even as we emerge from an era of unsurpassed social and economic progress, Americans are clearly in no mood for counting either their blessings or their bank accounts.

We are still embarked on the longest unbroken journey of economic growth and prosperity in our history. Yet we are torn by dissension, and disrespect for our institutions and leaders is rife across the land.

In at least two of our greatest universities, learning has been brought to a halt by student rebellions; others of the student revolution have publicly burned draft cards and even the American flag.

Crime has increased so that we are told one out of every three Americans is afraid to walk in his own neighborhood after dark.

Riot has bludgeoned our cities, laying waste our streets, our property and, most important, human lives. The smoke of destruction has even shrouded the dome of our Capitol, and in Washington the task of restoring order drew more than twice as many federal troops as were involved in the defense of Khesanh in Vietnam.

Voices of angry protest are heard throughout the land, crying for all manner of freedoms. Yet our political leaders are picketed and some who cry loudest for freedom have sought to prevent our president, our vice president and cabinet officers from speaking in public.

None go so far as publicly to condone a poli-

tics of assassination. Yet assassins' bullets have robbed our country of three great leaders within the last five years.

Why? . . . Why—when we have at last had the courage to open up an attack on the age-old curses of ignorance and disease and poverty and prejudice—why are the flags of anarchism being hoisted by leaders of the next generation? Why, when our maturing society welcomes and appreciates art as never before, are poets and painters so preponderantly hostile? Some conveniently blame all our ills and agonies on a most difficult and unpopular commitment overseas. The Vietnam war must end, they say, because it is an immoral war.

Of course, the war in Vietnam must be ended. But it must be ended, as President Johnson said last March, by patient political negotiation rather than through the victorious force of arms—even though this may be unpalatable for those raised in the tradition of glorious military victories.

But like our other complex problems, this one must also be solved responsibly. Just as we shun irresponsible calls for total and devastating military victory, so must we guard against the illusion of an instant peace that has no chance of permanence.

Of course, the Vietnam war is immoral. Whether by the teachings of Moses or by the teachings of Christ or by the teachings of Buddha, I believe that wars are immoral. During the Crusades, Christians in the name of Jesus Christ slaughtered innocent men, women and children and plundered their cities—because they were of another faith. These were immoral wars.

In Vietnam we build schools across the countryside and feed the hungry in the cities. And our president has pledged massive sums in aid to all Vietnamese as an incentive to peace. And yet this is an immoral war.

Perhaps by the time my four-year-old son is grown, men will have learned to live by the Ten Commandments. But men have not yet renounced the use of force as a means to their objectives.

And until they do, are we more immoral—if there be such a degree—to fracture our solemn commitments and then see our word doubted, not only by our friends abroad, but by our enemies?

Knowing that this could lead to tragic miscalculations, is it less immoral now to take the easier course, and gamble the lives of our sons and grandsons on the outcome?

Daniel K.  
INOUE



These are not easy questions and perhaps there are no certain answers.

But when young people have rioted in China and Czechoslovakia as well as at Columbia, and in Paris and Berlin as well as in Berkeley, I doubt that we can blame all the troubles of our time on Vietnam.

Other critics tell us of the revolution of rising expectations. They charge that it has reached such proportions that men now take it as an insult when they are asked to be reasonable in their desires and demands.

If this is too often true as a generalization, it is all too frequently aimed particularly at our fellow citizens of African ancestry, whose aspirations have burst full-blown on us after more than one hundred years of systematic racist deprivation.

As an American whose ancestors came from Japan, I have become accustomed to a question most recently asked by a very prominent businessman who was concerned about the threat of riots and the resultant loss in life and property. "Tell me," he said, "why can't the Negro be like you?"

First, although my skin is colored, it is not black. In this country, the color of my skin does not ignite prejudice that has smoldered for generations.

Second, although my grandfather came to this country in poverty, he came without shackles; he came as a free man enjoying certain constitutional rights under the American flag.

Third, my grandfather's family was not shattered as individual members of it were sold as chattel or used as security on loans. And fourth, although others of my ancestry were interned behind barbed wires during World War II, neither my parents nor I were forced by covenants and circumstances to live in ghettos.

Unlike those of my ancestry, the Negro's unemployment rate is triple the national average. The mortality rate of his children is twice that of white children.

He often pays more for his miserable tenement than comparable space will cost in the white suburbs. He is likely to pay more for his groceries, more for his furniture, more for his liquor and more for his credit.

And, my fellow Americans, today many thousands of black Americans return from Vietnam with medals of valor, some of them have been crippled in the service of their country. But too often they return to economic and social cir-



Daniel K. Inouye

cumstances that are barely, if at all, improved over those they left.

Is it any wonder that the Negro questions whether his place in our country's history books will be any less forgotten than were the contributions of his ancestors? Is it any wonder that the Negroes find it hard to wait another one hundred years before they are accepted as full citizens in our free society?

Of course, expectations are rising—and they are rising faster than we in our imperfect world can fulfill them.

The revolution we in the United States are experiencing was born of Democratic processes that not only accommodate economic progress and social mobility, but actively encourage them.

But it is important to remember that these expectations are the children of progress and that today's restlessness has been nurtured by our very real achievements. Out of these should emerge a brighter and better society than we have known.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the situation of our young people today. The success of our economic system has freed them in ever-increasing numbers from the tragedies of premature mortality and early labor.

It has built the schools in which they are being educated to higher levels than ever in our



nation's history. And this progress has been achieved in a political system that not only admits but safeguards the right of dissent.

So it should hardly surprise us when the children of such progress demand to be heard when they become aware of inequities still to be corrected. Neither should we fear their voices. On the contrary, whether we know it or not, the marching feet of youth have led us into a new era of politics and we can never turn back.

But what should concern us is something far more fundamental. The true dimension of the challenge facing us is a loss of faith. I do not mean simply a loss of religious faith, although this erosion is a major contributor to our unease. I mean a loss of faith in our country, in its purposes and its institutions. I mean a retreat from the responsibilities of citizenship.

The plain fact is that in the face of complexity and frustration, too many Americans have drifted into the use of power for purely destructive purposes. Too many Americans have come to believe it is their right to decide as individuals which of our laws they will obey and which they will violate.

I do not mean to say that all our laws are just. They're not, and I don't mean to suggest that protest against unjust laws is not proper. Performed in an orderly manner, the right to protest is a cornerstone of our system.

Men must have the opportunity to be heard even when their views are extreme and in a lesser democratic country, dangerous. I, too, have spoken against laws which I considered wrong and unjust, and I am sure I will speak—and vote—against many, many more.

But my fellow Americans, I have not burned my birth certificate, and I will not renounce my citizenship.

Those who would do such things are relatively few. But there is a much larger number who in the face of change and disorder have retreated into disengagement and quiet despair. Less destructively but not less surely, such men are also retreating from the responsibilities of citizenship.

Now let us not deceive ourselves about the consequences of such abdication. It is anarchy. It is a state in which each individual demands instant compliance with his own desires, and from there it is but a short step to the assumption by each individual of the right to decide which of his neighbors shall live and which shall not, and so accelerate the sickening spiral of violence which has already cost us our

beloved John F. Kennedy, our great leader Martin Luther King Jr. and the voice of this decade, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

We have been told that the revolts are against the system, and that Establishment must be torn down. But my fellow Americans, in Paris recently, students cut down hundred-year-old trees to erect temporary street barricades. Those trees had lived through two world wars. Some of them had even survived the revolution of 1848.

Were the goals of these students served by the destruction of those trees? How long will it

Daniel K.  
INOUE

*“Too many Americans have come to believe it is their right to decide as individuals which of our laws they will obey and which they will violate.”*

take for their beauty and the vitality they symbolized to grow again? What trees did the students plant in their place?

If we cut down our institutions, public and private, and with indifference starve the systems which have given us our achievements, who will feed the hungry? Who will train the unskilled?

Who will supply the jobs that mean opportunity for the generation whose voices are not yet heard? And who will launch the much-needed Marshall Plan to rebuild our cities and open opportunity for all Americans? These undertakings are too great for individuals going their separate ways.

Finally, my fellow Americans, let us remember that even anarchy is only a way station. Man, the social animal, has always craved order. He has made the most essential function of his government the maintenance of some level of order.

Chaos and anarchy have never been more than preludes to totalitarianism. Tyrants like Adolph Hitler have taught this before.

So, my fellow Americans, let us reject violence as a means of protest, and let us reject those who preach violence. But let us not tempt those who would hide the evil face of racism behind the mask of law and order.

To permit violence and anarchy to destroy our cities is to spark the beginning of a cancer-

ous growth of doubt, suspicion, fear and hatred that will gradually infect the whole nation.

Poverty, discrimination, deprivation, as evil as they are, do not justify violence or anarchy, do not justify looting or burning and do not justify murder or assassination. Law and order must be respected and maintained to protect the rights—yes, the civil rights—of all our citizens.

But let us resist also the temptation to apathy because we can never cure the causes of violence with indifference. And, my fellow Americans, in the last analysis law and order can only rest securely with justice and its foundation.

So let's look at how much we have already built and then get on with the work.

At a time when guns are still heard in some areas of the world, we have laid in place such building blocks of mankind's survival as the nuclear test ban treaty of 1963, the banning of atomic weapons in space of 1967, and the nuclear nonproliferation treaty of 1968. These are vital foundations, vital foundations of peace and we must build on them.

Under the health measures first proposed by the presidency of our most beloved Harry S. Truman and passed during the remarkable administration of Lyndon B. Johnson, twenty million older Americans are now protected under Medicare.

Our elder Americans can now live their autumn years in dignity and in security. And infant mortality has declined to a new low, and federally-funded community health centers are now serving nearly fifty million Americans. These too are vital foundations and on them we must build fuller lives for our citizens.

And since 1963, President Johnson has proposed and Congress has enacted more than forty major new laws to foster education in our country. Since 1963, our government has tripled its investment in education and in the past four years alone we have invested twice as much as was spent in the previous one hundred years. These are the foundations from which towers of human achievement can soar.

The last eleven years have seen the passage of the five civil rights laws passed during the entire history of the United States, and I might

note in passing that Lyndon Baines Johnson is the author, chief architect or primary sponsor of each of the civil rights laws.

When all summers are long and hot, it is well to remember that the one hundred years of the Emancipation Proclamation is finally but slowly but becoming a reality, and the occupants of some of our highest offices are testimony that black talent is just as important as white talent.

Working together, we have done much. We can and we must do much, much more.

Fellow Democrats, we are here tonight because in large part we share our faith in our country and in its processes of orderly, humanistic change. Change and challenge should not deter us now—we have long been a party of change and challenge.

The need for new ideas and improved institutions should not deter us now—we have long been a party of new ideas.

That today's crisis is one of the human spirit should not deter us—we have long been a party which gave priority to the needs of human beings.

So let us go forward with programs responsive to the needs of today and responsive to the needs of tomorrow.

Fellow Americans, this is our country. Its future is what we, its citizens, will make it.

And as we all know, we have much to do. Putting aside hatred on the one hand and timidity on the other, let us grow fresh faith in our purpose and new vigor in our citizenship.

Let us welcome the ideas and energies of the young and the talents and participation of all responsible people.

Let us plant trees and grow new opportunity. And, my fellow Americans, let us build not only new buildings but new neighborhoods and then let us live in them, all as full citizens and all as brothers.

In closing I wish to share with you a most sacred word of Hawaii. It is "aloha." To some of you who visited us it may have meant hello. To others "aloha" may have meant good-bye. But to those of us who have been privileged to live in Hawaii, "aloha" means "I love you."

So to all of you, my fellow Americans, aloha.



During the administrations of presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Bill Clinton, Inouye continued to favor liberal causes such as abortion rights, gun control, organized labor, and consumer protection laws while voting to support some Cold War-era military measures, including funding for development of a neutron bomb. He has also been a longtime champion of Israel.

Inouye's influence in a number of these areas has been considerable thanks to the high-ranking positions he has held on key Senate committees—assignments that have occasionally put him in the national spotlight. In 1973, for example, Inouye served as a member of the Senate Watergate Committee, a role in which he won over many fans for his patient yet tenacious questioning of less-than-cooperative witnesses. He again found himself in the public eye in 1987, when he chaired the Iran-contra hearings.

But Inouye's most significant and enduring work has probably been carried out behind the scenes. In 1976, for instance, he served as chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, which drafted rules governing the covert operations of U.S. intelligence organizations at home and abroad in an effort to curb some of their more flagrant abuses of power. As a longtime member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and former chairman of its Foreign Operations Subcommittee, Inouye has wielded a great deal of clout in foreign policy matters by determining which countries will receive aid and how much they will receive. More recently, he played an important role in overseeing developments in cable television, telephone communications, and the "Information Superhighway" as former chairman of the Science, and Transportation Subcommittee on Communications of the Senate Commerce Committee.

Because of his own experience with racial prejudice during World War II, Inouye has always been especially sensitive to discrimination against minorities. Of particular interest to him through the years have been the concerns of Native Americans, and as chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs he earned their trust and respect for his strong support of tribal sovereignty and self-determination. On December 2, 1991, Inouye addressed some of the major issues facing Native Americans and his Senate Committee in a speech he delivered at the annual convention of the National Congress of American Indians, held that year in San Francisco. Inouye provided a copy of his remarks.



Good morning. I am pleased to be with you  
ain to address the theme of the 48th annual  
vention of the National Congress of Ameri-  
Indians—"protecting sovereignty, defending  
rights, preserving our culture."

As most of you know, there are three prin-  
es that guide our work in the committee.  
se principles are sovereignty, self-determi-  
on and self-governance.

ogether, we have accomplished much over  
course of the past year, in preserving the  
eignty of tribal governments and defend-

ing tribal rights. As we gather here today, we  
can proudly celebrate two major achievements  
that directly affect the sovereignty of tribal  
governments.

The first, of course, is the action of the Con-  
gress to overturn the ruling of the Supreme  
Court in *Duro v. Reina*, and to recognize the  
inherent sovereignty of tribal governments to  
exercise criminal jurisdiction over all Indian  
people on their reservations.

The second major achievement in preserv-  
ing the sovereignty of tribal governments grows  
out of a significant vote in the United States

Senate on June 25 of this year, in which members of the Senate took up a bill of considerable volume—245 pages in length—known as the Violent Crime Control Act. This act proposes to address a wide range of issues related to the control of violent crime—from safer streets and neighborhoods to the prevention and punishment of terrorist acts.

Buried within the hundreds of pages and the hundreds of provisions in this bill are 86 words—86 words that for Indian tribal governments, go to the very foundation of their status as sovereigns within our constitutional system.

These 86 words would accord to tribal governments a status which state governments have come to take for granted—the right to develop and shape the laws that will apply within the scope of their jurisdiction.

These 86 words became the subject of Senate debate for over two hours—86 words that affect Indian Country in a dramatic and demonstrable fashion.

Those 86 words confirm that tribal governments are sovereign, and that like state governments, they have the sovereign right to elect whether the death penalty will apply to crimes committed by Indians on Indian lands.

While there were some in the Senate who argued strongly against the recognition of tribes as sovereign governments—some who refused to acknowledge the governmental status of Indian nations and argued that Indians were only another “special-interest ethnic group”—in the end, the Senate elected, by a vote of 69 to 29, to confirm the sovereignty of tribal governments.

This morning, I have just come from a press conference that focused upon a new force in Indian Country—a unifying force that is bringing the leaders of diverse Indian nations to work together and to speak with one voice.

In one short year, we have seen what you have accomplished with your collective energy and commitment. You have called upon the Congress to overturn the *Duro* decision—you spoke with one voice and with strong consensus—and the Congress acted upon your mandate.

You came to the Congress on the death penalty issue—you made members aware of the disproportionate impact such a federal penalty would have on Indian people, and you presented the issue in the context of sovereignty.

You urged the Congress to understand this issue as one that is fundamental to the sover-

eignty of your nations, and the Congress responded.

In April of this year, your representative went to the White House, and you called upon the president to reaffirm the government-to-government relationship between the United States and Indian nations, and you asked him to reaffirm the federal policy of Indian self-determination.

On June 14 of this year, the president signaled that he had heard your message, and that he recognized your sovereignty. He reaffirmed the official policy of the United States of Indian self-governance and self-determination, he acknowledged the trust responsibility of the United States, and he underscored the government-to-government relationship and the status of tribal governments in the American family of governments.

Earlier this year, you brought your heartfelt message to the American people—that you would no longer tolerate the appropriation of Native American human remains, sacred and funerary objects, by museums and scientific institutions.

You communicated your message in every form of media, and slowly but surely you built a momentum of public opinion that carried your message to the halls of the Congress and to the living rooms of the American people.

You found that you had friends and supporters across the country who were sensitive to your cause, and who joined their voices with yours in calling upon the Congress to enact a federal law that would assure the repatriation of the remains of your ancestors.

Yes, you have achieved much in a very short time, by recognizing and focusing upon those concerns that you have in common.

By working together to address the problems that confront many of your communities, you have been able to make a substantial and real difference.

You have changed the laws, you have shaped new laws, you have caused law that was detrimental to your sovereignty to be rejected.

You have begun to explore your great power to communicate your concerns, your issues, to communicate your objectives and ideals. And you have found that there are many who are listening to your message.

I am pleased that you have chosen this path, because I have long thought that there are many positive stories in Indian Country to be told,

and that a focus on communicating your successes could have a significant effect on the self-esteem of the younger generations of Indian people.

For instance, as I have stated before, I don't believe that it is generally known that American Indians have fought and died in the service of this country in numbers far greater than their proportion in the population.

This is a compelling statement about the patriotism and the commitment of Indian people to a nation that has not always dealt with them in an honorable fashion.

Given the history of efforts to exterminate the Indian people, to remove them from their homelands, and then to terminate their sovereign status, I think it is a wonder that thousands of Indian people would take up arms in the defense of the United States.

But Indian men and women have served the nation in every military action in which our country has been involved, and this is a story that should be told.

When we speak of unity, we must also be conscious of the lack of unity, and accordingly, I feel that I must take this opportunity to share with you my concerns over recent events related to the action of the committee to recognize the Lumbee tribe of North Carolina.

First, we must always be mindful that the forces which are arrayed against you are massive and powerful. Numerically, you are outnumbered. Economically, you are dwarfed. Politically, it is no contest.

Therefore, to get your message across, your voice must be a loud, unified voice—a voice representing the combined voices of two million Native American Indians.

Knowing this, I am all too often saddened to note the divisions among Native Americans—to note the divisions in Indian Country.

And in this particular case, I was deeply saddened to note the opposition—voiced not by non-Indian people, but opposition voiced by brother and sister Indians.

I am certain there were many sitting on the sidelines, smiling over this development and pleased with the division in the ranks.

If the opposition was based upon facts, such as a perception that the Lumbees are not Indians, but rather people masquerading as Indians, that would be understandable.

But the opposition, at least that which is publicly stated, was based upon the fact that the

Lumbees were many in number, and thereby, as such, may take away what little is now being distributed in Indian Country.

This is not opposition based upon principle. This is not opposition based upon fact. This is opposition based upon a concept which I have been told is foreign among Native Americans—materialism.

If there is not enough to go around, let's do what we have been doing for the last five years—join hands and work towards getting more.

Because if the rationale of the argument of the opponents is carried to the ultimate, one way to get *more* for Indian Country is to reduce its numbers.

There will be *more* for the *few* remaining.

Let us not fall into the trap that your opponents and detractors have been laying out throughout these ages. Do not become the victims of the old ploy of "divide and conquer."

There is another matter that I wish to address today, and I will touch on it only briefly, because I believe that most of you may know that of which I speak.

When the Congress enacted the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, there was a balance that was carefully struck to assure that the sovereignty

Daniel K.  
INOUYE

*"Given the history of efforts to exterminate the Indian people . . . I think it is a wonder that thousands would take up arms in the defense of the United States."*

of the state governments and the sovereignty of the tribal governments would be mutually respected.

The act contemplates that both governments will negotiate in good faith, and that both governments will abide by the terms of the law.

The act provides that tribal governments must have management contracts approved, and background checks are to be conducted to assure that tribal gaming activities are operated by honest people.

The act is clear about the kinds of activities and the kinds of machines that fall within the

Class III category, and for those activities and machines, there must be a tribal-state compact in place.

If there is no compact, there is a violation of federal law that carries with it criminal penalties.

Recently, we have received reports of activities that are clearly not allowed under the law, and as many of you know, there has already been action taken in some states to bring a halt to such activities.

My message is this. Tribal governments must abide by the terms of the federal law, just as tribes expect state governments to do.

If you don't monitor and enforce the law as it relates to your own activities, there are many who are just waiting on the sidelines, who are eager to do so.

Ten days ago, I joined some of you in presenting testimony to the House Interior Committee on the idea of an American Indian university.

This is not a new idea—it has been around for some twenty years. It is an idea that is approached with some caution, as well it should be.

But it is also an idea to which many members of the Select Committee are committed, if you but signal the course of action.

As you discuss strategies of achieving the goals which are the theme of this conference I hope that you will consider a national Indian university—if well-designed in full consultation with Indian Country—as a strategy that is likely to be beneficial.

In my testimony ten days ago on Delegate Faleomavaega's bill to establish such an institution, I reflected what I had heard from tribal leaders and Indian educators—that the first step should be an analysis of the need for and the purpose of an Indian university within the framework of existing tribal colleges and other postsecondary education opportunities.

Further, I urged careful formulation of a statement of purpose for such an institution. If the purpose urged by one Indian nation at the hearing—to help assure the future vitality of Indian communities—were to be adopted, an Indian university could certainly become part of a strategy to achieve the goals of this conference.

I await your guidance and direction on this matter, but I want to underscore that if it is your wish to proceed with the planning for an American Indian university, there are several members of the Select Committee who are poised to act to assure that this idea becomes a reality, because they believe that the time is ripe for action.

Finally, I want to address the matter of preserving your culture, for without your sovereignty and without your culture, none of us would be here today.

I am committed to two major undertakings in the coming year, at a minimum. One is to work with you to begin the planning for hearings and meetings that will be held across Indian Country on the issue of sovereignty.

This may be, perhaps, the first opportunity that Indian Country has had to define sovereignty, to develop a definitive record on the historical and legal developments that have established the sovereign status of tribal governments in the United States Constitution and in the law.

I would anticipate that these hearings and meetings would begin in 1993 and would go on for at least three years. And so, I want to begin work with you now to plan where these hearings will be conducted and the issues that they will address.

Secondly, over the course of the coming year, I am committed to holding hearings on the draft bill that most of you know as the American Indian Religious Freedom Resolution.

There is nothing more sacred than the protection and preservation of your languages, your culture and your traditions. Your religious freedom must be guaranteed. I pledge my time and support to this effort.

It will not be an easy road to travel. There will need to be much education of the American Public and the members of the Congress. But in the end, I know that we will be successful.

It is my hope and my goal to assure that the American Indian Religious Freedom Resolution becomes part of the body of federal Indian law in 1993.



Another subject of intense personal interest for Inouye is his wartime service and the strong bond he has maintained through the years with his fellow members of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. In March 1993, hundreds of survivors met in Honolulu to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of their unit, the bravery they displayed overseas, and their triumph over bigotry at home. One of the two featured speakers at the reunion was Inouye, who delivered a poignant keynote address on March 24. The senator supplied a copy of his speech.

Daniel K.  
INOUE



This gathering is an important one—it will be a gathering of nostalgia . . . a gathering of sad memories . . . a gathering of laughter and fun . . . a gathering of goodbyes, for this may be our last roll call of the regiment.

We have travelled vast distances—from every state and from many foreign lands—to be together in Honolulu. We have travelled a lifetime together for this meeting in Honolulu. When did this journey to Honolulu begin?

Although this is our 50th reunion, our journey began before that date. Our fate was decided 52 years, 3 months and 2 weeks ago on that tragic Sunday in December. Our journey began on December 7, 1941.

Soon after that tragic Sunday morning, we who were of Japanese ancestry were considered by our nation to be citizens without a country. I am certain all of us remember that the Selective Service system of our country designated us to be unfit for military service because we were "enemy aliens." Soon after that, on February 19, 1942, the White House issued an extraordinary Executive Order—Executive Order 9066. This dreaded Executive Order forcibly uprooted our mainland brothers and their families and their loved ones from their homes with only those possessions that they were able to carry themselves and were granted forty-eight hours to carry out this order.

Our mainland brothers were not charged or indicted or convicted for the commission of any crime—because no crime was committed. Their only crime, if any, was that they were born of Japanese parents and for that crime, they were incarcerated in internment camps surrounded by barbed-wire fences, guarded by machine-gun towers. They were sent to strange places with strange names—Manzanar, Tule Lake, Rohwer, Gila, Topaz. Although a few members of Hawaii's Japanese community were interned in Honouliuli (a rather well-kept secret), very

few, if any of us in Hawaii, were aware of the mass internment of our mainland brothers and their families.

Although we were separated by a vast ocean and mountain ranges, we from the mainland and Hawaii shared one deep-seated desire—to rid ourselves of that insulting and degrading designation, "enemy alien." We wanted to serve our country. We wanted to demonstrate our love for our country.

After many months of petitions and letters,

*"Their only crime, if any, was that they were born of Japanese parents and for that crime, they were incarcerated in internment camps. . . ."*

another Executive Order was issued with the declaration that ". . . Americanism is a matter of mind and heart; Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry." By this Executive Order, the formation of the special combat team made up of Japanese Americans was authorized.

More than the anticipated numbers volunteered; in fact, in Hawaii, about eighty-five percent of the eligible men of Japanese Americans volunteered. Those who were selected assembled in Schofield Barracks to prepare for our departure from Hawaii. That was fifty years ago. In early April, we boarded railway flatbeds in Wahiawa and rode to Iwilei. There we got off the trains with our heavy duffel bags to march to Pier 7. But keep in mind that most of us had less than two weeks of military training and

many of us were yet to be toughened and hardened. And so we found ourselves struggling with those heavy bags on a march of over a mile. This was the farewell parade of the 442nd. For many parents this was the last sight of their sons. I cannot understand why the Army did not place those duffel bags in trucks and permit us to march heads up and tall as we said goodbye to Hawaii. For many, the last look of their sons must have been a rather sad one because we looked like a ragtag formation of prisoners of war. I will never forget our sad departure from Hawaii.

But after several weeks, we from Hawaii and the mainland gathered in Camp Shelby in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, the home of chiggers and ticks, sweat and dirt.

All of us were of the same ancestry, but somehow our first encounter was an unhappy one. In a few days, violent arguments and fights erupted within our area and these fights became commonplace. The men of the regiment found themselves segregated into two camps, one from Hawaii and the other from the mainland. This relationship was so bad that senior Army officers seriously considered disbanding the regiment.

Many projects were initiated and many lectures were delivered to bring about unity, but all failed except the Rohwer experiment. Our regimental records will not disclose the name of the author of this experiment, but history will show that we owe much to him.

Whoever he was, [he] suggested that the internees of Rohwer send an invitation to the regiment inviting young enlisted men from Hawaii to join them for a weekend of fun and festivities in the camp. As I recall, each company selected ten enlisted men. I was fortunate to be one of those selected by E Company. On the appointed day, these men from Hawaii, all cleanly showered, smelling of after-shave lotion, with their guitars and ukuleles, boarded trucks for this journey to Rohwer. Rohwer was an internment camp in Arkansas.

From the time we left Shelby in the early morning hours, this special convoy was a convoy of laughter and music. All were anticipating happy times with the young ladies of Rohwer.

Suddenly, this fantasy was shattered. We came in sight of the Rohwer internment camp. In the distance, we could see rows of barracks surrounded by high barbed-wire fences with machine-gun towers. The music stopped and there was no laughter.

Keep in mind that very few, if any of us, were aware of these camps. Our mainland brothers never spoke of them, never complained, and so we did not know.

When we finally came to the gate, we were ordered to get off the trucks. We were in uniform and were confronted by men in similar uniforms but they had rifles with bayonets. For a moment, I thought that there would be a tragic encounter, but fortunately nothing happened as we were escorted through the gate. There we were greeted by the people of Rohwer who were all persons of Japanese ancestry—grandparents, parents, children, grandchildren. Although a dance was held that evening, I doubt if any of us really enjoyed ourselves. But it was an unforgettable evening.

When we left Rohwer the following morning, the singing and the laughter and music that filled our trucks when we left Camp Shelby was replaced by grim silence. The atmosphere was grim and quiet, and I believe that all of us, as we reflected upon that strange visit, asked ourselves the question, "Would I have volunteered from a camp like Rohwer?" To this day, I cannot give an answer because I really do not know if I would have volunteered to serve our nation if I had been interned in one of those camps.

So suddenly, our respect, admiration, and love for our Kotonk brothers rose to phenomenal heights. They suddenly became our blood brothers and overnight a new, tough, tightly united military fighting machine was formed. It was a regiment made up of blood brothers and we were ready to live up to our motto, "Go for Broke." And thus the 442nd Infantry Regimental Combat Team was formed.

There are too many battles to recall—from Belvedere to Bruyeres, from Hill 140 to the Po Valley. But there is one we will never forget and one hopefully that our nation will always remember—the Battle of the Lost Battalion.

This battle began during the last week of October, 1944. The members of the First Battalion of the 141st Infantry Regiment of the 36th Texas Division found themselves surrounded by a large number of enemy troops. This "lost battalion" was ordered to fight its way back, but could not do so. The Second and Third Battalions of the Texas Regiment were ordered to break through but they were thrown back, and so on October 26, the 442nd was ordered to go into the lines to rescue the "lost battalion." On November 15, the rescue was successfully concluded.



Two days later, we were ordered to assemble in formal retreat parade formation to personally receive the commendation of the 36th Division from the commanding general of the Texas unit. The men of the regiment assembled in a vast field of a French farm. I can still hear the company commanders making their reports—A Company, all present and accounted for; B Company, all present and accounted for; E Company, all present and accounted for. It was an eerie scene. It has been reported that General Dahlquist, who had ordered this formation, was at first angered by the small attendance and reprimanded our commander, who in reply is reported to have said, "Sir, this is the regiment." As a result of the Battle of the Lost Battalion, two thousand men were in hospitals and over three hundred had died. The price was heavy. Although we did not whimper or complain, we were sensitive to the fact that the rescuers of the Texas Battalion were not members of the Texas Division. They were Japanese Americans from Hawaii and from mainland internment camps. They were "enemy aliens."

I can still hear the proud and defiant voices of the company commanders as they made their reports. I can still see the company commander of E Company making his report. E Company had forty-two men, and though we were less than a quarter of the authorized company strength, E Company was the largest company at that retreat parade. K Company was led by a staff sergeant. K Company was made up of twelve men. When I heard the last commander shout out his report, "All present and accounted for," like many of you, I could almost feel the insulting and degrading designation that was placed on our shoulders long ago in December, 1941—the designation of "enemy alien"—fall crashing to the ground in that far-away French farm. And we knew that from that moment on, no one could ever, ever, question our loyalty and our love for our country. The insulting stigma was finally taken away.

Years later, the United States Army called upon a special commission of military historians, analysts and strategists to select the ten most important battles of the U.S. Army Infantry from the Revolutionary War to the Korean War. The Battle of the Lost Battalion was selected as one of the honored ten. Our battle is listed together with our nation's most glorious and historic battles, such as the Battle of Vicksburg during the Civil War, the Battle at Meuse-Argonne in France during World War I, and the Battle of Leyte in the Philippines during World War II.

Today, specially commissioned paintings of these ten most important battles are proudly displayed in the Pentagon.

Over the years, many have asked us—"Why?" "Why did you fight and serve so well?" My son, like your sons and daughters, has asked the same question—"Why?" "Why were you willing and ready to give your life?" We have tried to provide answers to these questions and I hope that my answer to my son made sense.

