



A Troubling Legacy

Anti-Asian Sentiment in America

Japanese American Citizens League

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 JACL Anti-Hate Program

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE

Founded in 1929, the JACL is the oldest and largest Asian Pacific American organization in the United States that focuses on civil rights, education and tolerance training. With 20,000 members in 113 local chapters in 25 states, the JACL is headquartered in San Francisco and maintains offices in Chicago, Los Angeles, Seattle and Washington, D.C.

The history of Asian Americans in the United States is long and proud. It is a history that traces its roots to the beginnings of Asian immigration over one hundred and fifty years ago. Even though Asian Americans have made significant contributions to our society, much of their history is a story of exclusion, bigotry and resentment, which has expressed itself in lawless violence and legal discrimination.

The purpose of this booklet is to provide a brief overview of those experiences to illuminate greater understanding of this group of Americans whose history in this country is often overlooked.

GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY:

THE FIRST ASIAN SETTLERS IN AMERICA

he first Asian immigrants to arrive in significant numbers in America were the Chinese. Economic hardships and excessive taxes stemming from the Opium Wars with Britain caused many Chinese to seek a new life. The event that initially attracted them to the American West was the same one that attracted white settlers from the East—the Gold Rush of 1848. Before 1848, there were few Chinese in America, but with the Gold Rush, Chinese immigrated to the U.S. by the thousands. Nearly all of these immigrants were men, and most of them were sojourners—immigrants wishing to make enough money so they could eventually return to their home country.

Direct discrimination against the Chinese didn't start until after 1848, but its roots can be traced back to the founding of this nation. The

The Naturalization Act of 1790 prohibited all nonwhite immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens.

Naturalization Act of 1790 prohibited all nonwhite immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens. Though the act did not consider the Chinese at the time of its passage, it was used as the basis for denying them citizenship after they settled in America. Both whites and Chinese were new to the western frontier, but the Chinese were considered as aliens based on their

appearance and were often mistreated because of it. This mistreatment grew worse as "get-rich-quick" dreams went unfulfilled for most people and competition for gold and employment increased.

In 1852, the California legislature enacted a miner's tax on foreigners, which required all Chinese to pay a monthly fee in gold dust. Many Chinese were frequently physically abused by collectors and forced to pay more than they owed. In the 1860s, the Central Pacific Railroad actively recruited Chinese, even posting advertisements in China. When they arrived for work,

however, they were not treated as equal to the white workers. In addition to having to provide their own board, the Chinese were given less pay, forced to work longer hours and given more dangerous jobs. They could not be promoted to a position of foreman and were routinely whipped and beaten like slaves.²

Nonetheless, difficult times in China convinced more and more Chinese to come to America if they were willing to offer their labor for a lower price than the whites. White settlers began to see more and more jobs go to the Chinese and accused them of "stealing" their jobs. This mentality allowed whites to rationalize some of the most appalling acts of mob violence in American history. The Chinese Massacre of 1871 in Los Angeles is a good example. The massacre began when two Chinese men got into a gunfight. Hearing the shots, a white officer went to investigate and was shot. At this, a group of enraged onlookers formed a mob that stormed the Chinatown, looting, shooting, and lynching innocent Chinese residents. As many as twenty-eight Chinese were killed.³

In another incident on September 4, 1885, in Rock Springs, Wyoming, a mob of disgruntled miners drove the Chinese residents out of the town, burning their homes and killing up to twenty-four Chinese. Then on September 28, 1885, a meeting known as the "Anti-Chinese Congress" was held in Seattle with delegates from all over the Washington territory. The "congress" felt free to make decisions affecting the lives of the Chinese and decreed that all Chinese people had to leave the Washington area by November 1, 1885. What followed were a series of forced removals in

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Tacoma and Seattle similar to, but less violent than the Rock Springs incident. The territorial governor, Watson C. Squire, declared the town under martial law and called in Federal troops to protect the Chinese leaving for California on the steamer Queen.⁴ The most violent incident was the Snake River Massacre where thirty-one Chinese miners were "robbed, killed and mutilated by a

group of white ranchers and schoolboys." In all these incidents, some white men were arrested, but none were ever convicted of a crime.

