

ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC PEOPLES: A CASE OF MISTAKEN IDENTITY

—A report of the California Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights prepared for the information and consideration of the Commission. This report will be considered by the Commission, and the Commission will make public its reaction. In the meantime, the recommendations in this report should not be attributed to the Commission, but only to the California Advisory Committee.

February 1975

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PACIFIC PEOPLES: A CASE
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Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil
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This report has been prepared by the State Advisory Committee for submission to the Commission, and will be considered by the Commission in formulating its recommendations to the President and the Congress.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

CALIFORNIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
February 1975

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Sirs and Madam:

The California Advisory Committee submits this initial report on the problems facing Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in California. The Advisory Committee conducted this study as part of its responsibility to advise the Commission about civil rights problems within the State.

This first report highlights the concerns of California's residents of Asian and Pacific descent as perceived by these communities. There are approximately 1.4 million Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples residing on the United States mainland; more than 60 percent live on the West Coast. California has the highest concentration: more than 500,000.

The Advisory Committee held open meetings in San Francisco, June 22 and 23, 1973, and in Los Angeles, November 30 and December 1, 1973. It heard spokespersons from six Asian American and Pacific Peoples communities--Chinese, Japanese, Pilipino, Korean, Guamanian, and Samoan--throughout the State.

Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples have often been described by the majority society as model minorities, who have assimilated into American society and who have attained the American dream. Testimony presented before the Advisory Committee contradicts this. Spokespersons from these communities complained that they suffer from much of the economic and social exclusion experienced by other minority Americans, but that their plight has been ignored. They alleged that they encounter racism and pervasive discrimination in areas such as employment, housing, and education as a result of myths and stereotypes, both negative and positive.

Community spokespersons also charged that data on Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples are often inaccurate or incomplete and undercount their numbers. A lack of accurate data denies their unique identities, may handicap their attempts for Federal or State funding, and makes it difficult to determine if discrimination does in fact exist in local, State, or Federal programs, they claimed.

The problems of individual communities differ, but one problem was common and critical to all: when they are not counted, they are not served. In this report, the Advisory Committee recommends a special census of all Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples be undertaken by the Bureau of the Census and that bilingual staff be hired and materials be issued in Asian and Pacific languages by social service agencies.

The Advisory Committee urges the Commission to support these initial recommendations as a prelude to recognizing the problems of this minority population which has suffered silently for so long.

Respectfully,

/s/

HERMAN SILLAS, JR.
Chairperson

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Final edit and review was conducted in the Commission's Office of Field Operations, Washington, D.C., by editor Laura Chin, assisted by Bruce E. Newman, Rosa L. Crumlin, and Mary Frances Newman, under the direction of Charles A. Ericksen, chief editor. Legal review assistance was provided by Louis Wilmot, staff attorney, Office of General Counsel. Preparation of all State Advisory Committee reports is supervised by Isaiah T. Creswell, Jr., Assistant Staff Director for Field Operations.

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose of State Advisory Committee Investigation

This is the initial report prepared by the California Advisory Committee concerning the civil rights of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples. The report has two major purposes: to present a demographic sketch of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples and to describe, in general terms, areas in which Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples encounter significant problems. Other reports will identify major concerns of each Asian American and Pacific People community and examine the degree to which government agencies at Federal, State, and local levels have made efforts to resolve the problems.

While these reports do not purport to be exhaustive studies, they will portray the experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples somewhat differently from the stereotypes held by the majority society. The Advisory Committee did not attempt to review the complex history of these communities or to detail governmental perceptions of community problems. For too long, Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples have been described and studied by persons outside the communities. Often these perceptions have been inaccurate. Instead, the Committee sought the communities' perceptions of their concerns and needs and relied heavily upon the testimony of representatives from Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples communities.

Sources of Information

Because of a dearth of official data on Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples at all levels of government, the Advisory Committee relied heavily upon other sources of information, including

interviews with community representatives, transcripts from two open meetings, and community-generated papers and reports.

Commission staff conducted interviews with more than 400 persons. Approximately two-thirds of these interviews were with members of Asian American and Pacific Peoples communities; the remainder were with government officials who were responsible for providing services and funds to all communities. Staff interview reports were used as a source of baseline data to supplement the information from the transcripts of the two open meetings.

Advisory Committee open meetings are a method of collecting information for the public record. The California Advisory Committee held open meetings on June 22 and 23, 1973, in San Francisco, and on November 30 and December 1, 1973, in Los Angeles. At these meetings, Asian Americans, Pacific Peoples, and others from the private and public sectors described areas of concern to the communities: education, unemployment and underemployment, health care, social services (especially for the elderly), immigration, and housing.

There was substantial participation from six Asian American and Pacific Peoples communities in determining the content for the two open meetings. In San Francisco, the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Pilipino and Samoan communities participated in the open meeting and staff study; in Los Angeles, the fact-finding effort was expanded to include the Guamanian community.

In San Francisco, 19 hours of testimony were received from community members and government officials. In Los Angeles, 20 hours of testimony were received. In all, more than 110 persons testified or submitted written statements to the Advisory Committee.

As an additional source of information, the Advisory Committee and Commission staff obtained many community-generated papers and reports which detailed Asian American and Pacific Peoples exclusion

from existing government programs and funds.¹ Some of these reports were analysis and commentary on Census Bureau data. Others focused on community needs and concerns based upon door-to-door head counts and population questionnaires. Where official data was lacking, the Advisory Committee reviewed the tentative findings of these community efforts.

1. These papers include: Rudolf Kao, Analysis of Chinatown Garment Workers Survey Questionnaire II: A Report Submitted to the San Francisco Human Rights Commission (San Francisco, June 10, 1971); Filipino Newcomers Advisory Committee and International Institute of San Francisco, Filipino Immigration to California and the Contemporary Situation in San Francisco (San Francisco, March 1972); Harold T. Yee, Project Proposal: Discrimination in Employment in the San Francisco Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area--Chinese, Japanese, Pilipino, and Korean (San Francisco, June 8, 1973) Prepared for Asian, Inc.; Tom Kim, Report on Koreans in San Francisco to the Members of the Bay Area Community Board and Task Force (San Francisco, June 11, 1973); Gerald Chan, Kathy Fong, et al., Testimony on the Employment Discrimination Against the Chinese (San Francisco, June 22, 1973); Buck Wong, Statistical Data on Education in Los Angeles Chinatown (Los Angeles, Dec. 1973); Tetsuyo Kashima, Asian Crisis in the San Diego Unified School District (Dec. 1973); Faye Munoz, Pacific Islanders--A Perplexed, Neglected Minority (Los Angeles 1973).

CHAPTER I

MYTHS AND STEREOTYPES

Background

Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples suffer from much of the economic and social exclusion experienced by other minority Americans.² While Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples encounter discrimination in many areas, their plight has been overlooked or denied. Discrimination has often been the byproduct of myths and stereotypes, both negative and positive.

American history textbooks of the late 19th and early 20th centuries celebrate the heroism of Anglo men and women in the development of the United States but exclude Asian immigrants as

2. The Advisory Committee collected data on six Asian American and Pacific Peoples communities: Chinese, Guamanian, Japanese, Korean, Pilipino, and Samoan. Unless stated otherwise, Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in this report refers to these groups. The Advisory Committee recognizes that other Asian and Pacific communities residing in California, including newly emerging groups such as East Indian, Thai, and South Vietnamese, face similar problems. The Committee hopes to explore the civil rights concerns of such groups at a future date.

The term "Pilipino" in the report refers to persons who were born in the Philippines or whose ancestors immigrated to the United States from the Philippines. In recent years the term "Pilipino" has gained wide acceptance among many persons of Philippines' ancestry and reflects a group identity and pride in their culture and heritage.

Some data on Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in the States of Hawaii and Alaska have been included in this report.

participants.³ The "yellow peril" fears in early America, based in part upon unfavorable images of the Far East, economic fears of cheap labor, and cultural anxiety, were manifest in various Federal and State exclusionary laws which discouraged or completely excluded Asian immigrants from entering the country.⁴

Even with the modification and changes of these laws in the 1950's and 1960's, Asians, and by implication, Asian Americans, are still viewed as a threat by some of those responsible for public policy. In 1973, the Office of the Attorney General, State of California, distributed a confidential memorandum among the State's various law enforcement agencies.⁵ The memorandum, entitled "Triad: The Mafia of the Far East," describes Chinese tongs as underworld groups that were responsible for criminal activity in America:

In viewing the involvement of many Chinese in illegal activities, the cultural differences must be considered. The Chinese's primary interest in coming into the U.S. is to make money and improve their lot. Some feel that an easy method is involvement in the drug market....⁶

3. For an example of exclusionary historical writing, see Bessie Louise Pierce, Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States (New York, 1926).

4. These laws include Passenger Act of 1882, ch. 374, 22 Stat. 186, 46 U.S.C. 151-162 (1970); Immigration Act of 1917, ch. 29, 39 Stat. 874; and Immigration Act of 1924, ch. 190, 43 Stat. 153. For an account of early American attitudes toward the Chinese, see Stuart Creighton Miller, The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882 (Los Angeles, 1969).

5. California Department of Justice, "Triad: Mafia of the Far East," in Criminal Intelligence Bulletin (July 1973). The full text of the memorandum was submitted for the record during the Los Angeles open meeting and has been verified by the Attorney General's Office as a published document from their office. See Appendix A.

6. Ibid., p. 5.

The Chinese [immigration] quota was relaxed in 1965, opening the door for a large influx of Chinese immigrants and recreating the situation that spurred the creation of the TONGS in the U.S.⁷

The Attorney General's report concluded that in all probability most members of the Chinese community are involved with tong-related activities or organizations:

An honest Chinese businessman [in the United States] can hardly compete in the Chinese community unless he joins Chinese fraternal societies. Only a few select members of the TONG profit by such universal membership and only a select few operate the superstructure. The majority join merely to survive.⁸

In addition to this grim official portrayal of one Asian American community, little is reflected in books and public papers on the diverse cultures, histories, and contributions of peoples who are frequently grouped as Orientals and Islanders. Even less is mentioned of the suffering and injustice that Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples have endured and continue to endure in the United States. Only recently has a more accurate account of neglect and discrimination begun to emerge.⁹

Ironically, while documents such as the Attorney General's memorandum reinforce negative stereotypes, the general public perceives Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples as model minorities. In some cases, newspapers, magazines, and television programs reinforce the myth that all Asian Americans have "learned the system" and attained the American dream. Some examples of this type of reporting include:

7. Ibid., p. 3.

8. Ibid., p. 7.

9. Roots: An Asian American Reader, ed. Amy Tachiki, Eddie Wong, Franklin Odo, and Buck Wong (Los Angeles, 1969), deals with historical and contemporary issues relating to the Asian American experience.

At a time when Americans are awash in worry over the plight of racial minorities--one such minority, the nation's 300,000 Chinese Americans, is winning wealth and respect by dint of its own hard work.¹⁰

They [Pilipinos] adapt very well. If they have to work as janitors, they can do it--and they do it very well.¹¹

The one advantage that the Oriental has is that we are not a big problem at all.¹²

Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples appear as quiet bystanders as such statements proliferate. Reverend Kogi Sayama, director of social services for the Japanese Community Pioneer Center in Los Angeles, did not interpret the community's silence as voluntary assimilation or conformity. He told the Advisory Committee:

The hostile environment forced the Japanese in America into isolation and necessitated the development of an internal community structure for security. This has been interpreted by most Americans in the stereotype of Japanese taking care of their own. However, if the Japanese did not assume the responsibility of insuring the community's survival, no one else would.¹³

10. U.S. News and World Report, Dec. 26, 1966, p. 73.

11. "Filipinos: A Fast Growing U.S. Minority," New York Times, Mar. 5, 1971. Also reprinted in Kalayaan International, Vol. I, No. 1, June 1971.

12. Interview with S.I. Hayakawa, president, San Francisco State College, by Roots editorial board, June 1971. See pp. 19-23 of Roots.

13. Unless otherwise noted, all direct quotations in this report are derived from the transcripts of the San Francisco open meeting, June 22-23, 1973 and the Los Angeles open meeting Nov. 30 and Dec. 1, 1973. The transcripts are public documents.

