

Samuel Ichiye (Sam) Hayakawa

1906–1992

UNITED STATES SENATOR 1977–1983
REPUBLICAN FROM CALIFORNIA

Samuel Ichiye (Sam) Hayakawa’s journey from academia to Capitol Hill abounded in contradictions, reversals, and some mirthful moments. He began his long career as a successful author of semantics, later transitioning into academic administration, which, in turn, thrust him to national acclaim as the improbable, tam-o’-shanter-topped hero of the law-and-order crowd. Drawing on that popularity, Hayakawa won election to a single Senate term, where his iconoclasm contrasted with an institution rooted in tradition. Along the way, his ideological trajectory arced from New Deal liberalism to a conservatism borne of the perceived excesses of Vietnam Era protests.

Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa was born on July 18, 1906, in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, the eldest of four children of Ichiro and Tora Isono Hayakawa. Ichiro had left Japan and joined the U.S. Navy as a mess attendant at age 18. Two years later, he returned to Japan, married Isono, and the couple relocated to Canada.¹ Sam Hayakawa was educated in the public schools of Winnipeg before earning a bachelor’s degree from the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg in 1927. A year later, he graduated with a master’s degree in English literature from McGill University in Montreal.

In 1929, the year his parents returned to their native Japan, Hayakawa immigrated to the United States, but because of naturalization restrictions that applied to Asians, he would not become a U.S. citizen until 1954. He attended the University of Wisconsin at Madison, earning a PhD in English in 1935. After finishing his studies, Hayakawa stayed and taught at his alma mater. In 1937 he married Margedant Peters, one of his former students. Many states prohibited such interracial marriages, including California, where the young couple wanted to live. So the Japanese-American husband and Caucasian

wife ended up residing in Chicago for nearly two decades, where he taught at the Illinois Institute of Technology (1939–1947) and the University of Chicago (1950–1955). The couple raised three children, sons Alan and Mark and daughter Wynne.²

After witnessing the ruthless efficiency of the Nazi propaganda machine that aided Adolph Hitler’s rise to power, Hayakawa was inspired to write *Language in Action* (1941), a book that cemented his reputation as a semanticist. Selected by the Book of the Month Club, it was eventually revised as *Language in Thought and Action* (1949) and remained a popular text for many decades. Working from the intellectual foundations laid by the Polish semanticist Alfred Korzybski, Hayakawa’s principal thrust was that words are not the same as reality; while language can be used to approximate reality, it may also be used to obscure it. The success of the book helped establish Hayakawa in the field and earned him an academic appointment. In the mid-1950s, after discriminatory state laws were abolished, Hayakawa and his family moved to California, where he joined the faculty at San Francisco State College (now University) as a professor of English.

Hayakawa rose to national prominence during an era of collegiate unrest in which thousands of young Americans protested the Vietnam War and fought for civil rights reforms. The Bay Area had become something of a social justice incubator, and in 1968 San Francisco State students, as part of a larger call to improve diversity on campus, initiated a strike to support an African-American teacher who had been suspended. After the school suspended classes and the college president stepped down that November, Hayakawa sat on the faculty committee to find a successor. He became a vocal critic of the protestors. “What my colleagues seem to be forgetting is [that] we also have an obligation to the 17,500 or more students—white,





black, yellow and brown—who are not on strike and have every right to expect continuation of their education.” The college trustees, with the support of then Governor of California Ronald Reagan, named Hayakawa as acting president of San Francisco State on November 28, 1968.

When classes resumed a few days later, the protests intensified. Hayakawa called in the police, who arrested dozens of student demonstrators. With television cameras rolling, Hayakawa scrambled onto a sound truck the protestors had commandeered and ripped the cords out of the loudspeaker. The image of a diminutive college administrator wearing a tam-o'-shanter, uncowed by student radicals resonated with Americans who had wearied of college protests and the anti-Vietnam War movement. The strikes and class stoppages continued for months, but Hayakawa was resolute throughout, gaining wide name recognition (the public knew him thereafter as “Samurai Sam”) and plaudits from state and national politicians. To defuse tensions, he made some concessions, such as creating a black studies department. In July 1969, college trustees named him the permanent university president, and he held the position until he retired in 1973.³