At the time, Chinese immigrants were seen as aliens even to newly-arrived immigrants from Ireland and Italy. Because of their different customs and physical appearance, the Chinese were targets of discrimination. They rarely received justice because they were not allowed to testify in court. The Chinese were unable to fight the tide of hate against them, and were voiceless when sanctions against them reached a national level. In 1882, the United States Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which specifically prohibited any further unrestricted immigration from China. The bill was

only effective for ten years but was renewed in 1892 by the Geary Act for another ten years, and afterward indefinitely. Originally, the bill applied only to new immigrants. Chinese already in the country were allowed to go overseas and return, provided they obtained a special pass before leaving. But then in 1888 Congress passed the Scott Act that abolished the special pass system, stranding twenty thousand Chinese who had left the country—many of whom had businesses and families in America.⁶

THE NEW CENTURY AND JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

hinese exclusion continued with the annexation of Hawaii. The 1898 Congressional resolution to annex the island clearly specified that no Chinese were allowed to emigrate from China to Hawaii or from Hawaii to the United States. This excluded thousands of Chinese already in Hawaii from coming to America. The act had no provisions, however, regarding the Japanese. Until the 1890s, Japan had not allowed its laborers to leave its shores, but in the 1890s, a large number

White settlers quickly responded to the new immigration by lumping the Japanese with the Chinese as "undesirables." of Japanese immigrated to Hawaii, and a few to the United States. In 1898, when Hawaii was annexed by Congressional resolution, the Japanese could enter the U.S. mainland from Hawaii without a visa. And as with the Chinese, discrimination was waiting for them when they arrived. White settlers quickly responded to the new immigration by lumping the Japanese with the Chinese

as "undesirables." Political action groups that sought the exclusion of the Chinese soon turned their attention to the Japanese, calling for them to be included with the Chinese in the Chinese Exclusion Act up for renewal in 1902. The movement ultimately failed, but its failure did not curb the growing hatred toward the Japanese.

When the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1902, it changed many people's views about the Japanese. Japan demonstrated an unexpected military prowess, eventually winning the war against Russia, thus challenging prevailing notions of Japanese inferiority to whites. Since white settlers still saw the Japanese as aliens, and essentially non-American, this new view of the Japanese led to more fear than respect. People began to worry about a possible Japanese invasion of the Philippines or California. Some felt that all Japanese immigrants were still loyal to the Emperor and acting as spies. This fear, coupled with economic competition and the fact that Japanese immigrants were willing to work for lower wages than the whites, gave currency to discussions about Japanese exclusion.

In response to this intolerance and the growing cry for exclusion, the San Francisco School Board on October 11, 1906, mandated that all "Oriental" students attend a segregated school in Chinatown.⁸ President Theodore Roosevelt opposed the school board decision and halted its action by promising to end immigration from Japan. The result was Roosevelt's Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan—a secret series of correspondences in 1907-1908 between the two governments in which Japan agreed to stop issuing passports to laborers destined for the United States in return for rescission of the segregation order by the San Francisco School Board.⁹ This was the first federal attempt to limit Japanese immigration.

The Gentlemen's Agreement, however, did little to limit Japanese immigration to California. Though Japan did hold up its end of the bargain, Japanese laborers were able to obtain visas to Canada or Mexico and enter the U.S. by land. As this migration continued, California continued to implement anti-Asian policies. In 1913, California passed the Alien Land Act, which declared that aliens ineligible for citizenship could not own land in the state. This law specifically targeted Asians because they were ineligible for naturalization according to a 1790 decree by the U.S. Congress. The bill also had provisions to protect state land owned by Britain. Those who supported the bill did not hide their intent; they publicly admitted that the purpose of the new act was to prevent the Japanese from settling in California. For decades, this law prevented all Issei—the first generation of Japanese in America—from owning land. The Nisei—second generation Japanese

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who were citizens by birth—could own land, and have it purchased in their name by their Issei parents. Though the Alien Land Act only applied to California, many other states in the west adopted alien land laws soon thereafter.

