

I want to extend my greetings to Congressman Mineta, Congressman Matsui, Mayor Bradley. To our distinguished friend, Mike Masaoka, who as a founder of the JACL is father of us all. If I can speak out freely and controversially it is because people like Mike Masaoka have defended my right to do so. (Sen. Hayakawa pauses here as he noticed members of the audience leaving the banquet room in protest).

I have never said, although the Japanese American press has quoted me as saying so, that the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II was just or justified. I've always said that the relocation was understandable given the circumstances. In the light of the wartime fears that existed then, all the media, and most of you here are not old enough to remember, all the media, including liberal journals like the Nation and New Republic and P.M., the New Yorker, say nothing of conservative newspapers like the Hearst chain and the New York Daily News and the Chicago Tribune and all the radio commentators from Walter Winchell and Damon Runyon and liberals like Walter Lippmann said, "Pack 'em all off into camps; do something with 'em. 'Cause if they're on the West Coast the country is indeed in danger because where's the attack going to come from the Japanese navy, the Japanese air force. Something's going to happen on the West Coast. Get the damn Japanese out of there."

This was the universal opinion. And, it was disputed only by a few school teachers and preachers, who really don't matter.

And at the time all this was being said, the United States was losing the war. By New Year's Day 1942, Gen. MacArthur had fled to Australia. The Philippines were in Japanese hands. Singapore fell. Guam fell. The Wake Islands, especially essential to the survival of the American air force, was in Japanese hands. The nation, especially the Pacific states, were in a near state of panic. And unless you lived through that panic, you don't know a damned thing about it.

Also, the average of Nisei at that time was 15. This means that adults of Tom Bradley's age at that time had not gone to school with them. And people who were in charge of police departments, city governments, state legislatures, so on, had not gone to school with Japanese Americans, had not debated with them and had not played football with them, had not been pals with them in school.

We were strangers. The children were. And (it was) widely rumored that the Japanese children in those Japanese language schools were being taught "emperor worship." It was perfectly true! The teaching didn't take very long, as the record of the 442nd shows. But it was true they were being taught "emperor worship" and loyalty to Japan. (Hayakawa is interrupted by shouts of protest from audience. More leave the banquet room.)

Okay! There are several different schools at least then. And also, and this is a wartime emergency, there was on the state books . . . There also was in the laws of the United States section on alien enemies from which I shall quote. It defines the powers of a President at the time of national emergency such as war. And this legislation dates back to 1798. It says that whenever there's a declared war between the United States and any foreign nation, or invasion or predatory incursion is perpetuated against the territory of the United States and the President makes public proclamation of the event all native citizens or subjects of that hostile nation, being of the age of 14 years and upward, who should be within the United States but not naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured and removed as alien enemies.

Now you may say this is not constitutional, but don't forget that during wartime certain sections of the constitution are suspended. And so this is a perfectly legitimate law that existed at the time. And the President is authorized in such an event by this proclamation "to direct the conduct to observe on the part of the United States towards those aliens who become liable. The manner and degree of restraint which they should be subject to and in what cases and upon what security there is shall be permitted and to provide the removal of those who not being permitted to reside in the United States, refuse or neglect to be part therefrom . . ."

That's enough of that. But this is a law that has not been challenged since 1798, that has not been challenged since after World War II. It continues to remain on the books as part of American law. The conditions under which certain constitutional guarantees may be suspended. Now this is law!

Now the invocation of these laws by President Roosevelt in 1942 involved two serious injustices, which have been gone over already. First of all, Executive Order 9066 did not distinguish be-

tween Japanese citizens and American citizens of Japanese descent. Therefore, they were all lumped together and put into relocation camps. That was extremely unjust. The second great injustice rests upon a law that was passed in 1924—"The Japanese Exclusion Act." That provided that people who had been in the United States, 10, 20, 30 or even 50 years, they were forbidden to become citizens of the United States by the racist laws then existing.

So even if you wanted to become a United States citizen and had lived here for 20 years, you were forbidden by law of doing so. And therefore by definition were an enemy alien. And that was unjust.

A third element of injustice involved in all this was the fact that they were afraid that acts of sabotage might be committed by these Japanese, whose language nobody understood and with whom they hadn't gone to school. There was danger in our midst.

Hell, outside San Pedro there was a fishing boat and on that fishing boat was a barrel. A Navy patrol went dashing out there to see what was going on. What was in the barrel? Bait. But that's how frightened we were of the Japanese at that time in December and January of 1942. (A man from the audience at this point calls out to Sen. Hayakawa, "How about the Germans?")

