



12-22-1945

Pacific Citizen December 22, 1945 (incomplete)

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Hawaii Will Never Be Quite the Same Again A Sociologist's View of the Island Situation

The Old Order in Hawaii Is Going,
Heralding a New Era of Economic and
Racial Harmony for These Pacific Isles

By JOHN A. RADEMAKER
Assistant Professor of Sociology
University of Hawaii

Hawaii will never be quite the same again. The war has left its precipitates of feeling, attitudes, practices, men and women, and buildings. But these seems to be no clear indication as yet as how much loss and how much gain is involved in the change. The old happy-go-lucky Hawaii in which everyone had his place and was kept in it is gone.

Challenges to the old order started with the influx of tens of thousands of servicemen and women, and tens of thousands of mainland workers. The old caste

order of haoles—whites—who did no manual labor is evidently no longer true. The lack of domestic servants, the presence in bus and street of haoles with work clothes—"haoles with dirty faces and pants"—attest to the fact that haoles are both able and willing to do manual work when they feel that it is proper or necessary to do so. Many firms which never before hired persons of Oriental ancestry are running with practically no one else on the work force except a few haole supervisors. Fields of activity formerly reserved to haoles, or to Hawaiians, or to some other group have been entered by persons from many other groups. The changes have been most evident in the case of defense and war work jobs, but they have occurred in every field of economic activity. People who have "cashed in" on opportunities to make money have in a few cases engaged in conspicuous speculation in real estate. Several business men of Chinese ancestry who have done this have brought upon themselves and upon the entire Chinese American community severe criticism of the sort which is always directed at the "newly-rich" ambitious family. The criticism is often couched in racial terms, although it is well known that some haoles have been engaging in similar speculation. This is symptomatic of the fact that during the war the Japanese Americans in Hawaii have been handicapped in economic competition by military regulations and by their status as enemy aliens, in the case of the Issei. As a result, and also because of other factors such as their old and well-established place in business throughout the Territory, the Chinese Americans here have become the nearest competitors of the haoles for economic supremacy. Hence there exists considerable feeling against the Chinese Americans here by the haoles who feel their security threatened by this competition. The Japanese

Americans, who were in the position of runner-up for competitive honors before the war, exhibit mixed feelings of (1) relief that they are no longer "on the spot" in this regard, (2) sympathy for the Chinese Americans because of the unjustified criticism of the entire group based on the conspicuous action of a few individuals selected for criticism at least partly because of their racial ancestry, and (3) resentment at the fact that they were barred from equally advantageous opportunities for economic advancement during the war. Certainly, with the end of the war, many shifts are certain to occur again. War and defense work jobs will fall off, high speculative turnover of money will decrease, and a gradual return to more limited incomes, smaller population, less military expenditures, will be the order of the day. The fever for making money in a hurry, with high risks and high profits, will soon be much weaker, and business on a more stable and permanent basis will gradually resume.

What does the future offer for the Japanese Americans in Hawaii? For some 600 families whose members were interned or evacuated to the mainland, or caught there without transportation back, it will mean the reunion of long separated loved ones. For nearly every family in the Territory, it will mean the return of some loved one from the armed services of his country; but for many it will mean the sorrowful realization that some loved one will not return from the battle for Democracy. It is difficult to adjust one's thinking and feeling to the knowledge that "the last full measure of devotion to his country has been freely offered, honestly accepted, and gratefully received in the hour of crisis and final sacrifice," as one General here put it. But come what may, everyone here is thoroughly conscious of the fact (Continued on page 24)



THESE HAWAIIAN AMERICAN SERVICEMEN, many of whom are of Japanese ancestry, show in their faces the composite racial make-up of the Hawaiian Islands. Evident in these faces are the Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, Portuguese and Cau-

casian strains that today are forming a new race. Shown here at New York's Hotel Astor, where they were entertained by Earl Finch of Mississippi, they are seen singing the songs that have made the Island Paradise famous. But the Hawaii to which

they will return after service is not the same Hawaii, says sociologist John Rademaker, author of the accompanying article. The tremendous social upheavals there may someday make for a racial and economic Paradise in the land of the pineapple and moonlit beaches.

The AJA's in Hawaiian Unions

Within a Decade Labor Has Been the Force
Welding Japanese Americans into the Larger
Interracial Community, Says an Observer

By JOHN E. REINECKE

In 1935 there were 500 trade union members in Hawaii. Today there are close to 30,000. Nearly one-half are of Japanese descent or birth. Within a decade, trade unions have become one of the most effective forces welding American Japanese into the larger, interracial community. In AFL and CIO unions Japanese participate on an equal footing with other members and furnish a large number of leaders.

