

his job at the Chinese Times. He went on to write for the Kuo Min Yat Po (Chinese Nationalist Daily) before establishing his own newspaper, the Chinese Pacific Weekly, in 1946. He remained Chinatown's liberal voice and conscience until he died in 1979 at the age of sixty-eight.

SOURCE: *Chinese Times*, September 7, 1943; reprinted in *Hu Jingnan wenji* [Selected works of Gilbert Woo] (Hong Kong: Xiangjiang Chuban Youxian Gongsi, 1991), pp. 37-38. Translator: Ellen Yeung.

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PART THREE

Becoming an Integral Part of America, 1943-2003

Sweeping changes in immigration, domestic, and foreign policies irrevocably changed the composition and lives of the Chinese American population during the second half of the twentieth century. In the aftermath of World War II, Congress passed the War Brides Act of 1945 and Alien Wives Act of 1946, which allowed over seven thousand Chinese women to enter as nonquota immigrants and join their husbands in America. This, in turn, generated a baby boom and noticeable infusion of family life in urban Chinatowns such as those in San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, and Boston. But after China turned Communist in 1949 and the Chinese fought against Americans in the Korean conflict a year later, U.S.-China relations deteriorated. The anti-Communist hysteria that followed in the 1950s forced overseas Chinese to sever ties with their homeland. At the same time, changes in domestic policies encouraged them to set down roots and become an integral part of America. Anti-Chinese laws, which for decades had denied the Chinese fundamental civil rights and legal protection, were revoked one by one, enabling them to intermarry with whites, own land, and find better jobs and housing outside Chinatown boundaries. These new developments opened up opportunities for the Chinese to move out from the shadows of exclusion and become fuller participants in American life.

As the country entered the Cold War era, a series of refugee acts were passed which admitted approximately thirty thousand professionals, entrepreneurs, intellectuals, and ex-government officials escaping unstable political conditions in China. The Chinese population in the United States swelled from 117,629 in 1950 to 237,292 in 1960. Unlike earlier Cantonese immigrants, many of these newcomers were well educated, cosmopolitan, spoke the Mandarin dialect, and came from central and northern China. Arriving at a time when conditions were turning favorable for Chinese Amer-

icans and when their scientific and technical skills were in demand by America's military-industrial complex, they had little trouble finding work in their fields, housing in the suburbs, and social acceptance in middle-class circles.

However, at the same time that America welcomed political refugees from Communist countries, it sought to persecute Communist sympathizers at home. In 1955 Everett Drumwright, U.S. consul in Hong Kong, raised the issue of fraudulent entry on the part of Chinese immigrants and with it the implicit accusation of Communist infiltration. To avoid tying up the courts with deportation cases, immigration authorities in cooperation with alarmed leaders in Chinatown instigated the Confession Program, by which paper sons could confess and assume their true identities with a guarantee against deportation. Only fourteen thousand volunteered to do so. Although the program presented the Chinese with an opportunity to clear their immigration status, it also exerted undue pressure on those who did not want to implicate relatives by their confessions. Federal agents, taking advantage of the program, were known to make periodic sweeps through Chinatowns in search of Communist sympathizers. Politically left groups, such as the Chinese American Youth Club and the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance, all fell victims to the "red scare," while the Kuomintang (Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist regime in Taiwan) took advantage of the political situation to strengthen its control and influence over Chinatown politics and institutions.

The paranoia and mental anguish suffered by Chinese in America during this period served to dampen their interest in China politics as well as any involvement in left-wing political activities. Many went out of their way to prove they were all-American, and at the same time to take advantage of improved opportunities after the war for socioeconomic and political advancement. Chinese American baby boomers, growing up in the era of the atom bomb, suburban living, drive-in movies, television, and rock 'n' roll, were encouraged by the mass media to give up their ethnic identity and conform to white middle-class standards. But in so doing, they encountered cultural conflicts at home and found that race and gender still mattered in the working world, especially if one had been brought up to be obedient, reserved, and collective-minded rather than independent, assertive, and outgoing.

Although 1960 U.S. census data show that a larger proportion of Chinese Americans, as compared to their white counterparts, graduated from college, and that they had moved up the occupational ladder from manual labor, domestic service, and clerical work to technical, sales, and professional fields, statistics also show that Chinese Americans did not have the same earning power as white men and women with comparable backgrounds. In other words, their earning power was not commensurate with their level of education. Owing to racial discrimination, cultural barriers, media stereotypes, and the lack of role models and career counseling, Chinese Americans were segregated into the lower-paying, nonmanagerial sectors of the primary la-

bor market. More Chinese Americans were accountants, health technicians, and secretaries than were lawyers, physicians, and business executives. Nevertheless, some were able to distinguish themselves in new fields of endeavor, such as the arts, higher education, and politics.

Meanwhile, the Chinese in Hawaii were still assimilating faster than their counterparts on the mainland. In 1960, 74 percent of the Chinese working population was concentrated in white-collar jobs, and the Chinese had the highest median income of all ethnic groups in the islands. By 1970 the average family annual income among Chinese in the Honolulu metropolitan area was 40 percent higher than the comparable average for Chinese on the mainland, and the Chinese outmarriage rate in Hawaii was 30 percent as compared to 13 percent on the mainland. Chinese business tycoons were making a fortune, while stimulating commerce and travel between the mainland and the islands. After Hawaii attained statehood, Hiram Fong became the first and only Chinese American to be elected to the U.S. Senate, where he served from 1959 to 1977.

Then came the civil rights movement and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Immigration Act of 1965. The first piece of legislation prohibited discrimination in education, employment, and public facilities on the basis of race or sex. It paved the way for the establishment of affirmative action programs in education and employment to make up for past discrimination. This in turn leveled the playing field and opened up opportunities for Chinese Americans to get ahead. The second major piece of legislation ended the discriminatory quota system of selecting immigrants by national origin and placed China on an equal footing with other countries at twenty thousand immigrants annually. Intended to promote family reunification and attract highly educated and skilled workers to the United States, the Immigration Act made a major impact on the Chinese American population in terms of numbers and diversity. By the end of the century, the Chinese population had increased dramatically, from 430,000 in 1970 to 2.8 million, and 71 percent of the population was foreign born. Initially, most of the immigrants came from Taiwan and Hong Kong, but political turmoil in Cuba, Peru, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam soon brought thousands more from these areas as well. Direct emigration from China was not possible until diplomatic ties between China and the United States were restored in 1979.