The Germans were not attacking the Pacific coast. And not only that, during World War I and World War II Italians and Germans, under the same laws, were interned! Not all of them, but all of them who belonged to suspiciously patriotic societies. (More shouting from audience) And for weeks what the president did was to tell us to keep calm to do nothing provocative to protest the lives of our . . . (The senator apparently realizes at this point that the pages of his speech are out of order)

Well . . . It was unjust, I'm not denying it's unjust. And don't forget what I'm saying. I'm saying that there are three fundamental basis in which the application of those laws in 1942 were unjust. I'm not trying to deny one damned bit!

(Senator Hayakawa stops to re-arrange his notes. During the 30 seconds that it takes, the room is hushed except for the sounds of cheers from the lobby where more guests leaving the banquet in protest are being congratulated.)

One very important fact that remains in front of us this very minute is that America is in crisis right now. There is no particular point right now in re-living the past and dredging up ancient recriminations. Never in your lifetime or mine has the United States of America stood so helpless, so ashamed before the world.

Today marks the 147th day since Iranian militants occupied the U.S. embassy in Tehran and seized hostages, of whom 53 are still in captivity. During the first few weeks of their captivity, as many as a million demonstrators screamed and shouted outside the embassy. You can only imagine the terror created among the captives inside. We watched the terrorists night after night on television, thanks to NBC, CBS and ABC. The networks had a field day.

And in the humiliation of the United States, we see networks fully cooperating in and making a world hero out of a fanatical, satanic zealot, threatening the destruction of Americans and everyone else who stood in the way of his 7th Century ideas.

They made a hero out of him. And so what did our President do? For weeks he told us to keep calm, to do nothing provocative or else they'd kill our hostages. And, for weeks and weeks we obeyed. He gave up campaigning for the presidency and spent long nights in the White House situation room trying to figure out what to do. He refused to light up the national Christmas tree. Boy, that must've scared 'em. He urged us all to tie yellow ribbons to trees to show our concern. He had church bells rung and prayers said all over the country. Then, he gave the problem to the United Nations, which, as could have been predicted, accomplished nothing.

Now, in the 22nd week of this ordeal, the President has decided to turn this whole problem over to the World Court, as if the Iranian militants would pay any more attention to the World Court than it did to the United Nations.

Meanwhile, we are not at all sure what is happening to our hostages. They are our fellow citizens. They are our agents in Iran, representing us there. They spent part of each day, apparently, in chains or in handcuffs. They are forbidden to meet or to speak to each other. They are suffering incalculable psychological damage, which is to say nothing of their possible physical condition.

Our national vulnerability has been exposed. We've sent a clear picture to the world. The whole world knows it now; that we're nation full of timidity and fear. We are a nation that no

one need be afraid of, not Angola, not El Salvador or Golanda. Nobody need be afraid of us. We're telegraphing that message all around the world! And we've ordered the Iranians to cut down their diplomatic staff from around 250 to a quarter of that number. As of now, three-quarters of the diplomatic staff are still here. We told all Iranian students to register with the Immigration and Naturalization Service and of the 10,000 estimated students in this country, only 700 have actually registered. Although 12,700 Iranians have left the United States. Between November 14 and March 9, 11,079 Iranians have been admitted to the United States as students, as businessmen, as tourists and whatnot.

It's as if Iranians know all too well that when we issue a regulation, it need not be obeyed. Our own officials can find dozens of reasons for not enforcing the regulations laid down by our own government.

Now, I've introduced an amendment to the 1798 Alien Enemies Act. Its purpose is to give the President the authority, which needs to be spelled out—since he seems to be paralyzed by every other possibility—to take action against the seizure of our embassy and of the hostages. It does so by defining the 1798 legislation that empowers the President to act against any invasion or predatory act perpetrated against the territory of the United States. The amendment simply states that any invasion or predatory act against the government of the United States shall include: One, the seizing or holding of embassy premises and, two, the seizing and holding in such premises of embassy personnel.

Now, if this kind of legislation is enacted, the President would have a number of options at his disposal—apparently he can't think of any. He may, for instance, detain Iranian diplomats as well as an unspecified number of Iranian citizens residing in this country in order to expel them eventually against the release of the hostages. As an initial move, he can simply decide to restrict the movement of Iranian citizens and/or require their regular reporting to police stations once a week.

Needless to say, a mass detention of the entire (Iranian) population, although permitted by law, would not be one of the suggested measures. Now, I fully realize that these are strong measures, but they are measures which defines an act of aggression of one nation against another. Iran has committed innumerable acts of aggression against the United States already and we've pretended they haven't existed. We've pretended that they are not acts of aggression at all. And I think it's about time we got over this charade.

What other options have been put forth? What other proposals have been made that will provide us with a bargaining power in order to get our hostages back. We're dealing here with people who do not recognize diplomatic relationships, we're dealing with people who do not give a damn about world opinion, international law or yellow ribbons on our trees. We're dealing with terrorists and we're allowing them to terrorize us without retaliation.