As a young man, Hayakawa aligned with Democrats squarely in the New Deal coalition, which tackled the economic crisis of the 1930s and gave America its social safety net. But over time he became more conservative, partly in reaction to the counterculture of the 1960s and partly to protest the expansion of federal government social programs as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society. He became a lightning rod for liberal faculty, who he said “deserted” him during the campus-wide protests. It all made him rethink his longtime political affiliation. “When I kept the university open for the benefit of our students and faculty, I thought I was doing a liberal thing,” Hayakawa wrote years later. “I don't know anything more liberal than to maintain education for all who want it.”⁴ He formally registered as Republican in June 1973, the day after he retired as college president. The government, he had come to believe, was risking the health of the nation by “redistributing income” and “rewarding the unsuccessful.”⁵ “You should govern a great nation as you fry a small fish,”

Hayakawa said, echoing the Chinese philosopher Lao Tzu, “with only a little amount of stirring.”⁶

Three years after retiring, Hayakawa decided to try to unseat California's junior Senator, Democrat John V. Tunney, and announced his candidacy for the GOP nomination on January 20, 1976. It was his first campaign for any elected office, and he introduced himself as a “Republican unpredictable.”⁷ Observers described it as a “low-key” effort by a political neophyte against a field of seasoned political veterans, but Hayakawa drew on a strong conservative backlash against the social unrest of the era. “I think the triumph of the New Left in the 1960s was really a blow against certain basic American values,” he explained to a reporter. “One individual can do damn little about it, I suppose. This is some sort of moral gesture on my part. For after all, it seems to me the Senate is a platform from which you can preach.”⁸

He campaigned in what were traditionally heavily Republican parts of the state, mainly in Orange and San Diego Counties, on a platform that opposed big government and deficit spending.⁹ His principal primary opponents were eight-term U.S. Representative Alphonzo Bell Jr., and Robert Finch, a former lieutenant governor and cabinet member in the Richard Nixon administration. Finch and Bell did not take Hayakawa's under-the-radar candidacy seriously. Late in the campaign they scrambled to make up ground by hammering at the front-runner's age—Hayakawa would turn 70 before the general election.¹⁰ The strategy failed. Hayakawa's rivals split enough of the vote to allow the former academician to prevail. On June 8, 1976, Hayakawa captured 38 percent of the vote to 26 and 23 percent, respectively, for Finch and Bell.¹¹

Hayakawa's general election opponent, Senator Tunney, had served three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, representing a Riverside district, before winning election to the Senate in 1970. Tunney, however, struggled in his first term. Liberals criticized him for supporting big agribusiness, a logical position for him, given his House district based in the Imperial Valley. Conservatives did not like his generally liberal voting



record, and the press often depicted the divorced Tunney as a playboy.¹² During the 1976 Democratic primary, the former student activist Tom Hayden managed to poll 41 percent of the vote against him.¹³

Hayakawa's 1976 Senate campaign cemented his reputation as an iconoclast. At times, the candidate cast himself as a "political innocent," which had an appeal in the aftermath of Watergate. He embraced the role of being the people's candidate. "I admit it," he noted late in the campaign, "I'm a folk hero."¹⁴ He donned the colorful knit tam-o'-shanter that had been his trademark at San Francisco State and even named a campaign train that whisked him from stop to stop along the California coast as the "Tam-O'-Shanter Express."¹⁵ His enthusiastic departure from the niceties of politics and his free-swinging responses broadened his appeal across party lines, particularly in a state where voters often split the ticket in presidential election years. When told that McDonald's restaurant chain operated 100 franchise restaurants in Japan, he replied, "What a terrible revenge for Pearl Harbor." On the hot-button issue of returning control of the Panama Canal to the Panamanians, Hayakawa chirped, "We should keep it. We stole it fair and square." When student radicals heckled him at a campaign appearance, he asked the crowd, "Do the rest of you want to hear my speech?" When the crowd replied resoundingly that they did, Hayakawa shot back, "Well, would you tell those bastards to shut up?"¹⁶