Because immediate family members of U.S. citizens were counted as non-quota immigrants, actual Chinese immigration went well beyond its annual quota of twenty thousand. Many of the new immigrants, joining their spouses and families after many years of separation, came from the rural areas of Guangdong Province. Primarily non-English-speaking and lacking marketable job skills, they settled in urban Chinatowns, where they eked out a living in the ethnic economy, mainly in food stores, restaurants, and garment sweatshops. Their arrival injected new life into the Chinatown communities,

creating new demands for Chinese food, goods, services, and entertainment. However, the large influx also compounded already existing ghetto conditions of overcrowded and substandard housing, unemployment and underemployment, and inadequate health care, recreational space, and childcare services. Furthermore, the absence of both parents away at work and the pressures of adjusting to American life led to intergenerational conflicts within the home and increased juvenile delinquency in the community.

Fortunately for the new immigrants, they were arriving at a propitious moment, for just then President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty program was getting into full gear. In response to the demands of the civil rights movement, federal funds had been allocated to provide social services to minority communities suffering poverty conditions. A new generation of Chinese American liberals, going against the "better judgment" of the Kuomintang-controlled Chinatown establishment, marched in demonstrations and filed class action lawsuits to ensure that the Chinese community received its share of public funding, social services, and protection against racial discrimination. New community-based organizations were formed to help Chinese immigrants learn English, acquire job skills, and cope with their new lives in America. While the civil rights movement inspired the founding of national organizations like Chinese for Affirmative Action and the Organization of Chinese Americans to fight for civil rights, bilingual education, and affirmative action, the black power movement spurred a new generation of Chinese American radicals to engage in revolutionary politics as a way to address social issues in the community. Moreover, after the United States normalized relations with China in 1979, the Chinese American community, which had been sorely divided on the two-China issue for thirty years, was finally able to break away from Kuomintang control and redirect their energies and financial resources toward American politics and the welfare of the community.

As U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War escalated after the Tet offensive in 1968, Chinese Americans were not spared from the negative impact of that conflict. Some lost their lives at the battlefield; some returned to their communities traumatized. Others became politicized by the antiwar movement at home and chose to unite with other Asian Americans to protest what they perceived to be a racist and immoral war. When the war ended in 1975, over one million Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian refugees were admitted into the United States. Approximately 35 percent of those from Vietnam were ethnic Chinese "boat people" who had escaped in overloaded vessels after being forced out by the new Communist regime because of their prominent role in the country's former capitalist economy as well as the heightened tensions between Vietnam and China. Many of the refugees spoke Cantonese, but there were also those who spoke the Chaozhou, Hakka, Minnan, or Hainan dialects. Sharing a common Chinese cultural background, they gravitated toward Chinatowns for employment, grocery shopping, and social services. But arriving

at a time of economic recession and anti-Asian backlash, they were not always welcomed by the Chinese community or the larger American society. Once they got back on their feet, however, many went on to establish small businesses adjacent to Chinatowns or in Vietnamese enclaves in California—Westminster, Long Beach, San Diego, and San Jose.

Then beginning in the mid-1980s, they were followed by thousands of Chinese from Fujian Province, across the strait from Taiwan, all seeking a better livelihood in America. Unable to qualify for admission under the current immigration laws, they resorted to paying "snakeheads" enormous fees to smuggle them into the country. Their voyages to America were often fraught with danger and hardships. The majority settled in New York Chinatown, where they were indentured into low-paying jobs in the underground economy and forced to live in squalor in order to pay off their debts. Those caught in transit—as in the case of 286 Chinese passengers packed into the hold of the *Golden Venture* freighter in 1993—were either deported or imprisoned for as long as three years while awaiting hearings on their applications for political asylum.

Not all immigrants arriving after 1965, however, have had to start at the bottom. A significant number coming from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and different parts of China as part of the "brain drain" have been able to find well-paying jobs in America's expanding technological economy. Many who initially came as foreign students were able to acquire status as permanent residents on graduation by finding jobs in certain professional fields or by marrying U.S. citizens. Because of the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, when a mass protest of college students advocating political reform in China was quashed by armed troops, another sixty thousand students and scholars from China were allowed to become permanent residents after President George H.W. Bush issued an executive order to that effect. Others who came with capital and entrepreneurial skills in response to the Immigration Act of 1990 have been able to invest profitably in restaurants, supermarkets, shopping centers, hotels and motels, banks, real estate, and computer technology. Their returns have allowed them to realize the American dream of economic success, and their contributions to the prosperity of this country have been immense, judging by the wealth they have generated in Pacific Rim trade, Silicon Valley, and new Chinese suburbs in San Gabriel Valley and Monterey Park, California; Flushing and Brooklyn, New York; Houston, Bellaire, and Richardson, Texas; and even Chamblee, Georgia. However, these wealthy immigrants have not always been welcomed with open arms by their white American neighbors. For example, in Monterey Park, also known as Little Taipei, the arrival of Taiwanese immigrants with capital has been viewed by local residents as an economic and cultural invasion of their community. A bumper sticker says it all: "Will the last American out of Monterey Park please take the American flag with them?"

In general, however, the large influx of Chinese immigrants, combined with improved U.S.-China relations and a renewed commitment to multiculturalism in this country, has led to a proliferation of Chinese institutions and a broader acceptance of Chinese cultural practices in America. Chinese cuisine, fashion, music, martial arts, temples, schools, newspapers, literature, and films have developed at a fast pace to meet the new demands of a growing Chinese immigrant population. New regional, professional, and social organizations have been established by recent immigrant groups, while at the same time, older family and district organizations in Chinatowns have had to revamp their purposes and services to remain relevant to the needs of a changing population. Chinese restaurants are more popular than ever, and such foods as potstickers, tofu, and bok choy have become common fare. Cantonese cooking still dominates, but there is a growing appreciation of cuisines from other regions of China, including Beijing, Shanghai, Hunan, and Szechwan. And whereas previously, Americans had frowned on Chinese traditional practices, they now respect and in some cases join Chinese Americans in seeking solace in Buddhism and Taoism; good health in the martial arts, acupuncture, and herbal medicine; and cultural enrichment in studying Chinese language and arts.

Second and third generations of American-born Chinese (ABC) have also benefited from the social changes of the civil rights era. They are among the first Chinese Americans to successfully integrate into mainstream society, judging by their middle-class status, suburban residence, social lifestyle, and high rates of outmarriage (54 percent of ABC's were married to non-Chinese in 1990). Even so, many have held on to their strong sense of ethnic pride while negotiating new identities as hapa, gay/lesbian, and generation X. Contrary to the model minority image, ABC's have not been afraid to speak out against racial discrimination and social injustices, to advocate for workers' rights, and to challenge racist and sexist stereotypes in the mass media. They have also led the way in creating more realistic images of Chinese Americans in literature, film, and television, and by breaking into new areas previously closed to Chinese Americans—broadcast media, law and law enforcement, high finance, art and music, sports, and politics.