Now, there are no guarantees that this proposal, if enacted, will bring our people home. But I think the time has come for us to stick out our necks, take some chances, do something, and if we find such a proposal repugnant, if we are beset with guilt at the thought of this kind of action; who will be able to offer that explanation to the families of the hostages waiting and waiting and waiting for those people to come home? I believe we should face them with guilt and shame if we do any less. I've said repeatedly, and I say it now; that I'll gladly put this proposal aside if anybody has a better ideas of how to get our hostages out.

I want those hostages out! And if anyone has an idea by which we can get them out; to hell with my idea! There must be a better one, but if there isn't a better one this is the only there is for time being.

Tonight, we have covered ourselves with guilt for what we did to the Japanese during World War II. And we deserve to cover ourselves with guilt because we did some shameful things during World War II, and I'm among the first to admit it. Not everybody got to the relocation camps. Some of us, like Dr. Clifford Uyeda and I didn't get to the camps at all. But let me repeat, in the early 1920s, after we no longer felt the need of Mexican labor which we'd invited into our country—hundreds of thousands during the war emergency. In 1922, we started driving them out again. And we would round up Mexicans—a half a million of them—half of them American citizens, and drove them out, just deported them—and there was no Mexican American Citizens League to protest the expulsion of American citizens of Mexican origin from the United States.

Think about the Chinese for a moment. The Chinese came to the United States during the Gold Rush in California. It was a regular sport on Saturday night in the mining towns to lynch a few Chinese, just for the hell of it if you felt drunk enough. Whole Chinatowns and little cities like Marysville and Ukiah and Auburn, all sorts of places; whole areas of Chinese residences were invaded by people who burned down their houses and drove them out of town. In the building of the railroads, the Chinese were indispensable. First the Irish took the job, but they gave up. It was too tough. Then the Germans took the job, and they gave up because it was too tough.

Ultimately the Chinese finished the job. And then there was that wonderful, wonderful ceremony in which the Golden Spike was driven in to celebrate the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad. It was a great celebration at that time. Great American orators from all parts of the country came to give speeches about this incredible event. They praised the courage and ingenuity of the English. They praised the doggedness of the Scots and the wit of the Irish and the engineering skills of the French. They praised all the people who had contributed to the building of the railroad, except the Chinese, who were fired without severance pay and left to drift for themselves all over the West.

From there they went on into San Francisco to try to get jobs. They were just on their own. When they did get jobs, for example in hat factories, shoe factories, cigar factories, the unions drove them out. And what's the meaning of a union label. The first union label was put on a cigar to prove that the cigar was made by white men, not by Chinamen. There's your proud union label for you; the damnedest racist symbol!

Alright, we can talk about the Blacks—which is a longer story than any of these. We can talk about the Mexicans. I say if we're going to talk about redress for those who have been dealt with unjustly in this country, there's a hell of a long list we haven't paid any attention to.

And because the Japanese are better educated and better organized, we are putting on great pressure. I am not opposed to Senate Bill 1647 and that we investigate the injustices done to the Japanese. But I would also like to see some investigation into the injustices done to the Chinese, the Mexicans, the American Indian, the Blacks and all the others who had to face an unfriendly environment in this country.

Let me close by quoting from Thomas Soul's great book, "Race and Economics." Thomas Soul is a professor of economics at UCLA. What he says has an enormous bearing on what we have to think about. "The development of racial and religious tolerance in the United States was not the realization of an ideal, but a grudging acceptance of the hard fact that none of the numerous groups populating the country was powerful enough to exterminate or wholly suppress the other. Innumerable efforts to do so, from legal discrimination to mob violence, were made throughout the 19th Century. Shakers were flogged, Mormons, Chinese, Blacks were lynched. Irish neighborhoods were invaded and burned, houses, churches and schools were burned by not only hoodlums but also by some of the most respected of the time joined in the anti-immigration activity. These respectable people included Samuel Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, and James Harper, founder of the famous publishing house we now know as Harper and Row. Henry George applied the phrase 'human garbage' to the immigrants in the 1880s. H. G. Wells at the turn of the century doubted that the immigrants in America could ever be usefully absorbed in society. And according to a leading historian, the term immigrant was used sweepingly to apply to a slum-creating, soap-shy, illiterate, jargon-speaking, stand-offish interloper, innocent of civilized values and indeed, hardly human . . ."

We are the direct descendants of those same immigrants. We have everything to be proud of. When we first landed on these shores, people looked at us with horror and shame and said, "Who the hell let those people into the country?" But now we are part of a society that somehow or another, not through our morality but through God's will, were brought together into one nation. And therefore, let us not bear recrimination against each other, let us not hold up one group before another group and say, "Those people are responsible for our suffering."

We all went through the same damned persecution, the same damned discrimination. But we survived and here we are having an expensive dinner in an expensive hotel congratulating ourselves. Let's not forget that there are many more who'll follow us who'll have to go through the same experience. Let's not forget.