Though he started out as a decided underdog against Tunney, Hayakawa had the momentum. "There is no way for Hayakawa to win this election but he's going to," observed Franklyn (Lyn) Nofziger, an aide to Ronald Reagan, in the weeks leading up to Election Day.¹⁷ Hayakawa prevailed by a narrow 3 percent margin of victory, 50 to 47.¹⁸ Still, some believed that a man who had spent his life parsing the English language and who had little practical experience would have a hard time transitioning to the U.S. Senate. Colman McCarthy observed shortly afterward, "Hayakawa, the politician, may prove to be much less effective than Hayakawa, the semanticist. His campaign was anything but the age of

enlightenment revisited, and he defeated a man whose work in the Senate had at least some substance."¹⁹

Tunney resigned from the Senate two days before the start of the 95th Congress (1977–1979) so that the governor could appoint Hayakawa in the waning hours of the 94th Congress (1975–1977) and give him seniority over the incoming class of Senate freshmen.²⁰ His initial assignments were on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and Agriculture and Forestry Committee (later renamed Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry). He kept the Agriculture assignment for his entire term, but within a month left Insular Affairs for seats on both the Budget Committee and the Human Resources Committee. At the opening of the 96th Congress (1979–1981), he traded in both those assignments for a seat on the Foreign Relations Committee, where he served the duration of his term in office. In the 97th Congress (1981–1983), Hayakawa also was assigned to the Select Committee on Small Business, which became a standing committee two months after the start of the session.

In his first year, Hayakawa addressed economic issues affecting California. His first legislative effort was a bill friendly to the Pacific tuna fleet that frequently killed porpoises in its nets and led to protests by environmental groups. His bill provided a "technological solution" to the problem and called for a gradual plan that sought to loosen restrictions of the Marine Mammal Protection Act. Hayakawa sought to provide money for further study of the problem and, rather than bar porpoise kills outright, suggested that the tuna catch be reduced only if the porpoise population continued to decline.²¹ He also supported building the B-1 bomber, a Cold War Era supersonic aircraft that carried nuclear weapons, since many of the plane's components were manufactured in California.

The same plainspokenness and quirkiness that won him votes back home undercut his effectiveness in the U.S. Senate. Hayakawa had an aloof and generally uncooperative working relationship with Alan Cranston, California's senior Senator and the Democratic Whip. Initially, Cranston described Hayakawa's potential in the Senate this way: "He's unpredictable and will cast a lot of good votes and a lot of



bad votes. I don't know how it will add up, but it's great to have a senator who's individualistic and different." But the partnership was not helped by public gaffes. At a committee hearing that both men attended on a California wilderness bill, for instance, Cranston and Hayakawa openly disagreed on it. Hayakawa compounded the awkward encounter when giving remarks against the proposal and nodding at Cranston and saying, "I'm delighted to be here with my colleague from Wisconsin."²²

Observers complained that Hayakawa had hired an eclectic staff ill-prepared to handle the rigors of representing a huge state like California. Nearing the end of his first year in office, Senate insiders suggested that his name "still conjures up more curiosity than clout" and that the professor had been a poor student in learning the institution's folkways.²³ The press made hay with his habit of napping on the job, first in orientation classes for freshman Senators and, in the years that followed, in committee hearings.²⁴ "I have a low threshold of boredom," Hayakawa quipped.²⁵

A year into his term, Hayakawa wrote an essay for *Harper's Weekly* in which he gainsaid the wisdom of his own appointment to the Senate Budget Committee. "This was ironic because I have the greatest difficulty balancing my own checkbook, and my wife handles our investments," Hayakawa noted. "Putting me on the Budget Committee when I don't understand money at all seemed to me to be appallingly irresponsible on the part of the United States Senate." He added, though, that after being on the committee for several months, he discovered that work on a committee that he described as being comprised of free spenders only involved simple math. "It's all simple addition," Hayakawa deadpanned. "You don't even have to know subtraction."²⁶

By the late summer of 1977, Hayakawa already had backed away from the campaign trail rhetoric opposing the transfer of control of the Panama Canal. He claimed that, while his laugh line on stealing it got all the press, his more serious remarks about finding a pragmatic solution to the impasse were ignored. Moreover, Hayakawa insisted he always believed that "our policies toward Panama had

to be examined in the general framework of our relations with the other countries of Latin America."²⁷ As such, he believed President Jimmy Carter's proposal to relinquish control of the canal was sound and could improve U.S. relations with Panama and the rest of Central America.²⁸ On March 16, 1978, Hayakawa voted with the majority to return control of the canal to Panama.²⁹