I told my son it was a matter of honor. I told him about my father's farewell message when I left home to put on the uniform of my country. My father was not a man of eloquence but he said, "Whatever you do, do not dishonor the family and do not dishonor the country." I told my son that for many of us, to have done any less than what we had done in battle would have dishonored our families and our country.

Second, I told my son that there is an often-used Japanese phrase—*Kodomo no tame ni*. Though most of us who went into battle were young and single, we wanted to leave a legacy of honor and pride and the promise of a good life for our yet-to-be-born children and their children.

My brothers, I believe we can assure ourselves that we did succeed in upholding our honor and that of our families and our nation. And I respectfully and humbly believe that our service and the sacrifices of those who gave their all on the battlefield assure a better life for our children and their children.

Yes, I believe we can stand tall this evening in knowing that our journey together, a journey that began on that tragic Sunday morning, was not in vain. And so tonight, let us embrace with our hearts and minds the memory of those brothers who are not with us this evening and let us do so with all of our affection and gratitude. Let us embrace with deep love our loved ones for having stood with us and walked with us on our journey. Let us embrace with everlasting gratitude and Aloha the many friends and neighbors who supported us throughout our journey. Let us embrace with everlasting love our great nation.

And finally, let us embrace our sons and daughters with full pride and with the restful assurance that the story of our journey of honor will live on for generations to come.

And so, my brothers, let us this evening, in the spirit of our regiment, stand tall with pride, have fun, and let's "Go for Broke."

Daniel K.  
INOUIE

# Clifford I. Uyeda

1920(?)–

*Japanese American physician and activist*

Although his name may be unfamiliar to most people, Clifford I. Uyeda played a key role in two defining moments of recent Japanese American history—moments during the 1970s and 1980s when he and other members of his community finally began to come to grips with their painful memories of the World War II era. A longtime member of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), he spearheaded the group's efforts to obtain a pardon for "Tokyo Rose," a Japanese American woman convicted of treason for making English-language propaganda broadcasts to U.S. troops stationed in the Pacific. Uyeda subsequently headed the JACL committee that launched the campaign seeking redress for all those Japanese Americans evacuated from their homes and forced into concentration camps as potential threats to national security. For many Japanese Americans, these events were best forgotten. But to Uyeda, they were wrongs that deserved to be righted—not just for the benefit of Japanese Americans, but to underscore how truly vulnerable our freedom is in times of national stress and self-doubt.

A native of Washington's capital, Olympia, Uyeda grew up in the nearby city of Tacoma. After graduating from his local high school, he attended the University of Wisconsin, from which he received his bachelor's degree. He then went on to the Tulane University School of Medicine, where he earned his MD. Uyeda pursued additional specialized training in pediatrics at Harvard Medical School and Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston.

Following stints as a clinical and research fellow with the Harvard Pediatric Study and as a teaching fellow in pediatrics at Harvard Medical School, Uyeda moved to California. There he served as staff pediatrician with the Kaiser-Permanente Medical Group in San Francisco from 1953 until his retirement in 1975.

For Uyeda, however, "retirement" was when he at last had more time to devote to the causes that interested him most. The same year he left the medical field, for example, he became chairman of the JACL's National Committee for Iva Toguri, better known as "Tokyo Rose." Born in Los Angeles and educated at the University of California, Toguri happened to be in Japan visiting a critically ill aunt when war broke out between the United States and Japan. Unable to return home,

she was pressured by the Japanese to broadcast propaganda aimed at American troops stationed in the Pacific region. (She was just one of about a dozen women announcers soldiers dubbed "Tokyo Rose.") She would not agree to Japanese demands that she renounce her citizenship, however, a decision that later made it possible for U.S. authorities to charge her with treason when she re-entered the country after the war ended. Found innocent of overt acts of treason but convicted of trying to undermine American morale at her 1949 trial, Toguri was sentenced to ten years in prison and released on parole after serving a little more than six years.

During and after Toguri's trial, the Japanese American community tried very hard to distance itself from her and her "crimes." In the early 1970s, however, Uyeda learned from someone who had closely studied the trial that Toguri's prosecution and conviction were based on evidence the government knew was false, mainly because officials had threatened and intimidated defense witnesses and bribed others to lie during their testimony. Determined to correct this injustice, he eventually overcame opposition within the JACL (mostly among older members who did not want to get involved) and led the group's nationwide efforts to obtain a pardon for Toguri. Marshalling support from politicians, the media, and the public at large, Uyeda finally met with success in January 1977, when outgoing President Gerald Ford pardoned Toguri as one of his last official acts.

But Uyeda faced a much tougher battle over the next issue that he championed—redress for Japanese Americans interned in concentration camps during World War II. While the idea had surfaced occasionally among Japanese Americans since the late 1960s or so, it always sparked so much controversy both inside and outside their community (far more than even the Toguri case had) that little action had been taken on the subject.

On February 19, 1942, just nine weeks after the bombing of Pearl Harbor catapulted the United States into World War II, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066. This order called for the evacuation of some 120,000 Japanese Americans (about two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens) from the West Coast to large "relocation centers" in isolated areas of Arizona, Arkansas, inland California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. (A number of smaller camps were also set up in about fourteen other states.) Japanese Americans in other parts of the country were not affected by the order, and no similar action was taken against German Americans or Italian Americans.

None of the internees—who included men, women, and children of all ages and backgrounds—had been accused of any crime, yet they spent as long as three years imprisoned in tar-paper shacks behind barbed wire and guarded by armed military police. Many lost their homes, their businesses, their land, and their possessions; some lost their minds or even their lives; nearly all lost their dignity, their self-esteem, and their sense of security.

It was not until February 19, 1976, that the U.S. government officially rescinded Executive Order 9066. Issuing a special proclamation on the thirty-fourth anniversary of the original order, President Ford apologized for the relocation and acknowledged that "Japanese Americans were and are loyal Americans."

Ford's statement convinced some JACL members that the time was right to mount a campaign seeking some sort of compensation from the U.S. government to help make up for the injustice of having been persecuted merely for being of Japanese ancestry. In 1977, Uyeda became chairman of the group's National Committee for Redress, which immediately began compiling the information necessary "to clarify the issue of reparations, then submit concrete alternative plans

to the Japanese Americans for their review and comments," as he explained their purpose at the time. To foster a consensus on the issue among Japanese Americans, he contributed numerous articles on redress to the JACL's newspaper, *Pacific Citizen*, throughout the rest of 1977 and into 1978. Five JACL districts also conducted a survey on redress among members to gauge reactions to the idea.

In 1978, when Uyeda assumed the post of JACL national president, he shared the committee's recommendations with the rest of the organization. They included a controversial demand for \$25,000 to be paid to each person relocated to a camp (or their heirs) as a result of Executive Order 9066 and the establishment of a \$100 million-dollar trust fund to benefit Japanese Americans "to remind our nation of the continued need for vigilance and to render less likely the recurrence of similar injustice."

While Uyeda's proposal was unanimously adopted by the JACL's national council, it proved to be a harder sell elsewhere. As Roger Daniels notes in his book *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850*, "conservative forces within the organization, the community, and the nation were shocked that a 'model minority' should make such strident demands." Senator S.I. Hayakawa of California—a Japanese American who had been a Canadian citizen living in Chicago during the war and was therefore unaffected by the relocation—was sharply critical of the redress campaign and suggested that imprisoning Japanese Americans might actually have helped them in the long term because it pushed them out of their own little communities "to discover the rest of America." (He later reversed his position and supported redress.)

While virtually no other Japanese American agreed with Hayakawa's view of their ordeal, many did object to redress on other grounds. Some looked at it as a form of welfare and refused to have anything to do with it. Others maintained that no amount of money could possibly make up for what they had suffered and lost. Still others just did not want to dredge up the past.

During the two years he headed the JACL, Uyeda often spoke to members of local chapters across the country to explain the reasons behind the fight for redress. One such occasion was on January 20, 1979, when he addressed the Twin Cities group at a dinner held in Minneapolis. Uyeda furnished a copy of his remarks.



I appreciate this opportunity to appear before you tonight. I believe you will want me to speak out on the subject of redress which Japanese Americans seek for the injustices suffered as an official act of our own United States government. It happened in our lifetime. It is not an ancient wrong of the dim past.

There was no evidence or record of sabotage or espionage. There was no charge or indictment made against us. The [Supreme] Court, however, upheld the proposition that all persons of Japanese ancestry were enemies, that the war was not directed against Japan but at the Japanese race.

Losses sustained by the evacuees were far reaching. Property losses alone were estimated by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco to be in excess of \$400 million in 1942.

For those who point to the Evacuation Claims Act of 1948, remind them that the amount returned was less than a single year's interest on the original sum. [That] \$400 million would, in thirty-seven years, accumulate in interest alone billions of dollars.

For those who point to \$25,000 per individual as too large a redress, ask them if they would be willing to be uprooted from their homes and without a charge be incarcerated

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UYEDA

in a desert camp for years with complete uncertainty about their future for a mere \$25,000.

To some *Nikkei*, seeking redress is unacceptable, they say, because it is placing a price tag on our freedom and our rights.

Loss of freedom or injustice can never be equated monetarily. A meaningful redress, however, is a tangible expression of our own government's acknowledgment of the injustice and wrong committed against her own people.

Many fear backlash. It is fear of what their non-Japanese friends would say or think. There is also fear of reawakening in them their own feelings which had been so long suppressed.

Such fears may be well founded, but they are inappropriate in a responsible citizen. If we continue to ignore the past because it was unpleasant, and never even ask for a just restitution because it is not popular, then the experience emasculates the entire Japanese Americans as a group. To continue this submissive stance is tantamount to saying: "We prefer to be second class. Let someone else take the risk and the responsibility of a first-class citizenship."

If there are those amongst us who have achieved decent income, there are also others who have not. Let us not forget them.

Then there is the plight of the Japanese elderly. One out of five has income less than poverty level. According to the latest available national statistics, the Japanese 65 years and over have a lower median income than that of the total elderly population. It was \$2400 a year for males and \$1300 a year for females. Forty percent of the males and sixty-three percent of the females had income less than \$2000 a year.

In spite of the lower income the elderly Japanese received lower Social Security benefits than families of other races.

Therefore, many elderly Japanese Americans have very low median income on which to subsist, many are below poverty level, and many live alone.

Much of this was due to their having been expelled from the West Coast at the height of their productive years. They not only could not save for old age, they had lost everything they worked for.

It is the height of insensitivity to ignore our own people who must live in poverty because some of us are not in want.

We hear that because there will be recipients who are not at poverty level, redress is not



Clifford I. Uyeda

justified. Since when has wealth or poverty of an individual had anything to do with one's right to be free from false imprisonment, his right to constitutional safeguards, and his right to redress the wrong committed against him?

We are talking about the fundamental rights guaranteed all Americans by our own Constitution. Are the guarantees of the Bill of Rights absolute, or are we free to suspend them at any time according to the whims of those in power or the mood of hysteria which may prevail? We must take responsibility for what we do as a nation. We readily take credit for what our past generations have accomplished in the name of humanity. Can we so easily exclude ourselves then from our past national mistakes? Japanese Americans were deprived of liberty and property without criminal charges, and without a trial of any kind.

We must not be intimidated by irrational statements from the public, or even by some amongst us. What are some of the major backlashes being heard in America?

1) That those other Americans drafted to fight in the war were also uprooted from their homes, lived in camps, suffered deprivations, pain and even death on the battlefields.

Japanese American soldiers—there were 33,000 of them during World War II—also went through the same sacrifices common to

all citizens during wartime, and we seek no redress for such deprivations and sufferings.

Yes, there was a war going on. But to be regarded and treated as an enemy by one's own government without a shred of evidence, stripped of all constitutional and human rights, and then be told that your suffering is no different from those of any other American—any other American subjected to similar treatment by one's own government would have been equally outraged.

2) That if Japanese Americans seek redress, all Americans who suffered under enemy actions should be compensated. What about Americans who died at Pearl Harbor, and what about the sufferings of the POWs, they say.

The plain answer is that Japanese Americans had nothing to do with Pearl Harbor. We were also the victims on that tragic day. The POWs were under the control of the Japanese military government, not Japanese Americans.

These are the very reasons why we must speak about the evacuation and the need for redress. The very fact that so many Americans associate Japanese Americans with Pearl Harbor and the sufferings of the POWs clearly indicates that America still does not see us as Americans but as former enemies.

This was the myth the 442nd boys went out to destroy. They did a superb job, and paid for it in blood all out of proportion to a regiment of equal size. There is, however, much more to be done. This is the work of the redress campaign.

Thirty-five years ago it could be done only with sacrifices and more sacrifices on our own part, hoping against hope that these sacrifices would be recognized as a proof of our Americanism. When confronted with hostility from without, we punished ourselves to excel. We wanted the public to say, "Look, they're Americans after all." We were clearly a second-class citizen.

Today, as first-class citizens, we need no longer take just a submissive stance. We are ready to accept the responsibility and the risk of first-class citizens. We must claim our rights as Americans and claim the justice guaranteed us by our Constitution.

It is about time that Japanese Americans cut aside the second-class mentality with which we were forced to live.

On November 10, 1978, the West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and President Walter Scheel attended a memorial service to remember "Kristallnacht," the night 30,000 Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps.

It marked the beginning of the official anti-Semitism in Hitler's Germany exactly forty years ago.

Said Chancellor Schmidt: "Today's Germans are mostly innocent—yet we have to carry the political inheritance of the guilty and draw the consequences."

Germany can remember and make restitutions, but the United States cannot?

It took three hundred years before American blacks could demand to be treated with equality. It took thirty-five years for Japanese Americans to recover from the state of shock

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UYEDA

*"Are the guarantees of the Bill of Rights absolute, or are we free to suspend them at anytime according to the whims of those in power? . . ."*

they were put into by the incarceration experience. And the American public is just beginning to understand that Japanese Americans were victims of gross injustice.

Japanese Americans in 1945 were just out of concentration camps. They had lost everything. Mere survival was the major concern.

Today there is increasing concerns for human rights, both here and abroad.

Japanese Americans are, finally, overcoming their reluctance to express their feelings. They realize that if they don't speak out for themselves, no one else will.

For those who are afraid of the backlash, cringing at every criticism thrown our way, let me state that there are also friends out there whose sense of justice is keen and undaunted. They are also watching us.

We have received many heartwarming letters. Let me share a few with you. These are all from Caucasian Americans:

Mamaroneck, New York, October 24, 1978:  
*I was one of the U.S. infantry privates ordered to serve eviction notices to Japanese Americans in Guadalupe, California. I have not forgotten the pain I suffered in helping to implement this unsavory and totally un-American order. I wish*

you to believe that the guilt has rested heavily with me. . . . I wish you would let me know in what manner I could be of help in your effort to obtain a redress from our government. J.C.W.

Honolulu, Hawaii, August 13, 1978: I'm so glad the time is finally right for you to take on this challenge. The redress is long overdue, and America will learn a great lesson by meeting its obligations to the Japanese Americans involved. By rethinking this whole matter, and finally doing the right thing, the black mark on our history will at least have some sunlight shine on it. C.M.G.

Seattle, Washington, July 24, 1978: Only by a drastic measure can we bring the lesson home to make the Constitution mean what it says. . . . Even in Germany they found that an apology was not enough and that the victims had to be redressed. We should not do anything less. G.O.

Wheat Ridge, Colorado, October 27, 1978: I am a German American, but I was never blamed for what the Germans did to six million Jews during World War II. . . . I hope your efforts prove successful. . . . You have opened some eyes, and reminded thousands of one of the most embarrassing incidents in American history. D.P.L.

And finally,

Walnut Creek, California, October 20, 1978: I was captured on Bataan by the Japanese Army in April, 1942, and remained a prisoner of war for forty-two-and-a-half months. When the war was over and I returned to Chicago and was told that we sent our own American citizens of Japanese ancestry to American concentration camps, I could not believe that happened or could happen in America. Let me start off by saying \$25,000 is too low a figure for compensation. It bothers me that there are those in your ranks that are still concerned about what their fellow white Americans will think. . . . Do not listen to the timid in your organization. Let the Hayakawas go their separate way. Let me assure you, there are thousands of white Americans who will stand behind you in this endeavor to right the great wrong. If I can be of some help to you or your organization, please be free to call on me. . . . I will pray for your organization's success. E.A.F.

These are only few of the many letters of support we are receiving from fellow Americans. They're also expecting Japanese Americans to act like first-class citizens. Given the opportunity and the perfect case, let us not disappoint these concerned Americans. And most important of all, let us not disappoint ourselves.

I thank you.



Faced with continuing resistance inside and outside the JACL to the idea of pushing for redress, the group downplayed its original recommendations and instead supported bills introduced in both the U.S. Senate (S. 1647) and House of Representatives (H.R. 5499) in 1979 that proposed creating a commission to investigate the wartime relocation of Japanese Americans and determine what, if any, compensation seemed appropriate. The Senate version passed in mid-1980, and in mid-1981, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) began hearings in Washington, D.C. (Commissioners later visited Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Anchorage, Chicago, New York, and Boston to gather additional testimony.) Over the course of several months, more than seven hundred people from all walks of life shared their often emotional recollections with members of the CWRIC. One of those who testified was Uyeda himself, who reiterated some of the reasons why redress was necessary. He spoke on August 11, 1981; his remarks are reprinted from a copy he furnished.



Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission: My name is Clifford Uyeda. I am the immediate past national president of the Japanese American Citizens League. During the Second World War I was working my way through medical school while my family members were incarcerated in detention camps, first at Tule Lake and then at Granada.

Today, I would like to address to an issue which has been of great concern to many former evacuees who have generally made successful adjustments following the incarceration experience.

To some of them the principle of monetary redress is most uncomfortable because it seems to place a price tag on our freedom and our rights—rights that should be regarded as priceless. To them demanding redress seems to diminish the grace and realism with which they and their parents made the best of the impossible situation. The patriotism and courage with which Nisei fought for America when given a chance, they believe, might be depreciated.

Others fear backlash. It is fear of what their non-Japanese friends would say and think. There is also a fear of reawakening their own feelings which had been so long suppressed.

It took us nearly forty years to recover from the state of shock we were put into by the incarceration experience. The wound would have to at least partially heal before victims can begin to address the problems.

A prevalent myth is that Japanese Americans by hard work have fully recovered from the losses suffered from the evacuation experience. Many, and especially the elderly, have never recovered. One out of five elderly Japanese have income less than poverty level.

Moreover, one's economic status has nothing to do with the dispensing of justice or the payment of redress when justice is not only denied but forcibly taken away from its own people in the absence of any charges or indictments. We are not asking for charity.

Japanese Americans during World War II have made all the sacrifices other Americans have made, including giving our lives for our country on the battlefield. Our losses we are speaking of today, however, were the result of the actions of the American government against American citizens and against our parents who were permanent residents of this country.

Today, right here in America, nearly forty years after the beginning of World War II, Japa-

nese Americans still suffer the misconception in the public's mind: 1) that we were guilty of disloyalty to our country because of the actions taken against us by the United States government, and 2) that evacuation was both necessary and justified, a powerful belief upheld by the Supreme Court in the Korematsu case.

To many Americans the fact that no meaningful damages have been paid by the United States government is taken as a proof that no real injustice was done. Only a congressional action authorizing redress for the victims will ever erase this misconception from the public's mind and indelibly etch the incident into American history and conscience.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, the issue is not for us to recover what cannot be recovered. The issue is to make tangible and meaningful restitution to the victims of in-

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UYEDA

*"The United States cannot insist on human rights abroad and then refuse to acknowledge and correct the wrong committed against her own people."*

justice and thus discourage similar injustice from recurring in the future. Do not penalize the Japanese Americans for persevering and overcoming great handicaps by denying us redress for justified grievance. Denying us meaningful restitution is the same as assessing the damages at zero.

I hope this Commission's report will be most thorough and comprehensive, a report that will answer many questions which have been plaguing us for nearly forty years. I hope that your report will become an American human rights document that will boldly address restitutions for victims of gross injustice within our society, a report that will impact all Americans for generations to come.

The United States cannot insist on human rights abroad and then refuse to acknowledge and correct the wrong committed against her own people.

Thank you for this opportunity to appear before this Commission.





In 1983, the Commission published a report of its findings entitled *Personal Justice Denied* in which members condemned Executive Order 9066 as a measure undertaken not for military reasons but out of "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership." It later issued several recommendations for redress, including an apology from Congress and the president acknowledging the injustice done to Japanese Americans as a result of the order and a payment of \$20,000 to each of the estimated sixty thousand survivors of the camps. After some five years of debate over the issue of holding present-day taxpayers liable for wrongs committed decades earlier amid fears that approving such payments would open the door to similar claims from African Americans and other minorities, the Senate finally passed a bill in April 1988, enacting all of the Commission's recommendations, and President Ronald Reagan signed it into law in August.

In addition to his activities on behalf of the redress campaign, Uyeda has embraced other causes and interests as well. For example, he has long been involved in supporting the moratorium on commercial whaling and served from 1974 until 1978 as chairman of the JACL's Whale Issue Committee, a group that seeks to educate the public—especially the people of Japan and Japanese Americans—"on the plight of the whales as symbolic of our need to save our oceans." From 1982 until 1986, he was also chairman of a special JACL committee set up to keep the Japanese American community informed about efforts to force the Navajo Indians off their ancestral land. And from 1988 until 1994, he served as president of the National Japanese American Historical Society in San Francisco and editor of its journal, *Nikkei Heritage*.



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# David Henry Hwang

1957–

*Chinese American playwright and screenwriter*

David Henry Hwang was only twenty-three when he first saw his name on the marquee of a New York City theater and was barely past thirty when he picked up his first Tony Award for best play. Since then, he has continued to craft a number of plays, screenplays, and even a multimedia dramatic piece that examine various juxtapositions that intrigue him—appearance and reality, cultural “outsiders” and “insiders,” and, perhaps most notably, the East and the West and what happens when they blend (or don’t blend, as the case may be). In the process, Hwang has earned praise as one of today’s most talented playwrights for his thought-provoking views on the Asian American experience.

Hwang was born in Los Angeles and grew up in the well-to-do suburban community of San Gabriel. Both of his parents were immigrants who arrived in the United States during the early 1950s. His father, a native of Shanghai, China, established the first Asian American-owned bank in the country. His mother, who was also of Chinese ancestry but who grew up in the Philippines, was a pianist and music teacher.

Theirs was a very westernized household, and the three Hwang children (David was the oldest and the only boy) were strongly encouraged to “be American.” As a result, Hwang gave little thought to his heritage most of the time, considering it just another interesting but inconsequential personal characteristic, “like having red hair,” as he once remarked in a New York Times Magazine interview. But the many hours he spent as a little boy listening to his grandmother tell stories—ancient Chinese myths and fables as well as family lore—left a profound impression that later influenced his own work. So enthralled was he by her tales that he began writing them down when he was about twelve years old, producing a novel of sorts that he then copied and passed around to other relatives.

After graduating from a local college prep school in 1975, Hwang entered Stanford University with the intention of pursuing a law degree. Before long, however, he found himself drawn to other interests, including music and writing. He was particularly fascinated with drama as a means of expression and began studying the art of writing plays, first at Stanford and then under the guidance of Sam Shepard and several other playwrights at a special workshop held during the summer of 1978 in Claremont, California.

College also proved to be a time of self-discovery in other ways for Hwang, who had begun to get in touch with his identity as a Chinese American. At the Claremont workshop, he tried his hand at writing a play he entitled *FOB* that examined the cultural conflicts between a newly-arrived immigrant from China—known by the insulting term “*FOB*” for “*Fresh Off the Boat*”—and his very westernized Chinese American cousin. Hwang continued revising and polishing the text of his play once he returned to school that fall, and in March 1979, he directed a cast of fellow students in its first performance, which was held in a Stanford dormitory lounge.

Hwang received his bachelor's degree in English that same spring and shortly afterward left for Waterford, Connecticut, where *FOB* was being featured at the prestigious National Playwrights Conference. At this annual workshop, he was able to see his play acted by a professional cast before an audience of theater critics and other playwrights who then offered their suggestions.

Back home in California, Hwang began teaching creative writing at a Los Angeles-area high school and worked on his own writing whenever he could. Meanwhile, *FOB* captured the interest of Joseph Papp, the artistic director of the New York Shakespeare Festival. He ended up staging a full-scale production of Hwang's work *Off-Broadway* at the famous Public Theater during the 1980-81 season that garnered fairly good reviews and went on to win an Obie Award for best play of the year.

While attending the Yale School of Drama during the 1980-81 school year, Hwang wrote his second play, *The Dance and the Railroad*. This story of Chinese railroad workers in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century is told from the perspective of two of the workers, both of whom dream of returning to China one day to perform in the Beijing Opera. It also was staged *Off-Broadway*, where it enjoyed a long and successful run. Hwang soon followed up with another play, *Family Devotions*, a farcical look at a very prosperous Chinese American family very much like the author's own. In it, though, he makes some very serious points, noting, for example, how his mother's Christian fundamentalist beliefs had made it difficult for him to learn about his Chinese heritage.

Hwang wrote two more plays—*The House of Sleeping Beauties* and *The Sound of a Voice*—before the burdens of being a successful young playwright and a media-appointed spokesperson for Asian Americans took their toll. Unable and unwilling to produce any more of what he dismissed as “*Orientalia for the intelligentsia*,” he stopped writing, traveled extensively, and considered enrolling in law school.

Within a couple of years, however, Hwang had started writing again. When his first effort, *Rich Relations*, did not do well, he finally felt free to tackle other kinds of projects, including some work for films and television. Meanwhile, another play was slowly taking shape in his mind. In 1986, he learned of the bizarre true story of a French diplomat who had carried on a twenty-year affair with a beautiful and intriguing Chinese opera singer yet insisted he had no idea she was really a spy—and a man. Hwang took this idea and spun his own tale around it, exploring the nature of imperialism and how racism and sexism can blind people to the truth. *M. Butterfly* opened on Broadway in 1988 to somewhat mixed reviews from the critics but enthusiastic acclaim from audiences. It went on to win a number of awards, including a Tony for best play, and was nominated for a 1989 Pulitzer Prize. Hwang later wrote the 1993 movie adaptation as well, though he was not entirely pleased with the results on screen. One of his future goals, in fact, is to move into directing the films of his screenplays so that he can exercise more control over the finished product.

Since the success of *M. Butterfly*, Hwang has been involved in a variety of creative endeavors. In addition to writing more plays, among them *Bondage and Face Value*, the latter a farce examining the controversy that erupted when a white actor was cast to play the lead role of a Eurasian pimp in the blockbuster musical *Miss Saigon*, he has completed several screenplays. One, an original entitled *Golden Gate*, was made into a movie in 1994; two others are adaptations of novels by A.S. Byatt *Booker* (*Possession*) and *Caleb Carr* (*The Alienist*). In collaboration with avant-garde music composer Philip Glass and stage designer Jerome Sirlin, Hwang has also created a multimedia drama entitled *1000 Airplanes on the Roof* in which a single character tells the story of his terrifying abduction by visitors from outer space. Since then, Hwang has worked with Glass on a number of other projects, including the libretto for Glass's opera *The Voyage*.

While he has branched out to work on these and other "non-Asian" projects, Hwang nevertheless continues to be preoccupied with the notion of what it means to be Asian American, especially in a country where people are trying to forge a common identity out of many different cultures yet maintain a sense of their own cultural identity as well. One aspect of the debate over multiculturalism that is of particular interest to him concerns "authenticity"—a hot-button, highly political issue that often surfaces in connection with works by or about minorities, women, or homosexuals. In the theater, for instance, it sparks discussions about nontraditional casting, such as having a non-Asian play an Asian role. In education, it may take the form of disagreements over how to interpret history or whether a particular literary work is "worthy" of study.

Hwang addressed these and other related topics during a talk he gave on April 15, 1994, while serving as artist-in-residence at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Cambridge. His appearance as the 1994 William L. Abramowitz Lecturer came at the end of his three-day stay, during which time he had observed a rehearsal of his play *FOB*, worked with students in MIT theater classes, and spoken to high school students in the Cambridge Public Schools. His lecture is reprinted from a copy provided by the MIT Office of the Arts.



Thank you, and I'd also like to thank the Abramowitz Lecture Series for having me here. I've had a really great three days interacting with the students. It's often noted that the lecturer comes and gives something to the university, and while that may or may not be true, I think it's certainly equally true that the students give a great deal to whoever is invited. That person has the privilege to come and interact with them and get out of the isolation, if only for a short time, of the literary world, the theatrical world, the Hollywood world. Particularly I'd like to thank Maureen Costello and Mary Haller, as well as Alan Brody and Kim Mancuso from the Theater Arts department, all of whom who have really helped make my stay here something.

In 1990 I found myself in a room on a hot summer day, and on one side of the table was Cameron Mackintosh, who was going to bring a new musical to town called *Miss Saigon*, as well as Bernie Jacobs, who was one of the owners of the Shubert Theater chain where *Miss Saigon* was going to show. On the other side of the table were myself and Alan Eisenberg, who's the executive secretary of Actor's Equity, the actor's union, as well as their president, the late Colleen Dewhurst. We were arguing about the topic of Jonathan Pryce.

Jonathan Pryce is a British actor of Welsh descent who was cast in the role of the Engineer, ostensibly a character of Eurasian descent. He had played the role in London to great acclaim and now was being invited to repeat the role on Broadway, and several Asian Americans,

including myself, had started to raise a bit of a fuss over this. And so we all met and the insults really flew. I think that Bernie Jacobs from the Shubert was very strong in pointing at me and saying, "Oh, he's a liar. You can't trust him."

At another point in the afternoon when I think Cameron was yelling at somebody else, I looked at Bernie Jacobs and he looked at me and he sort of shrugged as if to say, "Well, kid, what a way to make a living!" And I shrugged. And then our conversation went on. I think that the shrug, to me, is a representation of the fact that both of us realized that we were sort of players in a larger drama here. There is a sort of series of surprise reversals that's taking place in America right now, and it stems largely from a change in demographics that's taking place.

Most of us know that in another thirty, fifty years, Caucasians, European Americans—whatever you want to call them—will be a plurality rather than a majority. In other words, this country will not have a single majority race, and that leads to a great number of cultural and societal changes. The very definition of what it means to be an American is changing, and therefore the culture of America also is being reexamined. Two places where this battle is felt very strongly are one, in the arts, and two, in academia.

In the arts there is, for instance, the whole issue of what's called non-traditional casting—that is, who should get to play what parts, of what races. And it works kind of both ways, this battle. Nick Hytner, who directed *Miss Saigon*, I think is in a really interesting position because he directed *Miss Saigon* and initially cast Jonathan Pryce as this Eurasian and got a lot of flak from Asian Americans. This season he's directed a production of *Carousel* on Broadway and cast a lot of African Americans in parts that were normally considered Caucasian, and he's gotten a lot of criticism from the other side. (John Simon, for instance, has attacked him for being too PC.) So Nick Hytner is sort of catching it both ways, and I think that similarly the battle rages both ways. It's one of the topics that I'm interested in examining today.

In academia, of course, the battle's over curriculum—what works are in the canon, what constitutes quality in literature as well as history, how do we interpret history from a "Eurocentric" point of view, from an "Afrocentric" point of view. The whole notion of history as objective has always been somewhat doubtful, but it's particularly being called into question now as it relates to the experiences of different cultural groups—women, gays, whatever—and



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there is the charge that all this is leading to a lowering of standards, that by the inclusion of the voices of diverse groups, we compromise some sort of objective standard of excellence which previously had existed in the academy.