Reverend Sayama added that the trauma of concentration camps during World War II reinforced Japanese American isolation and silence.¹⁴ "Many found that the most effective protection against discrimination was to be silent, anonymous, and to try to assimilate quietly," he said.

Similarly, Pacific Peoples told the Advisory Committee of their self-imposed isolation. Faye Munoz, a member of the Guamanian Association of Long Beach, said:

To preserve our integrity and feelings of self worth, we keep our distance from the white man and guard ourselves by keeping to our group. Children early in life are taught to stay away from Americans or 'haoles,'¹⁵ to avoid hurt or troubles.

The silence of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples is not a vindication of the system which has hampered their achievement of equality. Though "successful" in comparison with other minorities, this success has been measured by superficial analysis of the facts, bolstered by myths and stereotypes. For example, Paul Takagi, associate professor of criminology at the University of California at Berkeley, noted:

A stereotypic myth is that Asians enter the physical and biological sciences....[Statistics] indicate that Asians are not overrepresented in these fields.

Royal Morales, director of the Asian American Mental Health Institute in Los Angeles, told the Advisory Committee that while the majority society has "accepted the myth that the industrious, well-adjusted Asian populations in America has been successfully

14. In recent years, many Japanese American communities and public agencies have used the term concentration camp for relocation center. On April 14, 1973, the Japanese American Citizens League, in cooperation with the California State Parks and Recreation Department, placed a commemorative plaque at Manzanar, which read in part: "Manzanar, the first of 10 such concentration camps that was bounded by barbed wire and guard towers confining 10,000 persons, the majority being American citizens."

15. "Haoles" is a native Hawaiian term for white persons. It was first used when white missionaries came to the islands.

assimilated, many highly-educated Pilipino newcomers are earning substandard wages in menial jobs." As with other Asian professionals, he said, Pilipinos live a life "most Anglo Americans would shun: lawyers work as clerks, teachers as secretaries, and engineers as janitors."

During the student movements of the mid-and late-1960's, many young Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples began to question the validity and accuracy of the majority's view of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples. They asserted that Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples were usually grouped together as Orientals. This classification ignored unique needs and problems of individual communities. They also pointed out that high concentrations of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples on the West Coast were overlooked when analyzing these groups in terms of nationwide statistics.

More than 60 percent of all Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples reside in urban areas on the West Coast of the mainland United States. It is toward such concentrated communities in California that the Advisory Committee has directed its inquiries.

CHAPTER II

ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC PEOPLES--DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

In 1970 the official population count of the United States was 203,211,926.¹⁶ This total included 2,089,932 individuals identified as being Americans of Chinese, Pilipino, Hawaiian, Korean, and Japanese descent and those Americans categorized by the Census Bureau under "Other."¹⁷ The "Other" category included Guamanian, Samoan, Malayan, Polynesian, Thai, etc. Although census statistics are available for the population on Guam and American Samoa, there are no census figures available for the number of Guamanians and Samoans who reside in the United States. Community representatives estimate that there are about 36,000 Guamanians and Samoans in the country.¹⁸

Immigration Trends

Prior to 1965, immigration quotas for Eastern Hemisphere countries prevented large-scale immigration to the United States. The national origins quota system assigned the largest number of admissions to those groups who were racially and ethnically close to the majority population in the country. Thus, the lion's share of the allocations were to Western Hemisphere countries.

16. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970. Vol. I Characteristics of the Population, Part A Number of Inhabitants, Section 1 United States, Alabama-Mississippi (Issued May 1972), p. 1-41.

17. The Census Bureau provides complete count data for Japanese, Chinese, and Pilipinos. Data for Koreans, Hawaiians, and "others" are derived from 20-percent and 15-percent sample data of the population. For more information on racial group data collected by the Census Bureau, see Appendix B in Vol. I Characteristics of the Population, Part 1 United States Summary, section 2.

18. Estimates from representatives of Guamanian and Samoan communities in Southern California. Other community members suggest that the figure is closer to 50,000.

Reform legislation in 1965 eliminated discriminatory quota provisions and opened up Asian immigration to the United States. Eastern Hemisphere countries are now limited to 20,000 visas annually per country. The increasing numbers of immigrants from Asia and the Pacific to the United States are indicated in Table I.

TABLE I

Immigrants Born in Specified Countries and Areas--1972

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>Percent Change</u>
China & Taiwan	4,057	17,339	+ 327.4%
Japan	3,180	4,757	+ 49.6%
Korea	2,165	18,876	+ 771.9%
Philippines	3,130	29,376	+ 838.5%
Western Samoa		199	Unknown

Source: U.S., Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1972 Annual Report.

These figures indicate a substantial and rapid increase in the number of immigrants from Asian and Pacific countries. The average percentage change for Asian countries was +485.3 percent, for all Oceania¹⁹ +117.3 percent. In comparison, the percentage change for all immigrants from Northern and Western Europe for the same period, was down by more than two-thirds.²⁰

The Immigration and Nationality Act of October 3, 1965, established three major categories of immigrants: the immediate relatives of United States citizens, natives of Eastern Hemisphere countries and their dependencies, and "special" immigrants, comprised primarily of natives of independent countries in the Western Hemisphere.²¹

19. The term Oceania refers to islands in the Pacific.

20. U.S., Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1972 Annual Report, p. 4. (Hereinafter cited as INS, 1972 Annual Report.)

21. 8 U.S.C. §1101 et seq. (1970) (corresponds to The Act of October 3, 1965, Pub. L. 89-236 §1-6, 8-15, 17-19, 24, 79 Stat. 911-920, 922.)

It also established four preferences for specified relatives of United States citizens and resident aliens, including unmarried adult sons and daughters; spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence; married sons and daughters of United States citizens; and brothers and sisters of United States citizens. The Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended, also offered two preference classifications, preference clauses three and six, based on occupational qualifications, including professionals, skilled, and unskilled.

Many foreign relatives of American citizens of Asian and Pacific Island descent took advantage of the immigration policy changes to be reunited with their families. A significant number of professionals from Korea and the Philippines were among those to immigrate to the United States under preference three.

Immigration continues to play a large role in the growth of Asian American and Pacific Peoples communities in the United States. The West Coast attracted more than 30 percent of the Chinese, Korean, and Pilipino immigrants who entered the United States in 1972; the majority of these immigrants settled in California. For example, 18,517 immigrants from Taiwan, Korea, and the Philippines were identified in California as of June 30, 1972; whereas for the same group and period, only 10,051 were reported in New York.²² A possible explanation for this West Coast settlement is that San Francisco and Los Angeles are major ports of entry. The large concentrations of non-English-speaking Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in these urban centers are particularly attractive to immigrants. For these immigrants, the cultural, linguistic, and dietary familiarities ease the transition into American society.

Urban and Rural Settlement Patterns

In 1970, 1,229,515 of the Asian American and Pacific Peoples in the United States lived in urban areas, while 127,123 lived in rural areas.²³ (See Table II)

22. INS figures are for immigrants admitted by specified countries of birth and city for the year ending June 30, 1972. Data are lacking for Guamanians, Japanese, and Samoans.

23. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-1G Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States. (Hereinafter cited as PC(2)-1G Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States.) Tabular and text data on the Japanese, Chinese, Pilipino, Korean, and Hawaiian population in this report are based upon sample data collected by the Census Bureau as presented in the subject report. Unless otherwise specified, data for Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples are derived from the subject report.

TABLE II

Urban and Rural Settlement Figures for Asian Americans
and Pacific Peoples in the United States: 1970

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural Farm And Nonfarm</u>
Chinese	431,583	417,032	14,551
Filipino	336,731	288,287	48,444
Hawaiian	99,958 ¹		
Japanese	588,324	524,196	64,128
Korean	69,510 ¹		

1. United States excluding Alaska

Statistics regarding the urban and rural residence of Guamanians, Samoans, Hawaiians, and Koreans are unavailable for the mainland.

As reported by the Census Bureau, the majority of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples are located on the West Coast: California (549,307); Oregon (12,453); and Washington (41,052).²⁴ About 60 percent of the total Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in the United States reside on the West Coast. (See Table III) Official statistics regarding the Guamanians and Samoans are lacking.

TABLE III

Total Asian American and Pacific Peoples Population
Of the West Coast - 1970

	<u>California</u>	<u>Oregon</u>	<u>Washington</u>
Chinese	170,419	4,774	9,376
Filipino	135,248	1,466	11,488
Hawaiian	14,454		
Japanese	213,277	6,213	20,188
Korean	15,909		

24. PC(2)-1G, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States. Figure includes Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, and Korean only.

The Population in California

About 90 percent (502,270) of the 549,307 Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples living in California reside in urban areas, with about 10 percent or 25,485 residing in rural farm and nonfarm areas.²⁵ (See Table IV)

TABLE IV

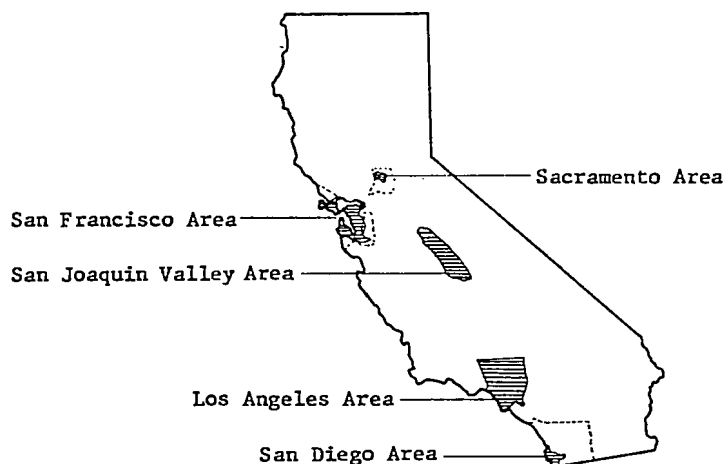
Comparison of Urban and Rural Population of
Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in California - 1970

	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
Chinese	167,773	2,646
Filipino	125,960	9,288
Hawaiian		
Japanese	199,726	13,551
Korean	8,811 ¹	

1. Figures are incomplete for Koreans, with only the Los Angeles-Long Beach Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) identified. Standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's) are defined by the Office of Management and Budget as a county or group of contiguous counties which contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or twin cities with a combined population of at least 50,000.

The approximate locations of the metropolitan areas housing significant populations of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in California are shown in figure 1.

FIGURE 1



25. Figures exclude Samoans and Guamanians.

Los Angeles County, which includes the State's largest city, Los Angeles, had 238,223 Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in 1970. This figure accounted for 3.5 percent of the county's 7,032,075 people.²⁶ Japanese Americans represented the highest Asian subgroup with 1.5 percent of the county total.

San Francisco County²⁷ had 108,410 Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples, which was 15.2 percent of the total population.²⁸ Chinese Americans represented the largest subgroup in San Francisco--8.2 percent of all Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples residing in the county. The city of San Francisco has the second largest concentration of these groups in the State. (See Table V).

TABLE V
Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in
California's Largest Metropolitan Centers--1970

	<u>Los Angeles</u> ¹	<u>San Francisco</u> ²	<u>San Diego</u> ⁴	<u>Sacramento</u>
Chinese	40,798	58,696	4,500 (b)	8,199
Filipino	33,459	24,694	9,431	
Hawaiian	4,634			
Hawaiian, South Asian and Other		12,099	1,000 (b)	
Japanese	104,078	11,705	7,621 (a)	6,980
Korean	8,650	10,000 ³	1,000	
Other Asian	46,604			

1. Los Angeles County Census.

2. Chinatown Census.

3. Estimate supplied by Korean Consulate, San Francisco 1973.

4. PC(2)-IG Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States; (a) standard metropolitan statistical area only; (b) United Pan Asian Community estimates.

26. Los Angeles County Population by Race: 1970 Census. Report based on 1970 census data filed with the California State Advisory Committee by Mayor Thomas Bradley, October 1973. (Hereinafter cited as Los Angeles County Census.)

27. The city of San Francisco is coextensive (has the same boundaries) with the county.

28. San Francisco Department of City Planning, Chinatown, 1970 Census: Population and Housing Summary & Analysis. (August 1972.) (Hereinafter cited as Chinatown Census.)