According to 2000 U.S. census data, Chinese Americans are doing quite well compared to other racial/ethnic groups in this country: 48.1 percent are college graduates, 52.3 percent hold managerial or professional jobs, and 58.4 percent own their homes. Overall conditions have improved for Chinese Americans since the 1960s, but class and racial conflicts have broken out anew in the last two decades because of downturns in the American economy due to the restructuring of global capitalism and competition from abroad. In the face of plant closures, rising unemployment, and urban decay, the country once again blamed the Chinese for its economic problems, especially in light of U.S. trade deficits with Japan and China. Two cases in

particular, the murder of Vincent Chin by two white autoworkers in 1982 and the wrongful imprisonment of nuclear scientist Wen Ho Lee for espionage in 1999, serve as strong indicators of the resurgence of anti-Asian violence and stereotyping of Chinese Americans as perpetual foreigners in this country. According to a 2001 national survey sponsored by the Committee of 100 (an organization of prominent Chinese Americans), while a majority of the American public admires Chinese Americans for their devotion to family and emphasis on education and achievements, a disturbing one-third believe that Chinese Americans are more loyal to China than to the United States, and nearly a quarter disapprove of intermarriage with a Chinese American. Other evidence of growing anti-Chinese sentiment includes incidents of ethnic slurs in the mass media, anti-immigrant legislation, setbacks in affirmative action and bilingual education programs, and racial scapegoating of Chinese Americans in a number of high-profile political scandals. There is obviously still much more to be done before Chinese Americans are accepted as an integral part of America.

The voices in Part III mirror the linguistic, cultural, political, and socioeconomic diversity of the Chinese American community in contemporary times. Included in this section are the stories of war brides, refugees, and new immigrants struggling for a foothold in America as well as those who have achieved the American dream of socioeconomic success. There are poems, essays, and interviews with ABC's about their assimilation experience and the identity issues they confronted growing up in communities outside of Chinatown and during a time of great social ferment. Finally, the broad range of perspectives endemic to a period of intense political change is well represented in the editorials of various Chinese-language newspapers, the testimonies by victims of McCarthyism, China bashing, and hate crimes, and the speeches and writings of community activists fighting for workers' rights, civil rights, and political empowerment. Quite appropriately, we end the section with the story and final words of David Ho, who was named *Time* magazine's Man of the Year in 1996 for his research on AIDS: "We all know we are Americans; we're just of a different heritage."

San Francisco Chinese Papers Blame Immigration Practices in Suicide of Chinese Woman (1948)

Chinese News Service

Although World War II ushered in better times for Chinese Americans, the removal of anti-Chinese discriminatory laws and practices occurred slowly. The Chinese exclusion laws were repealed, but only 105 Chinese immigrants worldwide were allowed into the country annually. In 1947 the War Brides Act of 1945 was amended to include wives of Chinese American veterans on a nonquota basis. But Chinese war brides, upon arrival, were treated no differently than during the exclusion period at Angel Island. Locked up and detained at the immigration building on Sansome Street for weeks and sometimes months, they too were subjected to interrogations about their family background in order to prove their identities and marital relationships. When one war bride, upset at the long delays, committed suicide, over one hundred inmates went on a hunger strike, and the Chinese community responded with concern and anger—as reflected in the following newspaper editorials gathered by the Chinese News Service (CNS).¹

There existed five dailies and one weekly newspaper in San Francisco Chinatown at the time. Despite their different political slants, all of the newspapers blamed the suicide on racial discrimination and the unreasonable immigration procedures that put undue stress on Chinese immigrants. They also pointed to the irony of the situation in which “the most democratic country in the world,” while espousing liberty and justice in the postwar era, would so mistreat the wives of Chinese American veterans. Six years later, the detention quarters at 630 Sansome Street were closed, and U.S. officials began determining an applicant’s admissibility at the port of departure rather than the port of entry. Although the Chinese American sex ratio narrowed as a result of the in-

1. The Chinese News Service, located in downtown San Francisco and with offices in New York, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., was the official Chinese government news agency and information bureau in the United States. It operated under the control of the Kuomintang (Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party) and the Chinese consul general in San Francisco.

creased immigration of women during the postwar era, it did not reach parity until well after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965.

[CNS] Editor's Note: On September 21, a Chinese woman, Leong Bick Ha, wife of a former U.S. Army sergeant, Ng Bak Teung of New York, hanged herself in the immigration detention quarters at 630 Sansome Street, San Francisco. Mrs. Ng (nee Leong) had been detained since her arrival on June 30 pending immigration investigation to confirm her marital status. Her 15-year-old son, Ng Lung Tuck, was held in another part of the building.² The incident occasioned widespread editorial comment in San Francisco's Chinese-language newspapers, which unanimously condemned existing immigration practices against the Chinese. The following is a roundup in translation of some of the Chinese editorial opinion.

RACIAL PREJUDICE SEEN AT WORK

Chung Sai Yat Po,³ in a two-part editorial published on September 22 and 23, said: "From press reports we frequently learn that even European refugees, coming to America in small boats, have been granted permission to enter by the U.S. Government. Mr. Ng served in the U.S. Army for several years before securing the right to bring his wife to America. But despite his sacrifices, Mrs. Ng suffered prolonged detention because she lacked proof of marriage. This is in sharp contrast to the ease with which the white races from Europe can enter the United States. So who could believe that the Immigration Office does not have any racial prejudice?"

"The United States is at present the most democratic country in the world, and its government and administration are most efficient, yet on one small immigration case it has strangely spent several months, even years. Moreover, in recent years, the families of overseas Chinese, applying for entry permit into the United States, are all examined and approved by the American consuls in Hong Kong, Canton, and Shanghai. The examination is conducted so thoroughly that it is usually several months before permission is granted. Then, upon arrival in the U.S., the immigrant is held for months while a perfectionist, hair-splitting investigation is made. If these Federal agencies operate independently of each other, it only serves to make the world wonder how much to credit the word of the United States Government.

"We know there is a small number of obstinate and myopic Americans

2. According to an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on September 22, 1948, Leong Bick Ha had been separated from her husband for fifteen years. This situation was not uncommon, due to the Chinese exclusion laws, which had kept Chinese families apart for decades.

3. Literally meaning "China-West Daily," *Chung Sai Yat Po* was founded by Rev. Ng Poon Chew in 1900. Influenced by American republicanism and Western middle-class values, the newspaper favored reform in China and advocated equal rights for Chinese Americans.

who, whenever they read of the cases of one or two Chinese being smuggled across the border or who falsify passports to enter the country, would come to the conclusion that this is being done by the majority of the Chinese immigrants, and that the examination of immigrants should be harshly conducted. Actually, among the white people as among the yellow races, there are good and bad. The newspapers have reported quite frequently of white people sneaking into the United States from the Atlantic, or illegally entering the country by air from Mexico. Would it be fair to place the crime of these few violators on the whole white race? And yet there is no denying the far greater ease with which members of the white race can enter the country and be assimilated, as compared to the Chinese. This inflexibility and prejudice of the American immigration policy is apparent to all.