So we have this sort of battle between what might be called the multiculturalists and what might be called the politically incorrect. Political incorrectness, by the way, I think has become very trendy lately. There was recently a battle fought in court between a cable network and Jackie Mason. Comedy Central had a show called "Politically Incorrect" and Jackie Mason in his show on Broadway wanted to call his show *Politically Incorrect*, and they were battling to see who could be the most politically incorrect.

So today I've chosen to address the subject of authenticity, because a lot of these debates come down to some sort of struggle over whether we can reach a definition of objective truth, whether or not we can define a universal standard of excellence. I think that those of us who write about minorities, women, gays, whatever, are often criticized for being inauthentic by our own group and in turn, some of us (like myself) also go and criticize other people for being inauthentic. So I feel like I've been on both sides of that fence, and I'm going to frame this a little bit in terms of my own artistic journey. I'm coming to you to talk about issues that are sort of sociopolitical and all that, but I'm

basically a playwright and my journey is essentially a personal one. I think I've been searching for authenticity in my work and contradicting myself at certain points and struggling with these issues, and I think that's the best way for me to go over this journey for you.

The subtitle [of my lecture], "It's OK to Be Wrong"—which some of the Asian students suggested I could say "It's OK to Be Hwang"—has to do with the recognition that all this is an evolution. I look at myself now, and I'm not exactly the same person as I was ten years ago, and I don't exactly have the same beliefs that I had ten years ago, and I don't expect that I will ten years from now. When I was younger, I used to feel that it was important to be completely consistent. Now I feel that it's a good idea to be consistent at least at any given time, but that I may contradict myself from the past. I think Oscar Wilde's notion that consistency is the hobgoblin of small minds has become more significant to me as the years have gone by.

I'm sort of encouraged by the example of people I admire, whether it's Malcolm X or Gandhi or whoever, who also contradicted themselves at different points in their lives. I've tried to make a virtue out of this by now believing that contradiction is sort of an antidote to nostalgia. So I hope you'll bear with me, and I hope that also a lot of my changes will encourage you to continue thinking and continue growing and not be afraid of evolving.

My parents were immigrants. My father comes from Shanghai, my mother's [from] a Chinese group in the Philippines. They both came to the states in the early 1950s to go to school. They met at a foreign students' dance at USC on Halloween and subsequently got married and tried to move to a suburb of Los Angeles called Monterey Park, but they were denied housing there because people wouldn't sell to Chinese at the time. This is interesting, because any of you who know Los Angeles know that Monterey Park now is almost completely Chinese. I think it's an example of the old saying that fear creates the thing feared.

Anyway, I ended up growing up instead in a neighboring suburb called San Gabriel with basically Anglos and Latinos, some African Americans, and a few Asians. I thought of my ethnicity, at the time, as sort of like having red hair—that is, it was a sort of interesting feature, part of my total makeup, but not of any intrinsic significance in and of itself. To this day, if people ask me (as people sometimes do in interviews) what sort of racism I encountered

as a child, I'm not able to really recall a single racial incident. But circumstantial evidence I think to some extent contradicts my memory, because I do remember one time my mother telling me that if people teased me about my race that I should just consider them ignorant. I don't know why she would have to have told me that if I hadn't run into some trouble on that score.

Similarly, some of my earliest memories about being Asian American have to do with a certain aversion to Asian American characters in

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*“... those of us who write about minorities, women, gays, whatever, are often criticized for being inauthentic by our own group ...”*

movies and television, and perhaps this was the beginning of why I ended up doing what I do today. But frankly, I remember feeling ashamed and changing the channel or not going to a particular movie. We'd talk about these sort of blatantly evil Asian American characters like Fu Manchu or the various soldiers in Japanese or Vietnam war movies, or we'd talk about sort of the benign obsequious version, the Charlie Chan or the guy in the Calgon commercial that said “ancient Chinese secret.” All of those were a source of great embarrassment to me, and I think that, in the final analysis, I felt that these people were not me. And yet because of the way we looked, I was expected to have some sort of identification with them. Perhaps this was the first encounter with the issue of inauthenticity—that to me these characters were not inauthentic and yet I was being lumped in with them because of my race.

That leads to a discussion of the whole issue of the tyranny of appearances and how it is that the way we look establishes to a large extent the way that we're perceived, at least on first notice. Every minority group, I think, and every group in general, has their particular burden to bear. I think that among Asians, we have to deal with the idea of being perpetual foreigners. One's family can have been in this country five or six generations, but people still go, “Oh, you speak really good English,” whereas it's not necessarily assumed that someone of Swedish descent speaks Swedish.

Similarly, if I'm walking on Christopher Street, for instance, and someone yells, "Go back to where you came from," I assume that they're not expressing a distaste for Californians. The perpetual-foreigner status, I think, leads to various harms. Some of them are minor irritants, but others are more significant. Certainly the internment of Japanese-Americans in World War II concentration camps here in America is a testament to the fact that these people were not really considered American, whereas people of German or Italian descent were rightly considered to be loyal.

Similarly, a few years ago, a Chinese-American named Vincent Chin was murdered in Detroit by unemployed autoworkers who were sort of mad at Hondas and Toyotas. In fact, as the trade tensions increased between the US and Japan in the '80s, incidents of anti-Asian violence rose at a sharper rate than that for any other ethnic group.

The perpetual-foreigner idea was especially ironic given my parents' desire to be Americans. They were not particularly traditional in terms of wanting to hold onto the root culture. They were very interested in blending into or assimilating into this culture, and they were trying to really create a new identity for themselves. In that sense, they were, in their own way, saying that their appearance was not an authentic representation of who they were inside.

Even as a boy, I think I began to try to search for some sort of authenticity behind the Fu Manchus and the Vietnamese generals that I saw on television. The only experience that I really had with writing before I got to college was when I was about twelve. We thought that my grandmother was going to die, and she was the only one who knew all of the family history. I thought it was really important that this sort of stuff be preserved, so I spent a summer with her and did a lot of oral histories and eventually wrote this into a kind of one-hundred-page nonfiction novel which was Xeroxed and distributed among my family and got very good reviews. I think that what I was trying to do was find a context for myself, find some way in which my identity, my existence as an Asian American could be validated, could be made authentic. I was trying to find something more real than the images that were around me.

Writing for me continued to be a search for authenticity. When I began wanting to write plays in college, I didn't actually have any idea I was going to focus on Asian American subjects. I was merely interested in the theater and

in trying to become a playwright. I wrote a lot of plays about a lot of other subjects. I found a professor at Stanford who told me they were really horrible (which they were) and that my problem was I was trying to write theater in a vacuum—that is, I didn't know anything about the theater.

So I spent the next couple years trying to read as many plays and see as many plays as I could. Eventually I went to the Padua Hills Writers Workshop in southern California between my junior and senior years and studied there with playwrights like Sam Shepard and Maria Irene Fornes and Murray Mednick. I began to deal with the unconscious—how it is that we can begin to write and begin to make our art come alive with ideas that go beyond simply what the rational mind can manipulate.

As I began to write with free association, with speed writing, with all sorts of Dadaist collage techniques, I found that my work was leading me in a very unexpected place. It was leading me back to when I was twelve years old, back to the stories of my grandparents, things that I would hear as a child, back to the images that haunted me of Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan and all those things that I'd turn off on the television.

This was happening within a larger political context. There was an Asian American "yellow power" movement which was a child of the black power movements that had begun in the '60s. I lived in an Asian American theme house for a year and began to absorb various literary influences that were also Asian American. When I read *The Woman Warrior* by Maxine Hong Kingston, for instance, it was sort of a personal and artistic revelation to me, because the juxtaposition of almost a hyper-realistic view of growing up Chinese American in Stockton, California, with the ghosts of some imagined or mythological past seemed to feel very real to me. After all, I'd run for student-body president at the same time that my grandmother was telling me stories about her aunt casting out demons in Fukien.

At the same time, I was also very drawn to Frank Chin's work. Now Frank really hates me right now and thinks I'm a white racist and all that, but tough—he gave birth to me, too, and his works really inspired me to think that. He was the first Chinese American to be produced Off-Broadway professionally, and he inspired me to think that this was possible. There's a character in one of his plays, Gwan Gung, who represents a sort of Chinese American spirit, as it were, the spirit of the early immigrants.

I began to think about the juxtaposition of Fa Mu Lan, the woman warrior character from Maxine's book, and Gwan Gung, the character from Frank Chin's plays, and I began to think what would happen if they met in a Chinese restaurant in Torrance. Was there a way to synthesize these two traditions?

That led to my first play, *FOB*, which was the play that I wrote to be done in my dorm. In it, Dale, who's the ABC, or American Born Chinese character, is trying to deal with his own identity and the irritation he feels from Steve, an FOB, or Fresh Off the Boat immigrant. Steve is the sort of nightmare version of Dale's self. Dale has spent a lifetime trying to fit in, trying to be hip, trying to be white, basically, and Steve brings out the fact that he may be something different. There's a monologue where Dale tries to describe his own life, which I'd like to read. He says:

*I am much better now. I go out now. Lots. I can, anyway. Sometimes I don't ask anyone, so I don't go out. But I could. I am much better now. I have friends now. Lots. They drive Porsche Carreras. Well, one does. He has a house up in the Hollywood Hills where I can stand and look down on the lights of LA. I guess I haven't really been there yet. But I could easily go. I'd just have to ask. My parents—they don't know nothing about the world, about watching Benson at the Roxy, about ordering hors d'oeuvres at Scandia's, downshifting onto the Ventura Freeway at midnight. They're yellow ghosts and they've tried to cage me up with Chinese-ness when all the time we were in America. So, I've had to work real hard—real hard—to be myself. To not be a Chinese, a yellow, a slant, a gook. To be just a human being, like everyone else, I've paid my dues. And that's why I am much better now. I'm making it, you know? I'm making it in America.*

So Dale is sort of the perpetual other, doomed to live forever on the outside. Steve and Grace, who were born in Asia and have immigrated to the States, are relative newcomers to America, but they have access to dramatic sequences where they metamorphose into Gwan Gung and Fa Mu Lan, accessing which sort of unconscious treasure trove of memories and cultures. Dale may also have these myths buried somewhere in his genes, but he's really alienated from them and can only watch kind of in silent confusion while her cousin and his friend play out stories that he either doesn't know or won't learn.

I think the idea of this rich cultural treasure trove, for instance, that's inherent in *FOB* is an interesting place to start looking at the notion of authenticity. Clearly, I was trying to search for something authentic beyond the stereotypes. And I was reaching out to a Chinese American literature as well as a root-culture Chinese tradition, and through this I thought that I was touching something authentic. Now was I touching something authentic? I think [there] are arguments to be made both ways. The argument can be made, for instance, that *FOB* is not historically accurate, that Fa Mu Lan and Gwan Gung, in Chinese literature, exist in different times and there's just no way that they would have met. Besides the fact that they're in a Chinese restaurant in Torrance, there's no way that they would have met even in the original literature.

Similarly, I think the question can be raised, are Gwan Gung and Fa Mu Lan really part of my past? These aren't stories that I grew up listening to. In order to find out who Gwan Gung was, I had to go to read *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, which is the sort of *Iliad*-like work in which Gwan Gung appears. To what extent do the appropriation of these mythical figures really constitute some sort of authenticity? To what extent can we say there is a rich cultural unconscious treasure trove? Hold onto that because I'm going to come back to it.

During this period I began what I was calling my "isolationist/nationalist phase." I think that when you begin to deal with your ethnicity when you haven't all your life, there's almost kind of a religious conversion quality to it, and you realize that certain things that you might have felt that are painful are not necessarily unique to you. For instance, if you're completely isolated and you don't know a lot of other Asian Americans and you don't share the experience, then if you're walking down the street and someone goes "Ching Chang Chong" or whatever, you might think, was I doing something too Oriental? Whereas if you are with a number of other people and you realize that this is a fairly common occurrence, then you realize that it's not you that is the problem, that there are certainly difficulties in the society itself. Your anger becomes refocused on change for the society.

And so it was a very exciting time. I wrote a lot of Chinese American plays—*The Dance and the Railroad*, where I was trying to reclaim an authentic history as well as deal with kind of an East-West fusion in terms of trying to combine Chinese opera with western naturalism



and hoping that this was some sort of authentic Asian American form. Similarly, *Family Devotions* was a play that was largely autobiographical, and in it there's a character named Chester who is a violinist who's about to go off and play (with the Boston Symphony, as a matter of fact). He meets an uncle, Di-Gou, who's just arrived from the PRC [People's Republic of China] and is not part of the fundamentalist Christian tradition that he was brought up in.

They have a discussion which I think is very much about the issue of authenticity. Chester says, "I'm leaving here. Like you did." And Di-

*"We who are born in America absorb our images of self and culture basically through western eyes. . . . Under such circumstances, how can we possibly discover who we really are?"*

Gou says, "But, Chester, I've found that I cannot leave the family. Today—look!—I follow them across an ocean." Chester says, "You know, they're gonna start bringing you to church." Di-Gou, "No. My sisters and their religion are two different things. . . . There are faces back further than you can see. Faces long before the white missionaries arrived in China. Here. Look here. At your face. Study your face and you will see—the shape of your face is the shape of faces back many generations—across an ocean, in another soil. You must become one with your family before you can hope to live away from it. . . . Chester, you are in America. If you deny those who share your blood, what do you have in this country?"

In some sense you can read this debate in *Family Devotions* as an argument over the issue of authentic culture versus Orientalism. For instance, we who are born in America absorb our images of self and culture basically through western eyes, through the mainstream point of view, and even if we decide to, say, read original Chinese literature, we're often looking at translations that were made by western scholars with their own sets of idiosyncrasies or prejudices or preconceptions.

Under such circumstances, how can we possibly discover who we really are? How can we

discover the reality, or the authentic Asian or Asian American culture? The questions of authenticity continue to haunt me. For instance, the use of Chinese opera in my work—what is the significance of Chinese opera in my life? I hadn't actually grown up with a lot of Chinese opera. It was something that I kind of appropriated as a cultural symbol.

Similarly, in this scene between Di-Gou and Chester, there's the issue of the face and the face as a repository of culture, the face as a repository of who you really are. The stories written in your face are the ones that you must believe. The notion of there being sort of a rich unconscious treasure trove is an interesting notion that again I'm going to file away and we'll get back to in a sec.

Because of all these questions, I just didn't write anything for two years. I hit a period of writer's block, and I wondered if I was sort of just creating Orientalia for the intelligentsia. That is, I looked at my work, and some of it had more dragons and gongs and stuff, and some of those seemed to be the more popular. I was wondering if I was repackaging the old stereotypes in more intellectually hip forms.

Authenticity is an extremely heated debate among Asian Americans and among people in general. The most common criticism an Asian American author hears is that his or her work reinforces stereotypes. I criticized *Miss Saigon* for reinforcing the stereotype of submissive Asian women. *M. Butterfly* was criticized for reinforcing the stereotype of Asian men being effeminate. *The Joy Luck Club* was criticized for reinforcing the notion that Asian men are not very nice. Frank Chin criticized both *The Woman Warrior* and *FOB* for inauthentic use of mythology. And Frank Chin's own plays, when first staged in Seattle, were picketed by Asian Americans for reinforcing stereotypes of broken-English-speaking Chinatown tour guides.

Now by and large, I have to say that I think these are really healthy debates. I mean, I don't like being criticized. Who does? But to some extent, it's a corollary for what I call the official Asian American Syndrome: when there's only one who's in the spotlight at a given time, everything we say is expected to represent the entire culture. I think that it's actually rather similar to—if you listen to lawyers talk about "LA Law," they have a very specific opinion about whether or not that would actually happen in a legal office.

Essentially of course, one has to come to the conclusion that only the community of artists

can represent the community, that no one artist can speak for an entire people as if those people were completely monolithic. But it does lead to what's called the "political correctness" debate right now. I think, personally, that political correctness has been a bit overplayed by the media. Certainly there's a lot of stressed charges, and some of the charges are exaggerated and perhaps overly emotional, but the fact is we've always accepted the legitimacy of aesthetic judgment. Critics, aesthetic critics, are free to blast works of art for being banal or poorly put together, only fit for kindling, without being accused of censorship.

The question is, therefore, do criticisms become inherently more dangerous when they focus on a work of art's content as opposed to the aesthetics? Personally, I think not. I think that as Americans we should be intellectually rigorous enough to promote healthy debate on both fronts. I think it's particularly true at a time in our history like now, when the definition of who is an American and what does it mean to be an American is in flux, because art has always served as one means by which people define themselves and define their vision of themselves. I don't think that political criticism necessarily equals censorship.

Empirically, that turns out to be true. I mean, I criticized *Miss Saigon* and it's still running, and Jonathan Pryce won a Tony—so there. People criticized *M. Butterfly* and it did very well, at least in the theater. If anything, the debates over political correctness usually, from a practical standpoint, just increase the number of people who decide to go see the work.

I do think, though, that there's an argument to be made that traditional criticism or traditional correctness, if you will, has existed as a type of censorship. I think it was Arthur Miller who once said that there is no single person in the old Soviet Union who has more authority over what people do or do not see in the theater than does the head critic of the *New York Times*. I think also if you look at, for instance, Bruce Lee, who developed the "Kung Fu" series but was replaced by David Carradine because the executives felt that an Asian American actor couldn't carry the lead in a series. We would have to say, I think, that this is not an example of best man for the job. Therefore, to me, the people who are very hysterical over political correctness seem to be a little disingenuous and a little nostalgic. To say that the political criticisms are inherently more damaging or insidious than aesthetic criticisms is to say that

Susan Sontag's criticism of something based on content is less important, or less valid than say, Siskel and Ebert. I think that's a difficult case to make.

So essentially, I had to go through this period by reinvestigating the notion of nationalism and the isolationism that I was interested in at the time. I felt a need to—having addressed a lot of the problems and difficulties that I felt growing up as an Asian American—I now felt the need to kind of go beyond and continue to expand my circle. To choose one's associates on the basis of race seems a little arbitrary and limiting. People who continue to do so for many years on end—sometimes I'm tempted to compare them to people who spend a little too much time hanging around their old high school.

I think ethnic isolationism also runs the risk of reinforcing a larger prejudice in society—that ethnic minorities are defined primarily by their race. This can lead to the ghettoization of writers. Certainly those who choose to write about a particular ethnic group are really falling into a great literary tradition of writers like Tennessee Williams or Fitzgerald or August Wilson, whose work stems from its cultural specificity. That's certainly legitimate.

But there is this notion in Hollywood oftentimes that, okay, we should hire some African American, but they basically would write African American stuff. And women would write romantic comedies. Whereas in reality, if you look at, for instance, England—Kazuo Ishiguro, an Anglo-Japanese writer, wrote a beautiful novel, *Remains of the Day*, about an English butler. I think that we see that the ability of art to cross racial lines exists, and therefore ghettoization is a kind of knee-jerk reaction which may have been progressive at one point in the '60s but since has calcified.

I came out of this period by writing a play called *Rich Relations* which had no Asian characters. Basically, my thought on *Rich Relations* is good theory, lousy execution. I basically wrote an autobiographical play about my family and then just made them all white. That wasn't the way to do it.

Then I was at a party and somebody told me the story of the French diplomat who had a twenty-year affair with a Chinese actress who turned out to be A) a spy and B) a man. I thought that was interesting. I began to think of the real diplomat (whose name is Bernard Bouriscot) and what did he think he was getting when he met the spy. The answer came to me—he prob-

ably thought he was meeting some version of Madame Butterfly.

I'd like to just read the scene where Gallimard, the French diplomat, and Song, the Chinese spy, meet for the first time.

Gallimard says: "They say in opera the voice is everything. That's probably why I'd never before enjoyed opera. Here . . . here was a Butterfly with little or no voice—but she had the grace, the delicacy—I believed this girl. I believed her suffering. I wanted to take her in my arms—so delicate, even I could protect her, take her home, pamper her until she smiled."

Song, the spy, says: "Excuse me. Monsieur . . . ?"

Gallimard: "Oh! Gallimard. Mademoiselle . . . ? A beautiful . . ."

"Song Liling."

"A beautiful performance."

"Oh, please."

"I usually—"

"You make me blush. I'm no opera singer at all."

Gallimard says: "I usually don't like *Butterfly*."

"I can't blame you in the least."

"I mean, the story—"

"Ridiculous."

"I like the story, but . . . what?"

Song says: "Oh, you like it?"

"I . . . What I mean is, I've always seen it played by huge women in so much bad makeup."

"Bad makeup is not unique to the West."

"But, who can believe them?"

"And you believe me?"

Gallimard says: "Absolutely. You were utterly convincing. It's the first time—"

"Convincing? As a Japanese woman? The Japanese used hundreds of our people for medical experiments during the war, you know. But I gather such an irony is lost on you."

"No! I was about to say, it's the first time I've seen the beauty of the story."

"Really?"

"Of her death. It's a . . . a pure sacrifice. He's unworthy, but what can she do? She loves him . . . so much. It's a very beautiful story."

"Well, yes, to a Westerner."

"Excuse me?"

"It's one of your favorite fantasies, isn't it?"

The submissive Oriental woman and the cruel white man."

"Well, I didn't quite mean . . ."

"Consider it this way: what would you say if a blonde homecoming queen fell in love with a short Japanese businessman? He treats her cruelly, then goes home for three years, during which time she prays to his picture and turns down marriage from a young Kennedy. Then, when she learns he has remarried, she kills herself. Now, I believe you would consider this girl to be a deranged idiot, correct? But because it's an Oriental who kills herself for a Westerner—ah!—you find it beautiful."

"Yes . . . well . . . I see your point . . ."

"I will never do *Butterfly* again, Monsieur Gallimard. If you wish to see some real theatre, come to the Peking Opera sometime. Expand your mind."

And Gallimard says: "So much for protecting her in my big Western arms."

In some sense, *M. Butterfly* allowed me to explore the very issues of authenticity which had caused the writer's block. I created a French diplomat who was caught up in an Orientalist fantasy, and in so doing, I was exploring both the pervasiveness and the seductiveness of these stereotypes. Through the juxtaposition of fantasy and reality that's in the play, I'm asking whether it's really possible to see the truth, to see the authenticity about a culture, a loved one, or even ourselves. Are we always going to be imprisoned within the realm of our own subjectivity and forced to perceive meaning through our own prejudices?

As Song says to Gallimard in their second meeting, "You're a Westerner. How can you objectively judge your own values?"

Gallimard says, "I think it's possible to achieve some distance."

Song says, "Do you?"

In Act Three, Song undresses before Gallimard and confronts the diplomat with the obvious fact of his self-delusion.

Gallimard says, "You, who knew every inch of my desires—how could you, of all people, have made such a mistake?"

Song says: "What?"

"You showed me your true self. When all I loved was the lie. A perfect lie, which you let fall to the ground, and now, it's old and soiled."

Song says: "So—you never really loved me? Only when I was playing a part?"

Gallimard says: "I'm a man who loved a woman created by a man. Everything else—simply falls short. . . . Tonight, I've finally learned to tell fantasy from reality. And, knowing the difference, I choose fantasy."

And so I'm bringing into the discussion of authenticity the question of subjectivity. There is a certain point where I felt that political activism would rescue me from subjectivity, that trying to see things from a point of view that took into account sociological perspective, history would therefore allow me to look at culture and look at identity in an objective fashion.

I question whether that's the case. I ask whether political activism is not subject to the same degree of subjectivity and prejudice and self-servingness that other activities are. This doesn't make it invalid, it only means that it, too, has to be looked at as rigorously as the arts and as the academic curricula that we may be criticizing. If we say that the personal is the political, then to some extent we have to accept the responsibilities of the converse, which is that the political sometimes gets wrapped up in the personal.

There was a fight between two really right-on Asian American activists when I was in college. At the time, I was just sort of beginning my journey to consciousness, and so I wasn't quite aware what it was all about. I just knew that they hated each other and it was a very political dispute. I bumped into one of these guys about five months ago at a benefit for the Asian American theater in San Francisco, and I said, now, will you explain to me what exactly was the root of your dispute with X? He said, "Well, actually, I think it was that we both wanted the same woman." So for the past fifteen years I've been scratching my head trying to figure out the political import of this debate when actually it was a personal debate.

*Face Value*, which was my play that previewed here in Boston to not much acclaim, was a lot about this as well. The plot basically hinged off of the *Miss Saigon* affair. It was about two Asian Americans who go in whiteface to disrupt the opening night of a musical in which the lead actor is a Caucasian playing an Asian. The plot is complicated with the arrival of two white supremacists who then kidnap the Caucasian actor, believing he actually is Asian and is stealing jobs from white people.

This is where we get back to some of the issues that I said to put on hold for a second. Because to some extent, what *Face Value* is about, and what I will try to make it more about

in future rewrites, is the value or the lack of value of faces. True, we all come from different cultures, or many of us come from different cultures. There are, therefore, certain behavioral predispositions that exist with culture, but the face, the race, the skin color, does not necessarily equal the culture.

I often use the example of Chinese Americans who were born in the Deep South. They come from a particular culture, but it's not necessarily the culture you would associate with their faces. I think that in the future we are going to be seeing more and more examples of how it is not possible to predict behavior simply from race. Therefore the disunion of face

David Henry  
HWANG

*" . . . authenticity should be flexible enough to encompass change. What is authentic in 1960 is not necessarily authentic in 1990 and will not necessarily be authentic in 2020."*

and culture becomes more and more pronounced. So when I go back to some of my early work and the issues that I was exploring, I, for instance, ask about the rich cultural treasure trove that Grace and Steve had access to in *FOB*, I ask about Di-Gou in *Family Devotions* telling Chester that the stories he must believe are the stories written in your faces, and I ask myself, what is the power in faces? Is there an inherent spiritual or identity objectivity that we can hold on to from looking into the mirror? At this point in my life, I think the answer for me is no, there is not. . . .

I think it's important to envision futures which are more just and inviting. I guess I'm arguing for a non-fundamentalist approach to the issue of authenticity—that authenticity should be flexible enough to encompass change. What is authentic in 1960 is not necessarily authentic in 1990 and will not necessarily be authentic in 2020.

What this means is we will have to write about each other and about ourselves, and we will continue to expect criticism and be subject to criticism. We will learn from one another

er, and that is simply the socialization process which I think is going to be taking place as the country struggles to redefine itself. Those of us who are minorities often talk about this change—Caucasians will no longer be a majority. White males, in particular, need to get it together and realize that the world is changing.

I think that's true, but I think the world is changing for us, too. There are a lot of certainties that we could depend on in the past that are not necessarily going to be there in the future. For instance, in the '70s many of us condemned assimilation as a pathetic attempt to ape European Americans. But after the Rodney King verdicts in Los Angeles, I think we also learned that the fact that we neglected to build certain bridges to other communities meant that we'd also neglected to build certain bridges to African Americans, to Latino Americans. For those of us who believe in sort of Third-World solidarity and took that as a state of grace, reality taught us that we'd become lost in self-delusion.

Now we have polls which show a sharp increase in the number of African Americans who characterize Asians as the most racist of all ethnic groups. Even the term "Asian American" itself, which was invented to identify a common sociopolitical group, faces some degree of redefinition, I think, in the light of intermarriage and the wide diversity of new immigrants. So we can't rest on the assumptions of the past. We have to realize that as America changes, all of us are going to be involved in change and all of us are going to be involved in investigating the authentic.

I've been quoted as saying that to have a honest discussion about race between people of different races is more intimate than sex. It was a little flip but I believe that, because to some extent it's very difficult for us to believe one another right now. It's very difficult for us to trust one another enough to be honest. It's easier to be defensive or not communicate or be polite—anything but really express whatever anger or frustrations that it is that we feel.

I think that if there is a certain degree of subjectivity to the debate over authenticity, then a corollary of that is that we may not necessarily have to like one another. We may not necessarily have to trust one another at this stage. But I think it might be nice to take the step to believe one another. . . . I don't believe it's constructive to dismiss [the subjectivity of personal experience] as simply delusional.

Also perhaps something that's more difficult

for us. If a white man says, "I feel that I didn't get into X University because of quotas, reverse racism, and I feel that I'm qualified"—well, I have to believe that that's how he feels. I may then try to have a discussion and point to statistics and whatever, but I have to start with the assumption that he actually does have that feeling. That's somewhat more complicated than it sounds, because I think it's just as easy for us to slip into denial from all sides and to want to tell the white man, "You're crazy. Don't you realize that you're one of the most privileged people that ever walked the face of the planet?"

But I don't know that that's actually going to help us figure out what kind of society we're going to have in the future. So, in the final analysis, authenticity to me is a debate over the quest to validate the humanity of various peoples, of all the people in this country. I know a couple who's—gosh, he's Irish and Jewish and Japanese and she's Haitian and Filipino and something else. Anyway, they had a child, and someone whose business it is to know such things informed them that their child had never existed before. I began to wonder if this child grows up and becomes a writer—let's say it's a woman—what do we call her? Is she an African American writer or an Asian American writer, European American or is she basically a woman's writer, or etc.? And I think that when the day comes that we can simply call her an American writer, then we will have gone a long way to claiming the humanity and the authenticity of all our experiences as Americans.

Thank you.

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# Patsy Takemoto Mink

1927-

*Japanese American attorney and member of the U.S.  
House of Representatives*

A fiercely independent politician who has often gone against the grain to remain true to her beliefs, Patsy Takemoto Mink is a third-generation Hawaiian who has battled discrimination both as a woman and as an Asian American to succeed in the world of politics. She was born on the island of Maui, the daughter of a civil engineer and his wife, both of whom were of Japanese descent. From the time she was just a little girl, she dreamed of becoming a doctor so that she could be of service to others. In fact, that remained her goal throughout most of her undergraduate years at the University of Hawaii until she realized that she was drawn more to the humanities than to science. So, after spending several semesters on the mainland at Pennsylvania's Wilson College and the University of Nebraska, Mink earned her bachelor's degree in zoology and chemistry in 1948 and eventually headed to the University of Chicago School of Law.

Returning to Hawaii in 1953 with her law degree in hand, Mink went into private practice in Honolulu. During this same period, she also began teaching business law at the University of Hawaii and served as house attorney for the Hawaii House of Representatives. In 1954, Mink became involved in Democratic politics at the local level and by 1956 was heading Hawaii Young Democrats. That same year, she was elected to the Hawaii House of Representatives; in 1958, she won a seat in the Hawaii Senate. Mink's growing prominence as a liberal party activist led to her selection for a spot on the platform committee at the 1960 Democratic National Convention, where she helped negotiate adoption of the civil rights plank. That year's general election saw her win a second term in the Hawaii Senate.

After Hawaii became a state in 1959, Mink was one of several contenders in the primary election to choose who would represent Hawaiians in the U.S. House of Representatives. While her bid proved unsuccessful, a second try in 1964 ended in victory, making her the first Asian American woman to serve in Congress. Once in Washington, Mink pursued an agenda that revealed her concern for issues involving equal rights for women and minorities, children, the elderly, education, health care, housing, and the war against hunger and poverty. She favored normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China and even testified before

the United Nations on the subject. She also was one of her party's most outspoken opponents to the military draft and the Vietnam War and strongly defended the right of people to protest against it without fear of being labeled "un-American."

In June 1967, for example, a controversy erupted in Congress over the burning of an American flag in New York's Central Park during an antiwar demonstration. Angry legislators, eager to punish the perpetrators, proposed a bill making it a federal crime to show "contempt" for the flag by "publicly mutilating, defacing, defiling or trampling upon it." In the heated debate that ensued, Mink stood up to voice her anger at the notion that patriotism is somehow linked to how one looks or behaves. Her impassioned defense of the right of all Americans to engage in dissent is reprinted here from the Congressional Record, 90th Congress, 1st Session, Volume 113, Part 12, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.