But Hayakawa's political positions on several hot-button ethnic and cultural issues began to erode his support among California voters. In 1979 he opposed the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), which called for the U.S. government to redress civil rights violations committed against Japanese Americans relocated from the West Coast during World War II. Hayakawa described Franklin D. Roosevelt's executive order as being borne not principally of racism, but of "wartime necessity" and "the essence of prudence." He added that the relocation camps sped up a process whereby Japanese Americans were "integrated into [U.S.] society faster than any other non-English-speaking ethnic group in our history. The camps, unjust though they were, forced the Japanese Americans to break out of the West Coast and into the American mainstream."³⁰ Critics howled in protest not the least because the Canadian-born Hayakawa neither suffered that uprooting nor fought in the U.S. military in the Second World War.

Late in Hayakawa's Senate career, as the congressionally mandated Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) prepared to release its report, the JACL continued to call for reparations of \$25,000 per individual interned, a nearly \$3 billion outlay. On the 41st anniversary of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, Hayakawa took to the Senate Floor to note that "my flesh crawls with shame and embarrassment" at proposed reparations. He reminded Japanese Americans of their successful integration into American society vis-à-vis other ethnic groups and their relative level of wealth and educational achievement and warned that, in an era of budget constraints and widespread public concern about Japanese economic gains versus the United States, such a program would invite a "backlash."³¹ Ultimately, CWRIC



recommended reparations along with an acknowledgement of the federal government's violation of Japanese-American civil rights that were eventually embodied in the Civil Liberties Act signed into law by President Ronald Reagan in August 1988.

Hayakawa's views on economic issues, infused with the perspectives of an educator who had spent decades working with young people, reflected mainstream Republican thinking about the value of the free market and the problems with welfare. In 1977 he opposed raising the national minimum wage, arguing that it would have an adverse impact on teenage boys because, when facing elevated wages, employers would cut their workforces. This would hurt particularly minority youth for whom jobs represented economic gain, social advancement, and an opportunity for personal growth. "If an affluent society does not provide boys with challenges," Hayakawa told colleagues on the Senate Floor, "they are compelled by inner necessity to improvise their own."³²

In 1978 he authored a bill to provide incentives to small-business owners to hire teenagers in urban areas. By the early 1980s, Hayakawa advocated reducing the entry-level minimum wage for teenagers, a time at which it was \$3.35 per hour. Amid cries that his plan would create a pool of cheap labor, Hayakawa countered that early employment opportunities presented a crucial step to integrating teenagers into society and steering them away from trouble.³³

In 1982, amidst a steep economic recession, Hayakawa argued that the "voluntarily unemployed"—those people not looking for jobs or those passing up positions that paid too little—ought to be removed from the food stamp program. The proposal, he admitted, "may seem to lack compassion. However, it is the other way around. The Government is lacking compassion by encouraging people to remain idle.... Lost are the opportunities to gain a foothold on the economic ladder and to obtain the basic dignity and self-respect derived from being a productive member of society."³⁴

Given his experience as a school administrator, Hayakawa was an unsurprisingly assertive opponent of

federal mandates at all levels of the U.S. education system. He opposed school busing as a means to desegregate schools and wanted to prohibit federal payments to colleges with affirmative action policies, a position which he voiced consistently throughout his Senate career. In April 1979, he took to the Senate Floor to deride the "foolishness" of "forcing preferential quotas" on U.S. universities. His experience as a university president led him to resent such policies, and as a Senator he sought to defund programs implemented by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that supported affirmative action. He argued, in part, that such policies undercut the intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and had eroded higher education. "In recent years Washington has pushed its foot in the schoolhouse door and created new and sophisticated priorities," Hayakawa told his colleagues. "Every priority they throw in interferes with the educational process."³⁵