A significant number of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples reside in Orange County (10,716);²⁹ Sacramento County (22,415);³⁰ and San Diego County (17,052).³¹ Scattered settlements or pockets of the diverse ethnic Asians and Pacific Peoples can also be found throughout the State.

The Effects of Inaccurate, Hidden, or Unavailable Data

Testimony at both open meetings suggested that data on Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples were rarely collected accurately or consistently by Federal, State, and local agencies. Witnesses pointed out many discrepancies in population estimates generated by inaccurate collection systems. Sid Gloria of San Francisco's Pilipino community noted:

Our precise numbers [nationally] are obscured by bureaucratic decisions to include him [the Pilipino] as Oriental, non-white, or others.... Estimates...vary from 450,000 to half a million....Available information is sketchy and somewhat dated.

Sister Bernadette Giles, a member of the San Francisco Human Rights Commission, testified that:

The 1970 Census showed...55,000 Chinese in San Francisco....[The] Department of Public Health reported...61,000 Chinese....Many community groups feel the actual number is higher. Language barriers and culture patterns inhibit many Chinese from participating in census counts.

Faye Munoz of the Guamanian Association of Long Beach noted:

Rough estimates indicate 30,000 to 45,000 Guamanians in the State of California and the West Coast...and 50,000 to 75,000 Hawaiians.

29. Figures for Japanese only.

30. Sacramento Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area figure for Japanese and Chinese only.

31. Figures for Japanese and Pilipinos only from 1970 census. Unified Pan Asian Community estimates a total of 54,000 for all Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in San Diego.

The numbers of Guamanians, American Samoans, and Hawaiians cannot be accurately made because of free traffic flow between the islands and the...mainland...no census data or records are kept.

Ruby Whang, vice chairperson of the Korean American Association of Northern California, stated:

...authorities are especially hard on Koreans because records are kept according to nationalities, and Koreans fall under 'others'.

Community representatives alleged that the use of the category "other" effectively discounts their existence as individual communities and handicaps their attempts to justify proposals for community programming and funding. Kathy Fong, executive director, Chinese for Affirmative Action, testified:

It is almost impossible to draw an accurate profile of the Chinese in the San Francisco area since the data compiled by EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunity Commission], HRD [California Department of Human Resources Development, recently renamed Employment Development Department], Department of Labor, and the Bureau of the Census do not breakdown specific labor force information on the Chinese.

In their attempts to obtain funding for a Mental Health Center, Bay Area Pilipinos were requested by the Alameda County Board of Commissioners to provide statistics. Cora Santa Ana, manpower planner for the Alameda County Manpower Area Planning Council, said:

This was an entirely unjust thing....I could not provide statistics...[since the data] is not available [and] very few agencies keep them...What data is available is largely inadequate.

Statistical data can be utilized to document community needs and expenditures of monies for numerous community-based programs.

This data can also be used to demonstrate discriminatory practices.³² Cora Santa Ana asserted that the lack of data "seriously impairs our ability to document discrimination, not just in employment, but in education, health, and housing...."

When asked to provide comprehensive manpower service planning for Pilipinos in Alameda County, Ms. Santa Ana turned to the Summary Manpower Indicators. She noted:

There was nothing in [here] on us Pilipinos....
The categories listed...white, black, other
races, Spanish American.

She also pointed out that in the March 1973 Manpower Report of the President to Congress:

[There is] nothing in [it] on us [Pilipinos].
Even at the highest level of government, there
is no recognition of our needs, no recognition
of our problems.

Kerry Doi, employed with the Services for Asian Youth, noted that in a Greater Los Angeles Community Action Agency report:

The ethnic breakdown is white, Spanish American,
and black. Notice no breakdown on Asians.

The absence of statistically valid data may effectively hamper community programming and makes it difficult to determine if discrimination does in fact exist in local, State, and Federal programs. It also prevents the employment force from being properly identified. Grace Blaszkowski, Asian American Affairs Office, San Diego County Human Relations Commission, asserted:

Perhaps no other group of people have suffered
so deeply from a failure by the Federal Govern-
ment to maintain an accurate reporting system
as the Asian Americans.

The failure by private and governmental agencies to collect complete data and the inadequacy of available data prevent Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples from full participation in all aspects of community programming and development. In effect, no data means invisibility.

32. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report, To Know or Not to Know (February 1973), reports the findings of a Commission study to determine the most effective way to collect and use racial and ethnic data. The report notes that "collection and analysis of these data are the most effective and desirable means of measuring Federal program impact upon minority beneficiaries and for assuring that equal opportunity policies are working effectively." (p. 3).

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITIES' PERCEPTIONS OF ISSUES AND CONCERNS

Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples have often been grouped as Orientals and Islanders. Although they have similar traditions, each community is unique. "Americanization," however, has eroded many traditional concepts and values. The concept of filial obedience and the highly ordered system of kinship relations are important to the economic and social well-being of a Chinese family in an agrarian society, but in American (and Western) society these values often conflict with ideas of egalitarianism and individualism. Often certain customs and mores are misunderstood or unaccepted by the majority society. In the Samoan culture, an individual may use his father's, mother's, or relative's name on different occasions. In American Samoa, the different names are used with pride. But in the United States, this is viewed as an alias rather than a legitimate social custom. When the majority society deny the cultural and linguistic differences among these people, Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples become victims of mistaken identity.

While there are varying opinions about the structure of American pluralism--witness the controversy surrounding bilingual/bicultural education--community leaders pointed out that the cultural and linguistic differences among their peoples contribute to the richness of American society.

Reverend Young Pin Lim told the Advisory Committee in San Francisco:

I think of America as a great orchestra. An orchestra consists of many kinds of musical instruments....Each instrument keeps its own

individuality...it contributes its best to the harmony of the orchestra. A trombone is always a trombone, but when it tries to be a clarinet, it will make the harmony of the orchestra disastrous.

The great American society consists of many races, as an orchestra, and the individual race can contribute its best to the society by perfecting its individuality. That means each race understands its own heritage, but is flexible to adapt itself to the environment.

CHINESE AMERICANS

The Chinese in California are mainly urban dwellers. According to 1970 census figures they reside primarily in the San Francisco (58,696), Los Angeles (40,798), and Sacramento (10,457) SMSA's. The United Pan Asian Community estimates 4,500 Chinese Americans in San Diego. Chinese Americans represent 8.2 percent of the San Francisco County population and 0.6 percent of the Los Angeles County population.

Prior to 1965, the areas referred to as Chinatown in San Francisco and Los Angeles had developed into communities with the majority population native-born. With the increase in the number of immigrants since 1965, these areas now have largely foreign-born residents.

The majority of these immigrants cannot speak English fluently and lack occupational skills. Testimony at both open meetings suggested that the lack of language proficiency in English posed some serious socioeconomic problems. Community members alleged that these problems remain unresolved because of neglect by local, State, and Federal agencies.

Chinatowns in urban areas perpetrate their status as tourist attractions in order to survive. The employment offered by tourist-related industries, such as restaurants and gift shops, is menial, usually requiring long hours and offering low pay. These Chinatowns must also house the increasing local populations. The results have been severe overcrowding, high rents, underemployment, and unemployment.

During Commission staff investigation, more than 80 Chinese Americans from San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego were interviewed. Twenty-six Chinese Americans appeared before the Advisory Committee and discussed their community concerns in education, bilingual services, housing, social services for the elderly, employment, and immigration. Although there have been more than 19 youth-gang-related killings in San Francisco's Chinatown between 1971 and 1974, the community was reluctant to talk about this issue. Many community members viewed the problem as an outward manifestation of the frustration felt by Chinatown's youth. This frustration, they noted, was connected to the community's concerns voiced at the Advisory Committee's open meeting and the failure of appropriate agencies to provide resources to deal with these issues.

Representatives of the San Francisco and Los Angeles Chinese American communities perceived education as an issue of major concern.³³

Education

Chinese witnesses felt that all levels of education--preschool through higher education--were at issue. Lucinda Lee Katz, director of the Chinatown Community Children's Center, San Francisco, testified about the need for child care and preschool facilities. According to Ms. Katz, established centers have waiting lists of more than 500 children. Parents are being told that their children will have to wait at least 2 years before receiving services. She noted:

In the San Francisco Chinatown area, there are 3,600 children under age six. There are five day care centers serving 230 children and five preschool or Head Start centers serving 250 children. The 480 children or 13 percent being served, by no means meets the needs of our community.

33. At the beginning of the 1972-73 academic year, the San Francisco community had been divided on the issue of busing to achieve integration in the city's schools. Opponents of the plan established Chinese Freedom Schools and boycotted buses. By June 1973, the issue had subsided and community spokespersons noted that enrollment in the Freedom schools had dropped by approximately half.

Georgiana Lee, a recent Chinese immigrant now living in Los Angeles, echoed Ms. Katz' concern:

I always want to put my children in day care children's center so that I can find a job to help support the family....I tried to place my children into Castelar's Children Center, but I find out that there are 180 to 200 children that are on the waiting list....I feel that Chinatown is in desperate need of a child care center....That is not only my need, it's also the need of my friends, [my] neighbors, and my relatives.

Chinese immigrant mothers and teachers testifying at the open meeting in Los Angeles told the Advisory Committee of the alienation and isolation felt by many immigrant Chinese children in the public schools. May Chen, a teacher and member of the National Advisory Committee on Bilingual-Bicultural Education to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, said:

School textbooks and curriculum in the past and present show not only a tendency to ignore or overlook the Chinese American, but actually, in many ways, serve to downgrade, distort, and humiliate us. For example, consider this remark from a current State-adopted social studies text: 'Immigration laws change often. In 1882, not only were Chinese excluded but also criminals, paupers, and the insane.' Are we to be classed with the outcasts of American society?

She told the Advisory Committee that many Chinese Americans would prefer bilingual educational opportunity rather than the more prevalent English as a second language (ESL) classes offered by many school districts. She said:

Aside from schools which have received Federal support for bilingual programs, many school administrators appear to adopt a policy which in effect opposes bilingual opportunities for Chinese-speaking students. A statement from one school teacher manual says, 'Since our main objective is to help the students develop the ability to function in English, ESL [English

as a Second Language] teachers have to be aware of the native languages of their students and their cultures. But the courses must be conducted in English; the native languages of the pupils don't have to be used at all.'³⁴

Angelina Yu, a recent immigrant, told the Advisory Committee of her concerns for her children's education:

At Castelar Elementary School, around 56 percent of the students speak a primary language other than English. State achievement tests given to all of the children reflect the students' language handicap.

Peter Woo, who taught English as a second language (ESL) in Los Angeles' Chinatown for 2 1/2 years, described his perception of ESL programs for Chinese:

The existing ESL program is heavily academic in its substance; it's not geared for students who have to worry how to make both ends meet daily. It is a program...to prepare those who are going to complete their high school diploma or college.

Language difficulties also affect Chinese Americans in higher education. According to Terry Lee, a former counselor for the Equal Opportunities Program at San Francisco University:

There seems to be a widely held notion that Asian Americans don't have any problems. This fallacy is especially prevalent in higher edu-

34. This statement is from a school in the Los Angeles District, but Western Regional Office staff have identified similar types of statements from other school districts. In San Francisco, the Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation filed a class action suit in December 1973 against the officials of the San Francisco Unified School District. The suit charged the school system with failure to provide adequate instruction to approximately 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry who did not speak English and were thus denied a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational programs. After appeal to the Supreme Court, the district case was decided in favor of the complainants, (*Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974)) The school district is now required to come up with plan to educate those students whose only language is Chinese.

cation. I have worked with Chinese students from low-income families with non-English speaking parents. They have poor grades, especially in English and the social sciences. Since Chinese is their primary language, they have difficulties in their classes.

The Chinese American communities in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego felt that the most glaring evidence of neglect for Asian Americans was the lack of Asian Americans in school administrative positions throughout the State. In the San Diego Unified School District, for example, there was only one Asian American administrator out of a total administrative force of 407 in December 1973. According to the San Diego City School ethnic survey, there were 4,450 Asian American students (classified as Orientals and other nonwhites) at that time. The Asian American students comprised 3.6 percent of the total enrollment of 124,534.³⁵

Roger Tom, a teacher at a predominantly Chinese American public school in San Francisco, told the Advisory Committee:

In 1972, 14.9 percent of the district's students were Chinese....Chinese Americans constituted 5.4 percent of the teaching staff, 3.9 percent of the field administrative staff, and only 1.4 percent of the central office administrative staff.