During the years of World War I, Japan was an ally of the United States and hatred for the Japanese fell to a minimum. After the war ended, however, anti-Japanese

sentiment surged again with the growth of Nativism, the belief that America belongs to the "natives" of this country and, therefore, should be safeguarded from foreigners. Americans of European immigrant background considered themselves natives but looked upon Asians and new immigrants from Eastern Europe as foreigners. This belief was reinforced by the report from the Dillingham Commission. This Congressional report claimed that Asians and Eastern Europeans were inferior to Western Europeans and called for tighter immigration restrictions. Partly in response to this report, the Immigration Act of 1917 was passed, requiring a stricter examination of new immigrants and creating a "barred zone" over most of Asia including all of India, Burma,

Siam and the Malay States, but excepting Japan (the Gentlemen's Agreement was assumed to exclude Japan already). Natives of areas in the barred zone were not allowed to move to the United States.¹¹

This Immigration Act of 1917 was the most severe immigration law the country had ever seen, but Nativist outcries were not silenced. The end of World War I brought serious problems to much of Eastern Europe, and there was strong interest by Eastern Europeans to seek refuge in the United States. To prevent mass immigration, the U.S. first passed the Quota Law of 1921 and then the more comprehensive Immigration Act of 1924. This act specified that the number of immigrants allowed into the United States from each nation would be equal to two percent of the population of U.S. residents from that nation according to the 1890 census. The act also prohibited any "aliens ineligible for citizenship" to immigrate to the United States, effectively nullifying the Gentlemen's Agreement and prohibiting all immigration from Japan.

THE "THIRD WAVE" OF IMMIGRATION

hese increased immigration restrictions of the early 1920s led to what has been called the "third wave" of Asian immigrants to the United States, namely the Filipinos. Despite complaints from white workers, there were actually many jobs available in the U.S., especially during the "Roaring Twenties." With the borders effectively closed to Asia, there was a considerable labor shortage in Hawaii and California for low-wage workers. Filipinos were in a position to fill this gap. The U.S. had taken control of the Philippines at the beginning of the twentieth century after defeating Spain in the Spanish-American War. Though not citizens of the United States, Filipinos were not legally considered foreigners and,

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therefore, could simply come to Hawaii and the mainland without a visa. During the 1920s, many Filipinos made the move, often endorsed by American companies. Just as the Central Pacific Railroad had recruited workers in China, the sugar industry actively recruited workers in the Philippines. 12

The legal view of the Filipinos, however, did not match the social one in North America, and Filipinos met with the same racism that had plagued the Japanese and Chinese before them. The discrimination was a

surprise to many Filipinos who, in the Philippines, were taught that they were a part of a friendly father country. Immigrants that came to California looking for equality and brotherhood with American citizens found instead hatred and exclusion. On occasion this hatred would turn violent, the most

notable incident being the race riots in Watsonville, California. The riots began on January 19, 1930, with an anti-Filipino demonstration organized to protest the opening of a Filipino dance hall where Filipinos could dance with white women. Over the course of a few days, the groups of demonstrators turned into mobs that "hunted" Filipinos, beating them and destroying their property. The riots ended on January 22, when a Filipino man, Fermin Tober, was shot through the heart.¹³

With a new group of immigrants came a new set of stereotypes. The Filipinos were thought of as "jungle folk," 14 only recently civilized by American influence. They were also criticized for wasting money and pursu-

The Filipinos were thought of as "jungle folk," only recently civilized by American influence. ing white women. This last issue, and the one that caused so much violence in Watsonville, became a heated legal debate when it came to intermarriage. By the 1920s, California already had laws that forbade the marriage of white people with Negroes, "Mongolians" (this included the Chinese and Japanese), or Mulattos. Since Filipinos

were not considered to be "Mongolian," they fought in court for the right to marry. In the California Court of Appeals case, Salvador Roland v. Los Angeles County, Roland fought for the right to marry Marjorie Rogers and won. This victory was short-lived, however, as California broadened its marriage restrictions to include people of the "Malay" races. 15

The adaptability of this racism is what kept the exclusion movement in America so strong. The earliest anti-Asian laws specified only the Chinese, but later were expanded to include the Japanese as well, and eventually were expanded again to include the Filipinos. This third wave of exclusion did not reach the national level until 1934 with the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Bill. The bill created the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands and promised their eventual independence from the United States, but at the same time gave Filipinos alien status. Since the Philippines did not formally gain independence until 1946, for twelve years Filipinos were required to give allegiance to the U.S. while being considered foreigners. This bill solidified the position of Filipino Americans as aliens, which was of particular significance during the Great Depression. Since immigrant Filipinos were not citizens and could not become citizens, they were excluded from most federal relief projects—an exclusion that extended to all alien immigrants.