"Racial discrimination and unfair treatment can lead to social and even international conflict. So to maintain and enhance international goodwill, the far-seeing American authorities should not overlook the discriminatory practices in immigration."

IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES CRITICIZED

The *Young China* (morning paper)⁴ published an editorial on September 25, in which the writer said: "The bureaucratic and ruthless behavior of the Immigration Office here is both illegal and inhuman, for it is rooted in racial discrimination. Because of racial discrimination, the U.S. immigration laws cannot be equitable. At present, the American Government is devising ways to bring in a large number of displaced Europeans,⁵ yet it has no legal protection for the wife of a Chinese-American veteran. But what is more exasperating is the Immigration Office here, which acts in excess of the unfair laws: (1) It presumes that Chinese who enter the country mostly attempt to circumvent the law, and on this basis devises rules and regulations for their detention. (2) It does not recognize the verification of American consuls, and makes Chinese arriving here undergo further examinations. (3) Seeing everything in the light only of American domestic law, rather than the spirit of private international law, it will not recognize

4. The *Young China Morning Post* was founded in 1910 as the official party organ of the Tongmenghui, Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Party. The newspaper supported the Western Hills Faction that opposed Sun's alliance with the Soviet Union and acceptance of Chinese Communist Party members into the Kuomintang. This led to a left-right split in the party in the Chinese American community that resulted in the founding of the *Kuo Min Yat Po* (Chinese Nationalist Daily of America) by the left in 1927, while the *Young China* became the voice of the right.

5. Congress had just passed the Displaced Persons Act to admit primarily European refugees escaping Communism into the United States. However, after China became a Communist country in 1949, some five thousand Chinese students and scholars already in the United States were allowed to adjust their status and remain in the country.

reasonable explanations concerning marriage and birth certifications. (4) It will not give speedy examinations to the detained immigrants, so that they have to spend lengthy periods in prisonlike surroundings, which is in contravention of explicit rules of American legal proceedings, and the fundamental spirit of English and American law. (5) The detained Chinese are not criminals, yet their place of detention is not even as well equipped as a common jail. Even the chief commissioner of immigration said it was deplorable and regrettable.

"At just about the time the case of Leong Bick Ha came up, Secretary of State Marshall was giving a speech at the General Assembly of the United Nations at Paris defending human rights. We heard him urge respect for the 'freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention' and 'preservation of the dignity and worth of the individual.' And ironically we have confronting us the action of the Immigration Office.

"However, the Americans are a progressive people and their racial prejudice is bound to be eliminated eventually. The action of a few men in the Immigration Office is a black spot on American society, which may not have the sympathy of the large majority of the American people. When we see the self-criticism of higher immigration authorities and the protests and appeals of American civic bodies and the press, we know that justice is in the hearts of the people and that there is hope of improvement of the immigration question."

PAPER ADVANCES THREE SUGGESTIONS

The *Chinese World*⁶ on September 22 published the first of three editorials on the death of Leong Bick Ha, which said: "It is a tragedy we cannot bear to hear. Coming from afar to seek her husband, she had already borne much suffering, and upon arrival to be detained for two months, awaiting examination, the torment in her mind was inconceivable.

"According to reports, the Immigration Office, being shorthanded, cannot speedily get through the large number of accumulated cases. This may be true, but improvement is not impossible. It is to be recalled that when the case of Mrs. Wong Loy took place, a number of questions were brought up by this paper: ([CNS] Editor's note: On June 1, Wong Loy, a Chinese woman held in the immigration detention quarters, was narrowly saved from jumping off the 14th floor of a Sansome St. building.)⁷

6. The *Chinese World* (*Sai Gai Yat Po*) newspaper was founded as the weekly *Mon Hing Bo* in 1891. It fell under the control of the Baohuanghui (Chinese Reform Party) in 1899 and began publishing daily in 1901.

7. Wong Loy, wife of a Chinese American GI in Aberdeen, Washington, had failed to prove her marital relationship and been detained for six months pending an appeal. Distraught over

"(1) Why were not the examinations of immigrants completed when applications were first made for entry permission; why must the examination be conducted after arrival and under detention?

"(2) After the arrival of the immigrants, why could they not be examined immediately? And if the immigration office is shorthanded, why were the immigrants not permitted to post bond and be released while awaiting examination?

"(3) If the immigration office decided to send the immigrants to their place of origin, why were they not sent immediately? And if the immigrants appealed the deportation order, why could they not be allowed to post bond while awaiting review?

"We are fortunate that the immigration authorities have heeded the third question we brought up, and that all who are ordered deported may now be released upon posting of bonds. But our first two questions have not had their attention, so that the tragedy of Leong Bick Ha has to take place. But this is not only the misfortune of Ms. Leong; it is a very unfortunate thing in the friendly relations between China and the United States."

LEONG BICK HA AND MRS. KASENKINA

The *Chinese Pacific Weekly*,⁸ in an editorial entitled "Minor International Incidents," wrote on September 25: "In the past two months, two minor international incidents have taken place. They are minor only in comparison with the present civil war in China and the tense international picture." The first, said the paper, was the case of Mrs. Kasenkina, who jumped from the third floor of the Russian consulate in New York because of her desire to stay in the United States. The second was the suicide of Leong Bick Ha because of her desire to enter the United States to rejoin her husband. Like Mrs. Kasenkina, she was detained and held incommunicado, and like Mrs. Kasenkina, she preferred death to imprisonment.

"We are not being jealous when we say that the United States treated the Russian woman better than the Chinese woman, but beyond this, there are a lot of things which seem incomprehensible to us.

"One thing which is worthy of our interest is that the Russian woman, although not protected by the Soviet Government, received protection from

the long delay and possibility of deportation, she made newspaper headlines on June 1, 1948, when she perched on the fourteenth-floor parapet of the immigration building for three and a half hours, threatening to jump whenever rescuers approached her. After her rescue, she was released and allowed to stay in the country by remarrying her husband in a civil ceremony.

8. Founded by liberal-minded Gilbert Woo in 1946, the *Chinese Pacific Weekly* focused primarily on news and issues of concern to the Chinese American community.

the American Government, while the Chinese woman, coming to the United States, was devoid of any protection. . . .

"We do not expect that there will be any liberal immigration policy within the next few years. This is of course a misfortune to us Chinese, but it will not be of benefit to the United States. Now, at a time when the American authorities are highly proclaiming liberty and justice in the hope of leading the peoples of the world against aggression, there is not one manifestation of humanity and justice. This does not portend well for the future of the nation of Lincoln, Wilson, and Roosevelt!

"If the Chinese Communists were seeking for material to make their anti-American attacks, the cases of Leong Bick Ha and Wong Loy would furnish them with their best propaganda material."

