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研究課題名(和文) 冷戦初期米軍と米議会のアジア認識実態の解明 安全保障・人種・国籍をめぐる

研究課題名(英文) Spy Prevention: US National Security, Race, and Citizenship, 1945-1952

## 研究代表者

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研究成果の概要(和文)：本研究の目的は、冷戦が開始された当初10年間の中に米軍上層部及び米議会における反アジア人的姿勢(黄禍論)が反共産主義的姿勢(赤禍論)へと変容を遂げた過程を明らかにすることである。本研究では公刊史料及び個人史料に基づいて、安全保障、人種、市民権に対する彼らの考えが、第二次世界大戦から1952年までの東アジアからの人々の移住に適用されていったことについて歴史的な分析を行った。本研究で分析の対象とした史料は、1952年の移民及び市民権法成立の役割を担ったマの有力政治家、国務省長官連邦政府高官、地方政治家、民間防衛局などの安全保障を担う政府機関が残した史料である。

研究成果の概要(英文)：The aim was to explain how racist/anti-Asian attitudes (Yellow Peril) among American generals and US Congressmen transformed into anti-communist attitudes (Red Peril) during the Cold War. Based on public and private sources, it examined historically their ideas of national security, race, and citizenship as applied to east Asian immigration from World War II to 1952. The study examined documents left by key politicians at the national level who were responsible for the new 1952 immigration law; Secretary of State and State Department, Passport Bureau director; regional politicians; and government agencies focused on national security, such as the Civil Defense Agency. The study found the Yellow Peril's political and economic values transferred to the Red Peril ideology. It also revealed how the two national political leaders were focused on the internal/domestic threat rather than the external threat that American military leaders were preoccupied with.

研究分野：アメリカ史

キーワード：Yellow Peril racial ideology national security citizenship US Congress 1952 immigration law

### 1. 研究開始当初の背景

At the beginning of this research project on the Yellow Peril, I had just finished collecting and analyzing documents related to the American military's view of the Yellow Peril. I was just in the process of writing up my first essay on the topic which was published in the Pacific Historical Review, the journal for the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association (PCB/AHA), the history organization in the United States. I found that the active military American commanders and their intelligence officers did not view the Imperial Japanese military forces as something capable of overwhelming the American military before and during World War II, quite unlike the terrifying image as portrayed in many popular book publications commonly described as the Yellow Peril. That fear-inducing image was so deeply entrenched in the writings of fiction writers and cultural leaders of the pre-World War II era that it became the basis for why many scholars such as Roger Daniels, Peter Irons, John Dower and, more recently, Peter Schrijver, argue that the Yellow Peril was strongly influenced military and political leaders. That belief in the Yellow Peril caused them to overestimate the Imperial Japanese forces' capabilities and intentions, and led them to take wrong-headed actions such as the mass removal and internment of west coast Japanese Americans.

Presenting my findings at the same PCB/AHA conference in 2012, I encountered a great deal of skepticism and was not able to convince others of what I had found until they actually saw my findings presented in written form in the Pacific Historical Review's initial editing stage of all the 2012 conference papers the following year. After a long editing process so typical of American history publications, that essay finally came out in 2014. But I needed to explore further and find out if the American military commanders had communicated their skepticism of the Yellow Peril to American political leaders and the larger American public.

### 2. 研究の目的

This three-year research project, therefore, was aimed at exploring what the American political leaders understood national security and its relationship to the Yellow Peril. It pays particular attention to how

the American military leaders communicated their ideas of national security to American political leaders and how the latter interpreted what was communicated to them in the light of their ideas of national security. The study began with the assumption that after the American military successfully defeated the Axis Powers, the American political leaders would be quite willing to hear what the American commanders had to say with regard to national security as it relationship to the ideas of the Yellow Peril. I assumed that as American society militarized following World War II and the emergence of the Cold War, the politicians would then quickly shed Yellow Peril ideas, embrace Chinese-, Japanese-, and Korean-Americans and turn rapidly to viewing the threat to national security through the lens of the Red Peril which I suspected might be conceptually related to its anti-Asian predecessor.

### 3. 研究の方法

To test my hypothesis, I began with collecting and analyzing documents generated during the time period under question.

Types of documents: I examined the writings and correspondence of key American political leaders, both national and regional, as well as the American military leaders who advised them.

Time period: The study was primarily focused on World War II and the immediate post-war years to 1952 when the new Immigration and Nationality Act was passed by the US Congress over President Harry Truman's veto. This Act, it should be noted, wove together the concern for national security and its relationship to immigration, while at the same time exhibiting clear evidence that the Red Peril, not the Yellow Peril reigned supreme. This was obvious from the fact that the Act granted naturalization rights to Japanese- and Korean-American immigrants, a privilege that was denied to them for three decades when the US Supreme Court determined that they were "aliens ineligible for American citizenship."