Mr. Chairman, I rise on a matter of personal privilege for myself and for my constituents in the state of Hawaii, to call to the attention of this House a defamatory and highly insulting letter which was placed in the record on page 48 of the hearings on H.R. 271, before the subcommittee of the Judiciary. This was a letter submitted by one Aaron E. Koota, district attorney of Kings County, Brooklyn, New York. His letter referred to a recent court decision by a distinguished jurist in my state, a Harlan Fiske scholar and graduate of Columbia University Law School, a former legislator, a much-decorated veteran of World War II, and a member of the famous 442nd Infantry Battalion, which has been acclaimed as the most decorated unit in all of American military history.

This case involved a student from the state of New York attending the University of Hawaii's East-West Center who had drawn a large caricature of the flag with dollar signs for stars and the stripes dripping as with blood. The student was arrested under state law which makes it a crime to show contempt for the flag of the United States. The judge after reviewing the case ruled that the drawing was symbolic of the defendant's feeling about certain policies of his country, but that he did not intend by his drawing to dishonor the flag which to him still symbolized everything that he loved and honored about America.

Mr. Koota in trying to dismiss the legal significance of this case said in his letter:

*Although it is true that the act in the latter case*



Patsy Takemoto Mink

*was condoned by the court as symbolic speech, we must realize that the background of the state of Hawaii is not as steeped in the same spirit of Americanism as are the other states of the Union. Hawaii has a foreign ideology as its background and that is probably explanatory of the Court's attitude.*

By this outrageous statement the loyalty, patriotism, and Americanism of my entire state has been impugned, as well as that of my esteemed friend the Honorable Masato Doi, the

judge in this case whose learned opinion took tremendous courage and conviction to write.

This is precisely the outrage that will be perpetrated by this bill on all Americans who do not conform in ideas or beliefs or color of skin or shape of their eyes or nose.

A disagreement on what we believe to be the real meaning of our Constitution will lead to emotional, irrational accusations like Koota's that the reasons for disagreement is due to lack of love of our country or lack of Americanism.

According to Attorney Koota, I wonder how many generations must we be Americans to be steeped with this spirit of Americanism with which he believes he is possessed? Can it be said that only Hawaii has a foreign ideology as its background and not Brooklyn, New York, or any city in this country where its people are of immigrant stock?

We feel that same pride when our colors are presented, our skin like yours rises in goose pimples at the playing of the national anthem, our eyes like yours wept as many tears over the death of our late President Kennedy, our blood as been shed in three wars for the defense of our country and is now being shed again in Vietnam.

I am willing to match the love and devotion to our country of the people of my state whose only difference is the color of their skins, with any group of people anywhere in America.

The greatness of our country lies in our people, diverse and of all possible immigrant backgrounds, who are bound together by their common love of freedom and liberty. No law is needed to require this loyalty; no punishment, not even confinement in wartime relocation camps with complete denial of due process, can obliterate this loyalty.

The love for our country cannot be destroyed; the nation cannot be injured by the mere burning or defiling of one flag. America stands for too much that is a tribute to freedom that no few foolish acts of contempt can dishonor its greatness. Rather these childish tantrums now cast only ridicule upon the perpetrators of this insane and irrational behavior.

I cannot believe that these few extremists in our society endanger the honor of this country; if they truly do, then no mere \$1,000 fine or year in jail would be punishment enough.

Ramsey Clark, the Attorney General of the United States, in commenting on this bill states:

*Particular care should be exercised to avoid infringement of free speech. To make it a crime if one "defies" or "casts contempt . . . either by word or act" upon the national flag is to risk invalidation. This broad language may be too vague under standards of constitutional law to constitute the basis of a criminal action. Such language reaches toward conduct which may be protected by First Amendment guarantees, and the courts have found vagueness in this area.*

I stand four-square behind our attorney general and more particularly behind the honored jurist of my state whose Americanism has been questioned because he chose to place the Constitution above his own popularity and to ignore the passionate demands of people who seek to punish all offbeat conduct without regard for the true meaning of liberty and freedom.

America is not a country which needs to punish its dissenters to preserve its honor. America is not a country which needs to banish its atheists to preserve its religious faith. America is not a country which needs to demand conformity of its people, for its strength lies in all our diversities converging in one common belief, that of the importance of freedom as the essence of our country and the real honor and heritage of our nation, which no trampled flag can ever symbolically desecrate.

I did not intend to speak against or even vote against this bill, but when my Americanism has been challenged and that of the people of my state, by persons who see only disloyalty in dissent, then I must rise to voice my faith and my belief that America is too great to allow its frenetic fringes to curb the blessings of freedom and liberty, which are the cornerstones of our democracy.

Patsy  
Takemoto  
MINK





When the flag desecration bill came up for a vote, Mink was one of only 16 legislators who voted against it; 387 voted for it. A revised version of the bill that specifically added the word "burning" to the list of acts it banned passed in the Senate in 1968.

Mink has spoken out on intolerance—especially racial intolerance—on numerous other occasions as well. On November 6, 1971, for example, she gave the keynote address at the Thirtieth Anniversary and Installation Banquet of the West Los Angeles Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). In her speech, reprinted here from *Representative American Speeches: 1971-1972*, edited by Waldo W. Braden (Wilson, 1972), Mink reflected on the anger and frustration then driving many young people to protest in ways their elders often found disturbing.



I would like to thank President Ranegai and the other officers and members of the West Los Angeles Japanese American Citizens League for this opportunity to be with you at your thirtieth anniversary banquet and installation.

I am delighted to participate in this memorable occasion. It must be difficult to look back thirty years to 1941 and relive the pains and agonies that were inflicted upon you; as citizens, unloved and unwanted in their own country of their birth. Loving this land as much as any other citizen, it is difficult to fathom the despair and fury which many must have felt, yet who fought back and within a few years had reestablished their lives and their futures. Most of us remember these years vividly. Our faith in justice was tested many times over. Our patriotism was proven by blood of our sons upon the battlefields.

Yet today, thirty years later to many even in this room, it is only a part of our history. Our children, thirty years old and younger, cannot follow with us these memories of the forties. They tire of our stories of the past. Their life is now, today . . . tomorrow. Their youthful fervor was poured into the symbolism of the repeal of Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950, portrayed by its title, Emergency Detention Act. That act became law nearly ten years after the Japanese were evacuated from the West Coast into "relocation camps." Yet, it stood as a reminder of what could happen again. Of course, despite the successful repeal, it could happen again, as it did indeed to the Japanese Americans who were rounded up without any statutory authority whatsoever. It was not until 1950 that Title II became law.

It is quite evident that I am standing before

an affluent group whose surface appearance does not reveal the years of struggle and doubt that have ridden behind you.

Sociologists have generally described the Japanese Americans as an easily acculturated people who quickly assimilated the ways of their surroundings. This has always been in my view a friendly sort of jab at our cultural background, for what it has come to mean for me is a description of a conformist which I hope I am not!

I still dream that I shall be able to be a real participant in the changing scenario of opportunity for all of America. In this respect, I share the deep frustration and anguish of our youth as I see so much around us that cries out for our attention and that we continue to neglect.

Many factors have contributed towards a deepening sense of frustration about our inability to solve our problems of poverty and racial prejudice. Undoubtedly the prolonged, unending involvement in Vietnam has contributed to this sense of hopelessness. At least for our youth who must bear the ultimate burden of this war, it seems unfair that they should be asked to serve their country in this way when there are so many more important ways in which their youth and energy can be directed to meet the urgent needs at home. They view our government as impotent to deal with these basic issues.

It is true that Congress has passed a great many civil rights laws. The fact that new, extra laws were found necessary to make it easier for some people to realize their constitutional guarantees is a sad enough commentary on the American society, but what is even worse is the fact that the majority of our people are still un-

ready, personally, to extend these guarantees to all despite the Constitution and all the civil rights laws, and despite their protestations to the contrary.

Certainly, no one will admit his bigotry and prejudice—yet we always find ways to clothe such feelings in more presentable forms—and few will openly advocate suppression or oppression of other men, but nevertheless, it exists.

Although Congress has repealed the Emergency Detention Act, the fight for freedom is not over. We now see a new witch hunt proclaimed in which all government employees will be examined for their memberships and organizations. It seems that we have not yet succeeded in expunging the notion that “dangerous” persons can be identified by class or group relationships and punished accordingly.

I believe that nobody can find safety in numbers—by huddling with the larger mass in hopes of being overlooked. Those who seek to suppress will always find ways to single out others. Instead, we must change the basic attitude that all must conform or be classed as renegades and radicals. Our nation was founded on the idealistic belief in individualism and pioneering spirit, and it would be tragic for our own generation to forswear that ideal for the false security of instant assimilation.

It seems to me that our society is large enough to accept a wide diversity of types and opinions, and that no group should be forced to try to conform to the image of the population as a whole. I sometimes wonder if our goal as Japanese Americans is to be so like the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant population as to be indistinguishable from it. If so, we will obviously never succeed!

There has been and continues to be prejudice in this country against Asians. The basis of this is the belief that the Oriental is “inscrutable.” Having such base feelings, it is simple to stir up public outrage against the recognition of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations, for instance, even though reasoned judgment dictates otherwise, unless of course a yellow communist is really worse than a red one!

The World War II detention overnight reduced the entire population of one national origin to an enemy, stripped of property, rights of citizenship, human dignity, and due process of law, without so much as even a stifled voice of conscience among our leading scholars or civil libertarians. More recently, the Vietnam War

has reinforced the view of Orientals as something less than fully human. All Vietnamese stooping in the rice fields are pictured as the enemy, subhuman without emotions and for whom life is less valuable than for us.

During the trial of Lieutenant Calley, we were told about “MGR,” the “Mere Gook Rule” which was the underlying basis for Calley’s mindless assertion that the slaughter of defenseless women and children, our prisoners of war, was “no big thing.” The “Mere Gook Rule” holds that life is less important, less valuable to an Oriental.

Laws that protect other human beings do not apply to “gooks.” One reporter noted before the verdict became known that the essence of the Calley case was to determine the validity of this rule. He described it as the “unspoken issue” at the trial.

The issue was not as unspoken as most would prefer to believe. The indictment drawn up by the Army against Lieutenant Calley stated in six separate charges that he did at My Lai murder four “Oriental human beings” . . . murder not less than thirty “Oriental human beings” . . . murder three “Oriental human beings” . . . murder an unknown number of “Oriental human beings” not less than seventy . . . and so on numbering 102. Thus, the Army did not charge him with the murder of human beings as presumably would have been the case had Caucasians been involved, but instead charged the apparently lesser offense of killing mere “Oriental human beings.”

The Army’s definition of the crime is hardly surprising inasmuch as the Army itself could have been construed as on trial along with Calley for directing a genocide against the Vietnamese. Indeed, the lieutenant pleaded he was only doing what he thought the Army wanted. It seems clear to me that the Army recognized the “Mere Gook Rule” officially by distinguishing between the murder of human beings and “Oriental human beings.” When Calley was convicted, the resulting thunder of criticism verified that many in the public also went along with the concept of differing scales of humanity.

Somehow, we must put into perspective Dean Rusk’s dread of the “yellow peril” expressed as justification for a massive antiballistic missile system on the one hand, and on the other, a quest for improved relations with Peking. This latter event could have a great meaning in our own lives as Japanese Americans. We could help this country begin to deal with Asians as people. Just the other day in a beauty parlor, I

Patsy  
Takemoto  
MINK

heard a congressional secretary discuss China and say, "An Asian is different, you can never figure out what he's really thinking. He has so little value for life!"

Instead of seeking refuge, we should seek to identify as Asians, and begin to serve America as the means by which she can come to understand the problems of the East. Our talents have not been used in American diplomacy, I suspect, largely because we are still not trusted enough.

We must teach our country that life is no less valuable, and human dignity no less precious, in Asia than elsewhere. Our detractors point to the large-scale killings that have occurred in China, Vietnam, Pakistan, and elsewhere in Asia, but we hear remarkably few references to the mass slaughter of six million Jews in Nazi gas chambers in World War II—that was done by Aryans, not Asians, and the total

*"We must teach our country that life is no less valuable, and human dignity no less precious, in Asia than elsewhere."*

far exceeds the loss of life in the Orient that has been used to justify the debasement of "mere gooks." I am not trying to compare one group against another, but merely to point out that a lack of appreciation for the value of human life can occur wherever totalitarian government exists. This makes it more than vital for us to oppose such influences within our own country wherever they may occur. The war in Vietnam has lasted for seven years. If Americans believed there was the same worth in the life of an Asian, this war would have ended long ago. If Americans were willing to concede that the Asian mind was no different than his, a peace would have been forged in Paris long ago. I am convinced that racism is at the heart of this immoral policy.

I know that many of you are puzzled and even dismayed by actions of some of your sons and daughters who have insisted on a more aggressive role in combating the war and other evils that exist in our society. I plead with you for understanding of this Third World movement in which not only young Japanese Ameri-

cans but many minority groups are so deeply involved.

We are confronted with what seem to be many different revolutions taking place all over the world . . . the black revolution, the revolution of emerging nations, the youth revolution here and in other countries as well—and something that was even more unheard of, the priests challenging the Vatican on the most basic issues of celibacy and birth control. It is no accident that these things are all happening at the same time, for they all stem from the same great idea that has somehow been rekindled in the world, and that is the idea that the individual is important.

All of the systems of the world today have this in common: for they are mainly concerned with industrialization, efficiency, and gross national product; the value of man is forgotten.

The children of some of you here tonight are involved in the great protests of today—are they chronic malcontents and subversives? I think not—I think they are probably fairly well-educated, thoughtful people who see certain conditions they don't like and are trying to do something about it. I'm not sure they know exactly what they want to do. I do know they are clearly dissatisfied with the way their world has been run in the past.

So, the problem is not what to do about dissent among our young people—the problem is what to do about the causes of this dissent. The question is not "how to suppress the dissent" but how to make it meaningful . . . how to make it productive of a better society which truly places high value on individual human beings as human beings and not merely as so many cogs in the great, cold and impersonal machinery of an industrialized society.

I, for one, believe that the grievances of our youth are real and that they are important. Merely because the majority of students are not involved . . . merely because the dissidents are few . . . should not minimize the need for serious efforts to effectuate change. Our eighteen-year-olds now have the right to vote. Whether we like it or not, we will have to take better account of their wishes. Their acceptance as adults will bring into policy making eleven million new voters next year. Their cause for identity must be encouraged.

Our sons and daughters seek to establish a link with the past. They want to discover who they are, why they are here, and where their destinies are to take them. So many of our child-

ren are growing up in complete isolation in a society that places a premium on conformity, in middle-class homes where parents still want to play down their differences, and prefer to homogenize with society. Some of these children are rebelling and are seeking ways to preserve their uniqueness and their special heritage. I see pride and strength in this.

One of the most promising avenues for this renewed search for one's heritage is in our school systems—the logical place for instructing children in the knowledge they need. Programs of ethnic heritage studies are needed in our schools. I feel that this would be particularly valuable in Hawaii, California, and other areas where there are large numbers of children of Oriental descent.

It seems to me that we as Asians have a large stake in encouraging and promoting such a program. We cannot and must not presume knowledge about Asia merely because we are Asians. This requires concentrated study and dedicated determination. Of course, we do not need to become scholars cloistered in the ivory tower of some campus. We need to become aware of the enormous history of Asia and through our daily lives, regardless of what our profession, translate it to all the people with whom we deal. We have not fully met our responsibility to educate the public about Asia and its people.

I hope that all Japanese American organizations and others with strong beliefs in the magnificent history and culture of the Orient will now help lead the way to a more enlightened

America. We have an immense story to tell, for as I have said the public at large too often assumes that all civilization is Western and no worth is given to the human values of the East. As long as this belief persists, we will have future Vietnams. The way to counteract it is to build public knowledge, through school courses, travel, and dedicated emphasis on increased communications, so that our people will know and appreciate all that is Asian.

Last Thursday night in a display of utter ignorance and contempt for diversity, the House of Representatives killed the ethnic heritage studies program by a vote of 200 ayes to 159 noes. And so you see, I speak of an urgent matter. We are so few and they who do not care to understand us are so numerous.

It is fine for all citizens to pursue the good life and worldly goods on which our society places such emphasis, but there is increasing recognition that all will be ashes in our mouths unless our place as individuals is preserved. This is what the young are seeking—and I am among those who would rejoice in their goals.

They need the guidance and support of their parents to succeed, but in any event with or without us, they are trying. It behooves us to do all we can to accept their aspirations, if not all of their actions, in the hope that this new generation will be able to find a special role for themselves in America, to help build her character, to define her morality, to give her a depth in soul, and to make her realize the beauty of our diverse society with many races and cultures of which we are one small minority.



*In 1972, Mink mounted a campaign for the presidency of the United States but could not muster enough delegate support to be taken seriously. Four years later, she opted not to run for a seventh term in the House and instead decided to try for a seat in the U.S. Senate. After losing in the Democratic primary to Spark Matsunaga, Mink remained active in government and politics in other positions. In 1977 and 1978, for example, she served in the administration of President Jimmy Carter as assistant secretary of state for oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs. She then spent three years as president of Americans for Democratic Action. Returning home to Hawaii, she was elected to the Honolulu City Council, spending two years (1983 to 1985) as chair, and remained a member of that body until 1987. (A 1986 bid for the governor's chair and a 1988 run for mayor of Honolulu were not successful, however.) She also resumed her law practice and lectured at the University of Hawaii.*

*Mink returned to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1990 as the winner*

of a special election held to fill the vacancy created when Daniel Akaka resigned to take the late Spark Matsunaga's place in the Senate. There she once again serves as an advocate for civil rights and equal opportunity, as well as universal health care, and family and medical leave.



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# Robert T. Matsui

1941-

*Japanese American attorney and member of the U.S.  
House of Representatives*

One of the most powerful and respected politicians in Washington, D.C., Democrat Robert T. Matsui has represented his Sacramento, California-area district in the House of Representatives since 1978. Born in Sacramento to parents who were also American-born but of Japanese ancestry, Matsui was only a few months old when Japan and the United States went to war after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Just a couple of months later, on February 19, 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066. This infamous decree called for the evacuation of some 120,000 Japanese Americans—ostensibly for their own “protection”—from the West Coast to “relocation centers” in remote areas of nearly two dozen states, including Arizona, Arkansas, inland California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. About two-thirds of those interned were U.S. citizens; Japanese Americans in other parts of the country were not affected by the order, and no similar action was taken against German Americans or Italian Americans.

Like most others in their situation, the Matsuis were given very little time to prepare for their evacuation. In the space of forty-eight hours, Mr. Matsui had to abandon his small produce business and sell the family home so that he, his wife, and infant son could leave for their assigned camp in northern California. They later were transferred to a farm labor area in Idaho and forbidden to return to Sacramento until the war ended. Although Matsui himself was too young to have many memories of his incarceration, he vividly recalls his parents' reluctance to discuss their experiences and their enduring sense of shame at having had their loyalty questioned. It was those same feelings of shame at having been imprisoned that subsequently motivated Matsui to seek redress for all who had been treated so unjustly.

Inspired by the example of Clarence Darrow to pursue a career in law so that he could “protect the underdog,” Matsui—who received his bachelor's degree in political science from the University of California at Berkeley in 1963—fulfilled his dream in 1966 when he graduated from the Hastings College of Law. He then established a private practice in his hometown and involved himself in various civic and cultural activities.

In 1971, Matsui fulfilled yet another dream when he ran for and won a seat on the Sacramento City Council. (He had contemplated entering public service ever since hearing John F. Kennedy's 1961 inaugural address in which the new president encouraged Americans to "ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.") He was re-elected in 1975 and became vice-mayor of Sacramento in 1977. A year later, he decided to run for the U.S. House of Representatives when the incumbent from his local district declined to seek another term. Matsui trailed two other Democratic candidates early in the game, but calling upon the same networking skills and grassroots support that had earned him his city council position, he was able to overtake his opponents in the primary and subsequently defeat his Republican challenger in the general election. As of 1995, the voters have returned him to office eight more times by wide margins.

Since arriving in Washington, Matsui has distinguished himself as one of the most respected and powerful legislators on Capitol Hill. In general, he tends to favor a liberal social agenda and a more conservative approach to business issues. He is an acknowledged leader in such areas as trade, taxes, social security, health care, and welfare reform, mostly by virtue of his membership on the House Ways and Means Committee (specifically its subcommittees on trade and human resources). He has played key roles in formulating policy regarding U.S.-Japan trade negotiations, Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status for China, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

In 1993, President Bill Clinton designated Matsui as his point man in the battle over the controversial North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), a measure designed to reduce trade barriers between the United States, Canada, and Mexico. In this high-profile position, Matsui pulled together a diverse, bi-partisan team of fellow legislators, past and present cabinet secretaries, scholars, business leaders, and environmentalists to "sell" NAFTA to a doubt-filled Congress. The representative himself made numerous appearances on television news shows to present arguments in favor of the agreement to the American public. His efforts ultimately paid off when he was able to secure congressional approval for NAFTA—a significant victory for the fledgling Clinton administration and further confirmation of Matsui's well-honed political skills.

Matsui is also recognized as a champion of issues that have a particular impact on children, especially those living in poverty. He has, for example, fought to include money in the federal budget for programs intended to prevent child abuse and neglect and help keep families together. He has also introduced major welfare reform legislation that encourages recipients to move from welfare to work. And he has been outspoken on the need to make health insurance for children a national priority.

Before NAFTA elevated his profile in Washington and around the country, however, Matsui was already known for his staunch support of the movement to obtain redress for Japanese Americans whose constitutional rights were ignored in the rush to round up "enemy aliens" during World War II. On September 28, 1979, along with fellow Japanese American congressman Norman Y. Mineta and others, he became one of the co-sponsors of H.R. 5499, a House bill that proposed creating a commission to investigate the wartime relocation of Japanese Americans and determine what, if any, compensation was owed to them for the losses they had suffered both emotionally and economically. A Senate version of the bill, S. 1647, eventually passed in mid-1980. A year later, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) began holding hearings to gather testimony; eventually, more than seven hundred people went on the record with their recollections and opinions, including Matsui.

In 1983, the CWRIC published a report of its findings entitled *Personal Justice Denied* in which members condemned the relocation of Japanese Americans as a measure undertaken not for military reasons but out of "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership." It later issued several recommendations for redress, including an apology from Congress and the president acknowledging the injustice done to Japanese Americans as a result of the order and a payment of \$20,000 to each of the estimated sixty thousand survivors of the camps.

Several years of occasional debate followed, with most of the discussion centering on the controversial notion of awarding monetary damages to former internees. Matsui and others repeatedly argued that cash compensation was an absolutely essential part of the plan given the well-established legal tradition of awarding damages to stress accountability.

Matsui presented his case on several occasions during the 1980s at various hearings on the issue of redress. On June 20, 1984, for example, he appeared before the Subcommittee on Administrative Law and Governmental Relations of the House Committee on the Judiciary, which was considering legislation to adopt CWRIC's recommendations. His testimony is reprinted from the official government transcript *Japanese-American and Aleutian Wartime Relocation: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Administrative Law and Governmental Relations of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.*



Mr. Chairman and Mr. Shaw, I would like to thank both of you and other members of the subcommittee, and also members of the staff, for holding these hearings on H.R. 4110. The topic before us is of tremendous importance for our system of constitutional liberty, and I thank all of you for your very excellent leadership.

William Howard Taft reminded us that "constitutions are checks on the hasty actions of the majority." Today we are faced with the memory of a time when our system failed to provide the necessary checks, when hasty actions trampled over the rights of 120,000 people, most of whom were citizens of this country.

But today we have the opportunity to restore the system to its proper balance. With legislative action, we can at last provide redress to Americans of Japanese ancestry who were deprived of their basic civil rights during World War II.

For me, and I know this is true for many others here, this issue is endowed with strong personal memories. I was a mere ten months old when I entered the internment camp at Tule Lake with my family. Like so many of those in-

terned, my parents were proud citizens of the United States, a country they had known to be just and ruled by a reasoned constitutional law.

But with Executive Order 9066, my parents' citizenship and loyalty suddenly meant nothing. The exclusion and detention order recognized ancestry and only ancestry. That they were born in this country—my mother in 1920 and my father in 1916, in Sacramento, California—upheld its laws and were loyal to its principles, was discarded as irrelevant.

What was the experience of that camp? It's interesting, because my parents, prior to the formation of the Commission that the Congress set up, refused to talk about it. I never could understand why. It was not until the last twenty-four months that I became appreciative of their own situation. For my parents, there was the discouraging loss of business, home, and other possessions.

My father had just begun a private produce business with his brother. Of course, that was lost. They had a home in which they had been living for about six months. That was lost. They sold their refrigerator and other worldly possessions for \$5 or \$10, whatever they could re-



ceive from the person who would knock on their door and say, "I know you have to leave within a short period of time and, therefore, I'll give you \$5 for the refrigerator" or whatever it happened to be.

They also have visions of barbed-wire fences and sentry dogs, of loss of privacy and lack of adequate sanitation, and memories of the heart-wrenching divisions that occurred as families were separated by physical distance and the emotional distress of the camps.

I might add, however, that my family was somewhat fortunate. After nine months at Tule Lake, we were able to move on to a farm labor area in Idaho. Although there were no soldiers or watchtowers, we remained within restricted boundaries, unable to return to our home in California for three more years.

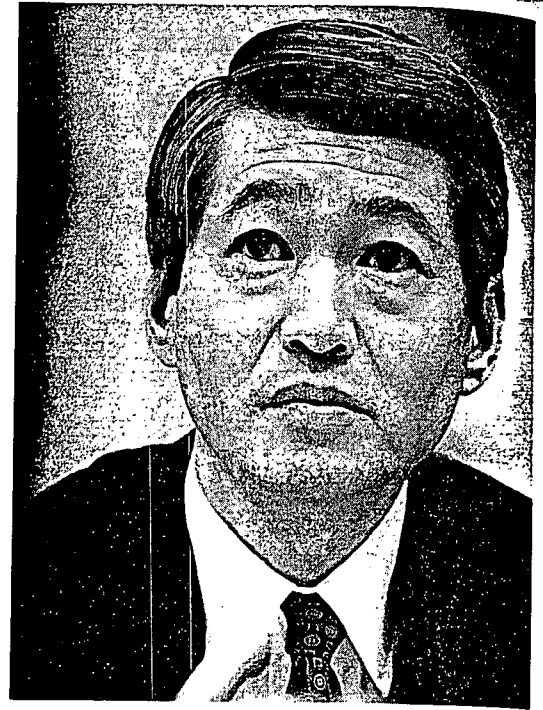
But what is most striking about all of these internment camp stories that I have learned to grow up with is the faith and hope that remained, faith in the law of the land, pride in this country, and most of all, a sincere desire to prove loyalty to this great nation and be allowed to serve its ideals and principles. All this, despite the fact that basic constitutional and civil rights were being denied to them and others in their position.

*"I am convinced that monetary compensation must be a part of any redress effort."*

It is the spirit of this faith that brings me here before you today, for I firmly believe that our actions here are essential for giving credibility to our constitutional system and reinforcing our traditional sense of justice.

As you will hear today from the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, there is no question that basic, civil rights were denied. There was no review of individual cases and no exceptions or considerations of personal service. The basic concept of habeas corpus was forgotten. I guess that I, being a nine-month-old child, can attest to the fact that I had no due process personally given to me.

As you hear more from the witnesses in the



Robert T. Matsui

next few days, it will be clear that constitutional rights were just simply ignored. For my part, I would like to leave the subcommittee with one simple thought: because justice was denied, there certainly is a need for redress. The question before us must be to provide the most appropriate form of redress for this tragic episode in our nation's history.

As a lawmaker involved in framing the redress legislation, I will not accept monetary reparations, because to do so would lead some to suggest my actions are motivated by self-interest. They certainly are not. I am convinced that monetary compensation must be a part of any redress effort. Estimates of losses from income and property alone would account for the sum requested by the bill. Such estimates do not include disruption of careers, long-term loss of opportunity, and the tremendous personal losses from the denial of freedom and the stigma of being interned and being considered disloyal to one's country. These are the types of issues considered when awarding damages.

But the logic of compensation goes far beyond simple economics. Our legal tradition provides us with the system of damage compensation to stress the notion of accountability. If we make it absolutely clear that people will be held accountable for their actions, we can hope to deter such actions in the future. When the actions are taken by our government, it is par-

ticularly important to stress that we will hold it accountable for its actions.

Some will argue that there were extenuating circumstances, that our government acted in what is believed to be in everyone's best interest. But I must contend that nothing a government does is inherently above the law. All actions, including those of our leaders, must be subject to the constraints established by our U.S. Constitution.

War is a period of extreme national stress. It is during such periods of stress that the survival of liberty is at its most fragile point. We must try to tailor our safeguards to fit these treacherous moments.

Our task now is to provide the final legal redress and reinforce our system of justice and equity. We must remind future generations that such a tragic denial of rights must not and will not be tolerated ever again.

Mr. Chairman and Mr. Shaw, I personally would like to thank you for holding these hearings. I know, from some of the mail I have received, the kind of situation you have placed yourselves in just by merely holding these hearings—the fact that there are some people who have attempted to equate what happened to me and my family and others in my position with what happened at Pearl Harbor during World War II, which has no relationship and no causal connection. I know that you are probably receiving a lot of hate type mail. But the mere fact that you have decided to hold these hearings indicates to me that our system does work and that there are opportunities for all Americans, irrespective of our race, our color, creed, or religious background.

I would be happy to answer questions, and I thank you again very much for giving me this opportunity.

Robert T.  
MATSUI

While H.R. 4110 did not make it to the House floor in 1984, a version of it known as H.R. 442 finally did come up for a vote on September 17, 1987. It proposed that the CWRIC's recommendations be adopted, including the provision for awarding monetary damages—a major sticking point for some legislators. In particular, Republican Congressman Dan Lungren of California, who had been a member of the CWRIC, questioned the fairness of holding present-day taxpayers liable for wrongs committed decades earlier and raised the prospect that approving such payments would open the door to similar claims from African Americans and other groups.

Along with his colleague Norman Y. Mineta, who delivered an emotional plea in favor of the bill, Matsui spoke movingly of his reasons for supporting H.R. 442 and urged his fellow legislators to approve it in its entirety, including the provision awarding compensation to former Japanese American prisoners of the United States. His remarks during that debate are reprinted here from the Congressional Record, 100th Congress, 1st Session, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988.

I would like to first of all thank the leadership of both the majority and minority for holding this bill on the 17th of September.

I would also like to thank both the Republican-Democratic caucus members for being

here on a day when this is the only issue before us.

I realize many members would like to get back to their home districts or their home states for celebrations in their various areas, and that

to be here on this day is somewhat of an imposition on the membership.

I would also like to state that this is a very difficult issue for me to speak on today, mainly because it is, I guess, so personal and perhaps some of you may think that I may lack objectivity. That may very well be the case. But I will try to be objective.

I would like if I may for a moment, however, to indicate to all of you perhaps what it was like to be an American citizen in 1942 if you happened to be of Japanese ancestry.

My mother and father, who were in their twenties, were both born and raised in Sacramento, California, so they were American citi-

*"How could I, as a six-month-old child born in this country, be declared by my own government to be an enemy alien?"*

zens by birth. They were trying to start their careers. They had a child who was six months old. They had a home like any other American. They had a car. My father had a little produce business with his brother.

For some reason, because of Pearl Harbor, in 1942 their lives and their futures were shattered. They were given seventy-two hours' notice that they had to leave their home, their neighborhood, abandon their business, and show up at the Memorial Auditorium, which is in the heart of Sacramento, and then be taken—like cattle—in trains to the Tule Lake Internment Camp.