Community witnesses noted that it was important for Asian American children to observe that their own racial and ethnic group was adequately represented among school employees. Witnesses charged that numerous school districts in the State failed to provide this educational opportunity to their children.

Employment

In San Francisco, a panel of community witnesses alleged that employment discrimination against the Chinese was based on a number of factors. One factor, stereotyping, whether positive or negative, worked to the disadvantage of the Chinese American.

35. Tetsuyo Kashima, Asian Crisis in the San Diego Unified School District (San Diego 1973). A report adapted from a paper presented to an education workshop of the Japanese American Citizens League Conference, San Diego, May 22, 1970.

Kathy Fong, executive director, Chinese for Affirmative Action, told the Advisory Committee of this concern:

While some ethnic groups are negatively stereotyped as lazy, shiftless, or trouble-makers, the Chinese are commonly stereotyped in positive stereotypes of the super-worker. The super stereotype, as well as the negative stereotype of the Chinese, are tremendous detriments to decent and fair employment. The notion that all Chinese are hard working, conscientious, and willing to work overtime, is frequently abused by employers who want to get coolie labor.

Employers of Chinese describe their employees as quiet and uncomplaining and express the sentiment that if a minority person must be hired at all, let it be the least troublesome. Out of fear of losing their job, a fear based upon past historical discrimination and threats of deportation, many Chinese hesitate to report their grievances of lower salaries, longer hours, and similar unequal treatment.

Ms. Fong felt that some Chinese were denied jobs because of their accent, but she questioned how the standards for acceptable English were determined, "since European accents, such as French or British, are considered romantic or sophisticated." She pointed out that many Chinese were often denied promotions on the basis of "unacceptable English."

The difficulty of drawing an accurate employment profile of the Chinese in the San Francisco area was another factor. According to 1970 census figures, the total population in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA was 2,987,859. This figure includes 116,315 individuals of Chinese, Japanese, and Pilipino descent; 91,338 were 25 years old and over. The 1970 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission employment profile which covered the SMSA showed that in the 15 largest industrial categories, the total employment was 540,988, including 25,935 Asian Americans. The profile did not include a significant percentage of Asian Americans in employable age groups, nor did it provide a break down of specific labor force information for Asian Americans.

Kathy Fong noted that there was also no break down of specific labor force information on Chinese by either the Department of Labor or the Human Resources Development (HRD, recently renamed Employment Development Department). Without an accurate employment profile, unemployment problems and employment discrimination would continue, she said.

The issue of underemployment of Chinese American workers was another community concern. Ms. Fong stated:

A glaring example of underemployment can be seen by comparing the high educational attainment level of Asians with their number in managerial and supervisory occupations in industry and government.

Census data show that in 1970 the median school years completed by those 25 years and older in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA were: black, 11.7; Chinese Americans, 12.0; Japanese Americans, 12.7; Pilipinos, 12.4; Spanish-surnamed, 11.3; and white, 12.4. Yet, of the 25,935 Asian Americans employed, only 1,044 or 4 percent held white-collar official and managerial positions. In contrast, 52,101 or 9.6 percent of the total number of employees (540,988) covered by the EEOC profile were in such positions.

"The existence of a Chinese subeconomy," Ms. Fong stated, "helps absorb some of the Chinese who are rejected for employment in San Francisco." If these substandard jobs were not included, she said, the 1973 unemployment rate of 4.9 percent for Chinese Americans would jump to 6.1 percent.

The Advisory Committee also heard testimony from Joyce Law, coordinator of the Chinatown Community Services Center, which provides counseling and referral services to immigrants and other members of the Los Angeles Chinese community. Ms. Law specifically deplored the minimal manpower training programs and bilingual employment resources for Chinese Americans. She said:

HRD [recently renamed Employment Development Department] has been able to serve only the English-speaking Chinese people. In other words, they put the burden on Chinese Americans that they have to learn English first before they can be served by HRD [EDD].

I recently asked a representative of HRD [EDD] how many slots of Manpower Development and Training Act, ESL, were available for Chinese. His answer was 14...slots available for 1,000 Chinese families with four or more persons per family.

Housing

In 1970, 7 percent of the total housing in San Francisco was classified as overcrowded, with an average of 1.01 or more persons per room. The situation in the Chinatown core area was more acute, with 26 percent of its total housing recorded as overcrowded--3 1/2 times the city's average.³⁶ There was also a decrease in the number of housing units in the Chinatown core area between 1960 and 1970. In 1960 there were 28,551 housing units; in 1970 there were 27,109--a decrease of 1,442 housing units. An increase in the population of the Chinatown area between 1960 and 1970 and the decrease in the number of available housing units have resulted in severe overcrowding. The area now has a density of 228.1 persons per net acre (gross acre less street area) in Chinatown. This density is 7.2 times greater than the city average of 31.7 persons per net acre.³⁷

Linda Wang, a member of the Chinatown Community Redevelopment Association, said:

How did the housing conditions in Chinatown become so bad?....Two factors are clear: First, historical discrimination against Chinese in renting and buying resulted in the concentration and overcrowding of our people in Chinatown proper, or the core area of Chinatown. Secondly, the terrible housing conditions we see today are the result of years and years of negligence on the part of government agencies charged with the responsibility of assuring safe, decent housing.

36. The Chinatown core area is bounded by: Pacific Avenue on the north, Kearny Street on the east, California Street on the south, and Powell and Mason Streets on the west. This core area and the surrounding residential area encompass San Francisco census tract numbers 103, 104, 106-108, 113-115, and 118.

37. These statistics are supplied in the San Francisco Department of City Planning's Chinatown, 1970 Census: Population and Housing Summary and Analysis, issued August 1972. The data are based upon statistics issued by the Bureau of the Census.

Increased demand and shortage of housing units in Chinatown have resulted in higher rents and a lower vacancy rate. The need for low- and moderate-income housing was a major community problem. Ms. Wang told the Advisory Committee about the frustration of Chinatown residents obtaining such funds for the Sacramento-Stockton Streets Chinatown [Housing] project:

After 10 months of numerous public hearings, petitions, letters, politicians, demonstrations, and even community-financed trips for representatives to travel to Washington, D. C., in October 1972, it was announced that HUD [Department of Housing and Urban Development] would fund the project, the land would be subsidized, and more detailed planning for eventual construction of low- and moderate-income housing could begin.... [Nine] months later, no funds have been made available.

It should be noted that in January 1973, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) placed a moratorium on all housing programs. However, the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, Pub. L. 93-383 (August 22, 1974), allows public housing funds to be used for those projects which had been processed. The Sacramento-Stockton Streets Chinatown Project was granted the funds which they had initially requested. However, the project did not receive the 20 percent cost override funds appropriated in the act to offset inflationary construction costs.

Joyce Law of the Chinatown Community Services Center stated that there has been a "tremendous increase of Chinese people coming into Los Angeles City," and thus a similar problem in that city: heavy demand for housing and overcrowding in available units.

Immigration

Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) records indicate that Chinese immigration to the United States began in 1820. Sixty-two years later, the first major anti-Chinese immigration legislation was passed by Congress. Between 1882 and 1943, approximately 15 anti-Chinese immigration laws were enacted.

Although all these exclusionary laws were repealed in 1943,³⁸ a quota system was established by Congress. The quota system strictly controlled the number of Asian immigrants to the United States by assigning the number of admissions based on the proportion of foreign born in the United States. Western Hemisphere countries were allotted higher quotas since the population in Northern and Western Europe were racially close to the population in the United States.

The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952,³⁹ proposed as a liberal law because of its extensive revisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Act, only perpetuated the quota system. Ling Chi-Wang, assistant professor of Asian American studies at the University of California at Berkeley, said that under this act:

Ninety-eight percent of the total annual quota was distributed to European countries, while only 1.35 percent was allocated to the so-called Asian-Pacific triangle area.

The quota system severely limited immigration from Asia and made it difficult for families to be reunited. It was not until October 3, 1965, when a new immigration act was enacted, that the immigration policy toward Eastern Hemisphere countries was liberalized.⁴⁰

Community witnesses felt that the Immigration and Naturalization Service was insensitive to the needs of the Chinese and took advantage of community insecurity, which was a result of years of neglect and discrimination. Based upon this historical discrimination, the Chinese community spokespersons were highly suspect of the Service's motives and operations and also mistrusted the attitude of Congress toward immigration issues. Proposed congressional legislation (the Rodino bill) made the Chinese American communities apprehensive. The Rodino bill seeks to revise American immigration policies by amending the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act to provide equal treatment

38. Act of Dec. 17, 1943, ch. 344, §1, 57 Stat. 600.

39. Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, 8 U.S.C. §1101 et. seq. (1970) (corresponds to the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, ch. 477, 66 Stat. 163.)

40. 8 U.S.C. §1101 et. seq. (1970) (corresponds to the Act of Oct. 3, 1965, Pub. L. 89-236, §1-6, 8-15, 17-19, 24, 79 Stat. 911-920, 922.)

of Western and Eastern Hemisphere immigrants.⁴¹ This bill was viewed by the some community spokespersons as a step back toward exclusionary immigration practices since an effect of the 1965 law has been increased Asian and Pacific Peoples immigration. Ling Chi-Wang testified on Chinese American concerns about similar State legislation:⁴²

I think that most employers will be reluctant to hire anybody who is Asian, who looks Asian, because if they are going to have to go through a hassle of trying to find out whether a person is really a citizen or not, did he come into this country illegally...[he would] rather hire somebody who is a non-Asian to avoid all that hassle....We are very much opposed to that kind of a bill.

In Los Angeles, the Advisory Committee also heard about concerns of the Chinese immigrant from Eileen Fat, a second-year law student at the University of Southern California. Ms. Fat, who has assisted many Chinese Americans in their dealings with immigration officials, stated that although the INS did not exist to solve all problems of aliens who seek residence in the United States:

There is no governmental support, either financially or socially, when a new immigrant first arrives in this country, the time when he is struggling most. [For example] there are no full-time Chinese speaking workers at the INS information desk or filing windows to provide preliminary help to Chinese speaking aliens.⁴³

41. H.R. 981, 93d Cong., 1st Sess. 16 (1973). The bill is now under consideration in the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization.

42. West's Ann. Cal. Labor Code §2805 (West Supp. 1974).

43. Charles H. Withers, Jr., assistant director for travel control, Los Angeles Regional Office, INS, confirmed that as of Nov. 30, 1973, there were no Chinese-speaking staff at the information desks in Los Angeles.

GUAMANIAN AMERICANS

On August 1, 1950, a law popularly known as the Organic Act of Guam⁴⁴ was enacted by Congress conferring American citizenship upon the inhabitants of the territory of Guam. This legislation and its subsequent amendments, which extended constitutional guarantees, ostensibly grants the same rights to the citizens of Guam as enjoyed by all other Americans, except that Guamanians cannot vote in national elections while residing in Guam. They may do so if they live in the United States. This restriction is based on the fact that Guam is a territory, and exercise of the franchise requires that a citizen qualify under the laws of a particular State. Since Guam is not a State, a Guamanian living there at the time of a national election cannot vote.

According to INS figures, 11,930 Guamanians immigrated to the United States between 1963 and 1972. Community representatives asserted, however, that there were approximately 30,000 to 45,000 Guamanians residing in California alone. Precise data were difficult to obtain.⁴⁵ Staff investigators identified concentrations of Guamanians in the cities of Carson, Long Beach, San Pedro, Santa Ana, and Wilmington.

The Advisory Committee and Commission staff met with more than 35 members of the Guamanian community. The community voiced concerns over inadequate educational programs, the relatively low number of Guamanian professionals within the communities, the menial job options, and neglect and indifference on the part of Federal agencies responsible for administering the trust territories. Here the Advisory Committee will present community perceptions of prejudice against Guamanians in two areas: employment and education.