In another article the *Chinese Pacific Weekly* commented on the suggestion of the American Civil Liberties Union to move the detained Chinese either to Angel Island⁹ or to the Tanforan Race Track,¹⁰ in order to ease the congestion at the Immigration Office detention house. The paper declared: "Local Chinese are not interested in this solution, and many regarded the change as boding more ill than good. They pointed out that the suicide of Leong Bick Ha was not because of her dislike of the Sansome Street building. There is no connection between her place of detention and her suicide. Being detained too long and under emotional stress, she could have committed suicide at the race-track camp as in the Sansome Street building.

"Under the present conditions, the husband and friends of the detained women can come from Chinatown to the detention house in less than five minutes to visit them. This would be inconvenient if they were moved to places ten or twenty miles from the city. . . .

"The Chinese in Chinatown also pointed out that Americans do not understand the psychology of Chinese women. The Americans are interested in material things—in sunshine, in fresh air, and in living among sanitary conveniences. But Chinese women coming to the United States are not interested in these things. Their suffering is mental and not due to the lack of material things. And no matter where their place of detention is moved, whether to Angel Island or to Tanforan Race Track, it will not lessen their mental anguish."

September 28, 1948

SOURCE: Chinese News Service, "San Francisco Chinese Papers Blame Immigration Practices in Suicide of Chinese Women," Special Release, September 28, 1948, American Civil Liberties Union file, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

9. After a mysterious fire closed down the Angel Island Immigration Station in 1940, the detention quarters were moved to the Appraiser's Building at 630 Sansome Street.

10. Located south of San Francisco, the Tanforan Race Track was converted into an assembly center to temporarily house Japanese Americans until they could be moved to concentration camps in desolate areas of the United States during World War II.

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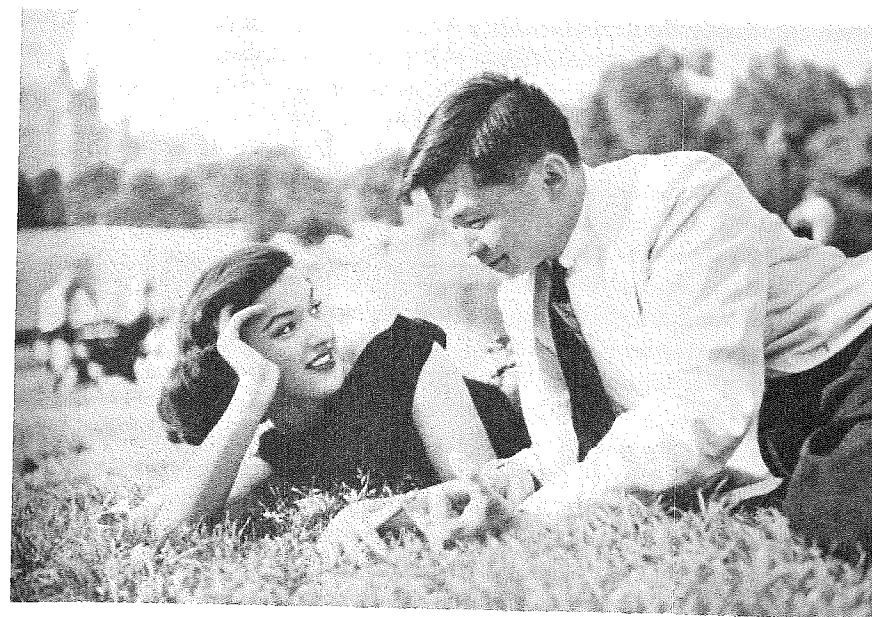
I Want to Marry an American Girl (1955)

Eddie Gong

Mainstream images of Chinese Americans began to improve in the 1950s. Though still portrayed as a minority group with a distinct background, they were no longer perceived as a threat to the American way of life. Some articles, anticipating the "model minority" image that would be widely promoted in the 1980s, even suggested that Chinese Americans, with their strong family values and work ethic, could be welcome additions to the national family. Chinese Americans themselves sometimes helped to popularize the idea that they were eager and ready to assimilate into white, middle-class life.

In September 1955, the American Magazine published the following provocative article, "I Want to Marry an American Girl." In contrast to fears about miscegenation expressed in earlier times, this article seemed to endorse interracial marriage. The state of California had repealed its antimiscegenation law in 1948, but twelve states still prohibited intermarriage between Chinese and whites. The article's main intent, however, was to show that Eddie Gong, representative of a new generation of Chinese Americans, was quickly discarding the old ways of his traditional parents and fully embracing American individualism and culture, including its standards of love and beauty.

According to the magazine's introduction to the article, Eddie Gong was "Boy President of the U.S.A." in 1947, when he was a high school junior in Miami, Florida, and met President Harry Truman at an American Legion ceremony in Washington, D.C. Gong went on to Harvard and graduated cum laude in 1952. He was attending Harvard Law School when he wrote this article, describing his dilemma in fulfilling the wishes of his parents to find a Chinese wife in Hong Kong. As it turned out, Gong did go to Hong Kong in 1955 and worked there briefly as a journalist. But he did not find a Chinese wife. He returned to the United States and became a highly successful attorney and political figure in Florida, serving in the Florida state legislature from 1963 to 1972 and as the Florida manager of Republican John Lindsay's presidential primary effort in 1972. He married twice, neither time to a woman of Chinese ancestry. Ironically, one of Gong's sons wrote a senior essay as a Harvard un-



"My ideal of grace and beauty runs more to pretty girls like this," says Eddie Gong. (*American Magazine*, September 1955)

dergraduate in 1987 honoring his grandfather's "courage and spirit" and the hardships that the Chinese had endured in America, since "sometimes the later generations of Chinese-Americans tend to forget this dark side of their past."¹

I am leaving today for Hong Kong, China, the home of my ancestors. At the request of my parents, and in accordance with ancient Chinese tradition and custom, I am looking for a wife—to be chosen by me from a group of Chinese girls carefully selected by my 80-year-old grandmother, Hoo See, whom I have never met. But, in my own heart, I hope I do not find a wife in Hong Kong. I was born in America, of Chinese parents, and consider myself an American. Therefore, I want to marry an American girl and to choose my wife myself, in American fashion, rather than have her chosen for me, in the Chinese way.

This will be the first time that I have ever left the United States, where I was born 25 years ago. But as a dutiful son—the only son in our family—I believe I owe my parents at least one attempt to find a Chinese girl I could fall in love with.

Back of this conflict between my wish to be obedient to my mother and

1. Edmond Joseph Gong, Jr., "The Base on Which I Stand," thesis, Harvard University, 1987.

father, and my desire to marry in the American way, is a clash, not only between two different generations, but between two cultures, the East and the West. To understand my dilemma, you must know something about my family background, and my own upbringing. . . .