WORLD WAR II AND THE JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT

hen the Great Depression gave way to the economic growth of World War II, problems for Asian Americans continued, and for Japanese Americans it worsened. In the hysteria of America's entry into World War II, the government undertook an organized, large-scale act of anti-Japanese discrimination with its decision to forcibly remove Japanese Americans from their homes and confine them in concentration camps.

Following Japan's attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, agents of the FBI swept through Japanese American communities in California, Oregon and Washington, apprehending leaders who were identified as "potential threats" to the security of the West Coast. Those arrested were leaders of Japanese American community organizations, ministers of churches, teachers at language and martial arts schools, and editors of Japanese American vernacular newspapers. Despite never having been accused of any crime or acts of treason, and without trial or representation, they were taken away to U.S. Department of Justice detention centers, many for the duration of the war. Their families did not know where they were taken or if they would ever see them again.

On February 19, 1942, two months after the attack at Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which set into motion a series of events that led to one of our country's most tragic constitutional failures. Executive Order 9066 gave broad authority to the military to secure the borders of the United States and to create military zones from which individuals—citizens and aliens alike—could be forced from their homes. Although the executive order was carefully crafted so that no specific

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groups of people were singled out, its implementation resulted in the wholesale removal and imprisonment of the entire Japanese American population residing on the West Coast of the United States.

Under the authority of Executive Order 9066, the western portions of California, Washington and Oregon were declared as military zones, and in April 1942, the

military imposed a curfew and travel restrictions on Japanese Americans. Singled out by race alone, Japanese Americans became the target of racial policies that stripped them of their rights as American citizens. Soon after the curfew, the military posted notices in all Japanese American communities, ordering all citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry to abruptly leave their homes, schools and businesses and report to assembly areas, bringing with them only what they could carry. The government euphemisti-

cally referred to this program as an "evacuation" to "relocation centers," when in fact it was the forced removal and incarceration of American citizens into detention camps.

Thus, in the spring of 1942, under direction of armed police and the military, Japanese Americans were treated as criminals and were herded onto buses and trains for the forced journey to government detention camps. Without regard for due process or basic constitutional guarantees, over 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, two-thirds of whom were American citizens, (the Issei—or first generation—were ineligible for citizenship due to discriminatory naturalization laws) were imprisoned in ten camps located in remote, desolate areas in California, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming and Arkansas. Approximately 10,000 people were imprisoned in each camp surrounded by barbed wire and armed military guards.

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The treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II remains as one of the most serious violations of constitutional rights in the history of our country. The president signed the executive order with a clear intent to single out Japanese Americans; the Congress supported the president's actions and gave statutory authority to the order; and the Supreme Court upheld the government's actions in three test cases that sanctioned the

forced exclusion and imprisonment of a group of citizens based solely on race. This all transpired, despite the fact that eight articles and amendments of the Bill of Rights had been denied them.

The long battle for regaining citizenship rights is a good example of the difficult and slow struggle that Japanese Americans faced when returning to normal life. Anti-Japanese sentiment on the West Coast still thrived in their absence and many people were opposed to the return of the Japanese Americans. In addition, much of the property that had been left behind had been stolen, vandalized or ruined by neglect. Unlike their forced removal, there was no large government effort to reintroduce Japanese Americans back into society after the war. They were forced to pick up the pieces of their lives after their incarceration.

GLIMMERS OF CHANGE

ollowing World War II, nativism began to fade and a more multicultural view of America developed as racially-biased laws were challenged and changed. In 1948, the Supreme Court invalidated the California Alien Land Act, which denied gifts of land from immigrant Japanese to their citizen children and deemed racially restrictive housing covenants as unenforceable. The McCarran-Walters Act of 1952 granted the right of naturalization for all immigrants, allowing Asian immigrants to become citizens for the first time. In 1965, the Immigration and

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Nationality Act Amendments eliminated the "national origin" quota system. These amendments put immigration from Asia on an equal footing with immigration from Europe, ending over eighty years of discriminatory immigration laws.

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s also did much to change the popular stereotype of Asian Americans

from "inferior laborers" to the "model minority." This was because Asian Americans were less vocal than African American protesters and were seen to have "made it" in America despite prejudice. In comparison, white Americans saw Asian Americans as "well behaved," industrious and intelligent—and used Asian Americans as a standard for blacks and Latinos. ¹⁸ Despite the seemingly positive image portrayed by this stereotype, it has had a profoundly negative effect on the Asian American community.