44. Organic Act of Guam, ch. 512, 64 Stat. 384 (codified in scattered sections of 8, 48 U.S.C.).

45. Immigration and Naturalization Service notes that between 1820-1972, 23,442 Pacific Island peoples from U.S. administered areas (Guam, American Samoa, and other Pacific territories) immigrated to the mainland; from 1934-1951, this number included the Philippines.

Employment

Data on the employment status of Guamanians are difficult to obtain. Guamanian Americans are not tabulated separately in government planning programs; statistics from private industry are unavailable. Thus, the employment problems go unrecognized, at the very least, by many Federal, State, and local agencies.

Employment concerns of the community focused on the lack of job counseling and the related menial, low paying jobs obtained by Guamanians. Faye Munoz, a member of the Guamanian Association of Long Beach, stated that Guamanians can only get low status employment:

[There are]...hundreds of men from the islands who...were recruited into the U.S. Navy, [and] locked into classifications which limit growth and promotion.

Upon retirement from the Navy, she added, Guamanians had not developed skills for the existing job market.

Education

Witnesses at the open meetings noted that the educational system accommodated Guamanians rather than educated them, as evidenced by the lack of Guamanian professionals. Ms. Munoz felt that teachers and peers humiliated Guamanian children because of their physical characteristics, dress, mannerisms, and language. The results are that children become discouraged and apathetic toward education, she said. Ms. Munoz added that without adequate education, Guamanians cannot fully participate in mainland society.

JAPANESE AMERICANS

There is no record of immigration from Japan until 1861. During the period 1891 through 1930 a total of 273,038 immigrants arrived. This figure accounted for more than two-thirds of the total Japanese immigration for the period 1820 through 1972.⁴⁶

46. Based on data in the INS, 1972 Annual Report, the total figure for this period, ending June 30, 1972, was 375,070.

Mainly an urban dwelling people, Japanese Americans reside in Los Angeles County (104,078), San Francisco County (11,705), Orange County (10,716), San Diego County (7,621), and Sacramento County (6,980).⁴⁷ There are fewer numbers of Japanese Americans scattered throughout California's other counties. Japanese Americans accounted for 1.5 percent of the Los Angeles County population; 1.9 percent of Los Angeles City population, and 1.6 percent of San Francisco City population.

The Advisory Committee and Commission staff interviewed 46 Japanese Americans in Los Angeles and 32 in San Francisco. In addition, group meetings were held with more than 270 Japanese Americans.

Japanese American spokespersons alleged discrimination against their communities in education, employment, social services, and in programs for the elderly.

Community members pointed out that in the area of education, Japanese Americans face a steady rise in the school dropout rate among their youth. They pointed out that educators ignored Asian American participation in American history and that Japanese American history was excluded from textbooks. Community members asserted that Federal and State agencies provided inadequate services to their community, pointing out the lack of bilingual services and the employment and underemployment problems of foreign-trained professionals. They also believed that redevelopment plans for areas predominantly Japanese American discriminated against the elderly and small shopkeepers.

Urban Renewal and the Elderly

There was striking similarity in complaints voiced by San Francisco and Los Angeles Japanese Americans in the area of community redevelopment. Residents of the Nihonmachi⁴⁸ area in San Francisco were concerned about the effects of urban renewal on elderly Japanese. Guy Ono, president of CANE (Citizens Against Nihonmachi Eviction), feared that

47. PC(2)-1G, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States.

48. Nihonmachi is the Japanese word for Japantown.

redevelopment of this area would destroy or disperse the existing small businesses, many of which are run by and for older members of the community. At this time, he noted, rents are relatively low, allowing them to live close to the area. After redevelopment, housing costs would drive the elderly away and isolate many from their friends, sources of food supply, etc., he feared.

Sandy Ouye, chairperson of Kimochi, a federally-funded project for Japanese elderly, described the problems facing many elderly Japanese Americans of San Francisco. She said that the language barrier precluded knowledge of public social services. The history of discrimination and oppression of first generation Japanese Americans has made many elderly suspicious and distrustful of government. Urban renewal plans only perpetuate this distrust. "When redevelopment is through with Nihonmachi," Ms. Ouye said, echoing Mr. Ono's fears, "there will be no place for the low-income Japanese elderly."

Robert Ito, director of the Japanese American Community Center in San Diego, told the Advisory Committee about problems facing the Chinese and Japanese elderly in that city. He said:

The Chinese and Japanese elderly...because of their language barrier are reluctant to use the public transportation system. Here we find both the Chinese and Japanese ultimately experiencing difficulty getting to a grocery store that caters to their diet.

Japanese American spokespersons were apprehensive about the effects of redevelopment on the urban cultural centers that have developed. Not only would the elderly be affected, they noted, but small business would be hardpressed to compete with big industry.

In Los Angeles, the Advisory Committee heard similar concerns about redevelopment plans for the Little Tokyo area. Cynthia Chono, a member of the Little Tokyo Anti-Eviction Task Force, expressed a deep concern for the Japanese elderly of limited income now living in the proposed redevelopment area. Akira Kawasaki, a businessman in Little Tokyo, felt that inadequate information about the redevelopment plans confused and frightened many of the present residents. Chiyo Maniwa, a small shopowner in Little Tokyo, echoed Mr. Kawasaki's concerns and feared that the redevelopment project might increase tourism and attract big business at the expense of small businesses and community residents.

The cultural cores of Nihonmachi in San Francisco and Little Tokyo in Los Angeles provide low-cost housing for the elderly Japanese. They offer a cultural buffer--an area with which Japanese Americans residing in other parts of the city, county, and State can identify. Community leaders expressed concern that this valuable attribute might be lost if urban renewal were to take place.

Social Services

The major focus of testimony in this area was on the need for bilingual services and a deeper commitment on the part of social service agencies to help those entrusted to their care.

Reverend Koji Sayama of the Little Tokyo Pioneer Project, a privately-funded senior citizens project, testified about the social service concerns of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles. Reverend Sayama told the Advisory Committee that local, State, and Federal agencies were insensitive to and neglected the needs of low-income Japanese Americans. He stated that these agencies have demonstrated their insensitivity by failing to hire bilingual, bicultural personnel with capabilities of providing outreach services to the non-English-speaking Japanese. Reverend Sayama cited cases of Japanese elderly who had not spoken to anyone for years because they had been placed in institutions where only English was used.

Reverend Sayama also told the Advisory Committee about "Manual Letter 155" issued by the State Department of Social Welfare to its local offices, which, he said, "was to eliminate for aid any alien who could not produce proper documentation." The Manual Letter was attached to a legal notice of proposed changes in the regulations of the State Department of Social Welfare signed by Robert B. Carlson, director. The Letter, dated January 6, 1971, was addressed to personnel in the local offices who dealt with eligibility and assistance standards. According to the Manual Letter, the revisions to specific State welfare aid regulations were "intended to help assure that categorical aid payments are made only to persons who are in fact residents of California" and to "provide that a person who is not legally entitled to remain permanently in the United States [or] is not a resident of the State...[not] receive aid."⁴⁹ Accordingly, the attached revisions specified that aliens in the

49. State Department of Social Welfare "Manual Letter 155," dated Jan. 6, 1971, addressed to Holders of EAS [Eligibility and Assistance Standards] Policies and Procedures.

State had to have a green card to document their residence eligibility or other written evidence from the INS indicating that the recipient of State aid was legally entitled to remain in the country indefinitely.

Reverend Sayama alleged that some social workers used the manual letter to threaten and harass persons who had foreign names on their caseload with loss of benefits. These threats were in English, upsetting many of the non-English-speaking Japanese clients who did not understand the definitions of "proper documentation."

Sadako Jara of Nadesko Kai, an international marriage organization with an office in Los Angeles, told the Advisory Committee of language problems and cultural barriers facing Japanese women who came to the United States as brides of American citizens. These problems became more acute when they involved desertion by the husband, divorce, or problems with children. Ms. Jara said:

It is not unusual to see many of these ladies plagued by a multitude of struggles, but the biggest problem is language....We receive inadequate services from [existing social service agencies].

Japanese Americans expressed frustration in dealing with government agencies. Community-funded programs have attempted to provide social services in lieu of government programs. Japanese American Community Services--Asian Involvement in Los Angeles--is one such program. Staff member Mo Nishida told the Advisory Committee that his organization found people ignorant of their rights to social security benefits because the agency had yet to translate its information into Asian languages. He added that, "We don't have the resources that the Federal Government has to disseminate such information."

Employment

Employment concerns of the community focused not on unemployment, but on underemployment and minimal upward mobility. While the unemployment rate of Japanese Americans in 1970 was 3.6 percent--low in comparison with other minority groups--many Japanese Americans are at the lower levels of big business and civil service employment.

Edison Uno, an instructor in Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University, told the Advisory Committee:

By comparison with other minorities, it may be true that Japanese Americans have gained a degree of parity at the entry level of employment. However, this does not mean that we have had an equal employment opportunity in all areas of employment, especially in blue-collar jobs, management and executive positions, union and skilled crafts, political appointments, and public media.

Employment opportunities in the skilled trades was another concern. Mark Masaoka, an apprentice plumber in Los Angeles, told the Advisory Committee of his concerns about construction jobs for Japanese Americans. He said:

Through the Little Tokyo Redevelopment Project...there will be some 50 million dollars of construction in our community....We rightfully claim our share of the jobs. But I am wary and concerned, and, I add, suspicious, that as far as opening up employment opportunities, our people are going to be left holding a bag of horse manure. Because even though Little Tokyo is 70 percent Asian, you and I know that there are not automatically going to be 70 percent Asians on the job site.

Education

Community representatives pointed out that in the area of education Japanese Americans were faced with a steady rise in the school dropout rate among their youth. They also pointed out the few numbers of Asian American graduate students in relation to their undergraduate enrollment and the scarcity of Asian American staff at all levels of education. They complained that educators are insensitive to Asian American students by failing to consider Asian Americans in developing curricula and by ignoring their role in American history.

The problems and perceptions of Japanese Americans exist and persist in contrast to 1970 census data on educational attainment. Census figures show that 77.1 percent and 76.8 percent of all Japanese Americans 25 years and over in the San Francisco-Oakland and Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSAs, respectively, had completed high school and that the median school years completed in both SMSAs was 12.7.⁵⁰

Paul Takagi, an associate professor of criminology at the University of California at Berkeley, told the Advisory Committee that he felt Asian Americans were considered competent but not qualified for special programs available for other minority students in institutions of higher learning. Dr. Takagi supported this claim with racial and ethnic statistics of faculty and students at the University of California at Berkeley showing that Asian Americans were not represented in graduate and professional schools in proportion to their undergraduate enrollment. Nor were they proportionally represented on most department faculties.⁵¹

Other witnesses expressed concern over the statewide lack of Asian American administrators at local levels of education. Tetsuyo Kashima, a teacher in the San Diego Unified School District, told the Advisory Committee of the educational deficiencies he perceived within the San Diego Unified School District. He stated that there was only one Asian American administrator among 407 to oversee 4,450 Asian American (classified as orientals and other nonwhite) students. Mr. Kashima felt such data indicated that Asian Americans were relatively forgotten within school systems.

Immigration and Bilingual Services

Community testimony suggested that bilingual services for Asian Americans should be provided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Steve Nakasone, a second-year law student at Loyola School

50. PC(2)-1G, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States.

51. Data submitted by the University of California at Berkeley at the open meeting in San Francisco were the same as that submitted by Dr. Takagi, but in a different form. This data showed: 2,224 or 12.8 percent Asian American undergraduates and 421 or 5.1 percent Asian American graduate students; 313 or 5.9 percent Asian American academic employees and 368 or 7.0 percent Asian American career staff. Letter to California Advisory Committee dated June 21, 1973, from Chancellor Albert H. Bowker, University of California at Berkeley, on file in the Western Regional Office.

of Law and a counselor at One-Stop Immigration Center, and Hanaye Gimi, a 77-year-old grandmother, told the Advisory Committee about the concerns among Japanese immigrants. Mr. Nakasone alleged that:

First, the immigration law itself is unduly harsh and acts in a discriminating manner towards Japanese. Second, the immigration department in its administration of the law acts arbitrarily in denying aliens benefits to which they are legally entitled. Third, the immigration department does not effectively communicate with alien Americans and often treats them as though they were not human beings.

Mr. Nakasone alleged that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was given wide discretion in applying the law and that such discretion was sometimes abused.