I guess you could describe me as a typical American boy, except that my last name is Gong and my parents are from China. I speak Cantonese and English with a Southern accent and am equally proficient with chopsticks and jukeboxes. My background is a blend of the wisdom and teachings of the East and the new spirit of America. For centuries my ancestors tilled the soil of China and although I belong to this long line, I am the first generation born in the New World. Through my parents I have strong ties to my ancestral people, but my heart lies in America, a country which has given to me and my family a way of life which the old country could never have dreamed of.

Picture, if you can, a young man who is carefree and sentimental, who loves to talk to all kinds of people; a guy who has an average frame of about 5 feet 10 and who weighs 160 pounds. He would rather dance than eat, but his favorite dish is real Italian spaghetti. He prefers the genuine and sincere type of person for a friend, and has a fancy for any natural kind of gal who has long hair, a nice figure, and coquettish femininity. Although he achieved fairly good marks at Harvard, studies are definitely not his forte. To him there is nothing greater than the feel of a well-hit tennis ball or a close, wide-open football game, or the "cool" music of Dave Brubeck. He's extroverted, likes crowds, and loves parties. Add a Joe College crew cut, tweed sport coat, a pair of dirty white bucks, throw in a line of Air Force jet chatter, and we have met.

As you see, there's nothing particularly unusual about me as a person. I'm just an average guy, like most of my school and college friends. Many of these kids have parents who came from "the old country," and have been brought up in a combination of Old and New World backgrounds. I know many youngsters of Greek and Polish backgrounds, and they do not feel that for that reason they must seek their mates in Greece and Poland, or that they can marry only persons of similar ancestry. But since my parents come from Asia, where customs are strikingly different from those in America and Europe, and where parents exercise greater control over their offspring all during their lives, my problem in finding a wife is more complex.

My grandfather's name was Joe Lin Gong, and he came to the United States in 1885, when he was 23. Although he spoke no English, he made his way in America by starting a laundry, first in Boston, Mass., then in Fall River. But he found these cities crowded and noisy, and so made his way South, to Albany, Ga., and then to Tifton. He was so sold on the American way of life and form of government that he named his enterprise the "Republic Laundry"!

Operating the laundry was practically a round-the-clock backbreaking job seven days a week, and Grandfather never felt that he could bring Grand-

mother to America and ask her to share in his toil. In fact, his heart always was in China rather than America. He saved his pennies, and managed to get back to China once or twice before he returned there for good in 1917, and died in the land of his ancestors in 1925.

Like countless thousands of Americans, my own parents had the courage to emigrate from a secure life to a new but uncertain existence in a land of boundless opportunity. One reason I respect them so highly is that they showed vision and courage like that of the Founding Fathers who made America great.

My father, Joseph Fred Gong, was born in a little village near Canton in 1900, and Grandfather sent for him when Father was 15. In 1924, Dad returned to China for the same reason that I am going today—to find a wife. But there was then no conflict in his heart as there is in mine today. Chinese in this country were not so Americanized then as they are now, and it never occurred to my father to question his parents' wisdom, or their right to decide whom he should marry.

My mother, Wong Shee, was 17 when my father married her, in a quaint and colorful Chinese marriage ceremony, with paper lanterns decorating the cottage and paper dragons for good luck, and firecrackers popping gaily afterward. Then father left his bride and returned to America, where he sent for her two years later. He tried the laundry business, in Tifton and then in Miami, and finally decided to open a small grocery store, which is our family business today.

In my judgment, Mom and Dad have reared a pretty fine family. To give us the opportunities they never had, they worked seven days a week in the store. I know that I owe them a debt, which I can never repay, and my four sisters feel as I do. . . .

In school and in our daily lives we have always tried to follow our parents' teachings. They taught us respect for elders, especially our parents and our teachers, gave us a desire for education, and demonstrated, by their practice and example, the true meaning of the Golden Rule. . . .

My relationship with my parents has been a little different than that of my sisters. When I was born in Miami on October 7, 1930, it was a joyous occasion, for I was the first son. And by the Chinese custom, the news was conveyed to friends of my parents by the presentation of red-dyed eggs. This custom takes place only when a son is born. Shortly thereafter, gifts began coming to Mom and Dad. They were in the form of silver and paper money wrapped in Chinese red paper. When the news reached my grandparents in China, they dug deep into their precious money and sent a soft gold bracelet to honor the happy event.

To Chinese parents the birth of the first son is a time of happiness because they have, in large part, fulfilled their ancestral obligation. The remainder of their duty is to see their son marry and, in turn, have his own son. It is so

important because the family name must be carried on with an unceasing effort to uphold the family tradition. My parents took great care to choose a name for me. They decided to name me "It Main," or Edmond. The Chinese characters which make up my name mean, "One who will do great deeds which will bring respect and honor to the family name." They are the only Chinese characters I can write.

Ever since I was old enough to understand, my parents have tried to make me realize the great responsibility I carry as the only Gong son. Being the only son in any family means duties and obligations that do not run to the daughters. I know today that my parents wanted very dearly to have another son and, in the characteristic Chinese way, June's name in Chinese means literally, "Turn the next one into a boy!" But as it turned out, I am the number one and only son. That is why the question of my marriage is so important to the entire family. . . .

I believe the first time that I was really aware of the responsibility of being the only son was shortly before I left for Harvard University in 1948. Dad called me in for a man-to-man talk. He told me that I was the first man of the Gong family to have the opportunity of attending college, and that I must always keep that in mind through thick and thin.

My first year of college was a trying one and my grades were below average. I did not maintain honor grades and therefore lost my scholarship. I was ashamed and could not face my parents, but I had no alternative. When I told Dad about it he was not angry. I felt that maybe I was immature and I wanted to enlist in the Army. He looked me straight in the eye, smiled, and said that he was confident that I would make the grade, and that Gongs did not give up so easily. With his understanding and confidence in me, I was inspired. It was one of the happiest moments of my life when I wrote to him and Mom in my senior year to tell them I was to graduate with honors in political science.

Shortly after I graduated from Harvard I was commissioned in the Air Force. After graduating from radar school, I was assigned to the All-Weather Fighter Interceptor School at Moody Air Force Base, Valdosta, Georgia. It was quite a coincidence that I was stationed 30 miles from Tifton, Georgia, where Dad settled when he came to this country, and where his father had operated a small Chinese hand laundry in the village square.

I think that the first time the wires got crossed in my relationship with my parents came one year shortly after I got home for the summer. Mom and Dad and I were talking after dinner, like we always do at home. My sisters were all out at a movie. Mom, in a slightly scolding tone, asked me why I wasn't interested in girls of Chinese ancestry. She said that it was important I should think of girls in terms of marriage, and should prepare myself for the day I would go to China to seek a bride, as Father had done.