My father was not able to talk about this subject for over forty years, and I was a six-month-old child that they happened to have. So I really did not even understand what had happened until the 1980s. It was very interesting, because when he finally was able to articulate, he said, "You know what the problem is, why I can't discuss this issue, is because I was in one of those internment camps, a prisoner of war camp, and if I talk about it the first thing I have to say is look, I wasn't guilty, I was loyal to my country, because the specter of disloyalty attaches to anybody who was in those camps."

And that stigma exists today on every one

of those 60,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry who happened to have lived in one of those camps.

They were in that camp for three and a half years of their lives and, yes, they have gotten out and they have made great Americans of themselves, and I think if my mother were alive today she would be very proud of what the U.S. Congress hopefully is about to do. Because the decision we make today really is not a decision to give \$20,000 to the 66,000 surviving Americans, the decision today is to uphold that beautiful, wonderful document, the Constitution of the United States.

You know, because this is the 200th celebration, we have been talking about those fifty-five individuals who put together that document, and I do not think there is any question that there was some Supreme Being that gave them the inspiration to put that document together. I will also say if you took that same document and put it in the Soviet Union there would be no way that the people of that country would understand what it truly means and the spirit behind it. It is only because of the American people that that document is a living document with meaning, not only 200 years ago, but for 200 years in the future as well. The real issue here today is an issue of fundamental principle. How could I, as a six-month-old child born in this country, be declared by my own government to be an enemy alien? How can my mother and father, who were born in this country, also be declared a potential enemy alien to their country? That is the underlying issue here. They did not go before a court of law, they did not know what charges were filed against them. They were just told, "You have three days to pack and be incarcerated." That is the fundamental issue here.

Now I would like to just, if I may, discuss some of the principles that were raised by the proponents of the Lungren amendment just for a moment.

The gentleman from Minnesota said, "Why should today's generation pay for the tragedies of the past generation?" I do not look upon America in terms of generations. We must look upon this country as a continuous flow and ebb. We are not talking about a generation in the 1940s and a generation today. We are talking about fundamental principles because the Constitution does not change from generation to generation. It is a living document that exists forever, for eternity. So it is not a question of generations. I know that some would say, "Well,

we as Americans in time of war have responsibilities, and everybody suffers in time of war." You know, that is true. Ron Packard from California gave an eloquent presentation of the fact that his father had been incarcerated during World War II by the Japanese government, a prisoner of war. Many families lost their husbands and their sons and many families were broken because of tragedies like divorce because of the separations. Everybody suffers during times of war, so why should not the Japanese Americans also share in that suffering? Let me say this: every one of us, if war were declared today, would volunteer to fight on behalf of our country and our democracy; that is a fundamental principle.

[The Chairman then interrupted to note that Matsui's time had expired, but by the unanimous consent of his fellow legislators, he was allowed to proceed for an additional three minutes.]

That is a fundamental responsibility of a de-

mocracy, a fundamental responsibility of our government, that if our security is jeopardized we have a responsibility to defend it.

We have a responsibility to die for our country, but I tell you one thing, that in a democracy—this democracy with our Constitution—a citizen does not have a responsibility . . . to be incarcerated by our own government without charges, without trial, merely because of our race. That is what our constitutional fathers meant 200 years ago when they wrote the Bill of Rights. That is not a responsibility and an inconvenience of a democracy.

I hope that each and every one of the members will find it in their hearts to look at this issues not as an individual tragedy for 60,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry but look at it in terms of the real meaning of this country. We are celebrating 200 years of a great democracy, and I think we can today uphold and renew that democracy with a vote in favor of this bill and a vote against the pending amendment.



Thanks in large measure to the pleadings of Matsui and his colleague, Norman Y. Mineta, H.R. 442 was approved in a landslide vote, with the provision awarding monetary damages to survivors of the concentration camp left intact. The Senate went on to pass its version of the proposal in April 1988, and President Ronald Reagan signed it into law that August.



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# Spark M. Matsunaga

1916–1990

*Japanese American member of the U.S. Senate*

\* **A**s one who was well acquainted with the devastating effects of war, Spark Matsunaga made peace the focus of his career in the United States Senate. For nearly two decades, he lobbied his colleagues to establish a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, which he envisioned as a place young Americans could go to learn how to resolve domestic and international disputes without resorting to violence. He also championed the creation of a cabinet-level Department of Peace. While Matsunaga knew full well that his dream faced an uphill climb, he pursued it until the end of his days. "This is a nation which is built upon men who have dared to do the impossible," he once declared. "I feel that we must show the world that peace can be a way of life. . . ."

Born in Hawaii to parents who had emigrated from Japan, Matsunaga and his five siblings grew up amid extreme poverty. Yet their parents instilled in them the belief that hard work would bring them success. Indeed, Matsunaga held a variety of jobs while still in high school and also worked his way through the University of Hawaii, graduating with honors in 1941. Postponing his plans to go on to law school, he joined the U.S. Army and was commissioned a second lieutenant. But fate soon intervened; on December 7 of that year, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and brought the United States into World War II.

In the weeks and months following the attack, Japanese Americans—even those who were U.S. citizens—became targets of prejudice, fear, and hatred by those who questioned their loyalty to America. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which called for the evacuation of some 120,000 Japanese Americans (about two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens) from the West Coast to large "relocation centers" in isolated areas of Arizona, Arkansas, inland California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. (A number of smaller camps were also set up in about fourteen other states.) By and large, Japanese Americans living elsewhere in the United States and in Hawaii were not affected by the order. But as a member of the military, Matsunaga was considered suspect, even though he had given no cause for anyone to doubt his allegiance. So he, too, was shipped off to an internment camp in Wisconsin.

But many young Japanese American men wanted the chance to fight for their country and prove their loyalty. Before long, a number of them (including internees

such as Matsunaga) began petitioning the U.S. government to allow them to serve in the armed forces. Finally, in January 1943, the War Department announced that it would accept fifteen hundred Japanese American volunteers for a new unit, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Matsunaga joined up and fought for the 100th Infantry Battalion in Italy, where he was wounded twice. The now-legendary 442nd went on to become the most decorated unit in U.S. military history; Matsunaga himself returned home as a captain with many medals and commendations.

After the war, Matsunaga earned his law degree from Harvard University in 1951. He then headed back to Hawaii, where he worked as a prosecutor in Honolulu until 1954 and then entered politics as a member and later majority leader in the Territorial House of Representatives. He was also active in the administrative ranks of the Democratic party, serving as an executive board member of the state organization and a delegate to county and state conventions. When Hawaii became a state in 1959, the immensely popular and personable Matsunaga was elected to its new senate.

In 1962, Matsunaga made the leap to national office when he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. He went on to serve seven consecutive terms in that body before being elected to the U.S. Senate in 1976. While his impact on legislation was not as great as that of his fellow senator from Hawaii, Daniel K. Inouye, Matsunaga's devotion to his causes—peace, nuclear arms control, safeguarding the environment, securing redress for Japanese Americans interned during World War II—was never in doubt, and he fought tirelessly to bring them to the attention of his colleagues and solicit their support for pending legislation.

One such instance was in connection with his efforts to establish a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. Envisioned as a place where young Americans could go to master "the art of peace," it was a cherished dream of Matsunaga's that surfaced time and time again from the moment he arrived in Washington. On January 25, 1978, he appeared before the Subcommittee on International Operations of the House Committee on International Relations to plead his case yet again. His remarks are reprinted here from the official report entitled National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on International Operations of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, 2nd Session, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.



I am here, of course, to offer testimony in support of H.R. 10192, a bill to establish a commission on proposals for a U.S. Academy for Peace and Conflict Resolution. This measure as you know embodies a concept that has long been of great importance to me—the institutionalization at the federal level of our nation's commitment to the goal of global peace.

As you may be aware, Mr. Chairman, since being first elected to the Congress in 1962, I have introduced legislation to establish a cabinet-level Department of Peace. The idea of such

a department did not originate with me, but I believe that no other objective deserves greater priority. Others have striven to achieve this elusive goal, dating back to the first men who proposed a Peace Department shortly after the Revolutionary War, down to my present distinguished colleague in the Senate, Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia, who first introduced such a measure in 1945 and has been doing so ever since. I am greatly honored that Senator Randolph, along with Senator Mark Hatfield, have joined me as co-sponsors of the

Department of Peace bill which I have introduced in the 95th Congress.

One of the major duties assigned to the proposed Department of Peace would be the establishment and maintenance of a National Academy of Peace. H.R. 10192 and its companion measure, S. 469, co-sponsored by Senator Randolph and myself and passed by the Senate on June 17, 1977, would set up a commission to study proposals for the establishment of an Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

Three centuries ago the Dutch philosopher Spinoza captured the subtleties of the meaning of the word "peace" in one short sentence. He said, and I quote: "Peace is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice."

This nation's concern over this situation is not entirely altruistic.

The bills before this subcommittee seek in the final analysis the creation of an institution that will embody, in Spinoza's words again, "a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice."

The United States wields all economic, social, cultural, and political power over the world that is unequaled in history. I believe that this legislation will enable our nation to bring this power to bear directly on the problems of war and on those related problems that plague the lesser developed countries. Some of the programs, both national and international, that must be undertaken in this effort have already been conceptualized and some have been implemented. Others still need to be invented. The needs vastly exceed the solutions.

An Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution could provide the trained personnel with the solutions—the negotiators behind international agreements, such as a Law of the Sea Treaty, which are so crucial to food and natural resources problems.

The Academy could provide the trained staffs for international development institutions such as agricultural improvements organizations. Obviously, Academy graduates could fill these same positions in bilateral American efforts, both public and private, to better the lot of the world's poor.

Finally, the Academy could provide the dip-

lomats, and widen the foreign policy community in the United States and the rest of the free world, to bring about an end to the arms race and even bring about a degree of disarmament.

I am reminded that in January of each year we members of Congress participate in the process by which the finest of our young men and women are chosen to enter the military service academies. These academies and their insistence on high standards both academically and physically are an important part of the reason the United States has the best armed forces in the world. I cannot help but think what an impact an Academy of Peace could have on the fate of not only our own nation but the fate of nations in every part of the globe.

It was Albert Einstein, whose genius was the catalyst for a revolution in scientific thought which resulted in the creation of the atomic bomb and who later—perhaps as a result of this fact—became a renowned pacifist, who said, "Peace cannot be kept by force; it can only be achieved by understanding."

I submit that peace, like war, is an art which must be studied and learned before it can be waged well. . . .

I might add a Confucius saying here although not stated in writing. He said, "We can never know peace unless every individual citizen will want it."

Surely one task that lies before the Peace Academy Commission is that of convincing the American people and peoples of other nations that we must want peace and that we must work to maintain it. However, the most convincing proof of this argument will be the example of the achievement of graduates of the Peace Academy as they begin their work in the United States and the world.

I ask you today to report H.R. 10192 or S. 469 favorably to the House so that this great endeavor in peace can be set in motion. I ask you to launch our nation on a course that may well become the accomplishment for which we will be known in future world history because no other nation dared to do it—the pursuit of peace as an art.

Thank you very much.

Spark M.  
MATSUNAGA



*It was not until 1984 that Matsunaga was successful in persuading his colleagues to establish such a program (minus the creation of a Department of Peace within the cabinet), which awards graduate degrees to those who help resolve disputes in the national and international arena.*

*Perhaps the most significant achievement of Matsunaga's legislative career, however, was the key role he played in obtaining redress for those Japanese Americans who were victims of injustice during World War II as a result of the infamous Executive Order 9066. Ostensibly imprisoned for their own "protection," these men, women, and children of all ages and backgrounds had not been accused of any crime, yet they spent as long as three years imprisoned in tar-paper shacks behind barbed wire and guarded by armed military police. Many had been forced to give up everything they owned. But the greatest blow was to their dignity and sense of security; they could not comprehend why their loyalty was being questioned and why the government they respected and admired was so willing to cast aside their constitutional rights.*

*On August 2, 1979, Matsunaga co-sponsored a bill known as S. 1647 that proposed creating a commission to investigate the wartime relocation of Japanese Americans and determine what, if any, compensation was owed to them for the losses they had suffered both emotionally and economically. In the months before the bill finally came up for consideration in the Senate, hearings were held to debate its merits. Appearing at one of those sessions on March 18, 1980, was Matsunaga, who very clearly stated his reasons for supporting S. 1647. His testimony is reprinted here from the official report entitled Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians Act: Hearing Before the Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, 96th Congress, Second Session, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980.*



Mr. Chairman, I welcome this opportunity to join such a distinguished panel of witnesses in urging that early and favorable consideration of S. 1647. S. 1647 provides for the establishment of a federal commission to study, in an impartial and unbiased manner, the detention of civilians under the provisions of Executive Order 9066 during World War II.

Some of those who are here today will recall with great clarity the atmosphere which prevailed in the United States following the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Rumors were rampant that Japanese warplanes had been spotted off the west coast, and erroneous reports of followup attacks on the U.S. mainland abounded. A great wave of fear and hysteria swept the United States, particularly the west coast.

Some two months after the attack on Pearl Harbor, in February 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066. The

Executive Order gave to the Secretary of War the authority to designate "military areas" and to exclude "any or all" persons from such areas. Penalties for the violation of such military restrictions were subsequently established by Congress in Public Law 77-503, enacted in March of that year.

Also in March, the military commander of the western district—General John L. DeWitt—issued four public proclamations, and it was under those proclamations that the first civilian order was issued by the general on March 24 1942, which marked the beginning of the evacuation of some 120,000 Japanese Americans and their parents from the west coast.

It is significant to note that the military commander of the then-territory of Hawaii, which had actually suffered an enemy attack, did not feel it was necessary to evacuate all individuals of Japanese ancestry from Hawaii—although it is true that a number of leaders in the Japa-



nese American community in Hawaii were sent to detention camps on the mainland.

Moreover, no military commander felt that it was necessary to evacuate from any area of the country all Americans of German or Italian ancestry, although the United States was also at war with Germany and Italy.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who could hardly be accused of being soft on suspected seditionists, opposed the evacuation of Japanese Americans from the west coast, pointing out that the FBI and other law enforcement agencies were capable of apprehending any suspected saboteurs or enemy agents.

I might point out that whenever I criticized the FBI, the late J. Edgar Hoover was quick on the telephone to remind me that he opposed the evacuation of Japanese Americans from the west coast.

Indeed, martial law was never declared in any of these western states, and the federal courts and civilian law enforcement agencies continued to function normally.

You will be interested to know, Mr. Chairman, as a senator from the state of Washington, that one of the real strong defenders of the Japanese Americans during this distressing period in their lives was the mayor of Tacoma, Washington, the Honorable Harry Cain. One western governor, the Honorable Ralph Carr of Colorado, was willing to accept Americans of Japanese ancestry as residents of his state and undertook to guarantee their constitutional rights.

Of the 120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry and their parents who were evacuated from the west coast and placed in detention camps, about one-half were under the age of twenty-one; about one-quarter were young children; many were elderly immigrants prohibited by law from becoming naturalized citizens, who had worked hard to raise their American-born children to be good American citizens. Not one, I repeat, not one, was convicted or tried for or even charged with the commission of a crime.

As a consequence of their evacuation, they lost their homes, jobs, businesses, and farms. More tragically the American dream was snuffed out of them and their faith in the American system was severely shaken. Reportedly, one of the evacuees, a combat veteran of World War I, who fervently believed that his own U.S. government would never deprive him of his liberty without due process of law, killed himself when he discovered that he was wrong.

In retrospect, the evacuation of Japanese Americans from the west coast and their incarceration in what can only be properly described as concentration camps is considered by many historians as one of the blackest pages in American history. It remains the single most traumatic and disturbing experience in the lives of many Nisei.

Some, now middle-aged and older, still weep

Spark M.  
MATSUNAGA

*“Of the 120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry and their parents who were . . . placed in detention camps . . . not one, I repeat, not one, was convicted or tried for or even charged with the commission of a crime.”*

when they think about it. Some become angry. And some still consider it such a degrading experience that they refuse to talk about it. More importantly, their children have started to ask questions about the internment of their parents and grandparents. Why didn't they “protest?” Did they commit any crimes that they are ashamed of? If the government was wrong, why hasn't the wrong been admitted and laid to rest forever?

No branch of the federal government has ever undertaken a comprehensive examination of the actions taken under Executive Order 9066. In 1943 and 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court did hear three cases involving the violation of the Executive Order. In *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943) and *Korematsu v. United States* (1944), the Court ruled that an American citizen could be restrained by a curfew and could be excluded from a defined area.

However, in *Ex parte Endo* (1944), the Court held that neither the Executive Order nor act of Congress authorized the detention of an American citizen against her will in a relocation camp.

In 1972, the Congress repealed the Emergency Detention Act, a repugnant law enacted in 1950 which provided a procedural means of incarcerating Americans suspected of espionage or sabotage during an internal security

emergency in camps similar to those established for Japanese Americans in World War II.

In 1975, President Ford revoked Executive Order 9066, and Congress repealed Public Law 77-503, and a host of other outmoded emergency war powers granted to the president on a temporary basis since the Civil War.

Despite these commendable actions, many unanswered questions remain about the detention of Japanese Americans during World War II, and there remains an unfinished chapter in our national history.

In recent years, the issue of how to write "The End" to this sad and unsavory episode has been widely discussed in the Japanese American community. From time to time, reports that the Japanese Americans might be preparing to request monetary reparations have been floated in the national press.

Some members of the Japanese American community do believe that the federal government should provide some form of monetary

compensation to redress them for the injustice they suffered. However, members of this committee ought to know that an almost equal number maintain that no amount of money can ever compensate them for the loss of their inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, or the loss of their constitutional rights.

The proposed bill is not a redress bill. Should the Commission authorized to look into the matter decide that some form of compensation should be provided, the Congress would still be able to consider the question and make the final decision. Whether or not redress is provided, the study undertaken by the Commission will be valuable in and of itself, not only for Japanese Americans, but for all Americans.

Passage of S. 1647 will be just one more piece of evidence ours is a nation great enough to recognize and rectify its mistakes.

Thank you.



*S. 1647 sailed through the Senate on May 22, 1980, and, after the House and Senate reached agreement on a final version, it was signed into law by President Jimmy Carter on July 31. On July 14, 1981, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) began gathering testimony from others with something to say about this dark episode in American history. In all, more than seven hundred people appeared before the CWRIC, which in 1983 published a report of its findings entitled Personal Justice Denied. In this document, members of the commission condemned the relocation of Japanese Americans, insisting it was done not out of military necessity but as a result of "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership." The CWRIC later issued several recommendations for redress, including an apology from Congress and the president acknowledging the injustice done to Japanese Americans and a payment of \$20,000 to each of the estimated sixty thousand survivors of the camps.*

*Finally, on April 19, 1988, a bill known as S. 1009 proposing that the CWRIC's recommendations be adopted made it to the floor. Matsunaga, who had shepherded the measure through the Senate with a number of impassioned speeches urging its approval, faced his colleagues yet again, this time to head off attempts by opponents to eliminate cash compensation to former internees. (Few legislators had a problem with the idea of apologizing to Japanese Americans, but some questioned the fairness of holding present-day taxpayers responsible for wrongs committed decades earlier and raised the prospect that approving such payments would open the door to similar claims from African Americans and other groups.) Matsunaga's speech is reprinted from the Congressional Record, 100th Congress, Second Session, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988.*

Mr. President, as of September 17 of last year, we have been observing the bicentennial of the greatest human document ever written—the U.S. Constitution. With pride in our unique heritage, we Americans should reaffirm our commitment to the proposition that the United States is one nation with liberty and justice for all.

I am, therefore, extremely grateful to the chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee, Senator Glenn, for expediting the reporting of this bill to the floor, and I thank the chairman for his most generous remarks. I assure him that the admiration is mutual. I do appreciate all the help he has given me on this piece of legislation. I thank him very much.

I also wish to thank the ranking member of the committee, Senator Roth, and the distinguished majority and the distinguished minority leader for scheduling for floor action S. 1009, a bill which I introduced with seventy-three co-sponsors, to provide a long overdue remedy for one of the worst violations of individual civil liberties in our nation's history—the evacuation, relocation, and detention of American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry during World War II.

In the life of every individual, and every nation, there are certain events which have a lasting, lifelong impact and which change the shape of their future. For some Americans, the October 1987 stock market decline brought back frightening memories of the Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression which followed it. For others, the image or words of a slain president or civil rights leader remind them of a turning point in their lives.

For Americans of Japanese ancestry who are over the age of forty-five years, the single, most traumatic event, the one which shaped the rest of their lives, is the wholesale relocation and incarceration in American-style concentration camps of some 120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry and their parents and grandparents, who were legal resident aliens barred by United States law from becoming naturalized American citizens.

All Americans of that generation no doubt recall with great clarity where they were and what they were doing on December 7, 1941, the day that Japan attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor. I myself was in active

military service on the Hawaiian Island of Molokai as an Army officer in temporary command of an infantry company. In fact, I was one of 1,565 Americans of Japanese ancestry who had volunteered for and were in active military service before Pearl Harbor, and who, with other Americans, stood in defense of the Territory of Hawaii against the enemy.

We remember vividly the atmosphere which prevailed in this country immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Rumors of a Japanese attack on the West Coast of the United States were rampant and numerous false sightings of enemy war planes off the coast were reported. A great wave of fear and hysteria swept the United States, particularly along the West Coast, where a relatively small population of Japanese Americans had, even before the outbreak of war, been subjected to racial discrimination and often violent attacks.

Two months after the attack on Pearl Harbor, in February 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066. The Executive Order gave to the Secretary of War the authority to designate restricted military areas and to exclude any or all persons from such areas. Penalties for violation of the restrictions were subsequently established by Congress in Public Law 77-503, enacted in March 1942.

At about the same time, the military commander of the western district, Lieutenant General John DeWitt, issued public proclamations establishing restricted military zones in eight western states, instituting a curfew applicable to enemy aliens and persons of Japanese ancestry, and restricting the travel of Americans of Japanese ancestry and enemy aliens. The first "civilian exclusion order" was issued by General DeWitt on March 24, 1942, and marked the beginning of the relocation and internment of the Japanese American population on the West Coast.

Significantly, the military commander of the then-Territory of Hawaii, which was under martial law, did not believe that it was necessary to order the wholesale evacuation of all Americans or resident aliens of Japanese ancestry, although about 1,400 leaders of the Japanese American community in Hawaii were rounded up immediately after the attack and sent to detention camps on the mainland.

J. Edgar Hoover, then director of the Feder-

al Bureau of Investigation, opposed the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans, pointing out that the FBI was capable of apprehending and arresting any spies or saboteurs. Japanese diplomats, consular officials and military attachés who were in this country at the outbreak of war between the United States and Japan were not incarcerated in detention camps. On Hoover's orders, they were confined to house arrest and treated courteously, because the FBI director hoped that American citizens in Japan would be treated in a similar manner. The Office of Naval Intelligence had also informed President Roosevelt that the wholesale incarceration of Japanese Americans was unnecessary, pointing to the lack of evidence of any acts of espionage or sabotage by Americans of Japanese ancestry or their parents, before, during or after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Of the 120,000 individuals who were ordered on seventy-two hours' notice to pack, leave their homes, and report to assembly centers prior to being moved to camps in the interior United States, about eighty percent were native-born American citizens—many of them young children and teenagers. The remainder, including many elderly people, were legal alien residents of the United States who were prohibited by the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 from becoming naturalized American citizens regardless of how much they wanted to be, like my father and mother. All of them, citizens and alien residents alike, were entitled to the protection of the U.S. Constitution, but their constitutional rights were summarily denied. Without being charged or indicted, without trial or hearing, without being convicted of a single crime, they were en masse ordered into what can only be described as American-style concentration camps surrounded by barbed-wire fences with searchlights, watchtowers and armed guards—and there they remained, many for over three years.

In 1980, thirty-eight years after the beginning of the relocation and internment of Japanese Americans, Congress authorized a thorough study of the circumstances surrounding the event. A distinguished nine-member commission, appointed by the president of the United States, was mandated to examine the facts surrounding the issuance of Executive Order 9066 and the subsequent relocation and internment of Japanese Americans. In addition, the commission was authorized to study the circumstances surrounding the evacuation of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands in Alaska and the relocation of Native American Aleuts. The com-

missioners were Joan Z. Bernstein, a Washington, D.C., attorney, chairman; Daniel E. Lungren, a member of Congress from California, vice chairman; Edward W. Brooke, a former U.S. Senator from Massachusetts; Robert F. Drinan, a former member of Congress from Massachusetts; Arthur S. Flemming, formerly chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Arthur J. Goldberg, a former justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; Ishmael V. Gromoff of Alaska; William M. Marutani of Pennsylvania; and Hugh B. Mitchell of Washington State.

In 1983, following twenty days of public hearings which included more than 750 witnesses, and extensive review of federal records, contemporary writings, personal accounts and historical analyses, the commission filed its report, entitled "Personal Justice Denied." See how thick a volume it is.

The commission's comprehensive report was welcomed by Americans of Japanese ancestry who had lived through the relocation and internment. It revealed publicly for the first time what they had always known: the relocation and internment of Japanese Americans was not justified by military necessity or national security but was the result of racial prejudice, wartime hysteria and the failure of political leadership.

The commission found that the precipitous action had been taken under the leadership of men like General DeWitt, who believed, and stated to the U.S. House of Representatives Naval Affairs Subcommittee on April 13, 1943:

*A Jap's a Jap. They are a dangerous element, whether loyal or not. There is no way to determine their loyalty. . . . It makes no difference whether he is an American; theoretically, he is still a Japanese, and you can't change him. . . . You can't change him by giving him a piece of paper.*

Moreover, the commission found that the exclusion of Japanese Americans from the west coast and their detention continued long after the initial panic following the attack on Pearl Harbor had abated. In a meeting with Justice Department officials in 1944, Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy is reported to have remarked that:

*It was curious how the two major cases in which the Army had interfered with civilians had started out for serious military reasons and had ended being required by wholly non-military considerations. For example, the Japanese were evacuated back in the dark days before Mid-*

way when an attack on the Pacific Coast was feared. Now the exclusion is being continued by the president for social reasons.

The Battle of Midway, a great American naval victory, took place in June 1942, at the very beginning of the government's relocation and detention of Japanese Americans. It ended the threat of a Japanese attack on the continental United States.

While revelation of the truth at last by a congressionally-created commission is a great relief to Americans of Japanese ancestry who were victims of this grave wartime mistake, the public report alone is not enough to provide them with justice too long denied—any more than it would be for any other American falsely imprisoned for years on trumped-up charges. In our great society, the victims of such errors in justice are entitled to more tangible relief.

What kind of relief is appropriate? The commission recommended and S. 1009 provides, first, for an official acknowledgement of the injustice and an apology to the surviving internees. Second, the bill establishes a civil liberties education fund which would conduct educational research and fund projects designed to inform the public of the events surrounding the relocation and internment of Japanese Americans, to ensure that such a thing never happens again. S. 1009 also provides that court cases wherein Japanese Americans were convicted of violating curfew and travel restrictions imposed by the western military district be reviewed by the U.S. Department of Justice, and that presidential pardons be recommended where appropriate. Finally, S. 1009 provides for the payment of \$20,000 to each of the approximately 60,000 former internees who are still alive.

This last provision is perhaps the most controversial in the bill, Mr. President, and I would like to take a few minutes to address it.

Opponents of the individual payments provision often ask why the commission picked the seemingly arbitrary figure of \$20,000 and why there was not an effort to base the compensatory payments on actual losses.

In 1983, the commission asked the firm of ICF, Inc. to estimate the value of losses sustained by Japanese Americans because of their evacuation, relocation, and incarceration during World War II. Michael C. Barth, the president of ICF, Inc., testifying before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Law and Governmental Relations, on April 28, 1987, stated that:

We were asked in the late winter of 1983 to estimate the economic losses in the aggregate of American citizens of Japanese descent and resident aliens as a result of their exclusion and detention during the Second World War.

My firm, ICF, Inc., then endeavored to determine what information was available and to determine the concepts of losses that could be estimated. Economic losses were divided into two categories—*income losses* and *property losses*.

Two other important categories of losses were not either susceptible of estimation or able to be estimated. The first were what are called *human capital losses*, which are no doubt of immense importance. These are losses resulting from losses in education, training, and experience during exclusion and detention. We were unable to come up with any estimate of these.

The report also does not address concepts such as *pain and suffering*. Therefore I will concentrate on our estimates of *income losses* and *property losses*.

*Income losses* were defined to be the amount of income that might have been earned by *excluees* had they not been in the detention camps during the period 1942-46. These were adjusted for the actual income that was earned by *excluees*—by detainees while they were in the camps since modest amounts of pay was paid.

This analysis yielded an estimate of the *income losses*, and we produced a range estimate, in 1945 dollars, of between \$108 million and \$164 million for that concept. Adjusting that to 1983 dollars yielded an amount of between roughly \$600-\$900 million, and we further adjusted that for illustrative purposes because it's possible that had this money been available to the detainees they might have been able to invest it as other citizens might have, and that yielded an amount between \$900 million and \$1.4 billion.

*Property losses* were particularly difficult to estimate because of the lack of information. We were given access to all of the claims files available for the 1947 Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act (which has been referred to earlier), as well as the private files of some citizens who were involved in litigation at that time.

Based on this information, we estimated ranges of the amounts of losses per claimant. Now it's possible that not all persons who had property losses filed under the 1947 Evacuation Claims Act. Accordingly then, in order to ensure that we were not grossly underestimating claims, we conducted various analyses of the amounts of claims that might have been claimed

for had people not been ignorant or unaware or otherwise unable to make claims for which they could not provide adequate justification.

We also then adjusted our estimates for the fact that \$37 million was in fact paid by the U.S. government to claimants, and between 1947 and 1958 when the final claim was paid (sic). These estimates, because of the substantial data problems, resulted in a large range, but putting together the income and the property loss estimates and adjusting that for inflation to 1983 yielded a range of \$810 million to \$2 billion. Adjusting for the foregone interest that might have been earned yielded a range of \$1.2-\$3.1 billion.

It's my understanding that the commission then used our range of losses in the aggregate to develop what they thought was the appropriate amount of restitution per claimant. . . .

Those who contend that token payments are an inappropriate way to redress this injustice overlook the basic fact that compensatory remedies are deeply rooted in American jurisprudence. It has long been considered proper for our courts to award monetary damages to in-

*“Japanese Americans were deprived of their freedom through the actions of their own government . . . not the enemy.”*

dividuals who have been unjustifiably injured. In tort law, for example, there are virtually thousands of reported cases in which substantial damages have been awarded to persons who were falsely arrested or imprisoned, on nonracially motivated grounds.

The amounts of damages in such cases vary considerably, ranging from several hundred dollars to well over \$100,000. The vast majority of reported awards stem from detentions lasting no more than a few days in duration, as compared to three years in the case of Japanese Americans. In many jurisdictions, an award for false arrest or imprisonment can include an amount for mental suffering. Humiliation, shame, and fright are elements that are considered in determining mental suffering. In addition, many jurisdictions include punitive damages where

the conduct of the wrongdoer was particularly egregious or outrageous. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may append to my remarks examples of false arrest and false imprisonment cases in which monetary damages were awarded, including the factors upon which the judge relied in upholding the award. . . .

These examples are contained in the appendix of testimony by Mr. Angus Macbeth, former special counsel to the Commission on War-time Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

When one considers the fact that most of the internees were detained for three years or more, the \$20,000 lump-sum payments simply cannot be considered excessive. The funds authorized for these payments are allocated over a period of five years and will constitute but a tiny fraction of our trillion-dollar federal budget. In addition, as was pointed out several times during the House debate on this legislation, the \$20,000 lump-sum payments are equivalent to less than \$3,000 in 1945 dollars, a very small amount of compensation considering the degree of economic, social, and emotional injury incurred by the internees during their three-year confinement.