This condition was effected against the opposition of the small Caucasian aristocracy which owns nearly everything worth owning in Hawaii and dominates its social and political life into the bargain. In spite of the much advertised racial harmony of the Islands, the aristocracy has had an essentially colonial point of view toward the other racial groups. Low wages and docility for the masses; high profits, some noblesse oblige, and a monopoly of initiative and leadership for themselves—such has been the ideal of the group dubbed by the unappreciative "the Lord's Anointed." "Benevolent paternalism" the plantation-based system is called in Hawaii.

Benevolent paternalism and unions, Hawaiian employers recognized, cannot long exist side by side. Unionism threatens the low wage structure of the plantations which employ directly one-third of the Islands' workers. Unionism threatens no less the social and political system founded on 75 years of plantation economy: it would give the ordinary, non-Caucasian workingman an effective voice in running Hawaii.

Two-fifths of the labor force in 1940 were Japanese; formerly the proportion was greater. Unionization of the Japanese has been regarded with more than usual apprehension, because the Japanese have long been the core of Hawaii's working class, and because

of the strong solidarity of the Japanese community.

Chiefly because of language barriers, unionization of plantation labor before 1938 was attempted only along nationality lines. Japanese plantation hands struck in 1909 against racial differentials in wages. Again in 1920 they struck for a basic wage of \$1.25 a day, to meet postwar prices. The strikers were supported by the Japanese community generally, which regarded the strike as a display of *yamato damashii*, but not by the consul-general, who sided with the sugar planters' association. At a cost of \$12,000,000 the planters won the 1920 strike and effectively crushed unionization for nearly a generation.

The nationalistic nature of the strikes, particularly that of 1920, was the occasion for more or less sincere distrust of the Japanese community. Declared a spokesman of the sugar planters:

"The Territory of Hawaii is now and is going to be American; it is going to remain American under any condition and we are going to control the situation out there. . . . The white race, the white people, the Americans in Hawaii are going to dominate and will dominate."

Meanwhile, attempts in 1919-21 to organize longshoremen and other groups of employees in Honolulu along non-racial lines were just as firmly suppressed as were nationalistic unions of Japanese and Filipino plantation hands.

Effective organization of urban labor in Hawaii had to wait for the great nation-wide upsurge of 1935. In that year unionization of dock workers was begun by the International Longshoremen's Association, shortly before its West Coast branches became the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (CIO).

Union organization proceeded

slowly in the teeth of employer opposition and the natural fear and apathy of workers who had known of unions only as organizations associated with unsuccessful strikes. Among early "agitators" whose uphill efforts laid the foundation for later union growth was Jack H. Kawano, since 1938 president of the Honolulu waterfront local of the ILWU. In 1938 organization of plantation workers on a non-racial basis was begun on the island of Kauai, where for the first time labor successfully entered politics. Defense construction in 1941 brought a remarkable rise in the membership of the AFL building and metal trades locals. Local No. 745 of the Carpenters, for example, grew from a Caucasian club of possibly 75 members to a genuine union of 1400 members, largely AJA's.

The war, the blackout, and conditions under military rule set back union organization from one to four years. Not until late in 1942 was organization resumed in Honolulu and not until January 1944 did the Longshoremen begin their big drive on the plantations. Meanwhile union rolls had been cut in half.

Demoralization of the American Japanese community during the first year of the war unquestionably contributed to the inactivity of unions. Nevertheless it does not appear that AJA's dropped out of unions much more than did other workers, and when organization was resumed they signed up as readily as anyone else. Unions, incidentally, were one of the few institutions in which Japanese could participate actively on a non-racial basis.

But Japanese participation in unions met with some opposition both from employers and from the military. Several officers who dealt with labor had both an anti-union and an anti-Japanese bias; and ties between employers and the military were close.

On Kauai island, where union membership had been heavily Japanese, not only union meetings but (Continued on page 23)

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"The tragedy is that we hate each other in this war-torn world, rather than the way of life which pits man against man and society against society." . . . ELMER R. SMITH.

from *Prejudice and the Nisei*, page 18.

"The old happy-go-lucky Hawaii in which everyone had his place and was kept in it is gone" . . . JOHN A. RADEMAKER.

from *Hawaii Will Never Be the Same Again*, page 17.