Hayakawa repeatedly derided bilingualism efforts in schools and, in April 1981, proposed a constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States. He argued, in part, that English proficiency was the great equalizer that helped immigrants assimilate and succeed in the United States: "Participation in the common language has rapidly made available to each new group the political and economic benefit of American society."³⁶ While Hayakawa supported learning other languages, he opposed the tendency of new immigrants in school to be taught primarily in their native language. He also opposed bilingual ballot provisions, which, he argued, conflicted with naturalization requirements that mandated basic English proficiency. In early 1981, he submitted a bill to repeal the bilingual requirements of the Voting Rights Act extension of 1975.³⁷ At the heart of his proposals, he once explained, was an attempt to "prevent a growing split among ethnic groups based on their native languages. With each trying to become more powerful than the other, the function of language could change from a means of communication to a tool of cultural assertion."³⁸

In early 1982, Hayakawa announced that he would not seek re-election to a second term. "I make this choice without urging or pressure from anyone except my own



internal imperative to turn in a record of solid legislative achievement as my small contribution to the history of the state,” Hayakawa said. At the time, polls indicated that he was badly trailing the field of candidates for the nomination, including San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson, who would go on to succeed him in the Senate.³⁹

After Congress, Hayakawa founded the group U.S. English, a political lobbying organization devoted to “preserving the unifying role of English” in the United States.⁴⁰ Hayakawa resided in Mill Valley, California, and passed away February 27, 1992, in Greenbrae. Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon eulogized him as “a man who had the strength of character to fight unabashedly for what he believed in and for what he felt in his heart was in the best interest of the Nation.”⁴¹

FOR FURTHER READING

Haslam, Gerald W., with Janice E. Haslam. *In Thought and Action: The Enigmatic Life of S. I. Hayakawa* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011).

Hayakawa, S. I. *Language in Thought and Action*, 4th ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978).

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

Hoover Institution, Library and Archives (Stanford, CA). *Papers*: 1926–1994, 264.1 linear feet. The collection includes correspondence, memoranda, reports, speeches, clippings, photographs, audiovisual materials, and memorabilia relating to many aspects of U.S. foreign relations and domestic policies, U.S. politics, and the Republican Party. A finding aid is available online and at the repository.

San Diego State University, Special Collections and University Archives (San Diego, CA). *Papers*: 1959–1982, 10.2 linear feet. The papers include correspondence, office memos, invitations, biographical data, press releases, subject files, and reports from Hayakawa’s San Diego district office.

NOTES

1 “Ex-Sen. Hayakawa Dies; Unpredictable Iconoclast; Professor: Semanticist First Caught Public’s Attention with His Opposition to Students Radicals at S.F. State,” 28 February 1992, *Los Angeles Times*: A1; J. Y. Smith, “Outspoken U.S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa Dies at 85,” 28 February 1992, *Washington Post*: D4; Katherine Bishop, “S. I. Hayakawa Dies at 85; Scholar and Former Senator,”

28 February 1992, *New York Times*: B6; Samuel W. Crompton, “Hayakawa, S. I.,” *American National Biography*, vol. 10 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 372–373.

2 Bishop, “S. I. Hayakawa Dies at 85; Scholar and Former Senator.”

3 “Hayakawa, S(amuel) I(chiye),” *Current Biography* 38, no. 1 (January 1977): 20–21; Crompton, “Hayakawa, S. I.”; Smith, “Outspoken U.S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa Dies at 85.”

4 S. I. Hayakawa, “Toward a Governing Coalition—II. Republicans,” in *Emerging Coalitions in American Politics*, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset (San Francisco, CA: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1978): 425.

5 Tom Goff, “Hayakawa: the Making of a Senator,” 4 November 1976, *Los Angeles Times*: B15; S. I. Hayakawa, “Mr. Hayakawa Goes to Washington,” *Harper’s Magazine* 256 (January 1978): 39–43, quotation on p. 43.