In addition, opponents of S. 1009 often express the concern that enactment of the bill will set a dangerous precedent and invite similar claims by other minority groups.

It should be noted that under the provisions of S. 1009, payments are to be made only to those living individuals who were victims of the federal government's wartime policy. No payments are to be made to heirs or descendants of the former internees. S. 1009 would, therefore, not open the door for claims by descendants of former slaves or the descendants of Native American victims of the federal government's nineteenth-century policies with respect to American Indians. When we look for cases of people alive today who were themselves directly injured by the federal government because of their race or ethnicity, the incarceration of Japanese Americans is unprecedented.

Finally, I am often asked about the case of American citizens who were held captive by Japan during World War II. The War Claims Act of 1948 compensated each civilian American citizen who was held by the Imperial Japanese Government in the amount of \$60 per month. The act was later extended to cover civilians captured by North Korea during the Korean conflict. Later still, it was extended to cover American civilians captured by North Vietnam during the war in Vietnam. Civilians captured

in Vietnam were compensated in the amount of \$150 for each month they were imprisoned. Like the Japanese Americans, these Americans suffered a loss of liberty; the difference is that Japanese Americans were deprived of their freedom through the actions of their own government—the United States of America, not the enemy.

Federal courts have also addressed constitutional violations and false imprisonment in individual or class-action settings. In *Dellums v. Powell*, 566 F. 2d 167 (D.C. Cir. 1977), the case which grew out of the mass arrests of demonstrators at the 1972 May Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., damages for false imprisonment were awarded in amounts ranging from \$120 for twelve hours or less to \$1,800 for forty-eight to seventy-two hours of detention.

Individual payments have also been made to Americans held hostage as a consequence of terrorism. Of the fifty-two Americans held hostage in Iran for 444 days, all but one were U.S. government employees. Congress voted each of these fifty-one a special bonus of \$50 per day for that period—a total of \$22,200 for each former hostage.

So it is clear that Congress can act to provide appropriate compensation to individuals who were the victims of such a grave injustice. Such compensation is long overdue. Since the end of World War II, many who were directly or indirectly involved in the mass evacuation and detention of Japanese Americans and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry have acknowledged the wrong inflicted on the evacuees.

President Roosevelt, in approving the induction of Japanese Americans into the U.S. Army, observed that "Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart—not race or ancestry." Henry L. Stimson, then Secretary of War, recognized that "to loyal citizens, this forced evacuation was a personal injustice." Francis Biddle, then the attorney general of the United States, expressed his belief that "the program was ill-

vised, unnecessary, and unnecessarily cruel." Milton Eisenhower, the first director of the War Relocation Authority, described the evacuation and detention of Japanese Americans as "an inhuman mistake." The late chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Earl Warren, who, as attorney general of the state of California, urged evacuation of Japanese Americans, stated, "I have since deeply regretted the removal order and my own testimony advocating it, because it was not in keeping with our American concept of freedom and the rights of citizens."

S. 1009 also has the strong support of a large number of contemporary individuals and organizations, and I ask unanimous consent that such a list may be printed in the *Record* following my statement. . . .

Mr. President, it is time that Congress, too, recognized the grave injustice inflicted by the federal government on American citizens of Japanese ancestry and move to make amends. Passage of S. 1009 would remove a longstanding blot on our national Constitution—a most appropriate way to commemorate its bicentennial. It would also remove a cloud which has hung over the heads of innocent Americans of Japanese ancestry since World War II.

When the Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Team, described by General Mark Clark as the "most fightingest and most highly decorated military unit in the history of the United States," marched up Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House, upon its return from the European Theater at the end of World War II, President Harry S. Truman, in presenting the team with its seventh Presidential Unit Citation said, "You fought not only the enemy, but prejudice—and won."

Mr. President, as a twice-wounded veteran of the 100th Infantry Battalion, which is the first battalion of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, I plead with my colleagues to make that victory complete and meaningful by passage of S. 1009.

Spark M.  
MATSUNAGA



*The debate over S. 1009 continued the next day, April 20. Matsunaga again rose to speak in support of the bill and against any attempts to remove provisions that awarded monetary damages to former internees. Shortly before a vote was taken, Matsunaga made the following speech, also reprinted here from the Congressional Record. Newspaper accounts noted that he wept and momentarily fal-*

tered as he recalled the suffering of some prisoners, especially that of an elderly man whose innocent moment of fun with his grandson ended in tragedy.



Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the senator from Nevada [Mr. Hecht].

The Hecht amendment would delete from the bill funds provided to compensate each of about 60,000 surviving former internees and would also delete funds provided for the establishment of a "civil liberties education fund." Further, the Hecht amendment would delete title III of the bill, pertaining to compensation for Aleuts, in its entirety.

Those who contend that monetary compensation is an inappropriate way to redress this longstanding injustice overlook the fact that monetary compensatory remedies are an integral part of our system of jurisprudence. It has long been regarded as proper for the courts to award monetary damages to individuals who have been unjustifiably injured. The amounts of damages vary widely, of course, ranging from several hundred dollars to well over \$100,000, and the vast majority of such awards are for wrongful detentions of only a few days. To cite only a few examples, in the case of *Bucher v. Krause* (200 F. 2d 576, 7th Cir., 1952), a man

S.W. 2d 687, Tex. Civ. App. 1964), a woman who was falsely charged with shoplifting by her employer, detained for several hours, and assaulted, was awarded \$10,000 in compensatory damages plus \$10,000 in punitive damages. In *Dellums v. Powell*, the case stemming from the arrest and detention of demonstrators during the antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. on May 1, 1972, compensatory damages in amounts ranging from \$120 to \$1,800 were awarded to those detained for a few hours up to three days.

In addition to these actions by the courts, Congress has acted to redress the claims of civilians and military personnel held captive by the enemy in World War II, the Korean conflict, and the war in Vietnam. Civilian federal employees who were held hostage in Iran for less than eighteen months were awarded compensation in the amount of \$22,000 per person by act of Congress.

Mr. President, the American citizens of Japanese ancestry who were the victims of the federal government's wartime policy were imprisoned for three years or more not by an enemy, but by their own government, the United States of America. It seems to me that it is equally important, if not more important, that we provide monetary compensation as was done in cases I just cited. To do any less would demean the serious injustice which they suffered; \$20,000, equal to \$3,000 in 1945 dollars, is truly not too much for individuals who were falsely incarcerated for three years or longer.

During hearings of the Commission on War-time Relocation and Internment of Civilians, which came out with that excellent report which all members have in their offices, former internees, many telling their stories for the first time, told of infants, young mothers, and elderly persons who died for lack of adequate medical care and facilities; of families who were separated, with elderly parents or in-laws going to one camp while their married children were sent to another; of large families forced to live together in one small room; of the constant, nagging uncertainty about the future, both near and long term; of the strains which this placed on their

*"The stigma of disloyalty has haunted Japanese Americans for the past forty-five years, and it is one of the principal reasons that they are seeking congressional action to remove that cloud over their heads."*

wrongfully arrested following a barroom scuffle and held in jail for just one day was awarded \$50,000 in compensatory damages; in *Globe Shopping v. Williams* (Tex. Civ. App. 1976), a shopper falsely arrested and imprisoned for only six hours was awarded \$35,000 in compensatory damages; and in *Skillem v. Stewart* (379





Spark Matsunaga

families and on the close-knit Japanese American community as a whole; and, most dramatically, of internees who were shot and killed by camp guards because they inadvertently wandered too close to the camp barbed wire fences. In one such incident, an elderly man and his grandson were playing pitch-catch ball near the fence late one afternoon. Under the camp rules, one was never to be seen between the two barbed-wire fences after six p.m. Although it was after six o'clock, on this day it was a bright summer day and it was still broad daylight. The grandfather, having missed the ball, chased after it, and when he got in between the two fences the guard up on the watchtower yelled, "Get back," and the elderly gentleman said, "Oh, I am only going for the ball," and continued his chase; whereupon the guard up on the watchtower fired the machine gun, killing the elderly man instantly. His grandson and members of his family still bear the scars of that incident.

And I myself become overly emotional when I think about it even to this day.

It is also reported, Mr. President, that an elderly American veteran of World War I commit-

ted suicide because he was so ashamed of being branded as "disloyal" to the United States. Indeed, the stigma of disloyalty has haunted Japanese Americans for the past forty-five years, and it is one of the principal reasons that they are seeking congressional action to remove that cloud over their heads. . . .

Mr. President, the sponsors of the bill do not pretend that history can be erased, but the measure would provide for the first time an official acknowledgement of the grave injustice which was done, and it would provide token monetary compensation to those who suffered irreparable losses. Without such compensation the bill would be meaningless.

Mr. President, perhaps of greater significance, as I stated yesterday, is that S. 1009 would remove forever a longstanding blot on that great Constitution of the United States, and its passage, as reported by the committee, will prove that our beloved country is great enough to acknowledge and correct its past mistakes.

# S.I. Hayakawa

1906–1992

*Japanese American educator, university administrator, and member of the U.S. Senate*

One of the most colorful—and controversial—public figures in recent American history was Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa, a noted educator and university administrator who burst onto the national scene in the late 1960s and later entered the realm of politics. Known as “Don” to family and friends, he was born in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, to parents who had emigrated from Japan. His father ran an import-export business and frequently moved his wife and four children from one Canadian city to another until he finally returned to his native country in 1929. Hayakawa completed his high school education in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and then went on to earn his bachelor’s degree from the University of Manitoba in 1927 and his master’s in English literature from Montreal’s McGill University in 1930. Then he was off to the United States, where in 1935 he obtained his doctorate in English and American literature from the University of Wisconsin in Madison.

Unable to secure a teaching position in Canada, Hayakawa remained in Madison after completing his degree and taught adult students in the university’s extension division. He left there in 1939 to take a job as instructor in English at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago. He remained at the school throughout the 1940s, moving up to the rank of assistant professor of English in 1940 and associate professor in 1942.

At the same time he was advancing his academic career, Hayakawa was also making a name for himself outside the classroom. During the late 1930s, after observing Adolf Hitler and other totalitarian leaders of Europe skillfully manipulate words and symbols to seize and maintain political control, he began working on a book that he hoped would explain this deliberate misuse of language to students as well as to a general audience. Based on the theories of Alfred Korzybski, considered the founder of general semantics (the study of how people evaluate words and how that evaluation in turn influences their behavior), Hayakawa’s *Language in Action* (entitled *Language in Thought and Action* in subsequent editions) was published in 1941. With its blend of humor and clear explanations of a difficult yet fascinating subject, it became a bestseller and a staple in many high-school and college courses from the 1940s through the present day.

Hayakawa soon was recognized as one of the leading experts in the field and went on to establish the International Society for General Semantics and serve for nearly thirty years as editor of its quarterly journal, *ETC*. He went on to write seven other books on language and communication, including *Language, Meaning and Maturity* (1954), *Our Language and Our World* (1959), *Symbol, Status and Personality* (1963), and *Through the Communication Barrier* (1979). All were written in a way that was understandable to a popular audience, an approach that led some in the academic community to reject Hayakawa as not "scholarly" enough. He shrugged off the criticism and continued to do as he pleased, which was to find ways of enhancing appreciation for his teachings by relating them to situations people might encounter in everyday life.

In 1955, after a five-year stint as an instructor in semantics at the University of Chicago, Hayakawa joined the faculty of San Francisco State College (later University) on a part-time basis, which allowed him the freedom to lecture elsewhere (which he did frequently) and write. He was still there when growing student unrest at San Francisco State thrust him into the unexpected role of college president near the end of 1968.

Hayakawa's sudden promotion came after an especially turbulent year on campuses across the nation. Demonstrations, sit-ins, and strikes had become popular means of protest by students as well as faculty members at many institutions, and San Francisco State was no exception. There, a relatively small group of radical students demanded that the school eliminate the ROTC program, relax admission standards to make it possible for more members of minority groups to enroll, establish a separate black studies department, and reinstate a suspended black instructor. When officials refused to agree to these "non-negotiable" demands, some students proceeded to disrupt classes, vandalize buildings, and launch a strike. Local police were called in to restore order, but the turmoil continued for weeks throughout 1968 and led to the resignations of two San Francisco State presidents within seven months.

Into this chaotic atmosphere stepped Hayakawa. Although he sympathized with some of the demonstrators' demands, including the need to expand and improve the black studies program and reassess admission standards, he felt the school's primary obligation should be to the vast majority of students who were not on strike. In fact, he was one of the few faculty members who had supported the idea of resuming classes by any means necessary—even if it meant resorting to force.

Hayakawa's feistiness and no-nonsense attitude caught the attention of Governor Ronald Reagan, who appointed him acting president of San Francisco State in late November 1968. (When asked later about how he came to be selected for the position, Hayakawa remarked, "I guess they dug down to the bottom of the barrel.") He immediately banned all student demonstrations and speeches and announced that classes would begin again right after the Thanksgiving break. When school reopened on December 2, angry students responded with violent attacks on classroom and administration buildings in an attempt to shut down classes once again. That same day, an equally outraged Hayakawa (outfitted in his trademark tam o' shanter hat) became a hero to all those exasperated by campus unrest when national news footage showed him confronting the protesters, climbing on their sound truck, and ripping out the wires connected to their loudspeaker.

By mid-December, Hayakawa's firmness and the presence of hundreds of police officers on campus appeared to have had the desired effect; the majority of students had returned to school, and many protesters had been arrested or suspended. But in January 1969, the American Federation of Teachers local that

represented some San Francisco State faculty members called for a strike that again halted classes and heightened tensions.

On February 3, 1969, Hayakawa testified on Capitol Hill in connection with the San Francisco State situation. Concerned about the unrest plaguing so many colleges and universities across the nation, Congress had begun to discuss several ways of dealing with the problem, including cutting off federal financial aid to any student convicted of use of force, disruption, or seizure of a school's property. Legislators were very interested in hearing from the man who had taken such a strong stand against protesters and welcomed him warmly. Hayakawa's testimony that day is reprinted here from the official report *Campus Unrest: Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 91st Congress, 1st Session, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.*

S.I.  
HAYAKAWA



Madam Chairman and members of the subcommittee, San Francisco State College, earlier known as San Francisco State Teachers' College, began as a teacher's training institution just before the turn of the century. It began to offer bachelor's degrees in primary, elementary, and junior high school teaching in the 1920s. Since 1935, the institution has been called San Francisco State College, with broad programs in the liberal arts and sciences to supplement the professional work in education. In 1945, the state authorized a five-year program for the general secondary credential and by 1949 the graduate program was extended to grant the master's degree.

The majority of our liberal arts students come from the San Francisco Bay area. Our creative arts school, with an excellent reputation in drama, film, television, and music, draws from the entire country and abroad. Our education school draws from a wide area of the state.

Our students are not rich. Seventy-five percent or more work full or part time to pay their way through college. The average age is between twenty-four and twenty-five years, with a substantial number of married students who carry full loads and work at outside jobs. Of our 18,000 undergraduate and graduate students only 800 live in the two campus dormitories. An additional 800 will be housed when the third dormitory is available later this year.

About 3,500 students received money under federal aid programs. Dr. Helen Bedesem, the college financial aids officer, has detailed information on the entire aid picture. This is

one area I cannot discuss with any great degree of competence since my major effort in eight weeks as president has been to restore order and to keep classrooms open for those who wish to teach and to study.

The ethnic composition, unfortunately, does not reflect either the statewide or the area figure. It includes something in the area of 3.6 percent Negro and a total of 15 to 17 percent nonwhite. The Negro percentage is down from an estimated 11 percent a decade ago, in part because of the growth of the junior colleges and in part because the college entrance standards worked to the disadvantage of many nonwhite young people whose earlier education suffered deficiencies. I do not believe there is any social or educational justification for trying to maintain a student ethnic composition in direct proportion to that of the area or the state, but I do believe that we must do more to increase opportunities for minority and disadvantaged groups, even at the expense of additional teachers and counselors to assist these young people.

San Francisco State College has long been known for its liberal and interesting faculty. It is a college that operated successfully for years with fewer rules and regulations than most any institution of higher education. Academic freedom has been a way of life and an incentive to attract exciting students and professors. This atmosphere may have had something to do with the rise of faculty militancy and the close relationship between some extremely liberal faculty members and students who became leaders of militant or ultraliberal groups.

The faculty is represented in many ways

through professional groupings and by a senate which sets academic policy for the institution. Our senate is only about five years old and still experiencing growing pains.

Generally, administrative control over the faculty cannot be described as dictatorial in the least, despite the present clamor over the state

*"I do not believe there is any social or educational justification for trying to maintain a student ethnic composition in direct proportion to that of the area or the state, but I do believe that we must do more to increase opportunities for minority and disadvantaged groups. . . ."*

law which says that anyone who absents himself without leave for five consecutive days is considered to have resigned. The faculty has autonomy in essential matters, such as hiring, retention, tenure, and promotion. The president cannot even fire a faculty member. He can only recommend action to the chancellor.

Basically, the turnover rate is low. For the last few years our faculty turnover rate has been below the rate of the state college system as a whole.

A relatively small segment of the faculty is close to the small segment of the students who are the militant or dissident leadership. This is a strange alliance. I believe that some faculty may be radicals and may develop close association with radical students because of professional inadequacies. For example, a faculty member who is not considered to be a strong scholar among his peers may seek recognition from students. Then there are at least a few, I am sure, who are dedicated revolutionaries. We do know that there is a certain amount of coaching of radical students by radical faculty but I think we have reached the point where the students have much to teach their tutors.

The relationship of the faculty to the administration is one of those strange bureaucratic arrangements. Some teachers are professional

politicians within the institution, very close to administrators at all levels, influencing decisions, carrying messages, and frequently contributing worthwhile feedback of general faculty opinion. Then there are some on our campus, and every other campus, who ignore the administration completely as they come and go from home to the classroom, laboratory, and library. Our strongest ties between the administration and the faculty stem from the council of academic deans, which includes all school deans and administrative deans working under the academic vice president. This is the body of experience, reason, intelligence, and total college concern that any president will rely on for sound advice and good counsel. The deans are close to their department chairmen who, in most cases, are close to their departmental faculty members.

Our administration is one of the problems in the sense that it needs additional manpower. We have excellent men in every key position, but the budget does not allow for assistance of equal caliber. Thus, when a crisis develops, our firstline men are completely occupied. Their routine work suffers and in the case of a prolonged episode like our recent thirteen weeks, fatigue eventually takes its toll. I imagine the same is true in most other urban colleges and universities and I look for the day when we have time to consider some basic reorganization to add strength in numbers at the top. Our administrative turnover is exceedingly low considering what the college has experienced in recent years—low except in the office of president. As you may know, I am the third president in less than twelve months, the eighth in ten years. This is another story and one that probably has had some effect on administration functions. I have not had time to analyze the effects of frequent presidential changes.

A portrait of student unrest groups: We have several white radical or ultraliberal groups. Their numbers total something around 300 when their allies are mobilized. Their central control is probably vested in less than 50 people. These 50 or so are dedicated, experienced, and effective in the field of organizing or disruption. And to answer a question in advance, we cannot eliminate any of these people without exercising due process, which includes finding them guilty of offenses. Recent events may have helped to solve our problem since most, if not all of the white activity leaders have been arrested at least once each.

Of our 800 or 900 black students, I would

estimate that less than 100 have been involved in the recent disruptions, although many more attend rallies under pressure from their leaders. The bravest young people on our campus are the nonviolent young black students who keep on attending classes at the risk of physical attack from black militants and in the face of distrust on the part of the majority of white students. I have praised these young people before in public and appreciate the opportunity to repeat my feelings of admiration for them today.

There is an important difference between black and white activists. Generally speaking, the black students are fighting for a place in society. White activists, such as the Students for a Democratic Society [SDS], are fighting to destroy the society, even though they have nothing better to propose as a substitute. It is only during periods of particular kinds of strife that both groups find enough in common to join forces as they have on our campus this year. And when they do join together the bonds are weak. The alliance is to execute tactics, not to achieve common objectives.

The Third World Liberation Front is relatively new. It was meant to include all the non-white and nonblack minorities. It is supposed to unite the oppressed peoples of the world; it is said to be the rallying point for victims of both capitalism and communism. Since its formation on our campus last April, the Third World has been dominated by a handful of Spanish-speaking students who claim to represent the much larger Latin and Oriental population of the campus and the community. There is little evidence to substantiate this claim.

We have some off-campus agitators involved in the present affair. But actually our home-grown brand need little outside help, except in numbers at those senseless rallies and endless marches. We have all the militant leadership that is needed for a first-class revolt and I understand that we have also exported some talent for disruptions at other campuses on both coasts.

Dissidents of all colors have worked exceedingly hard to build sympathy in ethnic communities throughout the year, with the objective of turning a campus problem into a much larger community problem. But their efforts have failed miserably. They have been able to attract as many as 100 students from other campuses for a one-day rally and march. But they have failed completely to attract any large numbers of citizens from the Spanish-speaking,

black, or Oriental communities of San Francisco. From these facts, it is clear that the majority of the ethnic minority population is more interested in education as conducted or proposed by the college than in the wild plans for education by mob rule as proposed by our dissident students.

Some militants are genuine in their desire to improve the educational system. But it is al-

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*“Some militants are genuine in their desire to improve the educational system. But it is also clear that some militants . . . are more concerned with personal power than with education. . . .”*

so clear that some militants, especially in the Black Students Union, are more concerned with personal power than with education. We saw evidence of this in the very first press conference the BSU conducted on November 6, the first day of the strike. The leaders said boldly that their real objective was to seize power. They have never wavered from this plan. They have never attempted to hide their real purposes. What is unfortunate is that so many well-meaning supporters of increased opportunity for black students have attached different meanings to the struggle. The people on the fringes are the ones saying the noble things about opportunity and progress. The BSU leaders keep saying they want absolute control, with no accountability to anyone except their constituents, constituents ruled by force, intimidation, and gangster tactics.

The white militants are as explicit as the blacks. Their story is now familiar on every major campus. They believe our society is so corrupt that there is no hope except to destroy the entire structure and rebuild from the ground up. But their idea of rebuilding along the lines of a participatory democracy is to deny the very freedoms they claim are sacred. We have seen them in action. In their system, there is no more room for debate than at a Nazi rally in the days of Adolf Hitler. If you doubt this, try defending the American commitment in Vietnam at an SDS meeting.

We are asked frequently whether channels of communication are open to students. I cannot think of a college or university in this country where the channels are more open. Many imaginative proposals for changes in education and administration have resulted from the ability of our students to present new ideas to their professors, departments, schools, and presidents. We have supported a large experimental program for years, allowing for experimental courses within the regular structure of the departments and additionally through the experimental college operated on the campus, usually in the evenings, with unlimited opportunities for either students or faculty to try new modes of teaching or to experiment with new subject matter. Most of the courses now included in the black studies program were first tested through the cooperation of willing faculty and administrators.

The people we are forced to deal with in the present crisis—people trying to seize power or to destroy the institution—have used every device to corrupt the channels of communication. Their style of confrontation to achieve ends does not allow for free and open communication because communication in that sense might lead to reason and negotiation, which are the last things they want.

Our present difficulties were not triggered by a specific event, even though the temporary suspension of Black Panther George Murray, part-time instructor and graduate student, is often cited as the reason for the BSU action. The crisis was not triggered at all. It was planned very carefully over a long period of time. To illustrate, the strike started on the anniversary of the date in 1967—November 6—when nine black students attacked the campus newspaper editor and his staff in their offices. Many of those nine are the present student strike leaders. Many are out on parole.

From the very first day, our present strike has been characterized by planned violence. The objective was to cripple instruction. There was no attempt to seize buildings or to disrupt the administration. The first actions were directed toward the classroom. At first, bands of black students entered academic buildings to terrorize instructors and students by shouting, overturning furniture, and just pushing people around. Then we had a rash of minor bombing attempts and arson intended to frighten rather than to damage. For example, on one day we had fifty fires, all in waste baskets, on desk tops or in rest rooms, so the results would disrupt classes rather than to destroy buildings.



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After the white and Third World militants joined the BSU, which was only a matter of a few days, the action took on more massive proportions and for a time we had a combination of guerrilla tactics and mob action. Every mid-day in December there was an outdoor rally, usually resulting in attacks on one or more of the classroom buildings.

The people who deplore the use of police on campus seem to forget that the first days of this strike saw violence introduced by the students themselves as essential to their plan. The college use of police was a response to violence, not the cause. What we have succeeded in doing is to move the action from the classroom to the space between buildings and from there to the streets surrounding the campus. For weeks now the classrooms and the inner campus have been quiet and safe.

I believe that we have introduced something new to this business of preserving order on campuses. At most institutions the use of police is delayed as long as possible and when assistance is finally requested, the force is usually too small to handle the situation and new troubles develop. I went the other way. I had ample force available and demonstrated a willingness to use it quickly to protect people and property from attack. The opposition has received my message. I think we have communicated successfully.

During my eight weeks in office, my principal action has been to restore order. But I would not want anyone to believe that I think this is the solution for campus unrest. It is merely a first step. This is where my beliefs vary from those of many of the conservative supporters who have communicated with me. Several things must be accomplished if we are to end the present trend toward confrontation and violence. First, we must reassess many of our educational objectives and administrative systems. We must modernize quickly and on a vast scale to make the entire system more responsive to the times and to the needs of our young people.

Second, we must look realistically at problems of discipline and devise systems that will work without resorting to outside help. We must eventually put campus discipline in the hands of responsible faculty and student groups who will work cooperatively with administrations for the greater good of institutions. Our faculty and student disciplinary systems are not geared for today's problems.

In a sense, the issues behind most present troubles are valid. As a nation, we have said that education is vital for success for every citizen. Yet we still have an overwhelming number of elementary and secondary school systems that are crippling the poor and the minorities educationally. What we see now is a body of Negro, Spanish-speaking, and other young hammering on the door for an opportunity to obtain the education we have told them is so important to their future.

If we were dealing with hunger instead of education—you can imagine what would happen if we had a walled city in which the citizens had all the food they needed while outside there were hordes of starving people. We could not open the gates just a little to admit handfuls of the starving and expect the rest to remain patiently outside. No. We would have to be prepared to open the gates wide and admit everyone, or be prepared for a riot. That is the situation now with higher education. We have opened the doors just a little with special programs that serve hundreds while thousands are clamoring for education. I believe we should open the gates fully, even at enormous expense, to provide educational opportunity at every level—in high schools, adult schools, junior colleges, state colleges, and the universities—for our entire minority and poor populations. We should mobilize the best brains available, just as we did when the nation attacked our problems of modern science to solve an education-

al crisis that means as much to our national welfare as our efforts in outer space.

The relationship of unrest to federal aid programs. Generally, students under aid programs are not the ones who have caused the troubles. Dr. Bedesem is better qualified to discuss this matter than I. But from what I understand after a preliminary study of records still being assembled there may be upward of 100 students receiving aid under one of the many federal programs among those 500 or 600 arrested for all causes during the past thirteen weeks. All people arrested are not necessarily trouble-makers. Some, as in the large group arrested at the recent illegal rally, were just too close and failed to leave when ordered to do so. They are violators of the law, but their crime is far different than being plotters, planners, attackers, or arsonists.

Of the hundreds arrested since November 6, only one has so far been tried by civil authorities. He was not an aid recipient. Our college disciplinary system proved inadequate for the situation and is being revised to provide better, and I can say also quicker, procedures. During the next few weeks we will begin hearings on the people who have been arrested as well as on others who have been involved or cited by college officials. I can assure this committee that the provisions of federal law applying to students receiving financial aid will be observed faithfully.

Prognosis: It is not easy at this point to predict the course of events on our campus or elsewhere. I feel that the danger to the nation and to higher education has been vastly underestimated by a majority of people. Most of the news and much of the commentary deals with the action rather than the underlying causes of dissent and the methods to correct obvious ills.

If we are to end campus rebellion without destroying the educational institutions, we must redirect our energies. We must look beyond the day-to-day combat to the reasons underlying this deadly attack on higher education. We must learn to deal both with the dedicated revolutionary leaders and the unsolved problems that enable those leaders to enlist followers. The solution to these problems will take time, brains, and money. This nation is amply endowed with those resources. But we must act promptly and decisively.



Finally, he shared his views on the meaning of academic freedom:

I earnestly believe in academic freedom; the freedom to teach that which you regard as the truth, especially in the field of your own competence and training. The freedom always to seek the truth and to pass it on as you see it. I think that our profession needs to defend that right down the line.

I think there is also freedom to learn. We have a fantastic degree of freedom to learn in this country in this sense, that, if you don't like one course, you can take another. We have a fantastic array of electives. You can major in German or Spanish or ceramics or mathematics. There are all those freedoms, and then there is freedom of discussion within the campus itself, so that we are all free to argue with each other about Marxism or social credit or free love or anything we want.

But one very important thing about academic freedom is, it is academic freedom. It is not freedom of action. No society gives us complete freedom of action. It is not freedom to interfere with the academic freedom of others. So

if, let us say, in the exercise of your own academic freedom you have to disrupt somebody else's course in political science, you are interfering with other people's academic freedom at the same time you are exercising your own. . . .

Most of our defense of academic freedom which we have carefully built into our system were geared for previous emergency. The last great attacks on academic freedom, particularly those in the era of Senator Joe McCarthy, those attacks came from the right wing; they came from above, and they came from outside the colleges and universities.

Now the attacks on academic freedom come from the left and from below and from within our own ranks in students and faculty, and so our defenses to protect academic freedom are like the guns at Singapore. They were pointed the wrong way, and while they were pointed this way, those dirty old Japanese came in from behind. This is why we seem so totally unprotected.

*Hayakawa eventually prevailed in the battle between San Francisco State and some of its students and faculty; agreements were worked out in March 1969, that settled the disputes mostly on the president's terms, and things slowly returned to normal on campus over the following weeks. Although some who disagreed with him left the university, many others in California and around the country applauded his decisiveness and his willingness to assert his authority over rebellious militants. Supporters urged him to seek political office but Hayakawa declined, citing his interest in remaining at his job to finish what he had started. In July 1969, he was named permanent president of the college.*

*In 1973, feeling that he had at last accomplished his goals, Hayakawa retired from the presidency of San Francisco State, switched his official party affiliation from Democrat to Republican, and announced his intention to seek a seat in the U.S. Senate. Under California law, however, he turned out to be ineligible to run because he did not change parties at least twelve months before becoming a candidate. Undaunted, Hayakawa tried again in 1976 and won on a platform*

that emphasized conservative measures such as decentralized government, lower taxes, and fewer regulations on business.

Although he preferred to describe himself as a "Republican unpredictable," Hayakawa quickly revealed himself to be one of the most conservative members of the Senate. He opposed busing to achieve racial integration in public schools, tried to withhold public funds from universities with affirmative action programs, supported reducing the minimum wage for younger workers, and proposed a constitutional amendment making English the country's official language. He also was known for his eccentricities, among them his habit of nodding off during Senate proceedings—a practice that earned him the nickname "Sleepin' Sam." (He claimed that he only fell asleep when a speaker took twenty minutes to say something that could have been said in two.) What was not generally known, however, was that Hayakawa suffered from the sleeping disorder narcolepsy, which quite suddenly plunges its victims into brief periods of deep sleep.

By the time he was up for re-election in 1982, Hayakawa had lost the backing of wealthy California conservatives, so he quickly withdrew from the race. But he did not completely desert politics or abandon the spotlight. From 1983 until 1990, for example, he served as special advisor to the U.S. Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. He also caused an uproar in the Japanese American community during the 1980s when he opposed efforts to seek redress for those who had been uprooted from their homes and sent to internment camps during World War II because they were perceived as a threat to national security. (Hayakawa was a Canadian citizen at the time and living in Chicago, so he was spared the fate of many West Coast Japanese Americans.) He argued that it was a reasonable course of action for the U.S. government to take given the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the well-known ferocity of Japanese soldiers and that he was "embarrassed" by the "ridiculous" attempts of some to seek an apology and compensation for their imprisonment.