"Unions are, quite distinctly, a force that is making American Japanese more conscious of their heritage, rights and dignity as Americans, and welding them to their fellow Hawaiian Islanders of all descents" . . . JOHN E. REINECKE.

From *AJA's in Hawaiian Unions*, page 17.

"The racial 'aloha' supposedly existing in these islands has been proven to be more of a slogan than an actual fact." . . . MINEO KITAGARI.

from *The Situation in Hawaii*, page 18.

"I don't see no colored guy here. All I see are Americans." . . . TOSHIO MORI.

from *Time Out at Al's*, page 19.

"We run a great risk of forfeiting what democracy we have if minorities accept intolerance and injustice submitted against them in silence." . . . FRED FERTIG.

from *Some Notes for the Nisei*, page 21.

An Anthropologist Speaks on Prejudice and the Nisei

By ELMER R. SMITH

The year 1945 has seen the ceasing of war on two fronts of the world, but it has not seen peace established either at home or abroad for the people of the United States. This Christmas finds the people divided upon the issues for which many of our young people have given their last full measure of devotion. Group tensions, prejudices, discriminations are gnawing at the life fibers of all of us, of no matter what breed or birth. Let us, at this time, near the close of a very eventful year, take stock of exactly where we stand in relation to the "democratic ideal," and the philosophy of the "freedom" for which all of us have been working and fighting. The Nisei are part of this society and are influenced by the same forces at present loose in the world.

The Nisei find themselves once more back in the stream of American life, rubbing shoulders with the many people making up our society. Many of these Nisei have brought with them out of relocation centers prejudices against specific groups and organizations which were the natural result of life behind the army gates of a relocation center. It is time the Nisei asked themselves what these prejudices are and upon what basis they have developed and are supported by facts. This analysis might begin by asking the following questions: Do I believe all Caucasians are responsible for evacuation? Do I believe Jews took advantage of evacuation to control my own and my ethnic group's property? Do I believe the Negro and the Chinese were back of evacuation? Do I hate Negroes because they live in my old neighborhood? Do I believe that Filipinos, Chinese, Mexicans, Negroes are all ready to be against me when I take up my activities in my home town? Must I for my own protection discriminate against these various groups in order to survive?

In order to get a clear picture of the attitudes associated with a positive answer to all or to one of the above questions, it will be necessary to ask ourselves how we got that way. First, let us realize that within the present period of stress and strain much propaganda has been leveled at the various ethnic groups within the American cultural pattern. The Nisei have been under this influence, and have even been used as a source of pressure in certain communities to aid in spreading propaganda against the Filipinos, Mexicans and Negroes. The race baiters along the Pacific Coast are conscious of the fact that to pit one ethnic group against the other is the most potent way of gaining their own selfish ends. They have not overlooked the possibilities of turning Japanese Americans against other minority groups. To create a "racial scene" or riot between groups is exactly what these race baiters desire. To bring about a racial tension among the various ethnic groups will create the exact excuse to "be rid" of all the groups causing the "disturbance" or tension situation.

Second, it is a well established principle that when any given groups have been forced by social circumstances to undergo a severe strain, such as evacuation and discrimination as to where one will live, how one will live, and where one will travel the frustrations associated with such experiences call forth some sort of aggressive action. This aggressive action is usually taken out on a group already weak and discriminated against. The Nisei thus finds many ethnic groups at hand ready to be attacked. In some instances, economic competition presents a very good excuse for discrimination and prejudice. The returning Japanese American finds his business that he had before evacuation now being controlled by a Jew, a Negro or a Chinese American. The Nisei, if he becomes discriminatory against this person or group, forgets that society does not stand still, that labor and service demands created a situation in which this person or group of persons could function satisfactorily. A labor vacuum was created and had to be filled by the available labor. It is not the person or group that should be blamed; they are but the symptoms of social forces at work in a changing society.

Third, it must not be lost sight of that in our very complex and ever-changing society, the social forces are greater than individual forces alone in bringing about cultural conditions. Most people at the time of the evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry from

the Pacific Coast did not know what was going on nor why it was going on, if they did know such a step was being taken. It was not until months after evacuation that the American people as a whole realized that something had been done to American citizens that had never been done before under the name of American democracy.

Fourth, the Nisei in their discriminatory attitudes and acts toward other ethnic groups should be able to recall the misunderstandings which brought about their own plight for three long years. This discrimination was brought about by the failure to recognize each and every person of Japanese ancestry as an individual, and the lumping of all "Japanese" within the same over-all classification. The failure to recognize the individual worth of any person lies at the foundation of prejudice and discrimination of whatever sort of color. The individual is important first and always in any democratic society.