One of the most significant incidents occurred in 1982 when a young Chinese American, Vincent Chin, was beaten to death with a baseball bat by Ronald Ebens and his stepson, Michael Nitz where racial epithets initiated an altercation in a nightclub. At the time, Detroit's auto industry was economically depressed and many were unemployed. The oil crisis of 1978 had sparked demand for more modern and fuel efficient cars. American car companies with outdated factories had lost ground to Japanese automakers. Politicians and blaring media headlines accused Japan of trying to do economically what they failed to do militarily in World War II. The chairman of Chrysler even made a joke about dropping more nuclear weapons on Japan.¹⁹ "Buy American" campaigns were started, and anything that even appeared to be Japanese became a target for "Japan-bashing." In Detroit, where the effects of the recession were at their worst, Vincent Chin became a target because he was of Asian descent, notwithstanding the fact that he was a Chinese American with no ties to the Japanese auto industry. The tragedy of Chin's death was compounded when the judge sentenced Ebens and Nitz each to three years probation and a \$3,700 fine following their guilty pleas of manslaughter.

Asian Americans are often seen as threats to the welfare of other Americans, especially in times of rising unemployment or during times of international tensions with Asian nations. In addition, Asian Americans continue to be viewed as "foreigners," despite the fact that many trace their ancestry in America back several generations. Although Ebens and Nitz were never fairly punished for their crime, the Chin case came to symbolize a determination by the Asian American community not to let similar injustices occur again. When a similar case occurred—the beating death of Jim Loo in North Carolina—a vocal and organized Asian American community made itself heard. The killer, Robert Piche, was sentenced to over 35 years in prison.²⁰

MEDIA PORTRAYALS

sian Americans are portrayed in the media in a variety of contradictory stereotypes, ranging from the "model minority" at the head of his or her class in school, to the non-English speaking welfare recipient who is a "drain on the system." Asian Americans are also characterized in film as unscrupulous businessmen and cruel mobsters or as compliant, submissive and exotic. One-dimensional portrayals, coupled with the absence of accurate images and positive role models, obstruct public understanding of the Asian American community and contribute to an anti-Asian climate.

In the time period between the Immigration Act of 1924 and World War II, stereotypical and grossly unrealistic characterizations shaped the film image of Asians from the diabolical Fu Manchu, to the prostitute Suzie Wong and

unrealistic characterizations shaped the film image of Asians from the diabolical Fu Manchu, to the prostitute Suzie Wong and the violent Ming.

the violent Ming.²¹ These characters, usually played by whites, were often the villains and always distanced from the heroic whites. Though not as blatant, this trend continues in more recent times. In 1976, "The Year of the Dragon" premiered in theaters nationwide and was met with protests from the Asian American community. The movie pitted a white police officer against the sinister Asian gangsters of San Francisco's Chinatown. "Rising Sun," released in 1993, met with similar

complaints for its vision of an American takeover by Japanese businessmen and gangsters.²²

These movies may seem harmless, but they are influential in reinforcing stereotypes among those who have little to no exposure to Asian Americans. Bruce Lee, for example, became very popular for his martial arts movies in the 1970s. He was often depicted battling white villains, thus reversing the traditional character roles. Popular representations of Asian Americans on film affect their image in the real world, thus combating the stereotypes perpetuated in the media is an important step toward securing a more tolerant society.

DIVERSITY AND DIFFERENCES

iscrimination has broadened with the increased numbers and diversity of Asian immigrants. In 1987, the so-called "dot-busters," beat up dozens of Asian Indians in New Jersey, killing Navroze Mody.²³ Three years later, the African American community boycotted the Red Apple Market operated by Pong Ok Jang in New York City after his alleged assault on Jiselaine Felissaint. Economic troubles in the predominantly black neighborhood of Flatbush had caused a racial animosity toward Korean grocers. The complaint was that Korean grocers did not care for the community and were driving out black-owned markets. The Red Apple incident caused a seventeen-month boycott. At times, protesters gathered in crowds of over six-hundred people, sometimes shouting anti-Korean slogans.