6 Lou Cannon, “Hayakawa Breakfast: Lao-tse or Lausche?,” 27 April 1977, *Washington Post*: A1.

7 William Endicott, “Hayakawa Makes It Clear: He’ll Seek Tunney’s Seat,” 21 January 1976, *Los Angeles Times*: C1.

8 Bill Stall, “Hayakawa Puts the Accent on Action in GOP Senate Campaign,” 2 April 1976, *Los Angeles Times*: OC-B5.

9 Tom Goff, “Hayakawa: Soft Sell Pays Off,” 5 May 1976, *Los Angeles Times*: A3.

10 William Endicott, “Hayakawa’s Age Becomes Campaign Issue,” 15 May 1976, *Los Angeles Times*: C1.

11 *Almanac of American Politics, 1980* (Washington, DC: National Journal, Inc., 1979): 56.

12 *Almanac of American Politics, 1980*: 52.

13 Tom Goff, “Tunney Defeats Hayden, 59%–41%; Hayakawa Wins,” 9 June 1976, *Los Angeles Times*: 3.

14 Larry Stammer, “Hayakawa Cultivates His ‘Political Innocent’ Image,” 4 October 1976, *Los Angeles Times*: B1; Lou Cannon, “Hayakawa’s Style: He Shuns Court Jester Role,” 27 February 1977, *Washington Post*: A1.

15 Larry Stammer, “Hayakawa Rides Rails to San Diego,” 31 October 1976, *Los Angeles Times*: A3.

16 Lou Cannon, “Hayakawa vs. Tunney: Californians’ Senate Race is Unusual,” 17 October 1976, *Washington Post*: L1.

17 Cannon, “Hayakawa’s Style: He Shuns Court Jester Role.”

18 Office of the Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives, “Election Statistics, 1920 to Present,” <http://history.house.gov/Institution/Election-Statistics/Election-Statistics/>; Goff, “Hayakawa: the Making of a Senator.”

19 Colman McCarthy, “A Semanticist Loose in the Political Stacks,” 30 November 1976, *Los Angeles Times*: C7.



- 20 “Head Start For Hayakawa,” 10 December 1976, *Washington Post*: A30.
- 21 *Congressional Record*, Senate, 95th Cong., 1st sess. (10 February 1977): 4151–4152; Richard Bergholz, “Hayakawa Acts to Aid Tuna Fleet,” 22 January 1977, *Los Angeles Times*: A30.
- 22 Cannon, “Hayakawa’s Style: He Shuns Court Jester Role”; Ellen Hume, “Gaffe Puts Hayakawa in Badger State,” 27 September 1977, *Los Angeles Times*: B14.
- 23 Ellen Hume, “Prof. Hayakawa Still a Student in the Senate,” 18 September 1977, *Los Angeles Times*: A1; Linda Charlton, “Hayakawa Finds Senate Friends More Interesting Than Ph.D.’s,” 27 April 1977, *New York Times*: 18.
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- 32 *Congressional Record*, Senate, 95th Cong., 1st sess. (7 October 1977): 32867–32870, quotation on p. 32870.
- 33 S. I. Hayakawa, “Minimum Wage: Helping Hand or Empty Promise?,” 4 January 1981, *Los Angeles Times*: F5. For a similar argument, see *Congressional Record*, Senate, 96th Cong., 1st sess. (29 March 1979): 6706–6707; *Congressional Record*, Senate, 96th Cong., 1st sess. (11 July 1979): 18012–18013.
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- 35 *Congressional Record*, Senate, 96th Cong., 1st sess. (30 April 1979): 8935; see also *Congressional Record*, Senate, 97th Cong., 1st sess. (21 May 1981): 10798–10799.
- 36 *Congressional Record*, Senate, 97th Cong., 1st sess. (27 April 1981): 7444–7445. See also *Congressional Record*, Senate, 97th Cong., 1st sess. (14 October 1981): 23980–23982; *Congressional Record*, Senate, 97th Cong., 1st sess. (24 March 1981): 5088–5089.
- 37 *Congressional Record*, Senate, 97th Cong., 1st sess. (6 January 1981): 167–168.
- 38 S. I. Hayakawa, “English By Law,” 1 October 1981, *New York Times*: A35. See also *Congressional Record*, Senate, 96th Cong., 1st sess. (1 May 1979): 214–215.
- 39 Jay Mathews, “Sen. Hayakawa Drops Bid for Reelection,” 30 January 1982, *Washington Post*: A5.
- 40 “About U.S. English: History,” accessed 30 October 2014, <http://www.usenglish.org/history>.
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