Mrs. Gimi told the Advisory Committee, through a translator, of her personal experience with the Los Angeles INS office. Mrs. Gimi immigrated to the United States in 1918. As a permanent resident, she received old age security benefits. Recently, her social worker insisted that she would need to get a green card to continue her benefits. Because Mrs. Gimi had lost her green card when she and her family were relocated to a concentration camp, she requested that INS issue her a new one. According to Mrs. Gimi, INS denied her request because it could not verify her entry. When she sent INS a copy of her passport proving her legal entry, she was told that she would have to apply for a new green card at a cost of \$35. Mrs. Gimi said:

This makes me very mad. I have worked hard and contributed my fair share to this country. At the age of 77, I have earned by benefits and I have a right to keep them. This is unfair to me. I have paid my dues to my country. I am entitled to the benefits I am now receiving. Why must I pay for the mistakes of the immigration department?

KOREAN AMERICANS

Since 1969, immigration from Korea has increased significantly. Immigration and Naturalization Service figures show that in 1969, 12,478 Korean immigrants entered the United States; in 1972, the number was 23,473.

The Advisory Committee and Commission staff interviewed 33 Korean Americans in Los Angeles and 27 in San Francisco. In addition, more than 100 Korean Americans met with members of the Advisory Committee and Commission staff in group meetings during the investigation. Testimony from Korean Americans throughout the State was strikingly similar. The Advisory Committee found a common thread of concern over State licensing of foreign-educated professionals, immigration, employment, and education.

Community members told the Advisory Committee that Korean American professionals trained in Korea had extensive problems in obtaining State licenses; that social services had not provided for the needs of Korean American immigrants whose knowledge of and facility in English was limited; and that the public school system had not responded with programming for the increasing enrollment of Korean American students.

Foreign-Educated Professionals

At the Los Angeles open meeting, the Korean American panel on problems faced by foreign-educated professionals received much community support. Advisory Committee chairperson Herman Sillas noted, for the record, a Korean delegation of approximately 200 persons carrying 15 to 20 poster placards in the hearing room. They were protesting indifference on the part of the State in licensing foreign-educated professionals.

While California does permit foreign-educated doctors, dentists, and practical nurses to apply for licensure, foreign-educated pharmacists have been severely restricted from taking the examination administered by the State Board of Pharmacy. Kong Mook Lee, a Korean-educated pharmacist and vice president of the Korean Pharmacist Association of California, estimates that there are at least 300 experienced pharmacists in Southern California born and educated in Korea, who cannot practice their profession. He noted that the Immigration and Naturalization Service gives high priority preferences to Koreans with pharmaceutical training, with the implication that persons of their educational training and experience would be welcome additions to the United States. Yet when these practicing pharmacists come to California, they are denied the opportunity even to take the examinations. The majority of the Korean-educated pharmacists have neither the time nor the money to go back to school. To survive and support families, these professionals must take unskilled jobs often paying low wages, he said. Mr. Lee added:

We never expected to lose our profession at the same time as we immigrated to this beautiful and wealthy country. Today, most of us find ourselves in a job which is inconsistent with our qualifications and experience. We are suffering from starvation wages.

Yung Gill Kook, vice president of the Korean American Political Association of Southern California, told Commission staff:

The Korean American community in Los Angeles would benefit not just from their services. If they are allowed to work with dignity in the profession of their training--instead of as restaurant busboys or gardeners' assistants--and to earn standard wages for their work, they would be in a position to give our community additional strength and leadership. This is important to all of us.

Foreign-educated pharmacists seeking licensure in California are predominantly from Asian countries. Out of 220 written requests for licensure information received by the Board of Pharmacy as of January 1974, 16 were from graduates of schools in Korea and 132 from the Philippines. A candidate for the licensure examination, however, must have graduated from a school on the board's accredited list. No foreign school has ever been included on the list.⁵² Even though the State law was amended in March 1972 to allow foreign-trained pharmacists upon certification by the Board of Pharmacy to take the examination, none have been permitted by the board to do so.⁵³

Other States, including New York, permit foreign-trained pharmacists to be licensed if they meet certain educational and experience requirements and pass the State licensure examination. Foreign-educated professionals in California would have to repeat their education in an accredited school or seek work in another field.

Hakto Pak, medical doctor, spoke on behalf of 30 Korean-educated physicians who had immigrated to the United States and were facing severe problems in obtaining licenses to practice medicine. Dr. Pak described the averageorean immigrant physician as being over 40 years of age and havin\ had a least 10 years practical experience. As in the pharmacists' situation, the Korean physicians were forced to find jobs as clerks and technicians to support their families. Such employment left little time to prepare for licensure examinations.

52. West's Ann. Cal. Bus. and Prof. Code §4085 (West's Supp. 1974).

53. West's Ann. Cal. Bus. and Prof. Code §4089.5 (West's Supp. 1974), amending West's Ann. Cal. Bus. and Prof. Code §4089 (1955).

Another witness, Dr. Chin Choi, told the Advisory Committee that he had served the Korean Field Army as chief surgeon and was decorated in 1952 with a bronze star by President Harry Truman for his services to the U.S. Army. Later Dr. Choi was promoted to the rank of full colonel. He returned to school at Kyoto University in Japan where he received a doctorate in biological medicine. Dr. Choi immigrated to the United States in September 1972 and has received only excuses as to why he cannot practice medicine in California, he claimed.

Punja Yhu, a registered nurse, spoke on behalf of 600 Korean-educated nurses now residing in the Los Angeles area. She said that these nurses had the equivalent education and training of registered nurses in this country. Of the 600 nurses in the area, she said, only 200 had been able to obtain State licensure as registered nurses. Ms. Yhu pointed out that foreign-trained nurses have language and monetary difficulties in preparing for the licensure examinations. She asserted that foreign-trained nurses were exploited by hospitals and medical clinics who employ them as nurses' aides at \$1.85 an hour and have them perform tasks usually assigned to registered nurses.

Immigration and Social Services

The tremendous influx of Korean immigrants since 1965 has introduced concomitant problems to many Korean American communities. Problems in housing and employment have increased as the population has grown. And the need for bilingual services in education and social services has become more acute. Witnesses alleged that the official response to their problems has been indifference.

In San Francisco the problems and concerns of the Korean American community were discussed by a panel of community representatives. Reverend Young Pin Lim told the Advisory Committee about the concerns of many Korean immigrants. He stated that many Korean Americans feel isolated from the rest of American society due to language barriers and cultural differences.

Tom Kim, a member of the Demonstration Project on Asian Americans, which is funded by the Social Rehabilitation Services of DHEW, estimated that the Korean American population in San Francisco had increased from approximately 3,000 in the middle 1960's to more than 12,000 in 1972. Mr. Kim alleged that because the Korean

American community has been ignored by the Census Bureau, there are no federally-funded programs to serve the community. The responsibility of providing social services for Korean Americans, therefore, has fallen back to the community, he said. Yet the community has no resources to provide necessary social services.

Ruby Whang, vice chairperson of the Korean American Association of Northern California, asserted that Federal and State agencies do not recognize that Korean Americans have social and economic problems like other ethnic minority communities. She pointed out that there was insufficient data collected by the government to substantiate the need for Federal- and/or State-funded programs to help Korean Americans. The absence of bilingual Korean staff in the State welfare and employment offices has aggravated their problems, particularly those of elderly Korean Americans, she said. The elderly have been unable to participate in medicare and other health and mental programs because of language barriers and employment discrimination, she charged. Unlike the Chinese and Japanese Americans in San Francisco, Korean Americans have no Chinatown or Nihonmachi (Japantown). Ms. Whang suggested that a Korean community center be established to provide social services and training.

Tai Joo Kwon, vice president of the Korean Association of Southern California, told the Advisory Committee of problems Korean immigrants face when they deal with the INS. In 1969, the census figure for the Korean population in Los Angeles County was more than 15,000. By the fall of 1973, Mr. Kwon claimed, there were more than 55,000 Koreans living in Los Angeles County. He noted:

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is a gigantic, fearful, and sort of scary organization. Their offices are always crowded with many visitors, and there is always a long waiting period in order to obtain an interview or to get a form. Many of the Koreans who visit the immigration office face a language problem, and there is no one who can explain things or procedures in their language.

Mr. Kwon claimed that sometimes a small problem became disproportionately serious and that Koreans were deported because INS did not have bilingual staff.

Korean American immigration and social service complaints were statewide. And, community leaders asserted, no one has taken the time to listen to their complaints.

Employment

The problem of English language proficiency has hampered Korean Americans in their search for employment. Underemployment of Korean American professionals was another critical complaint.

In Los Angeles Sama Rhee and Henry Yum told the Advisory Committee about the language problems facing the Korean community and the effect on employment opportunities. Mr. Rhee said:

The Korean population in Los Angeles County is about 50,000....Eighty to 85 percent of them are newcomers from Korea, with about the same percentages being unable to speak English.

Mr. Yum, who handles approximately 1,500 Korean employment referrals for the State's Employment Development Department in Los Angeles, told the Advisory Committee of the problems his Korean clients face when they apply for jobs:

Due to the lack of conversational English, the average Korean, regardless of his educational background and experience, must accept minimal type jobs such as janitors, warehousemen, nurses' aides. The irony of this that a recent survey revealed that 70 percent of the Korean immigrants are professionals.

Dora Kim, a manpower service representative for the Employment Development Department in San Francisco, told the Advisory Committee that she was the only bilingual Korean worker in that agency. She said that her work with non-English-speaking Koreans was a full-time job and still the need was unmet. Ms. Kim claimed that because Koreans had an English language handicap, many professionals such as pharmacists, accountants, nurses, etc., were forced to take low-paying, low-skilled jobs.

Education

The educational needs of a growing Korean American student enrollment are many. Witnesses felt that English as a second language programs should be developed; that bilingual programs should be instituted, and bilingual staff hired; and that curricula should reflect the needs of Korean American students.

Reverend Young Pin Lim told the Advisory Committee of the educational concerns of the Korean American community in San Francisco. He stated that since public agencies had not provided day care facilities and schools with Korean-speaking staff, the Korean community had formed its own school. The main purpose of the school was to teach English and provide citizenship training. He noted, however, that this community-supported school had created a heavy financial burden on its supporters.

Lenore Blank, a community representative, focused her testimony on the need for bilingual, bicultural education for Korean students in the San Francisco Unified School District. Ms. Blank estimated that there were approximately 1,000 Korean students in that district, but only one Korean teacher out of 2,300.

PILIPINO AMERICANS

The first major immigration of Pilipinos followed the Spanish-American War when Spain ceded the Philippines, along with Puerto Rico and Guam, to the United States. Male Pilipinos were recruited to work the sugar plantations in Hawaii and the farmlands of the San Joaquin and Imperial Valleys in California. These migratory farm laborers established the Pilipino settlements or "Manila Towns" in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Stockton, Delano, Los Angeles, and elsewhere in the farmlands along the West Coast.⁵⁴

The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 established a Philippine Commonwealth and provided for independence in 1946.⁵⁵ The United States immigration laws were applied, and the annual Pilipino quota was limited to 50.

54. For a discussion of historical and contemporary issues related to the Pilipino experience, see Royal F. Morales, Makibaka: The Pilipino American Struggle (Los Angeles: Mountainview Publishers, 1974).

55. 22 U.S.C. §1394 (1970) (corresponds to the Act of Mar. 24, 1934, ch. 84, 48 Stat. 456.)

Following the end of World War II, on July 4, 1946, the Philippines became a sovereign independent state. Concurrently, the annual immigration quota for the Philippines was raised to 100. Many of the Philippine Scouts who had fought alongside American troops migrated to the United States and later sent for their families. As an inducement to Pilipino migration, the Philippines Trade Act of 1946 granted nonquota immigrant status to Philippine citizens who had resided in the United States for a continuous period of 3 years prior to November 30, 1941.⁵⁶ The nonquota status was also granted to their spouses and unmarried children under 18 years of age.

The Immigration Act of 1965 produced an increase in immigration of relatives of Pilipino Americans and encouraged members of the professions to migrate to this country. During the period 1966 through 1972, 143,483 Pilipinos immigrated to the United States. The 1970 Census indicated that there were 336,823 Pilipinos in the United States. Between the 1960 and 1970 census, the population growth of Pilipinos had increased 95 percent.