Key national political figures: Hence, this study paid particular attention to the writings and correspondence of US Senator Patrick McCarran and US House of Representative Francis Walter, the authors

of the 1952 Act.

**Key regional political figures:** This study examined two particular local political leaders, both of whom manifested Yellow Peril sentiments, but only one of whom carried such ideas into the postwar period while the other turned towards active lobbying for naturalization rights of Japanese and Korean immigrants. The latter was evident in Bertrand Wesley Gearhart whose papers suddenly became available after this research project started. The former was US Court of Appeals Justice William Denman, a staunchly anti-Japanese public figure in San Francisco who wrote letters to General John DeWitt demanding concrete countermeasures and evacuation plans in the event of an incendiary Imperial Japanese attack on the city, a racist attitude that did not mellow in the postwar years.

**Key public organization:** While I was unable to get to New York City to study the Civilian Defense Agency at the national level, and its director Mayor Fiorella LaGuardia, I was able to examine the wartime civilian defense agency to further test to what extent the Yellow Peril ideas or lack thereof was communicated to the American public on the west coast during wartime. Those records are stored at the National Archives and Records Administration's regional office in Riverside, California and contain the region's civic leaders and their views of the possibility of an Imperial Japanese attack, a critical test case for the Yellow Peril racial ideology. At the national level, the study also aimed at uncovering how the Yellow Peril racial ideology influenced the granting of passports and visas as seen in Ruth Shipley, Director of the Passport Division within the State Department.

**Key military leaders:** It also studied closely key military figures on the national scene who appeared before the two politicians' respective congressional committees dealing with the 1952 Act. Most prominent among them was General Charles Willoughby, General Douglas MacArthur's chief intelligence officer who retired when the American Caesar was recalled by President Truman from Korea and testified before both congressional committees on the relationship between national security and immigration. However, Willoughby's

papers are held in three separate libraries, requiring considerable travel to locations where public transportation is lacking. I also examined the papers of George C. Marshall, the Joint Chiefs of Staff head, who also became the Secretary of State following World War II. In the latter's case, I worked on his papers with the assumption that as a former top general and Secretary of State, he was uniquely positioned, not to mentioned viewed as a voice of authority, on issues of national security.

#### 4 . 研究成果

The research results exceeded all expectations and brought with it a number of surprise findings. While I will not write here the specific details of the findings (they can be read in essays which I will publish later), I can report that among the important findings were:

One, the ideational connection between the Yellow Peril and the Red Peril was related in terms of political and economic values. That is to say, the Yellow Peril racist ideology contained within it certain economic values that carried over into the postwar year and was re-appeared when Japan's postwar economic recovery made significant inroads into American economy, as seen in Edwin Pauley's correspondence with his close friend, former president Harry Truman. The political values of "Oriental despotism" carried over from the Yellow Peril into the Red Peril, as seen in Charles Willoughby's papers.

Two, the ideational transfer of the Yellow Peril "disease" from American military leaders to politicians on the national level proved to be more apparent than real. Francis Walter and Patrick McCarran both defined national security in such a manner that external, military threats were not even considered. Instead, they both saw an internal threat as far greater, with the latter emphasizing its economic aspect while the other, its political dimension. Charles Willoughby's role in justifying the two politicians' emphasis on the internal threat was to show how the external threat turned into an internal threat in his study of Richard Sorge's spy ring in Japan. And George Marshall did not communicate much with either Patrick McCarran nor Francis Walter, even though the latter shared the same regional roots (Pennsylvania). This really surprised me.

Three, my assumption that World War II was the key transitional period for the shift

from the Yellow Peril to the Red Peril proved wrong or, at a minimum, subject to reconsideration. This tentative conclusion came out after I inspected documents in Record Group 171 of the Civilian Defense Agency. There, I was stunned to learn that the commercial/business leaders on the west coast of the United States, as exemplified by the representatives of the Chambers of Commerce for all the major cities, refused to contemplate, let alone plan for, an industrial evacuation of west coast in response to possible Imperial Japanese attacks in 1941, 1942, and well into 1943.

Four, I learned not to trust the advice of at least one archivist at NARA II in College Park, Maryland. Instead of double-checking his advice, I blindly accepted his words and thus halted my research into Ruth Shipley and her policies as head of the Passport Bureau of the State Department. That particular archivist told me it was impossible to track down how and why Shipley issued passports and visas in general and thus my interest in specific test cases for the presence/absence of the Yellow Peril and the Red Peril was wrong-headed. Not true. So I will have to return to NARA II and complete this portion of the research at a later date.

#### 5. 主な発表論文等

(研究代表者、研究分担者及び連携研究者には下線)

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〔図書〕(計0件)

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なし

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