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At one point, a Vietnamese man was assaulted two blocks away from the market by a group of black teens shouting "F**k the Chinese! F**k the Koreans!"24 The boycott ended when Jang moved his shop to a different neighborhood.

The Red Apple boycott is a significant event to look at when considering anti-Asian sentiment in America today because it involves discrimination of one racial

minority against another. Discrimination in America is sometimes considered as solely the province of whites. When one group is able to label another as different or foreign, then hatred can follow, especially when economic times are tough. The Asian American community today still suffers from being viewed as "foreigners" irrespective of how long they have resided in the United States. Even though there is a greater environment of tolerance now than there was 150 years ago, the causes of anti-Asian sentiment are similar and the effects are still devastating. Vincent Chin was killed by racism that saw him as a foreigner, someone not truly American. This is the same racism that caused the Chinese Massacre and the Japanese American internment. Events such as the Red Apple boycott have complexities rooted in frustration, stereotypes and misunderstandings from both sides of the racial divide.

THE IMPACT OF SEPTEMBER 11TH

ollowing the September 11, 2001 terrorists attacks, Arab Americans and Muslim Americans were singled out and associated with the terrorists and terrorism. However, because of ignorance and the proximity of certain Asian nations to the Middle East, Americans from India and Pakistan were also targeted for hate crimes and acts of profiling and discrimination. Just as many Muslim women wearing hijab (headscarves) were singled out and forced to wear stickers stating they had passed airport security, so too, were Sikh men wearing turbans subjected

...Muslim women wearing hijab (headscarves) were singled out and forced to wear stickers stating they had passed airport security... to the same treatment. Four days after September 11th, Balbir Singh Sodhi was shot and killed while planting flowers outside his gas station in Mesa, Arizona. The man arrested said he shot Sodhi because "he was dark-skinned, bearded and wore a turban." Some federal agencies took steps to mitigate the effects of discrimination on targeted groups. The Department of Transportation issued a policy memo entitled

"Carrying Out Transportation Inspection and Safety Responsibilities In A Nondiscriminatory Manner," which provided reminders against singling people out because of their national origin or religion and cautioning, for example, that asking a Sikh man to remove his turban could violate his religious tenets. The Department of Justice said that it would investigate and prosecute charges of discrimination involving unfair hiring or firing practices against persons perceived to be of Middle Eastern descent, acknowledging that they had received a number of reports of discrimination involving, among others, South Asians and Sikhs.

Notwithstanding these types of actions by the federal government, many of the policies that were enacted following September 11th targeted immigrants who comprise a significant portion of the Asian American community. In November 2002, the Department of Justice implemented a "Special Registration" program designed to register foreign visitors from designated countries. The program singled out 25 countries including North Korea, Pakistan and Indonesia requiring registration by a certain date. The program caused trauma within these communities creating fear that families would be split by members being detained or deported. In addition, the USA Patriot Act allowed for a person to be held for up to seven days in secret detention without any charge. Following that, if the person was charged with suspected terrorism, immigration violations or deemed a material witness, they could be held indefinitely. This meant that an immigrant could be indefinitely detained for overstaying a visa if their country refused to accept them.

The fear that gripped the Arab American community following September 11th spilled into Asian immigrant communities who were also mistaken for the "terrorist enemy." This story has repeated itself through the decades beginning with the initial immigration of the Chinese who were demonized as foreigners and targeted as the cause for economic downturns and the loss of jobs during the 1800s. Japanese Americans suffered the same fate at the outbreak of World War II when they were deemed a security risk to our nation and confined unjustly in concentration camps during the 1940s. Our international disputes with Asian nations often result in repercussions of defamation and hate crimes directed at Asian Americans. All of these situations can cause communities to feel isolated and vulnerable, which is counter to the American value of embracing diversity. The fear engendered by mistrust must be replaced with a greater willingness to understand the historical journey of all our racial, ethnic and religious groups, including Asian Americans.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Franks, Asian Americans in the United States p. 60
- 2 Chang, The Chinese in America p. 42-3, 55-62
- 3 Chang, p. 121
- 4 Wilcox, "Anti-Chinese Riots in Washington." Anti-Chinese Violence in North America p. 205-11
- 5 Chang, p. 134
- 6 Chang, p. 136
- 7 Natividad & Gall, Asian American Almanac p. 53-4
- 8 McWilliams, Prejudice p. 26
- 9 Wilson & Hosokawa, East to America p. 123-5
- 10 McWilliams p. 45-6
- 11 Franks, p. 182-4
- 12 Pido, The Pilipinos in America p. 60
- 13 Bogardus, "Anti Filipino Race Riots," Letters in Exile p. 54-5
- 14 Goethe, "Filipino Immigration Viewed As a Peril," Letters in Exile p. 73
- 15 Staff, "Anti-Miscegenation Laws and the Pilipino," Letters in Exile p. 68-9
- 16 Kim & Mejia, The Filipinos in America 1898-1974 p. 77
- 17 Melendy, "California's Discrimination Against Filipinos 1927-1935" Letters in Exile p. 39
- 18 Wu, Yellow p. 62
- 19 Zia, Asian American Dreams p. 57-8
- 20 Wong, "Learning from the Vincent Chin Case," Yellow Journalist p. 110-3
- 21 Zia, p. 110
- 22 Chung, "Rising Sun' Protest," Asian Weekly, p. 2
- 23 Wu, p. 73
- 24 Zia, p. 92-106