Based upon 1972 INS figures, Pilipino immigration is the largest from all Asian countries and Pacific Islands. The general trend of population increase is likely to continue. In Los Angeles County, Pilipinos are 0.5 percent (33,459) of the county population. In San Francisco, Pilipinos account for 3.5 percent (25,694) of the county population. California has 135,248 Pilipino residents or 40 percent of the total number of Pilipino Americans in the United States.

The Advisory Committee and staff interviewed 27 Pilipinos in San Francisco and Alameda Counties, 22 Pilipinos in Los Angeles, and 10 in San Diego. From these interviews, a myriad of concerns emerged. Immigrant professionals found that their certifications were not recognized in the United States and that in some cases they were not even permitted to take State professional licensing examinations to prove their capabilities. Pilipino senior citizens, retired from low-paying jobs as farm laborers or domestics receive small or no pensions and social security benefits. Racist legislation in California

56. Philippines Trade Act of 1946, ch. 244 §231, 60 Stat. 141 (1946).

prohibited Pilipinos from marrying white women in the past.⁵⁷ Because of this legislation and a scarcity of Pilipino women in this country 50 years ago, many elderly Pilipino men now live alone.

Unemployment and underemployment were also perceived as critical issues. And Pilipino youth echoed the concerns of other Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples regarding the lack of sensitivity toward their culture in school curricula. Pilipino community members expressed concern over the growing school dropout rates of Pilipino youth.

Foreign-Educated Professionals

Immigrants who came to the United States under Preference Three of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 found that their certifications were not recognized here. Even though some had 10 or more years experience, they have had to study for State dental and medical board examinations or complete teacher credential programs before they could practice. They have had to work as technicians and aides until they could pass the examinations.

In Los Angeles, Jenny Batongmalaque, a medical doctor, and Leon Barinaga, an attorney, described the problems a Pilipino-trained professional has had in obtaining a license to practice in California. She said:

In Los Angeles, there are several hundred [Pilipino] unlicensed physicians working in jobs that are totally unrelated to their knowledge and expertise. Some are even jobless. They have no opportunity to review or to attend review classes. They cannot afford to pay the tuition and they have no time because they have to earn a living to feed themselves and their families.

Dr. Batongmalaque recommended to the Advisory Committee that assistance be given to unlicensed foreign medical graduates.

57. West's Ann. Cal. Civil Code §60 (1933). For historical analysis on Pilipino immigration and American discriminatory policies, see for example C.M. Goethe, "Filipino Immigration Viewed as a Peril," in Current History, 34:354-355, June 1931, and Bruno Lasker, Filipino Immigration to the Continental United States and Hawaii (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1931).

Mr. Barinaga commented:

When most of the professionals apply for visas, they are granted visas under the preference for professionals. We are accepted as professionals as defined by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Department of Labor. However, when we come here, we're not allowed to practice that profession under which we were granted the visa...because of the State's strict licensing procedures. That's an inconsistency....

Dr. Amancio G. Ergina, executive secretary of the Filipino American Council of San Francisco, shared similar information with the Advisory Committee on the situation for professionals in San Francisco:

We are faced with some 800 teachers without work, some 250 accountants looking for employment, 150 dentists working as clerks, waiters and busboys. We have hundreds of pharmacists, hundreds of optometrists working as clerks; doctors of medicine as medical technicians; and, in fact, we know three doctors who are working as babysitters.

Pilipinos from San Diego voiced similar complaints of underemployment and underutilization of professionals.

Senior Citizens and Youth

The problems of the senior citizens and youth in Pilipino communities were quite similar. Both groups expressed concerns over bilingual needs, social services, financial support, and employment. Pilipino youth were particularly concerned about the neglect of their culture in the educational system and the insensitivity of educators to their needs as students.

In Los Angeles, Milagros de la Cruz, former president of the Los Angeles Harbor Area Filipino American Community, Inc, talked about the social service concerns facing elderly Pilipinos in the harbor area:

Today, many pioneers [from the Philippines] remain here as senior citizens with social problems and needs. There is a need for

bilingual Pilipino staff in the DPSS [Department of Public Social Services] to serve these needy non-English or limited English-speaking Pilipinos. This need for bilingual staff is also true for the Department of Human Resources Development [EDD].

Al Santos, vice president of Filipino Senior Citizens in the Temple area, told the Advisory Committee of the frustrations facing 4,000 to 5,000 Pilipino elderly living in central Los Angeles. He said:

The needy elderly Pilipino Americans are suffering from unprecedented problems that are devastating the lives of these aged people. The Pilipino American elderly are confronted with cultural barriers that exclude them from receiving their rightful benefits.

He traced the history of the Pilipino pioneers in Los Angeles and pointed out that Pilipinos were exploited as cheap farm labor with no provisions for retirement benefits, health care, or social security benefits. They receive few if any of these benefits today.

Members of Pilipino youth panels discussed their concerns before the Advisory Committee. At both open meetings, they alleged that the school system discouraged their participation by ignoring Pilipino history and culture and by failing to provide remedial classes for those with language problems. Mario Hidalgo, a student at the Mission High School in San Francisco, stated that newly arrived Pilipino youth have two handicaps in the United States. Since they begin school in the Philippines 2 years later than in the United States, Pilipino youth are at least 2 years behind their American counterparts. And while they are taught the basic English language in Pilipine schools, they speak English differently. Mr. Hidalgo said:

Because we speak English differently, the teachers have this stereotype that we are dumb. Because of this, we are put in classes for slower students.

Mr. Hidalgo noted that the insensitivity of school teachers to their language problems has discouraged Pilipino youths and contributed to the rising school dropout rate among Pilipino youth.

Peter Almazol, an advisor to the Pilipino Youth Club in San Francisco, asserted that the lack of bicultural programs in the school system contributed to a "negative self-image" among Pilipino youth. He said that many Pilipino youth drop out of school because they cannot identify with the majority teachers in their schools. He added that more Pilipino youths have come into conflict with law enforcement agencies and that Pilipino organizations cannot get funding to help their own people.

Ethnic Identity and Exclusion in Employment and Social Services

Tony Grafilo, executive director, Pilipino Organizing Committee, summarized the concerns and problems of approximately 24,000 Pilipinos in San Francisco:

The testimony you are seeking is out there
 ...in the faces of the Pilipinos living on
 these streets and alleys. The conditions
 speak louder than words. The eyes of my
 brothers and sisters reveal oppression.

Another witness, Dr. Amancio Ergina, executive secretary of the Filipino American Council of San Francisco, described misconceptions outsiders have of Pilipinos:

I wonder if any of the members of the Committee knows what a Pilipino is? The fact is that when he looks for a job, he is mistaken for a Japanese or a Chinese because his skin is too brown to be either white or black. When he is introduced to someone, he is mistaken for a Latino because his name is a Spanish surname. When he looks for an apartment for rent, he is mistaken for a black. This mistaken identity has been carried on by the establishment and in every sector of our community, private and government.

Sid Gloria, a spokesperson for the Pilipino American community in San Francisco, echoed Dr. Ergina's frustration at government misidentification of Pilipinos:⁵⁸

58. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has placed Pilipino immigrants under varying countries or regions: prior to 1934, the Pilippines are recorded under separate tables as insular travel; from 1934-1951, the Philippines are included under Pacific Islands; and beginning with the year 1952, the Philippines are included under Asia. See footnote 16 in the 1973 annual report of the INS.

Today, the record of the Pilipino experience would suggest that we are still 'guests' of the United States. Our precise numbers are obscured by bureaucratic decisions to include us as Oriental, nonwhite, or others. Consequently, the Pilipino is often not recognized as a specific group with specific problems. Moreover, Pilipinos cannot qualify for many governmental programs because there are no data to support their claims.

Cora Santa Ana of Oakland summarized three ways she felt exclusion affected the Pilipino community: 1) the negligible impact of revenue sharing in the Pilipino community; 2) the insensitivity and lack of responsiveness on the part of public and private agencies resulting in underutilization of services; and 3) the lack of data or inadequacy of data which is provided by these agencies.

Underemployment and unemployment were the major concerns of many Pilipino community people. Peope Balista and Roy Balista, both of San Diego, asserted that there was both subtle and overt discrimination against Pilipino Americans in all areas of employment. Their major complaint was that almost all government agency affirmative action plans omitted Pilipino Americans from their goals and timetables.

Tony Grafilo alleged that State and Federal agencies were insensitive to the needs of Pilipinos. He said:

HRD [EDD] has not been sensitive to the unemployment, underemployment problems of Pilipinos in San Francisco. They don't even have a reporting system that properly identifies how many Pilipinos were placed through their efforts.

Grace Blazkowski of the Asian American Affairs Office, San Diego County Human Relations Commission, stated that 80 percent of the Pilipino labor force in San Diego were employed by the U.S. Navy. The major concern of these Pilipinos was the lack of Pilipino officers despite the fact that Pilipinos were the second largest minority group in the Navy nationwide, Ms. Blazkowski said. She added:

Pilipinos are only recruited as stewards, which is a classic example of discrimination against an ethnic minority.

Sid Valledor, director of Project Hanapin, in San Francisco, a research demonstration project for Pilipinos funded in part by DHEW, alleged that Pilipino Americans were excluded from policymaking boards and commissions of San Francisco. He noted:

Of the dozens of policy-planning boards, commissions...whose memberships are in the hundreds and who are either elected by the people or appointed by elected officials, and whose decisions on public policies and public money determine the destiny of our city and the welfare and circumstances of all of its citizens--there is only one, single, solitary Pilipino on such boards.

Institutional racism is best reflected in the employment of Pilipinos by the city and county of San Francisco. It is pathetic that less than 2 percent are Pilipinos, and there are none in supervisory [positions] outside of the Board of Education. The Housing Authority Commission employs 59.1 percent minorities. Out of this, there is only one Pilipino employed, representing less than half [of one] percent. The San Francisco Redevelopment Agency employs 54.5 percent minorities, but has only 11 Pilipinos employed, which is 3.5 percent of the total work force.

SAMOAN AMERICANS

American Samoa is a United States possession in the Pacific.⁵⁹ Samoans of American Samoa are classified as American nationals. According to the Immigration and Nationality Act of June 27, 1952, a "national" is a citizen of the United States or "a person who, though not a citizen of the United States, owes permanent allegiance

59. The archipelago is divided administratively into two parts. American Samoa is comprised of six islands and is a dependency of the United States. Western Samoa, which consists of nine islands, is a self-governing nation that until 1962 was a United Nations trust territory administered by New Zealand.

to the United States."⁶⁰ As nationals, American Samoans enjoy diplomatic protection and have a right of free entry to the United States, but have no political rights.

It is difficult to obtain data concerning the number of Samoan Americans residing in the United States. INS figures indicate that 97,973 non-immigrants (aliens admitted for temporary periods) were admitted from Pacific Islands under American administration between 1963 and 1972, but there is no specific breakdown of Samoan Americans in this number. The Census Bureau does not specify the number of Samoan Americans in the United States but includes Samoans under "all other races." Community members, however, estimate that there are between 45,000 and 48,000 Samoan Americans on the West Coast.

The military has been the major source of outside contact for Samoans in the Pacific. Many of the older males enlisted in the American Armed Forces and settled in California following World War II. Their families joined them later. Even today, community spokespersons noted, Samoan people send their sons and daughters to serve in different branches of the United States Military.

California's Samoan Americans are concentrated in communities adjoining military establishments, such as the South Bay area of Los Angeles, Long Beach, San Diego, and San Francisco. Nonmilitary Samoan Americans, as well as present and retired military personnel, have gravitated toward these Samoan cultural enclaves.

At the time of the open meetings, the Samoan American community in California was a relatively new community. Its concerns were similar to those expressed by other Pacific Peoples. The Advisory Committee and Commission staff interviewed 29 Samoan Americans in Los Angeles and 21 in San Francisco. Commission staff also attended a total of 10 community meetings where more than 160 Samoan Americans from throughout the State discussed their concerns. Frustration and alienation of Samoan Americans were quite evident at these meetings.