I laughed quietly, and jokingly said that I was too young. Anyway, I said, there weren't any Chinese girls and it would be against my nature to make

a special trip to find one. But Dad said that in Hong Kong the girls were beautiful, and that I must not think otherwise. He said he was sure that Grandmother could pick out a beautiful girl for me to marry.

Teasingly, and not too seriously, I said, "Dad, I bet the girls in Hong Kong can't jitterbug." This was just enough to cause him to raise his voice and to say that the girls in China were just as modern, as well educated, and as sophisticated as American girls. . . .

How can you explain to the parents whom you love and respect so deeply, and whom you want to please and obey, that you cannot go along with their advice when it comes to marriage? Up to this time I had always been an obedient son, but this was something different. What do you tell them to make them understand that America is your country and not China? . . .

My parents' main argument for my marrying a native Chinese girl is that, in China, girls are brought up to wait on the man they marry, and to devote themselves entirely to their husbands. In America, they said, most American girls, even those of Chinese ancestry, expect their husbands to wait on *them*!

But this to me is a problem that can and should be settled by the marriage partners, rather than by the parents. In my heart, I have my own dreams of the girl I will some day marry. While a girl of Chinese ancestry might be the best choice for me, I have never met or seen such a girl who really attracted me. I have tried to admire them, but I cannot fool myself. My ideal of grace and beauty runs more to someone like Grace Kelly or Ava Gardner. While I haven't yet met such a girl, I want to be free to make my own choice.

I do not think my way of thinking is wrong, or that I am trying to be something I am not. But how can I explain to my parents just why I think and act and feel like an American? What *is* an American? I am not sure I can answer such questions, but I do know what I believe, and no one, not even my parents, can make me think otherwise.

NEVER in my life have I been a victim of prejudice because my name was not Jones or Smith or because I happen to be of Chinese ancestry. I am sure people to whom I tell this do not believe it possible, but it does not matter, for it is the truth and it makes me realize what America means to me.

I do not think it at all strange that my closest friends are Americans and not Chinese. I choose my friends by what they are themselves, and not on the basis of ancestral backgrounds that happen to be identical. It does not seem unusual to me when my friends tell me that after they got to know me they never thought of me as Chinese, but only as an American. To me, it is just one of those things which my country stands for.

The increasing pressure that my parents put on me to consider marriage as they understood it, caused me to rebel. The wires completely fell down between us. They did not realize or comprehend how Americanized I was, and I still cannot entirely appreciate why they want me to marry a girl from China. . . .

And so I finally decided that I would go to Hong Kong as they ask and make an attempt to meet a Chinese girl whom I would want to marry. If I do not meet such a girl, I will always be able to say, to my own conscience, and to my parents, that I tried to carry out their wishes.

Nothing in the world would make my mother happier than to go to Hong Kong with me, but Dad cannot afford the transportation. And so, very soon, I shall be seeing my grandmother, whom I have never met, and who has never been outside China. She will play my mother's role in seeking girls of suitable ancestry and background. Since the Communists overran her native village, she has lived in Hong Kong. Active and vigorous, she has a wide acquaintance, and will make all the necessary arrangements for me to be presented to Chinese girls and their families. Just as she did for my father.

I should be gay and carefree as I leave for the home of my ancestors to find a wife. But I am neither gay nor carefree. In my heart, I cherish a hope that I may meet American girls in Hong Kong, but I realize that it is unlikely. As I said in the beginning, what I really hope is that I do not find a wife in China at all—so that I can come back to America, and start the search over again, here in the country of my choice, and look for an American girl, as an American should.

SOURCE: Eddie Gong, "I Want to Marry an American Girl," *American Magazine* 160, no. 3 (September 1955): 15-17, 82-85.

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My Bitter Experience in the United States (1956)

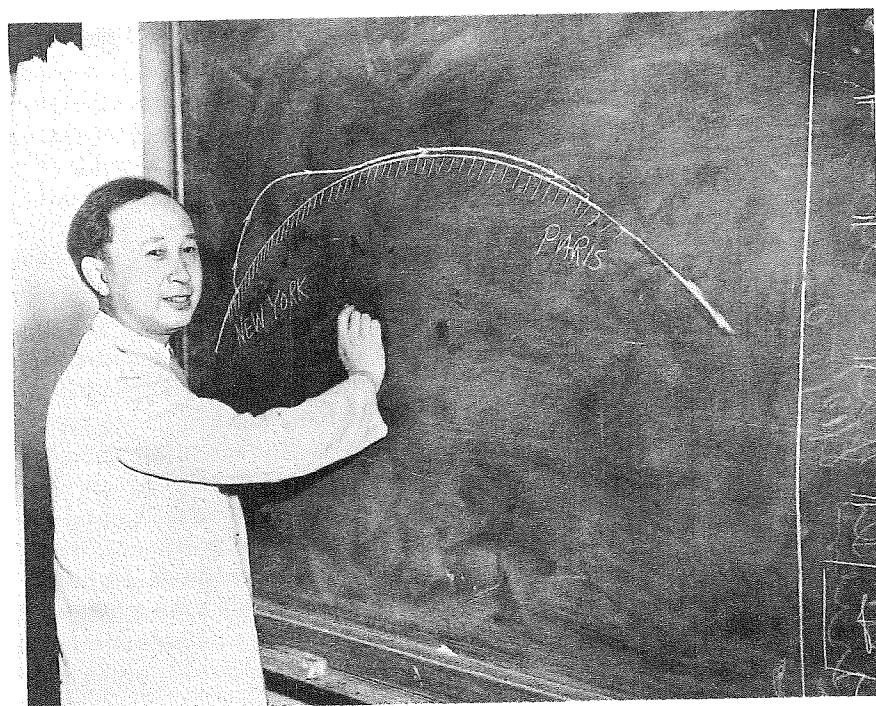
Hsue-shen Tsien

In the late 1930s and 1940s, Hsue-shen Tsien (Qian Xueshen) was one of the most accomplished and distinguished Chinese scientists in the United States. He had arrived in 1935 as one of a small number of Chinese students with a Boxer Indemnity scholarship. The United States began the scholarships in 1909 with indemnity funds obtained from China as a result of America's participation in the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion at the turn of the century.

After a brilliant graduate career in engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and at the California Institute of Technology (Cal Tech), Tsien remained in the United States and quickly established himself as one of the world's leading authorities in the still-infant field of rocketry. During World War II, he received high-level security clearance to work on classified military research. In the spring of 1945 he traveled with the U.S. Army to help interrogate German scientists and study military research installations. Following the war he joined the faculty at MIT and in 1947 was promoted to full professor of engineering at the age of thirty-five.