GLOSSARY

The Naturalization Act of 1790 – Act that prohibited all nonwhite immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens.

The Chinese Massacre – Riot in Los Angeles where a mob of white men attacked the Chinese neighborhood in 1871. Chinese immigrants were beaten, their property burned, and as many as two dozen Chinese were killed.

Anti-Chinese Congress – The name for the anti-Chinese meeting in Seattle on September 4, 1885. This meeting eventually led to Chinese expulsions in Tacoma and Seattle.

Snake River Massacre – Incident where thirty-one Chinese miners were killed and mutilated.

Chinese Exclusion Act – Passed by Congress in 1882, this act prohibited unrestricted immigration from China.

Geary Act – This federal law extended the Chinese Exclusion Act for another ten years.

Scott Act – Amendment to the Chinese Exclusion Act that barred re-entry for immigrants that had come to the U.S. before the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. This act stranded thousands of Chinese in China away from their families and businesses.

Gentlemen's Agreement – A series of correspondences between President Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese government by which the Japanese government agreed to stop giving passports to laborers journeying to the U.S. in return for a rescission of the San Francisco School Board order to impose segregation on Japanese American school children.

Alien Land Act – Act passed by the California legislature that barred aliens not eligible for citizenship from owning land in the state. This was specifically used to prohibit Japanese immigrants from owning land and to discourage Japanese immigration.

Issei – A Japanese immigrant, a first generation Japanese American.

Nisei – A person of Japanese ancestry born in America, a second generation Japanese American.

Nativism – A belief that America belongs to its "native" inhabitants. This attitude expressed itself in anti-immigrant sentiment, which was used to prevent Asian immigration on the West Coast.

Dillingham Commission – A federal commission established in 1907 to study U.S. immigration. Their findings, which came out a decade later, argued for the inferiority of minority and Eastern European immigrants. It was very influential in the passage of the Immigration Act of 1917.

Immigration Act of 1917 – First broad ranging immigration act. Imposed stricter inspection of incoming immigrants and created a "barred zone" over most Asian countries, prohibiting immigration from those areas.

Immigration Act of 1924 – Limited immigration for each country to 2 percent of the population of U.S. residents from that country according to the 1890 census. It also prohibited "aliens ineligible for citizenship" to enter the United States, essentially halting immigration from Asia.

Tydings-McDuffie Bill – Bill that created the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands and promised that the U.S. would eventually release control of the Philippines. The bill also officially gave all Filipinos alien status, preventing them from immigrating freely to Hawaii or the U.S.

Executive Order 9066 – Order given by President Franklin Roosevelt that prescribed military zones for which individuals could be removed. The executive order was used to expel Japanese Americans from their West Coast homes, which later led to their forced internment.

War Relocation Authority (WRA) – Agency established by the government to operate the Japanese American concentration camps.

Assembly Center – The temporary places such as race tracks and fairgrounds, which were used to house the Japanese Americans until they were moved to the permanent concentration camps.

McCarran-Walters Act – Act passed by Congress in 1952 that allowed all immigrants, including those from Asia, to become naturalized citizens.

Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments – For the first time adjusted immigration quotas so that immigration from Asia was on equal footing with immigration from Europe and the rest of the world.

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