Social Services

Samoan Americans have many problems, community representatives said, because of insensitivity by government officials to Samoan culture and the need for bilingual workers in outreach positions.

60. 8 U.S.C. §1101 et. seq. (1970) (corresponds to The Act of June 27, 1952, ch. 477, 66 Stat. 163).

Palafu Tili, a community representative, told the Advisory Committee about problems and frustrations of Samoan families who utilize public social services. Mr. Tili asserted that the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services in Los Angeles (DPSS) was unwilling or unable to help Samoan clients. Mr. Tili cited the following case:

On November 12, 1973, a Samoan mother walked into the Carson Community Center with six welfare checks uncashed. Why? Because the name on the check did not match the name of the mother's identification card. It was a typing error in the spelling of the name. But...to worsen the situation, the spelling error changed the name into a [swear] word in the Samoan Language. The mother had made several trips for 6 months in hopes of correcting this error so that she could cash her welfare checks. However, because the social worker she met with did not speak Samoan, and she spoke little English, the error had gone uncorrected.

The elderly experience problems through no fault of their own, according to Mr. Tili. He said that the Samoan Government did not keep birth and death certificates prior to 1900. The DPSS held up processing of claims where this lack of proof [of birth or death] existed, he said. The only official document carried by most Samoans coming to the United States has been an affidavit with the seal of the Samoan Government or the seal of the church. The DPSS has questioned the legality of such documents. Mr. Tili commented:

We are tired of investigations that include suspicious statements by the investigators that make us feel like criminals. We are not seeking help to make us rich; we are seeking help because we are poor and hungry. Many of our elders are too old to work and cannot speak English well. Please do something before our situation gets worse.

On January 1, 1974, the Social Security Administration, by an act of Congress, took over many of the adult services handled by

State and local social service agencies.⁶¹ In Los Angeles, the social service agency was the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services (DPSS). Members of the Samoan community told the Advisory Committee that they feared this transfer of services from the DPSS to the Social Security Administration would not resolve any of their problems. Amani Magalei of the Oriental Service Center in Los Angeles said:

For years DPSS, in its efforts to study and understand the numerous problems related to our Samoan clients, has not been able to come up with a definite solution to cope with our situation. The complexity of these related problems is the result of poor communications due to language barriers and a severe lack of understanding of our cultural background. And most of all, [it] is the absence of Samoan bilingual workers in the DPSS who speak and understand both our language and other culture....The Social Security Administration offices...have no Samoan staff and the misunderstandings will occur again.

At the time this report was being prepared, the fears and warnings of the Samoan community became a reality. Community spokespersons notified Commission staff that the computers have incorrectly spelled many Samoan names on their social security checks. Community spokespersons said that their people were not able to cash their checks and that there was no attempt by Social Security Administration staff to explain and correct these errors for the non-English-speaking Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples.

Community witnesses felt that employment counseling and training programs for Samoan Americans were also badly needed. Loe Teo a member of the Samoan American Council of Southern California, talked about employment discrimination facing Samoan Americans. Mr. Teo explained that the major industry in Samoa is farming. Therefore, Samoans coming to the United States generally do not have any training or experience in industrial and other urban occupations available in Los Angeles. This lack of experience has led many to accept menial, low paying positions, he said.

61. Social Security Amendments of 1972, Pub. L. 92-603, 86 Stat. 1329 (1972); 42 U.S.C. §401 et. seq. (Supp. 1974) amending 42 U.S.C. 401 et. seq. (1970).

Immigration

The community pointed out the need for Samoan bilingual workers at the INS and at ports of arrival. The Samoan community also questioned the denial of citizenship rights to trust territory residents of American Samoa, and cited this denial as an example of discrimination against them.

In Los Angeles, Lauvale Tialavea Morris, president of the Samoan American Council of Southern California, told the Advisory Committee about the services that the INS provided Samoan people. Mr. Morris said:

Our Number One problem is petitions for travel visas. For example, in order for us to file a petition for student [visa]...or a permanent visa, we have to apply to the Office of the American Ambassador in Wellington, New Zealand. This means that often times our brothers and sisters from Western Samoa have to ask and sometimes beg the American Ambassador to share the yearly quota assigned to New Zealand with the people of Western Samoa.

Samoan Americans felt the issue of immigration could be easily helped by granting full citizenship rights to residents of American Samoa.

Youth

The testimony on Samoan youth problems focused on the inability of public schools to provide for the special needs of these students. Non-English-speaking Samoan students often receive academic instruction in a language they do not understand, witnesses said. Samoan American parents told of their confusion about the administrative structure of the public schools and the procedures to seek assistance. The families said that there were few Samoan American staff in educational institutions to aid them.

In Los Angeles, the Advisory Committee heard testimony from a Samoan youth panel. Mabel Tufele asserted that the Los Angeles Unified School District has been unable to provide for the special educational needs of the Samoan American student. Because of this, she claimed, the Samoan American student had the lowest level of achievement in education of any group. She stated:

Samoan children in particular are being deprived of their right to an education by a system which was designed by and for middle-class whites. This system lacks the flexibility to adjust to groups which are alien because of economic conditions, language, color, cultural heritage, and outlook.

The community recommended that bilingual instruction and programming be implemented for their children.

CHAPTER IV

RECOMMENDATIONS

Since Report I is a background report, the recommendations are general in nature.

Clearly, many Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples are invisible to the governmental agencies which are responsible for providing public services. Discrimination against Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples is as much the result of omission as commission. Until recently, many Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples were identified by some Federal agencies as members of the majority (white) population. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U.S. Department of Labor, have major responsibilities for monitoring and enforcing equal employment opportunity in both public and private business. Chinese, Japanese, and Pilipino employees, are identified on these agencies' compliance forms as minority groups to consider in affirmative action activities.

However, other Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples are not so identified; in some cases, they are designated as "white."⁶² Guamanian and Samoan Americans face additional problems. First, their national origins are incorrectly identified, and second, they must convince government agencies of their minority status.

62. Telephone conversation with Mr. Herbert Hammerman, Chief, Employment Survey, Office of Research, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Washington, D.C., Jan. 30, 1974. On file in the Western Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, are copies of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission reporting forms. Office of Federal Contract Compliance follows Equal Employment Opportunity Commission guidelines on racial/ethnic data collection.

Community spokespersons perceived that they were neglected by social service agencies and that their needs were overlooked. It is apparent that when people are not counted, they are not served.

Recommendations:

1. The California Advisory Committee recommends that the U.S. Bureau of the Census immediately take steps to conduct a special census of all Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples.

Present methods to collect racial and ethnic data undercount or omit specific Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples. The Advisory Committee recommends that the Census Bureau reassess its data collection methods on Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples and that an Asian American Advisory Board be utilized to insure the effectiveness of the special census.

2. The Advisory Committee recommends that all Federal agencies which develop and fund programs in the social service areas immediately take steps to develop adequate and accurate data which measures the specific needs of all Asian American and Pacific Peoples communities.

This recommendation is particularly directed towards Federal agencies in Federal Region IX (Arizona, California, Guam, Hawaii, and Nevada) which contains more than 50 percent of the total Asian American and Pacific Peoples population. Similar undertakings by Federal agencies in other Federal regions--particularly those which cover New York, Alaska, Oregon, and Washington State--would ensure an adequate and accurate count of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples nationwide.

3. The Advisory Committee recommends that all California agencies with social service responsibilities immediately reassess community needs and determine the extent of underutilization and underrepresentation of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in their programs.

This assessment is essential in view of the large numbers of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples who are eligible but not receiving social services from the State or are unfamiliar with social service programs in their areas.

4. The Advisory Committee recommends that all public social service agencies provide bilingual Asian American and Pacific Peoples outreach employees, as well as printed material in Asian and Pacific languages.

In view of the increased migration from Asia and the Pacific in recent years, the need for bilingual staff and materials is critical. Bilingual staff and materials would assist Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples in areas such as employment, housing, and education, and enable the social service agencies to provide public services for those in need.

EPILOG

It is hoped that this report will stimulate increased public awareness of the problems of Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples, that it will stimulate local, State, and Federal agencies to improve their data collection and programs dealing with Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples, and that it may assist these communities toward obtaining a more equitable participation in our society.

While the communities involved in this project expressed concern about a myriad of issues, certain areas seemed to the Advisory Committee to need immediate resolution. Subsequent reports will therefore examine the State-licensing policies affecting professionals in the Korean and Pilipino communities; the educational opportunities afforded Chinese youth; the housing and redevelopment problems within the Japanese community; lack of social services allocated Pacific Peoples; and concerns of the elderly in Pilipino communities.

APPENDIX A

Letter from the Office of the Attorney General,
Department of Justice, State of California



OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice

STATE BUILDING, SAN FRANCISCO 94102

May 24, 1974

Mr. Philip Montez
Director, Western Regional Office
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
312 North Spring Street
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Montez:

Reference is made to your recent inquiry about the article, "Triad; Mafia of the Far East."

This article did appear in the July 1973 issue of the Criminal Intelligence Bulletin of the California Department of Justice. The Bulletin is published monthly, stamped "Confidential" and mailed to various law enforcement agencies.

In an effort to correct any impression that the article was intended to be critical of the Chinese-American community, copies of the enclosed letter were, on November 21, 1973, sent to each recipient of the July Bulletin.

Since then, the Attorney General has formed an advisory committee charged with responsibility to review editorial practices and procedures. This has resulted in new editorial review procedures designed to improve the quality of the Department's publications in terms of accuracy, relevance, style and sensitivity. Now, for example, specific review of each departmental publication is made for the purpose of eliminating any material that may be insulting or embarrassing to any minority group.

In addition, a departmental training program dealing with community relations problems and procedures is being devised. All of the department's Division of Law Enforcement personnel, as well as key members of the legal staff, will receive this training.

Philip Montez, Director
Western Regional Office
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

May 24, 1974

Page Two

We appreciate your concern about the article, but please be assured that it was not intended to be critical of of the Chinese-American community in any way.

Very truly yours,

EVELLE J. YOUNGER
Attorney General

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Wayman M. Robertson, Jr.", is written over the typed name and title. The signature is fluid and extends to the right, ending in a long vertical stroke.

WAYMAN M. ROBERTSON, Jr.
Deputy Attorney General

WMR:im



OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice

STATE BUILDING, SAN FRANCISCO 94102

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DIVISION OF CIVIL LAW

November 21, 1973

TO RECIPIENTS OF THE CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN:

The July 1973, issue of the "Criminal Intelligence Bulletin" contained an article on Chinese secret societies, titled "Triad: The Mafia of the Far East."

Since the publication of this article, a number of persons have expressed concern that the cover, as well as certain statements in the article itself, carried derogatory implications about the Chinese community.

I want to correct that impression. The article was not intended to be critical of the Chinese community. It was an attempt to inform California's law enforcement departments on the background of one element of criminal activity in the State. The cover of the Bulletin, showing a stereotype Chinese with a weapon, was wholly inappropriate. It should not have been used. We goofed. If the article in the Bulletin was less than a perfect literary effort and gave a wrong impression, I regret that very much.

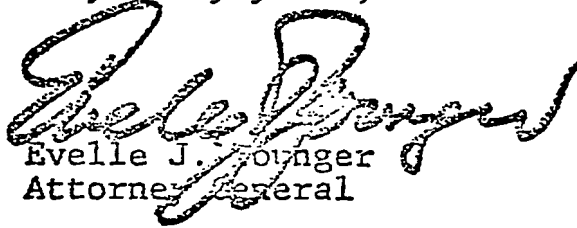
The purpose of the Criminal Intelligence Bulletin is to provide confidential intelligence to California peace officers on organized crime activity. It is not intended to hinder relations between citizens and law enforcement. This office is dedicated to improving police and community relations, and in this connection we have created the Attorney General's Advisory Commission on Community-Police Relations.

The Attorney General's Office has concerned itself with problems of crime in the Chinese community at the invitation of Chinese-American citizens. We have discussed the crime problem in San Francisco's Chinatown with community leaders on a number of occasions. As Attorney General, I share their concern. However,

November 21, 1973

in no way does this concern translate into a belief that the Chinese community generally is responsible for crime. No such inference should be drawn from the Bulletin.

Very truly yours,



Evelle J. Younger
Attorney General

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