Because Hayakawa himself had experienced racial prejudice—he was denied citizenship until the mid-1950s on account of his race, and his longtime marriage to a white woman was not considered legal in many states—many people, especially other Japanese Americans, found his conservative stance on such issues puzzling if not infuriating. Although he later reversed his position on the redress question, he created yet another stir with his outspoken opposition to making the United States a bilingual society, declaring that "the most rapid way of getting out of the ghetto is to speak good English."

In an expression of support for this cause, Hayakawa helped establish and then served as honorary chairman of U.S. English, a private lobbying organization based in Washington, D.C., that is dedicated to making English the country's official language and abolishing bilingual education programs in public schools. He also founded the California English Campaign, which in 1986 succeeded in persuading voters to have English declared the official language of that particular state. (Several other states—mostly those with large Hispanic populations—have since followed suit.)

On April 23, 1982, in an appearance in the nation's capital before the Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, Hayakawa (who was then still a member of the Senate) outlined the reasons behind his opposition to fostering bilingualism in the United States. He also used the occasion to urge support for his proposed constitutional amendment as well as for a pending bilingual education bill. His comments are reprinted here from *Vital Speeches of the Day*, June 15, 1982.



Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am honored to follow the testimony of my good friend Secretary Terrel Bell of the Department of Education. He has described in detail the Bilingual Education Improvement Act, S. 2412, which I introduced in the Senate this past Wednesday. I am pleased to work with Secretary Bell on this issue, as we are both committed to giving school districts more flexibility in their teaching methods while targeting the immigrant population in greatest need of English instruction.

Today I would like to address bilingual education as it relates to a much broader issue: the question of what language will be used in the United States. As most of you know I have proposed a constitutional amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 72, which declares as the law of the land what is already a social and political reality: that English is the official language of the United States. This amendment is needed to clarify the confusing signals we have given in recent years to immigrant groups. For example the requirements for naturalization as a U.S. citizen say you must be able to "read, write and speak words in ordinary usage in the English language." And though you must be a citizen to vote, some recent legislation has required bilingual ballots in certain locations. This amendment would end that contradictory, logically conflicting situation.

Our immigration laws already require English for citizenship. The role of bilingual education is then to equip immigrants with the necessary English language skills to qualify them for this requirement. The problem is that all too often, bilingual education programs have strayed from their original intent of teaching English. A related issue is the full scale of interpretations for the term "bilingual education." Chances are that when one asks five people for a definition, five very different answers will be given. According to one interpretation, it simply means the teaching of English to non-English-speakers. This is the method I prefer and is usually called English-as-a-Second-Language or ESL. On the opposite side of the scale bilingual education is a more or less permanent two-track education system involving the maintenance of a second culture and an emphasis on ethnic heritage. This method is called transitional bilingual education and involves teaching academic subjects to immigrants in their

own language coupled with English language instruction. This is the definition used to determine eligibility for Title VII funding.

We all grew up with the concept of the American melting pot, that is the merging of a multitude of foreign cultures into one. This melting pot has succeeded in creating a vibrant new culture among peoples of many different cultural backgrounds largely because of the widespread use of a common language, English. In this world of national strife, it is a unique concept. I believe every member of this committee will agree that it had a fundamental impact on our nation's greatness. In light of the growing emphasis on maintaining a second culture and instruction in the native languages, I ask myself

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*"All too often, bilingual education programs have strayed from their original intent of teaching English."*

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what are we trying to do? Where do we want to go? Demographic research tells us that in some of our states, ten or twenty years from now there will be a majority of individuals with Spanish background. It seems to me that we are preparing the ground for permanently and officially bilingual states. From here to separatist movements à la Quebec would be the final step. Is this the development which we want to promote?

I believe that my constitutional amendment as well as my Title VII amendments will prevent a crisis similar to the separatist movement of French Canadians. That confused state of affairs is a result of controversy about which language shall be the official one used in Canada. I want to avoid a similar situation here in America where use of another language is encouraged to the point that it could become an official language alongside English. This would perpetuate differences between English-speaking and non-English-speaking citizens and isolate one group from the other. There can be no doubt that recent immigrants love this country and want to fully participate in its society. But well-

intentioned transitional bilingual education programs have often inhibited their command of English and retarded their full citizenship.

Congress recognized the importance of teaching English to immigrants in 1968 when it passed Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This Act permitted the development of pilot projects to teach English to underprivileged immigrant children. In 1978 Congress expanded the bilingual education program, dropped the poverty qualification and required appreciation for the cultural heritage of the students served by federal funds. These amendments also introduced the option of providing academic instruction in the native languages of the students, coupled with English classes. This method of instruction, transitional bilingual education, has been interpreted by Title VII regulations as the only acceptable method of instruction for bilingual education. The unfortunate result of Congress' 1978 action was to deprive local schools of their flexibility to determine the best method of instruction for their particular non-English-speaking students.

I agree wholeheartedly that we need to do all we can to teach the English language to non-English-speaking students. However, I cannot support a rigid mandate prescribing a single method of instruction. I believe that given the flexibility to choose their own program, local schools will emphasize English instruction. Without the expensive requirement of a full academic curriculum in foreign languages, schools will be able to teach more non-English-speaking students for the same cost. I have met with many school boards who are struggling to maintain high quality education in the midst of reduced budgets. Through my personal communications studies, I have observed that the more academic instruction children get in their immigrant parents' language, the less quickly they learn English. I personally believe that ESL and immersion techniques allow non-English-speaking students to master our language so they can join the mainstream of society more quickly than through transitional bilingual education. My legislation broadens the range of instructional approaches for serving children of limited English proficiency. I expect school boards to welcome this opportunity to provide more efficient and cost effective instruction to their immigrant students while maintaining their eligibility for Title VII funds.

What the learning of a new language requires, as is well known in U.S. military language schools, is total immersion in the new

language, or as close to total immersion as possible. Though I personally support intensive methods of English instruction, I must point out that even my proposed constitutional amendment does not prohibit the use of minority languages to assist non-English-speaking students. On the contrary, it specifically states that it "shall not prohibit educational instruction in a language other than English as required as a transitional method of making students who use a language other than English proficient in English." My bilingual education proposal follows the same line of reasoning by allowing local schools the freedom to choose the teaching method that will best serve their immigrant population and maintain their eligibility for federal bilingual education funds.

Some immigrant groups argue that transitional bilingual education is necessary to preserve equal educational rights for non-English-speaking students while they are learning English. I believe that this requirement can actually result in discrimination in the administration of Title VII programs. The cost of providing academic subjects in a language other than English can exclude many of our recent immigrant groups such as the Indochinese who speak a variety of languages. Many local districts educating these students simply cannot afford to provide academic instruction in the many Indochinese languages which are often represented in one school. Imagine the cost of providing academic instruction in Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, and Vietnamese in several grades. These students are no more fluent in English than the traditional immigrant groups funded under Title VII. However, because local schools often use intensive English instruction for Indochinese students, they will not qualify for Title VII money. Section 2, subsection 2 of the Bilingual Education Improvement Act would correct this by allowing funding for projects which use a variety of methods for teaching children with limited English proficiency including but not limited to transitional bilingual education, ESL, or immersion. Section 2, subsection B insures educational quality for students served by requiring applicant schools to show that they have selected instruction methods that will complement the special needs and characteristics of the Title VII students.

The acquisition of a new language is far easier for children than for adults. Children at the ages of four to six are at the height of their language-learning powers. In families where the father speaks to the children in one language, the mother in another, and the maid in a third,

the children grow up trilingual with no difficulty. From the age of six onward, there is a gradual decline in a child's language-learning powers, so that learning a new language as an adolescent is a more difficult and self-conscious process than it is for a child. For anyone over twenty, it is a much more difficult process, involving conceptualization, like learning rules of grammar. A child picks up unfamiliar grammar without conscious effort. Because of these differences in the rates and methods of language learning among different age groups, school children, especially under the age of ten, should be exposed to English constantly through contact with English-speaking classmates and playmates. They will learn English effortlessly, without the sense of undergoing a difficult experience.

The second provision of the Bilingual Education Improvement Act would give priority funding to Title VII projects which serve children who are both of limited English proficiency and whose usual language is not English. In our current period of limited federal resources in education, both Secretary Bell and I agree that it is imperative to target Title VII funds to this particular group of immigrant children. It is clear that the proposed Fiscal Year 1983 budget of \$94.5 million cannot serve the approximately 3.6 million students who are technically eligible for Title VII aid. This provision of my legislation will target those who are most limited in their ability to speak English without tampering with the current definition of eligibility for Title VII funding. During our discussions, Secretary Bell and I have agreed that this effort to channel Title VII funds to the students who are least proficient in English is not to be interpreted as a federal mandate which will intrude in the local schools' determinations about their immigrant students. It is an incentive to local school officials to set priorities for using limited federal bilingual education funds. We agree that this new provision will be immensely helpful in clarifying a target population of students who are the most limited in their ability to speak English.

The third provision in this legislation would authorize several programs under Title VII which were previously under the Vocational Education Act. Vocational training for immigrant adults and out-of-school youth, training funds for teachers of immigrant students, and bilingual materials development have all proved to be small but effective programs. This provision would remove the set-aside for each program required under the Vocational Education Act and would allow the Department of Education

to set priorities for the use of these funds. The focus of this funding will be for demonstration projects which will identify successful teaching methods rather than service projects which merely maintain the status quo. I am very encouraged by Secretary Bell's interest in using these programs as catalysts of research and development which will encourage state and local education agencies to share in the formulation of new training methods.

Another small, but extremely important provision of my legislation would require English proficiency for instructors in bilingual education programs. I was shocked to learn that Title VII currently places greater importance on its teachers knowing the native language of their students than on knowing English. My legislation will amend Section 721 (B) of the 1978 Act to fund programs "including only those teachers who are proficient in English, and, to the extent possible, in any other language used to provide instruction." The emphasis is reversed from knowledge of the immigrant language to English, which Secretary Bell and I agree reflects the true intent of federally-funded bilingual education.

The issue of English as our official language and bilingual education for immigrants is especially timely in light of the Census Bureau figures released this past Tuesday. The 1980 census found that 23 million people in the United States aged 5 or older speak a language other than English at home. We as Americans must reassess our commitment to the preservation of English as our common language. Learning English has been the primary task of every immigrant group for two centuries. Participation in the common language has rapidly made the political and economic benefits of American society available to each new group. Those who have mastered English have overcome the major hurdle to participation in our democracy. Passage of my English language amendment, as well as my bilingual education proposal, will insure that we maintain a common basis for communicating and sharing ideas.

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HAYAKAWA

# Hiram L. Fong

1907–

*Chinese American attorney, businessman, and  
former member of the U.S. Senate*

**H**iram L. Fong has played a role in more than a few important “firsts” in his life—founder of the first multiethnic law firm in Honolulu; first Chinese American to serve in Congress; senior member of the first three legislators to represent Hawaii when it was proclaimed the fiftieth state in 1959. (In fact, Fong was instrumental in the drive to secure statehood for Hawaii.) These remarkable achievements take on an added luster when considered against the backdrop of his impoverished childhood and struggle to obtain the best education possible. But as one of his Senate colleagues once noted, his is “a true Horatio Alger story,” a rags-to-riches saga that “exemplifies those deeply held, genuinely American beliefs in hard work, perseverance, and opportunity.”

Home for Fong was a tough slum neighborhood of Honolulu, where he was born the seventh of eleven children of parents who had come to Hawaii from China to work as indentured servants on a sugar plantation. The family was so poor that young Yau, as he was then known (he took the name Hiram in college), went to work picking beans at the age of four to help out financially. He continued doing odd jobs throughout his entire childhood, including shining shoes, selling newspapers, catching fish and crabs, and caddying at a local golf course.

Fong was a very good student who showed much promise, but his dream of going on to college after graduating from high school had to wait until he could earn enough money to pay his own way. For three years, he worked as a clerk at the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, then enrolled at the University of Hawaii. He completed the course work necessary for his bachelor's degree in only three years, earning highest honors in the process. This he managed to accomplish while holding a variety of part-time jobs and participating in many outside activities such as editing the school newspaper, participating on the debate team, and competing in various sports.

Following his graduation from college in 1930, Fong went back to work full-time as an employee of suburban Honolulu's water department to finance his next step up the ladder—law school. In 1932, he went off to Harvard, returning home to Honolulu three years later completely broke but with his law degree in hand. After a brief stint as a municipal clerk, Fong then formed a partnership with several other

local attorneys of Japanese, Korean, and Caucasian ancestry to establish Honolulu's first multiethnic law firm. The venture proved to be extremely successful, enabling Fong to make a series of lucrative investments in real estate, insurance and finance firms, shopping centers, and a plantation. Within just a few years, the man who had once picked beans to supplement his father's meager wages was a millionaire.

With his financial independence assured, Fong then turned his attention to public service. He worked as deputy attorney for both the city and county of Honolulu until 1938, at which time he won election as a Republican to the territorial House of Representatives. There he served for the next fourteen years (including three terms as speaker and two as vice-speaker) and made achieving statehood for Hawaii one of his top priorities. His efforts were finally rewarded on June 27, 1959, when islanders voted to join the United States. A month later, on July 28, they elected Fong to one of the new state's two seats in the U.S. Senate; the other went to a Democrat, Oren E. Long. On August 21, Hawaii was officially proclaimed the fiftieth state, and on August 24, a lucky coin toss and draw determined that Fong rather than Long would be considered Hawaii's "senior" senator and that he would also enjoy a longer term—five-and-a-half years as opposed to Long's three-and-a-half years.

Once in office, Fong—a self-described liberal on social issues and a conservative on fiscal and military ones—worked hard to make sure the country's newest state received fair and equitable treatment from the federal government. (In the case of national highway construction funds, for example, federal officials decided that since Hawaii didn't have any roads connecting it to other states, it wasn't entitled to any money for roads. Fong successfully disputed that judgment.) At the national level, he supported major civil rights and antidiscrimination legislation, including the landmark Civil Rights Bill of 1964. The following year, he played a key role in drafting immigration reform laws that eliminated the old quota system based on race and national origin and opened the door for larger numbers of Asians to enter the United States.

Perhaps most notably, however, Fong served as a living bridge between East and West. He fostered numerous cultural and economic exchanges between nations of the Asia-Pacific region and the United States, including helping to establish and secure funding for the East-West Center, an internationally respected think-tank based at the University of Hawaii. He was extremely proud of Hawaii's multiracial and multiethnic mix of residents, and he frequently held up his beloved home state as an example of how harmony and brotherhood were not beyond reach for the peoples of the world, no matter what their race, color, or creed.

In 1960, Fong's devotion to this ideal prompted members of the National Conference of Christians and Jews to name him the recipient of their National Brotherhood Award for his outstanding service and leadership. At a special gathering held in Providence, Rhode Island, on May 5 of that year, the senator formally accepted the honor and then delivered a speech in which he reflected on the factors that had contributed to Hawaii's uniqueness among the nations of man. On May 11, a Senate colleague asked that Fong's remarks be entered into the Congressional Record, 86th Congress, 2nd Session, Volume 106, Part 8, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960, and it is from that version that the following is reprinted.

It is indeed a great honor and a great privilege for my wife Ellyn and me to be with you this evening—to sit down with you and to break bread with you and to make your friendship.

To receive from you, friends I have just come to know, through your national president, Dr. Louis Webster Jones, this bronze award signifying service to the cause of brotherhood, moves me very, very deeply. I am doubly thankful for your kindness and for selecting me for this honor which I know I do not deserve.

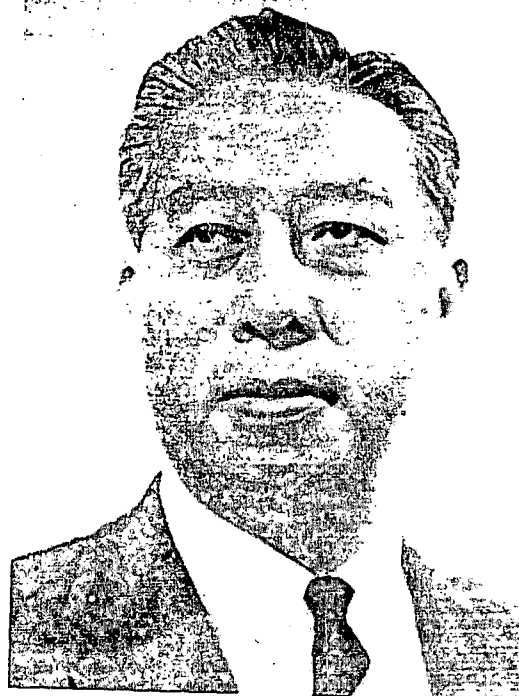
My father and mother were Taoists. Were they living and here tonight amidst your warmth and friendliness, witnessing the receipt by their son of this very coveted service award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews they would undoubtedly have remarked, "This is truly in accord with what Confucius has said, 'Under heaven all men are brothers.'"

That we should be meeting here in historic Providence, one of the queen cities of New England, pleases me greatly. I feel very much at home, for you see New England is a part of me. Three long, hard, but rewarding years of my formative life between 1932 and 1935 were spent not far from here, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, as a Harvard Law School student. But even before Harvard, I was acquainted with New England. Its influence has been felt in my native Hawaii for 140 years—since the arrival in 1820 of the first group of 12 communities of Christian Congregational missionaries from New England.

It is amazing how tremendous was their and their children's contribution to the development and stability of Hawaii and how their Puritan philosophy has influenced Hawaii's outlook and life.

Through their influence, the Hawaiian language was reduced to writing, the Bible was translated, and schools were established. Through their influence, the first written constitution was approved in 1840, creating a supreme court and a representative body of legislators elected by the people.

Through their influence, prohibition was placed on immorality, gambling, drunkenness, theft, and violation of the Sabbath, much to the resistance of foreign sailors who, on several occasions, demonstrated by armed riots, not against the natives, but against the missionaries. Into



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the home of one of them several cannon shots were fired.

Architecturally, too, New England has left its visible mark on Hawaii. Even today, it is not unusual to see a Cape Cod cottage on any one of the seven inhabited islands.

New England's influence on me has been quite personal. Besides being a graduate of Harvard Law School, I am a graduate of the public school system which the Congregational missionaries inaugurated. My name of Hiram is taken from the Reverend Hiram Bingham, leader of the first group of missionaries. My religion is Congregational.

So, it is indeed a distinct honor and a great privilege for me to be speaking here tonight in New England, for to me it is in a sense in more ways than one, like returning home.

Your regional director, Mrs. Rozella Switzer, has asked me to discuss Hawaii's role in human relationships and I am happy to accede to her wishes.

Hawaii, it is claimed by historians, was discovered by Captain James Cook, an Englishman. This claim, however, is disputed by the Chinese who relate this very plausible story. Ten years prior to Captain Cook's visit a Chinese



junk left the harbor of Hong Kong and sailed eastward across the vast Pacific. Dropping anchor at Waikiki, the captain pulled out his spyglass and scanned the shore. This is what he saw—beautiful Hawaiian maidens, dressed in grass skirts, dancing to the tune of ukuleles. Putting his spyglass down, he turned to his men and said, "Men, we must sail on, there is no laundry to be done here." And this is the reason there are so many Chinese laundries in New England.

The cook on the ship, however, was not convinced. He, too, picked up the spyglass and scanned the shore. What he saw, he liked. Putting down his spyglass, he jumped overboard and swam to shore. As he was a good cook, the captain would not sail without him.

After a whole week of search, he was found in the loving arms of a very amorous Hawaiian maiden. Yanking him from her charms, the crew took him down to the beach where, to make an example of him before all the men, the captain made him put on heavy boots and marched him up and down. With every step he took, the captain gave him a kick. After many kicks, the cook turned around and said, "Why kickee me?" And that is how Waikiki got its name.

Essential to a deeper understanding of Hawaii is a knowledge of its history, its geographical location, and of the peoples who settled there. Situated in the vast Pacific Ocean which covers one-third of our globe the Hawaiian Islands number just eight out of the thousands of islands comprising Malaysia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. Archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians of these oceanic people and their culture virtually agree that stone-age Caucasian people in successive waves of migration from the Indochina Peninsula pushed eastward into Malaysia, then from there to Melanesia, then to the islands off and surrounding Tahiti, the heart of Polynesia. From Tahiti in great single and double canoes, they dispersed 2,500 miles north to Hawaii, southwest to New Zealand, and southeast to Mangareva, Pitcairn, and Easter Island.

Charcoals recently discovered in fireplaces used by the early settlers of Hawaii have been determined by the radio carbon method to date back a thousand years.

It is generally conceded that the first Polynesians landed on Hawaii some 1,200 years ago.

Little is known of the history of Hawaii until Captain James Cook, of Great Britain, discovered the islands in 1778, and brought to a

close the period of Hawaiian isolation which had existed for ten centuries. Thereafter, fur traders of the Northwest and California, on their way to sell their furs in China, together with the demand for Hawaiian sandalwood and the outfitting of whaling fleets, made Hawaii an important port of commerce.

The strategic significance of Hawaii as a Pacific outpost became apparent in the middle of the nineteenth century, when a power struggle for dominance of the islands took place between England, France, and the United States.

Hawaii today could easily have been an English colony by right of discovery or by cession, or a French colony by force of arms.

A British naval force seized Hawaii and for five months the British flag flew over the islands in 1843. However, by that time, the influence of Americans in the islands and the gaining strength of the United States in the Pacific, assured the Hawaiian kingdom of its independence.

From 1795 when Kamehameha, a Hawaiian chieftain, took control of Hawaii, Maui, and Oahu, to 1893, a period of almost 100 years, the Hawaiian Islands were under the rule of seven kings and one queen. In 1893, Queen Liliuokalani was dethroned and a provisional government was formed. The Republic of Hawaii was established the following year.

Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898 and from 1900 to nine months ago, it was an incorporated territory of the United States with a representative legislature elected by the people but with an appointed governor.

Ethnically, Hawaii is composed of many nationalities. The early settlers were the Polynesians. Caucasian sailors, adventurers, whalers, traders, and missionaries were second comers. Then followed Chinese contract laborers recruited to work the sugar plantations as the Hawaiians were not inclined to hard labor.

With the annexation of the islands to the United States in 1898, Chinese labor immigration was completely prohibited as the laws, which were then in force excluding Chinese laborers to the United States, were made applicable to Hawaii.

Japanese contract laborers in great numbers were also imported from 1885 until their exclusion in 1924.

Portuguese, Swedes, Germans, Koreans, South Sea Islanders, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos also comprised immigrant groups brought in for the cultivation and the processing of sugar.

From these heterogeneous and diverse ethnic groups has evolved a homogeneous community—a community which has been termed by students of sociology as a “twenty-first-century society” where racial harmony and cooperation are normal and accepted conditions of life. This spirit of working together pervades civic, business, political, and cultural endeavors. There is sincere respect for, rather than mere toleration of, each other’s nationality, traits, characteristics, and cultures.

Living in an island paradise, tropical and balmy, with high standards of health and livelihood; with a good, free educational system; a stable, democratic government; where no group constitutes a racial majority; with peoples on one hand steeped in Christian Puritan outlook and justice, and on the other, imbued with Buddhist and Confucian philosophies stressing human and moral conduct; cemented together and mellowed by the generous open-heartedness and carefree aloha spirit of its native Hawaiian people, we in Hawaii would like to believe that we are giving life to a community approaching the ideal of a world at peace and in concord.

President Eisenhower said to the people of India during his recent trip, “Hawaii cries insistently to a divided world that all our differences of race and origin are less than the grand and indestructible unity of our common brotherhood. The world should take time to listen with attentive ear to Hawaii.”

Hawaii is indeed a showcase for true brotherhood. Elsewhere, even as in ancient days, massive discrimination continues to blight human relationships. Our news media carry daily evidence of man’s inhumanity to man, evidenced by oppression, fear, hatred, bias, and discrimination in all quarters of our globe.

Behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, religious and political persecution persist. In Tibet, the Red Chinese regime continues mass genocide of the civilian population. Large numbers of people still flee East Germany and Red China, at risk of life and limb, to seek sanctuary in more tolerant oases. Anti-Semitism and anti-Christianity erupt as atheistic communism seeks to wipe out religious worship.

Belligerent nationalism is more the rule than not in modern struggles to throw off the yoke of colonialism. Too often such nationalism provokes wholesale bloodletting, with guns replacing ballots as the means of attaining parity and settling disputes.

Unmindful of man’s growing yearning for

equal status, many cling to senseless caste systems of the discredited past. As in South Africa, the ruling race shocked the world with its brutal methods to enforce apartheid.

There is something barbaric in today’s repression of man’s natural passion for equity.

Here in the United States we are not yet purged of intolerance and prejudice. Denial of voting rights; desecration of churches, schools, and public buildings; discrimination in employment and in public accommodations point up the urgent need for further progress in learning to live peaceably together. In connection with recent sit-down demonstrations at lunch counters, it is significant to note that many whites who object to Negroes sitting as customers on one side of the counter do not object to

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*“[In Hawaii] there is sincere respect for, rather than mere toleration of, each other’s nationality, traits, characteristics, and cultures.”*

Negroes on the other side of the counter cooking and serving the food they eat. Irrational from a standpoint of logic, this attitude is bewildering from a standpoint of emotion as well.

In our glasshouse that is America, our discrimination and bigotry are in full view of a critical world. We receive considerable adverse comment for our shortcomings—and perhaps not enough recognition for the undeniable progress we are making. Unlike some of our critics, we are not sweeping our problems of civil rights under the rug. We are facing up to them.

This year, in the Senate of the United States, 100 representatives of 179 million Americans aired our civil rights disagreements in public over a period of eight weeks. If ever opinions were thoroughly ventilated, these were. And when all the smog had lifted, what was the outcome?

Of the 100 senators, 82 supported passage of corrective and progressive civil rights legislation. Only 18 voted for the status quo.

In school, we usually consider 70 a “passing” grade. While 82 may not elevate us to honor roll, it certainly is a very respectable score.

In terms of public sentiment, the 82 percent of the Senate favoring this year's civil rights bill represents a sizable majority of American people. Without such widespread approval, this civil rights milestone would not have been achieved. Although the bill does not go far enough to suit some people and goes too far to suit others, it does denote real progress.

To those who are impatient with our speed in achieving true brotherhood, let me point out that, until 1957, more than eighty years elapsed without passage of a single significant civil rights law. Now, just three years later, we have enacted a second major civil rights statute. Unquestionably, this reflects significant transformation in American attitudes.

In many areas of the United States, of course, we still have not matched the tolerance found in Hawaii where acceptance, without regard to race, color, or creed, and based on individual merit and standing is the general rule—the unwritten rule. Acceptance comes from the heart. It is not superimposed by such means as legislation, judicial process, or promotional campaigns.

For example, discrimination does not exist in government employment. The Department of Public Instruction, administered by seven commissioners, has for its chairman, an American of Japanese descent, a commissioner of Chinese descent, and one of part-Hawaiian descent and four of Caucasian descent.

The University of Hawaii, with more than eight thousand full-time students is under the control of a board of regents of nine members—four of whom are of Caucasian ancestry, two of Japanese, two of Chinese, and one of Hawaiian ancestry.

The nine Public Housing Authority commissioners are composed of five of Caucasian, two of Chinese, one of Korean, and one part-Hawaiian ancestry operating dwellings housing more than four thousand families.

Intermarriage between members of different ethnic groups has been and is common and has produced fine, outstanding people, many of whom are leaders in the business, professional, political, and religious life of the Islands.

In the matter of voting, Dr. Andrew W. Lind, professor of sociology at the University of Hawaii, states that "racial bloc voting, in the mainland sense of the vigorous control over an entire bloc of voters of a common race, does not occur in Hawaii, and even in the more restricted sense of voting exclusively for members of one's own ethnic group, it is so slight as to be

inconsequential." He observed that "any politician of the slightest sagacity soon learns, if he does not already know, that the surest route to political suicide is an appeal on a racial basis."

I must confess there is some racial discrimination practiced by some social groups in Hawaii but in recent years, more and more private groups are opening their memberships to persons of all races. It may not be too long before racial bars are lifted altogether.

In the field of public accommodations, all of our restaurants, theaters, hotels, public parks, public beaches, public swimming pools, golf courses, tennis courts, and transportation facilities are free of any discrimination based on race, color, religion or national origin.

Justice is dispensed with equity. There has been no reported case in which any question of discrimination in the administration or justice appears to have been raised.

Even though racial harmony prevails in Hawaii, there are groups dedicated to furthering interracial relations such as the Hawaii Chapter of World Brotherhood, the Honolulu Council of Churches, and the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council. While we do not have a chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Hawaii, efforts in behalf of racial and religious understanding are carried on by the Council of Churches and World Brotherhood.

In addition, business organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, Board of Underwriters, Commercial Club, Employers Council, Home Builders Association and the Retail Board are comprised of individuals of varying racial extractions.

This is also true of civic, political, educational, fraternal, health, medical, veterans, and welfare groups.

Again this is true of the more than one dozen service organizations for young people.

The Honolulu Symphony Orchestra and the Community Theater include in their membership individuals of many races. I recall Community Theater productions that have had a Filipino Anna in the musical version of *Anna and the King of Siam*, better known as *The King and I*. Another time a young lady of Japanese extraction as Kate in *Kiss Me Kate*.

To bridge the gap between the two hemispheres, Hawaii has done many things. For instance, Hawaii sponsored an Afro-Asian student leader seminar where three dozen talented young college men and women from nearly as many countries on three continents conferred

for four weeks on the place of higher education in society today.

Hawaii held an International Conference on Race Relations to discuss the conflicts and tensions which exist throughout the world between imperialistic powers and peoples imbued with the spirit of self-determination, with emphasis on the effect of economic change and nationalism on race relations in Africa, Asia, and the Western Hemisphere.

Hawaii held three East-West philosopher's conferences where an Asian conferee remarked that these meetings were the only ones in which Asians had felt free to express themselves frankly and did so.

For six years, the University of Hawaii has conducted an Asian Orientation Center for Mundt-Smith and Fulbright grantees headed for graduate study at mainland U.S. universities.

Last month, three prominent citizens of Hawaii accompanied by their wives began a tour of southeast Asia and India. Their mission is to meet and mingle informally with the peoples of the Pacific area. Each of the group represents a different race of the Pacific. Each has prospered through his individual merit in Hawaii's climate of racial understanding and harmony. In turn, each has contributed to Hawaii's growth and stature.

Chairman of the group is a Chinese attorney and businessman who served as the president of the senate in the last legislature of Hawaii before statehood.

Another is a Polynesian, Duke P. Kahanamoku, world-renowned sheriff of Honolulu County and former Olympic swimming champion. He is accompanied by his wife, a Caucasian.

The third is a state senator of Japanese extraction who had been a county judge.

As representatives of the State of Hawaii, they have vital information to impart on their tour. They can speak from personal experience of America's growing feeling of racial understanding so well in evidence in Hawaii. They can cite specific accomplishments in Hawaii resulting from this understanding.

A group of three University of Hawaii students, one a mother of three, last week launched a statewide fund-raising campaign to finance scholarships for Asian students. They hope to expand the program eventually to include an undergraduate student exchange program. By September, these students have scheduled to operate a cultural exchange with Asian univer-

sities, beginning with Keio University, one of the largest private schools in Japan.

Nearly two thousand elementary school-children are participating in a "neighbor" language program to promote understanding through better communication. They are learning languages of the Far East under a program sponsored and conducted by the Hawaii Department of Public Instruction.