By all indications, it appeared that Tsien planned to stay in the United States permanently. In 1949, after he moved back to Cal Tech to direct the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, he applied for U.S. citizenship. He and his wife, whom he had met during a return trip to China, began to raise their two American-born children in a house near the campus. But during the Cold War hysteria in the 1950s, federal authorities began an intensive investigation of Tsien, accusing him of joining the American Communist Party while a graduate student at Cal Tech. Tsien vehemently denied the charges and began making plans to return to China. Soon, he faced both federal deportation and restraining orders. The humiliating treatment left him permanently embittered toward the United States.

In 1955, Washington allowed Tsien and 120 other scholars and scientists to return to China. Its decision was part of an outgrowth of U.S.-China negotiations on issues arising from the Korean War that permitted the repatriation of nationals in each



Hsue-shen Tsien demonstrating the flight of a theoretical jet in class at Cal Tech, 1949. (Courtesy of University of Southern California Library)

other's territory. In late 1955, Tsien, with his family, left the United States, never to return. In China, he became director of China's first aerospace and missile institute and known as the "father" of China's rocket program.

The following essay was first published in Chinese in a Hong Kong journal in early 1956. Tsien's sentiments toward the United States have changed little since then. In 1989, after the Tiananmen Square incident, when a protest by students advocating political reform in China was suppressed by armed troops, Tsien published a commentary supporting the Chinese government's position and reminded his readers of the humiliating treatment he had suffered at the hands of the U.S. government in 1950.

On December 16, 1955, a spokesman of the State Department declared that the charges made on the same day by the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman relating to alien residents of both China and the United States were groundless. Moreover, he said that the American government had faithfully carried out the agreement reached during the ambassador-level meetings in Geneva. What the American government is doing is putting on a false face of respectability before the peace-loving people of the world to trick them into

believing that it is a good and moral government. All this reminds me of an old Chinese saying: "Speak words of justice and moral integrity; harbor the intents of thieves and whores." Let me annotate this with my own experience.

In 1935 I left China to study in the United States. Because China had been under the control of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, I remained in America even after I graduated, and became involved in scientific research and teaching. When mainland China was liberated in 1949, I wanted very much to go home. In the summer of 1950, I made plans to leave the United States. I was going to enter China via Hong Kong after flying there from Canada. All the books and journals that I had accumulated over the years were crated by a freight company for shipment to Hong Kong. But the American Secret Service got wind of my plans. First, I received an official notice from Immigration forbidding me to leave the States. If I were caught trying to leave the country I would be fined and/or imprisoned. That was in August 1950. Of course I could not leave the States then. Yet even as I was busy returning my airline ticket and trying to recover my books and luggage, U.S. Customs impounded all my possessions, claiming that they contained top-secret documents, telegraph codes, diagrams of weapons, and photographs of jet engines. And still the American government was not satisfied. A few days later, at the beginning of September, another official directive arrived from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), this time telling me that I was a member of the American Communist Party and thus, by law, must be deported. In preparation for such an action, they locked me up in what looked like a jail cell in an INS detention facility. Well, they had certainly tried every dirty trick in the book. One minute they forbade me to leave, and another minute they wanted to deport me. In truth, all they wanted to do was to lock me up.

Fair-minded Americans would never approve of such arbitrary violation of human rights. A few of my colleagues at Cal Tech, where I worked, could not stand such injustice, and through their efforts I was finally released on bail. Considering that the usual kidnap ransom cost only \$1,000 to \$2,000, I should have been very proud that my bail was set at U.S. \$15,000. Naturally I could not come up with such an amount of money. It was my friends who paid it for me. I was locked up for a total of fifteen days. During that period, I was not allowed to talk to anyone. In the night someone would open the door and turn on the lights every ten minutes to make sure I had not escaped. This was no normal life; this was persecution and cruel treatment. As a result, I lost thirty pounds in those fifteen days.

I was released, but things were far from being over. I was "questioned" over and over again, mostly about my relationships with other people in an effort to prove that I was a member of the Communist Party. But to fabricate something out of nothing is not easy. Since I was never a member of the American Communist Party, their accusation was simply bluster. My American friends sitting in as observers and an American newspaper reporter all

said that during the proceedings it was the interrogated who was confident and forthright, not the interrogator. What I remember clearly is that when asked by the INS officer as to what country I owed allegiance, I answered that my allegiance was to the Chinese people, and that I would be loyal to any government who would do good to the Chinese people and would oppose any government who would do harm. Then he asked, "So your choice of allegiance is not dependent on a government?" My answer was, "To whom I give my loyalty is decided by myself." At this point, a smug smile of victory appeared on his face, as if he had finally proven that I was an incorrigible "renegade" and, as such, had to be a Communist. I was sorely tempted to ask him, "Did not your Lincoln once say that your government must be a government who carries out the will of its people? Have you forgotten?"

In addition to the interrogations, FBI agents kept me under surveillance, checking on who came to visit me, whom I went to visit, and what kind of letters I received. Consequently, I seldom went out and lived a lonely life. Actually, even if I had gone out, I had nowhere to go. The INS confined me within the perimeters of the Los Angeles area, where I lived. That was how I spent those couple of years, with one order forbidding me to leave the U.S. and another ordering my deportation. They kept my books from me for two years. Finally, in 1953, after searching for over two years, they had to admit that they could not find any secret documents. The charges of hidden telegraph codes, diagrams of weapons, and photos of jet engines were wild concoctions, so they had to return my books, thus proving that what the American government had done two years before was a kind of persecution by false accusation.

Of course, the American government has always maintained in the American and international newspapers that it has never detained any overseas Chinese nationals. The fact is I did not receive any notice from the INS until August 4, 1955, informing me that the ban against my leaving the U.S. was lifted and that I was free to go. There was no mention in the notice of my deportation. So why had they forbidden me to leave in the first place, and why had they now lifted the injunction? There was no explanation. Actually, the riddle was not that hard to solve. August 4 was the fourth day of the ambassadorial talks in Geneva between China and the United States, and for the American government to accomplish something in three days is impossible, unless it is a "red hot" emergency. We can imagine the fear and panic the American government experienced, like "a fox spirit forced to reveal its true features," when Ambassador Wang Bingnan brought up, with concrete evidence, the issue of Chinese nationals residing in the U.S.

Of course, I will never forget the many Americans who would not let justice slide and supported me during the five years I was detained in the United States. Those Americans and the peace-loving people of America are different from the American government. The actions of the American gov-

ernment are not the actions of these people. The Chinese people feel no animosity toward the American people. On the contrary, the Chinese people want to be friends and coexist with the American people in peace.

SOURCE: Hsue-shen Tien, "Wo zai Meiguo de zaoyu [My bitter experience in the United States]," in *Bazhishe xiangxi zhuguo* [Intellectual contributions for the homeland] (Hong Kong: Zhoumo Bao, 1956), pp. 47-51. Translator: Ellen Yeung.

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