To promote better relations and understanding among the United States and the Nations of Asia and the Pacific, the Senate of the United States last week authorized a three-year expenditure of \$30 million to establish in Hawaii a Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange between the East and the West. I hope that the House of Representatives will concur and make it a reality.

The Center is to have two major divisions: an International College where students from overseas and the United States can study together and an international training facility to provide technical instruction through on-the-job and in-service training for participants from other nations. It is expected to start off with 125 scholarship students and is to be increased to 2,000 after five years. Three-fourths will be from overseas and one-fourth from the United States.

The reason cited for the establishment of the Center in Hawaii was the uniquely favorable atmosphere there; a physical and a cultural climate in which students from the Orient can be at their ease; a community eager to participate in the program by opening its offices and homes to these students; and a community which itself displays the best qualities of East and West.

It is therefore manifestly evident that Hawaii, with its rich multiracial human resource, long and amicable history of ethnic integration, happy cultural interchange and strategic geography, has not in self-contentment and with detachment withdrawn herself into her own island sanctuary, but has diligently pursued numerous ways to contribute her good fortune and know-how to bring closer cooperation among her neighbors.

Clothed with the dignity of a sovereign state, she is confident that her people, few as they are, can effectively help to hasten the millennium of the brotherhood of man.

This we have accepted as the ultimate unfolding of our destiny, our great contribution to America. This we know is our transcendent mission. We live brotherhood, we believe in it,

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and we know it has real prospect for success nationally and internationally, for it satisfies the soul and has the force of logic.

We in Hawaii do feel a sense of history—not just of a dramatic past, great as it may be, but of a dynamic future with its promise of richer achievement benefiting humanity and auguring peace.

What we have accomplished in Hawaii in so short a period can well be duplicated by all communities. Many and propitious may have been the factors for Hawaii to so quickly attain a happy homogeneous community. Yet the lack of some of these factors should not render that attainment impossible elsewhere. It may perhaps take longer.

All communities are endowed with the substantive factors for success in human relationship. All they need is to catalyze and to synthesize them. In Hawaii we have found it. You, I know in a great measure, have also found it.

Surprisingly so, it is everywhere in some measure. In the Old Testament, a book so dear to Christians as well as to Jews, third chapter of First Kings, we are told that the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream and asked him what he would want and Solomon replied, "O Lord, my God, give thy servant therefor an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and evil; for who is able to judge this thy so great a people?"

It pleased the Lord, that Solomon had asked this thing and God said unto him, "Because thou hast asked this thing and hast not asked for thyself long life or riches or the life of thine enemies but hast asked for thyself understanding to discern what is right, behold, I have done according to thy words. Lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart and I have also given thee that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honor."

I thank you.



*Fong was re-elected to the U.S. Senate two more times, once in 1964 and again in 1970. He retired in January 1977, and since then has devoted himself to his many business interests. As a gift to the people of Hawaii, he also established a 725-acre plantation and botanical garden so that everyone has a "place of fragrance and tranquility" to visit. In recognition of Fong's business success and philanthropic contributions, Junior Achievement of Hawaii named him to the organization's "Hall of Fame" in 1995.*



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**TESTIMONY OF**  
**STANLEY O. ROTH**  
**ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR**  
**EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS**

**SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE**  
**INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE**

**JULY 7, 1998**

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the invitation to address the International Trade Subcommittee on S.J. Res. 47, a measure introduced to disapprove President Clinton's waiver of Jackson-Vanik for Vietnam. This is my first day back on the job in Washington after a long, exhilarating trip to China. With the summit finally behind us, I am pleased to have the opportunity to switch gears today and put forward what I believe is the Administration's strong case for renewal of Vietnam's Jackson-Vanik waiver.

My testimony today, Mr. Chairman, will focus primarily on the immediate issue at hand: whether or not Vietnam qualifies for the renewal of a Jackson-Vanik waiver under the terms established by the 1974 Trade Act. The Jackson-Vanik Amendment requires that certain economic benefits be denied countries that 1) deny their citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate; 2) impose more than a nominal tax on emigration, visas, or other documents required for emigration; or 3) impose more than a nominal tax or other charge on any citizen as a consequence of the desire to emigrate. The Amendment, does, however, authorize the President to waive the above requirement if such a waiver would serve to substantially promote the freedom of emigration in a given country.

Earlier this year, President Clinton made a determination that Vietnam fits within the parameters for a waiver. Noting a significant increase in efforts by the Government of Vietnam (GVN) to accelerate emigration processing as requested by the United States, and stating his conviction that extension of a waiver would further encourage this positive trend, President Clinton granted a Jackson-Vanik waiver to Vietnam on March 10, 1998. He did so in the knowledge that the annual Jackson-Vanik renewal process would provide the Administration and the Congress with an opportunity to review the impact of this decision three months down the road. On June 3, 1998, citing additional steps taken by the GVN to open up emigration following the March determination, the President renewed Vietnam's waiver for the upcoming year.

I would like now to review the specific steps taken by the GVN which persuaded the President to extend and then renew a Jackson-Vanik waiver for Vietnam.

In April 1996, the United States and Vietnam agreed in principle to a new resettlement program for so-called Vietnamese "boat people." The initiative, referred to as the Resettlement Opportunity for Vietnamese Returnees (ROVR), was designed to offer a final chance at resettlement



in the United States to eligible Vietnamese who were then still in camps of first-asylum in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia or who had recently returned to Vietnam. In January 1997, the U.S. Government (USG) and the Government of Vietnam signed an agreement on the mechanics of the ROVR program, establishing a target of roughly 1,500 interviews per month beginning in April 1997.

The program, as we all know, got off to a dismal start; due to cumbersome clearance procedures, by October, 1997 the GVN had cleared only 728 of the 16,385 names we submitted earlier that year. After assuming his post in May 1997, Ambassador Pete Peterson made repeated interventions with the GVN, urging accelerated implementation of the ROVR agreement during meetings at every level from the top leadership down. In response to Vietnamese insistence that the applicant log-jam was due to logistical problems, Ambassador Peterson strongly encouraged the Government to streamline its clearance procedures, making it understood that consideration of a Jackson-Vanik waiver was contingent upon rapid implementation of the ROVR agreement. Secretary Albright conveyed the same message to the Vietnamese when she traveled to Vietnam later that summer.

In response to our requests, the GVN significantly modified its processing procedures for ROVR in October 1997. First, Vietnam dropped its requirement that ROVR applicants obtain a passport and an exit permit prior to interview by INS. Removal of this bureaucratic obstacle greatly enhanced our ability to move cases quickly and efficiently through the application process. Second, jurisdiction for the program was taken out of the hands of provincial and local officials and placed with the Ministry of the Interior. Provincial and local officials had been widely accused of foot-dragging and corruption, and so central Government control over the project further pushed the ROVR process forward.

As a result of these two changes, Vietnam's performance in processing ROVR applicants improved rapidly and dramatically. In the five months after these changes were implemented, the GVN cleared over 13,000 applicants for INS interviews. The Vietnamese authorities, moreover, were cooperative in processing passports and exit visas for those individuals approved by INS.

The GVN has continued to make progress on resettlement issues since President Clinton's original waiver determination in March. At the end of April, Vietnam brought its procedures for processing former reeducation camp detainees under the Orderly Departure Program (ODP) into



line with the new streamlined procedures for ROVR, eliminating the requirement that passports and exit visas be obtained prior to INS interviews. On June 3, the GVN went even further, announcing that all Montagnard ODP cases would henceforth be processed in accordance with the accelerated procedures. The first 359 people to be processed under these new procedures were interviewed during the May 12-20 INS trip to Ho Chi Minh City. Over 480,000 Vietnamese have emigrated to the United States via the ODP program since 1979; now, thanks to these procedural changes, we anticipate completing interviews for most of the 6,900 remaining applicants - including 900 Montagnards - by the close of 1998.

Mr. Chairman, I would like now to address what I understand to be the main criticisms of Vietnam's performance on ROVR and ODP implementation.

- 1) **A large number of ROVR applicants have been denied interview clearance.** In January, 1998 the GVN announced that 3003 people could not be cleared for interviews. The majority of these individuals, the GVN told us, had moved or were otherwise unlocatable. We have reviewed our ODP case files and other sources of information and confirmed these problems were real. We have then worked to track down these individuals and establish new contact information. As we provide new information to the GVN, the number of individuals in the non-cleared category continuously declines. Only 994 people remain on this list as of June 29. We are confident that as we continue to bring new information about these individuals' whereabouts to light, the majority will be cleared and granted interviews by INS.

Other reasons given by the GVN for non-clearance include: 1) refusal to meet with Ministry of Interior officials; 2) loss of interest; 3) criminal charges. After all cleared ROVR applicants have been processed, we will undertake to verify the claims of the Vietnamese authorities regarding this group of individuals in order to ensure that all eligible applicants who remain interested have the opportunity to have their cases heard.

- 2) **Resettlement programs are marred by corruption.** We are aware of allegations that emigration applicants have been forced to pay bribes in exchange for required documents, clearances and exit permits. We strongly condemn such practices and have repeatedly raised

concerns about reports of corruption with the Vietnamese authorities. The transfer of the clearance process from provincial and local government to the Ministry of the Interior last October was in large part an effort to address this very issue. We will continue to encourage the GVN to take steps to protect against these abuses. At the same time, our program officers in Vietnam are making efforts to educate ROVR applicants about corruption problems.

- 3) Now that it has the waiver, the Government of Vietnam believes it no longer needs to cooperate. The evidence simply does not bear this out. The GVN has continued to clear a substantial number of eligible ROVR applicants for interview since the March waiver determination, albeit at a slower rate than that of the previous five months. Vietnam cleared 13,204 of the over 18,000 potential ROVR candidates for interview between October 1, 1997 and March 9, 1998. Since then, the GVN has cleared 1,510 additional individuals, and we have continued to submit new names to the GVN for clearance. Our people on the ground who work closely with the Vietnamese on resettlement programs have indicated that the remaining cases are those which are more difficult to adjudicate and more logistically challenging. More importantly, however, the GVN has taken independent action to keep the positive momentum going, including simplifying ODP clearance procedures and granting unconditional access to the remaining Montagnard applicants.

In short, Mr. Chairman, in the case of Vietnam, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment is working just as its authors intended. The prospect of a waiver prompted Vietnam to simplify processing procedures for ROVR last October. It then served to encourage significant progress in clearing applicants for interview. With the waiver granted in March but a review process around the corner in June, Vietnam understood the need to demonstrate a further positive evolution, hence the additional procedural simplifications made in April and June. Next year Vietnam will again be required to face review; to continue enjoying the benefits that the Jackson-Vanik waiver provides, the GVN will be constrained to continue taking steps to advance the freedom of emigration.

I recognize, however, that the debate over Vietnam's Jackson-Vanik waiver has expanded beyond the narrow parameters of emigration to include other issues, notably Vietnam's progress on POW/MIA accounting, human rights, labor rights and economic liberalization. While each of

these are important bilateral issues in and of themselves, none are spelled out as criteria in the actual Jackson-Vanik Amendment. In making consideration of these issues an integral part of our deliberations, Mr. Chairman, we are thus raising the bar and asking this law to do things it was not designed to do. We have other tools at our disposal to deal with POW/MIA accounting, human rights, labor rights and trade, and I would suggest that the objectives of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment would be best served if we did not conflate this review process with a referendum on our overall relationship with Vietnam.

Nonetheless, let me briefly address each of the main areas of concern.

- **POW/MIA Accounting.** The fullest possible accounting of American POWs/MIAs remains the highest priority in our bilateral relationship with Vietnam. The GVN understands the importance of the POW/MIA issue to the American government and people and has provided excellent cooperation with our accounting efforts over the past several years. This cooperation has led to concrete results. First, 30 joint field activities and Vietnam's unilateral investigation of 115 cases has led to repatriation of 233 and identification of 98 remains since 1993. Second, the fate of 153 of 196 'last known alive' priority cases has been determined, and the remaining 43 cases are under active investigation. Third, 22 Vietnamese witnesses have participated in trilateral investigations with Laos since 1994, leading to recovery and repatriation of remains associated with 8 unaccounted for Americans in January 1996 and 4 more in October, 1996. Vietnam has identified 32 witnesses for participation in future operations in Laos, and is continuing to seek out other knowledgeable witnesses. Fourth, Vietnam has unilaterally provided 300 documents consisting of 500-600 pages, facilitated conduct of over 195 oral histories, and enabled U.S. personnel to examine and document about 28,000 archival items, (including sketches, maps, photos, records, personal artifacts, aircraft wreckage, identification media, etc.) from museums, libraries, tradition houses, and other repositories.

We established diplomatic relations with Vietnam in 1995 based on results achieved to that date, with the expectation that normalization would further enhance cooperation and produce additional results. The President has validated the GVN's continuing efforts on POW/MIA accounting three times since 1995, most recently

on March 4 of this year.

- **Human Rights.** This is an area where Vietnam's record is far from exemplary. As stated in our annual Human Rights report, the GVN continues to deny or curtail many basic freedoms, including freedom of speech, association, and religion. We are actively engaging the GVN on these issues; just a month and a half ago, Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, John Shattuck, led our sixth bilateral human rights dialogue with the GVN here in Washington. During these meetings we raised both general human rights issues as well as specific detention cases of concern to us.

While we clearly have a long way to go in encouraging Vietnam to respect and protect its citizens' human rights, our engagement with the GVN on these issues has fostered increased openness within Vietnam. In the three years since normalization, restrictions on personal liberty have been relaxed, most notably in the area of religious freedom. Earlier this spring, for example, the GVN allowed 8 bishops and 3 priests to travel to the Vatican to attend a meeting of regional Catholic leaders. The GVN also approved on April 2 the Vatican's choice for Archbishop of Ho Chi Minh City. I would also point out in this regard that no Catholic clergy have been arrested for religious activity since 1990. The past few years have also seen an increased tolerance of public criticism of corruption and inefficiency and the release of a handful of prominent jailed dissidents. We will continue to press Vietnam for improvement on human rights at every opportunity and at the highest levels of government.

- **Labor Rights.** The GVN has made some progress on the labor front. Vietnam returned to the International Labor Organization in 1992 and has since ratified 14 ILO conventions -- two as recently as 1997. Vietnam's labor code and associated laws recognize many basic worker rights, including prohibition of compulsory labor and child labor, although information on enforcement of these laws is admittedly incomplete. Officers from our embassy in Hanoi and our consulate general in Ho Chi Minh City regularly visit footwear and textile factories to monitor the work environment and report that conditions are improving significantly. After the initial Jackson-Vanik waiver was granted and OPIC-led fact-finding delegations to Vietnam validated that worker conditions were in accordance with criteria in their authorizing legislation, the USG extended OPIC programs to Vietnam in March of this year.



This is not to suggest that Vietnam's labor policies are problem-free; on the contrary, since labor unions in Vietnam are party-controlled, workers continue to be denied the freedom of association. We have strongly encouraged increased dialogue between U.S. labor organizations and their Vietnamese counterparts so that we can both better understand Vietnam's labor practices and encourage Vietnam's full compliance with international standards.

- **Trade.** Vietnam is still a difficult place to do business. After nearly a decade of economic reform, the pace of change has slowed - in part due to slow decision making in Hanoi. We are using a variety of levers to encourage the Vietnamese authorities to stay the course of reform, including through bilateral trade negotiations and WTO accession discussions. As a result of the good will generated by the March waiver determination, we have made some progress in moving these negotiations and WTO must continue to press for progress in these difficult talks. While the current business environment is murky, at best, Vietnam, the twelfth most populous country in the world with a population of nearly 78 million, is an important potential destination for U.S. exports and investment. To be successful, U.S. enterprises seeking to conduct business in Vietnam need access to U.S. Government trade support and investment promotion programs - programs that would be unavailable if the Jackson-Vanik waiver were withdrawn.

While we still have a large number of problems to work through in our bilateral relationship with Vietnam, Mr. Chairman, engagement with the GVN has led to progress - albeit uneven progress - on all of the above issues. Let me then conclude my testimony this morning where I began, which is by saying that with respect to the specific criteria elaborated in the 1974 Trade Act, Vietnam does qualify for a renewal of its Jackson-Vanik waiver. The GVN has made significant strides in accelerating emigration processing as requested by the United States, and we firmly believe that renewal of the waiver will continue to advance the cause of freedom of emigration in Vietnam.

TESTIMONY OF  
DOUGLAS "PETE" PETERSON  
U.S. AMBASSADOR TO VIETNAM

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE

JUNE 18, 1998

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for this opportunity to consult with you today about the Jackson-Vanik waiver for Vietnam. As you know I arrived in Hanoi a little over a year ago to take up my duties as U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam. This is an important posting for me personally as I am able to focus on the future and put the past, and the memories of my earlier years in Hanoi firmly behind me. More to the point, through the exchange of ambassadors the United States took another significant step in a process of incremental normalization of our bilateral relationship with Vietnam. On March 10 of this year, the United States took a step forward when the President signed a determination granting a Jackson-Vanik waiver for Vietnam. And earlier this month, the President decided to renew that waiver for a period of one year and has asked for Congressional concurrence.

The President made the decisions to grant, and later, to renew this waiver, first, because the Vietnamese Government had taken several positive steps to accelerate immigration processing as requested by the U.S., second, because it is in the national interest of the United States and, finally, because the waiver enhances U.S. foreign policy goals. The record unequivocally shows that incrementally building a bilateral relationship with Vietnam supports important foreign policy goals of the United States including POW/MIA accounting, freedom of emigration, human rights, regional stability and increased U.S. trade with Vietnam.

Whenever consideration is given to taking any step in normalizing our bilateral relationship with Vietnam, it is necessary to once again review progress in the issue of "fullest possible accounting" for our missing from the Vietnam War. On this point, I can assure you that no one in this Administration -- and certainly not I -- has forgotten, nor have we underestimated, the pain and suffering of those who have lost friends and loved ones in the Vietnam war. I personally expend a significant portion of my time as Ambassador directly working this issue and have consistently emphasized to the Vietnamese that obtaining the fullest

possible accounting of our missing continues to be the highest priority in our relations with Vietnam. Every senior American official who meets with Vietnamese government representatives stresses this point in order to ensure that there can be no misunderstanding of our position.

Vietnam does understand the importance of this issue to our government and to the American people and has been providing us excellent cooperation in our accounting efforts over the past several years. It was this excellent cooperation that enabled us to establish diplomatic relations in 1995 and to develop normal relations in other areas of mutual interest. On March 4 of this year, President Clinton issued a determination that Vietnam has been "cooperating fully in good faith" with us to account for our missing. This was the third time the President has validated Vietnam's cooperation.

Vietnam is a nation undergoing an enormous political, economic and generational transition. After years of self-imposed isolation from its neighbors and the West, Vietnam's leaders have adopted a policy of political and economic reintegration with the world. At the same time, they also embarked on a policy of domestic renovation, or "Doi Moi," which sought to reduce the role of central planning and encourage the development of a free market system, particularly in the agricultural and retail sectors. This policy unleashed a surge of economic growth in the 1990's and a steady stream of foreign investors and traders going to Vietnam to seek new business opportunities. Our policy of re-engagement with Vietnam builds on and supports these changes.

A prosperous Vietnam integrated into world markets and regional organizations will contribute to regional stability. In recent years, Vietnam has made significant strides in achieving regional integration by joining ASEAN in 1995, gaining membership to APEC in 1998, and laying the groundwork for its eventual accession to the WTO. The granting and continuation of a Jackson-Vanik waiver for Vietnam contributes to this positive trend.

Insofar as the objectives of the Jackson-Vanik amendment are concerned, renewal of the waiver will substantially promote greater freedom of emigration from Vietnam thus fulfilling the major objective of the amendment. I am confident that the prospect of a Jackson-Vanik waiver was an important factor last October in encouraging Vietnam to significantly modify its processing



procedures for the Resettlement Opportunity for Vietnamese Returnees (ROVR).

Specifically, Vietnam dropped its requirement for ROVR applicants to obtain an exit permit prior to interview by INS, a change that has greatly facilitated implementation of ROVR. Similarly, at the end of April this year, Vietnam modified its procedures for processing former reeducation camp detainees under the Orderly Departure Program (ODP), and, on June 3, Vietnam informed us that we may interview all Montagnard ODP cases using accelerated interview procedures. The prospects for renewal of the Jackson-Vanik waiver, it is clear to me, have favorably influenced Vietnam to continue to facilitate improvements in ODP processing. The current efficiency and acceleration of ODP processing demonstrates that the waiver is achieving its desired results.

It should be pointed out that in a broad sense, Vietnam has a solid record of cooperation over the last 10-15 years in permitting Vietnamese to emigrate to the U.S. Over 480,000 have emigrated to the U.S. via the Orderly Departure Program (ODP), and there are only about 6,900 ODP applicants remaining to be processed. With the changes in procedures I mentioned above, we anticipate that we will be able to complete interviews for applicants in several of the ODP sub-programs, including ROVR, by the end of 1998.

After a slow start initially, Vietnamese performance in implementing the ROVR agreement has improved dramatically this year. As of June 15, Vietnam has cleared for interview 15,322 or 82 percent of the 18,786 potential applicants. INS has interviewed 9,892 persons and 3,267 have departed for the U.S. under the program. Both sides are working to move people through the pipeline as quickly as possible. Vietnam has not yet provided clearance for 2,463 persons. However, it has provided an accounting for cases, comprising 1,001 persons, that it has not cleared for interview. These are the remainder of about 3,000 persons for whom we requested an accounting in January, 1998. We expect that a significant number of these will be cleared for interview once we are able to provide additional information to Vietnamese officials on these outstanding cases.

However, it should be noted that as we near the end of the caseload, we can expect a slowdown as we begin to process the remaining cases, many of which lack complete addresses or other pertinent information. Nevertheless, we will continue to seek information on these cases and an

accounting for any cases Vietnam cannot locate or finds ineligible.

Another area of concern for the U.S. is human rights, and we believe that engagement with Vietnam has produced tangible results. Vietnam does deny or curtail some basic freedoms to its citizens, including the freedom of speech, association and religion. There are a number of people in jail or under house arrest for the peaceful expression of their political or religious views. We have repeatedly told the Vietnamese that these practices are unacceptable. I personally press Vietnam for improvement in these areas at every opportunity and at the highest levels. Senior U.S. officials visiting Vietnam have brought our concerns to the attention of Vietnamese officials, as did Secretary Albright and Treasury Secretary Rubin during their visits to Vietnam last year. On May 26, our Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, led the sixth session of our bilateral human rights dialogue here in Washington. In that meeting we raised both general human rights issues as well as specific detention cases of concern to us.

Continuing to engage Vietnam and encouraging greater openness and reform are the keys to improving its respect for human rights. I am convinced that Vietnam's contact with the outside world has led and will continue to lead to increased openness and relaxation of restrictions on personal liberty, in addition to improved access to information and foreign media. Since normalization, several jailed dissidents have been released. Over time, contacts via media, internet, trade and investment, travel and exchanges the Vietnamese will likely move closer to international standards and values relative to human rights.

Engagement, not isolation, is also the answer for U.S. business. U.S. business views Vietnam, the twelfth most populous country in the world with a population of nearly 78 million, as an important potential destination for U.S. exports and investment. U.S. exports to and investment in Vietnam ultimately translate into jobs for U.S. workers. To be successful, U.S. enterprises seeking to conduct business in Vietnam need access to the U.S. government trade support and investment promotion programs such as those offered by the Export-Import Bank (Ex-Im), the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) in order to compete on a level playing field with their foreign competitors who have access to similar programs. Withdrawal of the Jackson-Vanik waiver would deny these important programs to U.S. businesses

operating in Vietnam with the end result that the U.S. jobs that might have otherwise been created are lost.

Vietnam is, admittedly, still a difficult place to do business. After nearly a decade of economic reform, the pace of change has slowed in part due to the current Asian Financial Crisis and, to some extent, due to the slow decision-making process in Vietnam. While U.S. businesses are not optimistic about the near-term prospects for increased activity in Vietnam, many U.S. businesses remain active in Vietnam and anticipate improved prospects in the medium to long term. They believe the U.S. government has an important role to play in encouraging the government of Vietnam (GVN) to improve the country's business climate.

Vietnam needs to undertake additional fundamental economic reforms to create the free trade and open investment regimes that will allow Vietnam's economy to grow and compete internationally. Recent policy changes indicate that the Vietnamese leadership understands that the country's economic performance will suffer further unless it remains firmly committed to carrying out economic reform. This was confirmed to me during a one-on-one meeting with Vietnam's Prime Minister Khai on Monday this week. The U.S. government has consistently joined the international donor community in urging Vietnam to further reform state enterprises, the financial sector and the foreign exchange system, and to move ahead with trade liberalization.

The U.S. government is using a variety of levers to encourage Vietnam to undertake these reforms. We actively engage Vietnamese officials in an on-going dialogue on economic reform and necessary improvements to their country's business climate. Bilateral trade negotiations and WTO accession preparations provide leverage, holding out the prospect of possible MFN treatment in the future. These processes make available to us opportunities to obtain from the Vietnamese commitments to increase U.S. access to that country's markets and to make changes to their trade and investment regime that will directly benefit U.S. businesses.

Withdrawal of the waiver at this time would certainly derail our trade negotiations. As you know, a Jackson-Vanik waiver is one prerequisite for MFN trading status; the other is a completed bilateral trade agreement. Both are necessary if the United States is to support Vietnam's accession to the WTO. The waiver has already proved to be an useful tool to seek economic reform and to address U.S. businesses' difficulties in Vietnam. Shortly after the

waiver was granted in March, the Vietnamese demonstrated renewed interest in concluding the bilateral trade agreement by presenting a vastly improved proposal. Vietnam's first formal discussions on WTO accession were also set around that time. Vietnam would likely interpret our failure to renew the J-V waiver to mean that the United States is not a committed or credible party in these negotiations.

Extension of the Jackson-Vanik waiver for Vietnam directly benefits the United States by supporting continued Vietnamese cooperation and dialogue on our most important goals including POW/MIA accounting, emigration and human rights. Furthermore, it will enhance our ability to credibly promote comprehensive economic reform and greater international engagement on the part of Vietnam. Finally, by ensuring the continued availability of U.S. government programs such as those offered by Ex-Im and OPIC to U.S. business, the waiver will enable U.S. companies to compete effectively in this potentially lucrative market. As U.S. exports to and investment in Vietnam expand, more jobs for U.S. workers can be created.

During the 1980's, U.S. policy isolated Vietnam diplomatically and economically. In the 1990's, we have established diplomatic relations, exchanged ambassadors, and began to normalize our economic ties. We have made significant progress toward achieving our policy goals since we re-engaged Vietnam. I feel strongly that it is firmly in the U.S. interest to continue to build a new relationship with Vietnam on a solid foundation of cooperation on our priority interests.

## Appendix 11: Year Householder Moved Into Unit, 2000

HCT031D      YEAR HOUSEHOLDER MOVED INTO UNIT (ASIAN ALONE HOUSEHOLDER) [7]  
 Universe: Occupied housing units with a householder who is Asian alone  
 Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3) - Sample Data

NOTE: Data based on a sample except in P3, P4, H3, and H4. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, definitions, and count corrections see <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf3.pdf>

		United States
1	Total:	3,117,356
7	Moved in 1999 to March 2000	852,889
of	Moved in 1995 to 1998	1,060,865
7	Moved in 1990 to 1994	512,218
	Moved in 1980 to 1989	424,102
	Moved in 1970 to 1979	168,791
	Moved in 1969 or earlier	98,491

Appendix 12: Age By Language Spoken At Home By Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Over, 2000

PCT062D

**AGE BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME BY ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH FOR THE POPULATION 5 YEARS AND OVER (ASIAN ALONE) [22]  
: Asian alone population 5 years and over  
Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3) - Sample Data**

NOTE: Data based on a sample except in P3, P4, H3, and H4. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, definitions, and count corrections see <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf3.pdf>

		United States
1 - 22 of 22	Total:	9,520,205
	5 to 17 years:	1,782,276
	Speak only English	546,112
	Speak other languages:	1,236,164
	Speak English "very well"	797,080
	Speak English "well"	313,137
	Speak English "not well"	116,241
	Speak English "not at all"	9,706
	18 to 64 years:	6,954,935
	Speak only English	1,311,960
	Speak other languages:	5,642,975
	Speak English "very well"	2,786,177
	Speak English "well"	1,688,136
	Speak English "not well"	982,395
	Speak English "not at all"	186,267
	65 years and over:	782,994
	Speak only English	145,570
	Speak other languages:	637,424
	Speak English "very well"	170,381
	Speak English "well"	146,374
	Speak English "not well"	190,578
	Speak English "not at all"	130,091

Appendix 13: Sex By Work Status in 1999 by Usual Hours Worked per Week in 1999 By Weeks Worked in 1999 for the Population 16 Years and Over, 2000

PCT071D

**SEX BY WORK STATUS IN 1999 BY USUAL HOURS WORKED PER WEEK IN 1999 BY WEEKS WORKED IN 1999 FOR THE POPULATION 16 YEARS AND OVER (ASIAN ALONE) [49]**

**Universe: Asian alone population 16 years and over  
 Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3) - Sample Data**

NOTE: Data based on a sample except in P3, P4, H3, and H4. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, definitions, and count corrections see <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf3.pdf>

		United States
1	Total:	8,020,330
49	Male:	3,793,543
of	Worked in 1999:	2,945,768
49	Usually worked 35 or more hours per week:	2,501,747
	50 to 52 weeks	1,785,867
	48 and 49 weeks	211,142
	40 to 47 weeks	173,333
	27 to 39 weeks	108,097
	14 to 26 weeks	121,046
	1 to 13 weeks	102,262
	Usually worked 15 to 34 hours per week:	336,199
	50 to 52 weeks	113,834
	48 and 49 weeks	20,961
	40 to 47 weeks	43,370
	27 to 39 weeks	41,642
	14 to 26 weeks	63,684
	1 to 13 weeks	52,708
	Usually worked 1 to 14 hours per week:	107,822
	50 to 52 weeks	30,876
	48 and 49 weeks	6,912
	40 to 47 weeks	11,823
	27 to 39 weeks	12,278
	14 to 26 weeks	22,271
	1 to 13 weeks	23,662
	Did not work in 1999	847,775
	Female:	4,226,787
	Worked in 1999:	2,648,190
	Usually worked 35 or more hours per week:	1,980,752
	50 to 52 weeks	1,332,325
	48 and 49 weeks	171,014
	40 to 47 weeks	154,758
	27 to 39 weeks	103,645
	14 to 26 weeks	118,866
	1 to 13 weeks	100,144
	Usually worked 15 to 34 hours per week:	513,555
	50 to 52 weeks	184,003
	48 and 49 weeks	34,561
	40 to 47 weeks	67,507
	27 to 39 weeks	64,892
	14 to 26 weeks	89,298
	1 to 13 weeks	73,294
	Usually worked 1 to 14 hours per week:	153,883
	50 to 52 weeks	36,400
	48 and 49 weeks	8,098

	<b>United States</b>
40 to 47 weeks	18,187
27 to 39 weeks	22,710
14 to 26 weeks	31,967
1 to 13 weeks	36,521
Did not work in 1999	1,578,597



14. One for the money, thieu for the show. *The Suffolk Journal*, 1971.

## Gremlin Village Gene Mater

ONE FOR THE MONEY,  
THIEU FOR THE SHOW.

YOU SEE, WE HOLD  
ELECTIONS. VIETNAMESE  
PEOPLE ALL HAVE  
CHANCE TO VOTE.

YEAH! FOR, OR  
AGAINST THE  
PRESIDENT-TO-BE!



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