Fifth, the very foundation of the democracy in which we have chosen to live demands that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" free from selfish, prejudiced controls be the right of all men of whatever race, creed or color. All persons of whatever ethnic group must so evaluate their own prejudices and dislikes in terms of the individual worth of their fellow men and not upon the "classification" of individuals into groups to hate and despise.

The tragedy of our prejudices is that we hate the symptoms of greed, selfishness, prejudice, discrimination evidenced by humans, instead of the evils themselves. The tragedy is that we hate each other in this war-torn world, rather than the way of life which pits man against man and society against society. Let us re-evaluate our prejudices in terms of the forces at work in our topsy-turvy world rather than in terms of the mere symptoms of our confusion.

Notes on the Authors Contributing to PC's Holiday Edition

Lean, lanky, pipe-smoking ELMER R. SMITH has been a trouble-shooter on behalf of Japanese Americans since the evacuation first brought a number of them to the state of Utah. At that time a member of the University of Utah anthropology staff, he informally adopted Nisei students on the campus. In 1944 he joined the War Relocation Authority as a community analyst at the Minidoka center in Idaho. He is presently in Seattle scouting out the needs of Nisei returnees, and working as a consultant to the Japanese Americans.

MINEO KATAGIRI, author of "The Situation in the Hawaiian Islands," is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, presently a minister in Honolulu. Except for the years spent in the United States as a student, Rev. Katagiri has been a resident of the Hawaiian Islands and thus writes with authority.

JOHN R. RADEMAKER is, along with Elmer R. Smith, another alumnus of the WRA community analysts. His school, however, was the Granada relocation center at Amache, Colorado. He was formerly a sociologist at the University of Washington, at the present is serving in the same capacity at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu.

TOSHIO MORI, whose short stories have appeared in "Coast," "New Directions," the "Clipper" and the Pacific Citizen, is a San Leandro, California, citizen. During the evacuation he was at the Topaz relocation center in Utah. Many of his WRA center experiences have found their way through his typewriter onto paper.

Mineo Katagiri: The Situation in the Hawaiian Islands A Report to Continental America

To say that the world is undergoing a revolution is a truism. To say that Hawaii is a part of that revolution and is undergoing a revolutionary change is of great import to the residents of these islands. The weaknesses inherent in our feudal structure are now coming to the forefront and the forces for democracy are making themselves more greatly felt.

The racial "aloha" supposedly existing in these islands has been proven to be more of a slogan than an actual fact. It is true that better racial relations existed here than in most parts of the world, but it was based on tolerance rather than equality. Every night there are fights between the civilians and servicemen which ended in a riot involving well over 500 men near Pearl Harbor. To our Hawaiian boys the servicemen are representatives of the white or haole race against whom they have a bone to pick. In other words I am one of those who feel that the "race feeling" plays a definite role in these fights. And then, of course, the now famous case of Kiyo Nakama. A world champion swimmer who has done so much for Hawaii was denied the privilege of dining with his friend, and co-champion, Bill Smith at the Outrigger Canoe Club because the Club's unwritten policy is to exclude anyone of Oriental extraction. The influx of the Negroes as servicemen and civilian workers has tended to force the drawing of a stricter color line. Discrimination against the Negro in the USO, certain eating places, etc., has tended to make us all conscious of our racial backgrounds.

In the area of economics the stranglehold of the "Big Five" is visibly weakening. But it will be a long time before the hold will weaken sufficiently to die. The labor movement is, of course, contributing to that end. Organized labor has gone into the plantations and that ought to help in creating a more truly economic democracy. A large bulk of the membership and leadership of organized labor is made up of Nisei. Because of the huge earnings made by everyone during the war years there is a greater sense of independence on the part of the people who live in the city. With their great savings they feel they can be free of pressure from other groups and pressures have a strange way of coming to independent people in these islands.

There are certain forces now at play which contribute to the building of a more democratic Hawaii. The Labor Canteen has been exerting a great service to our people in that it sponsors forums, musicales, labor classes, dances, discussions and other useful programs on a completely interracial basis. The servicemen have nothing to inhibit their speaking, and many of them have vast knowledge and experiences, and they do speak their minds, much to the horror of some people. They are giving us an education in Freedom of Speech. Then there is the American Veterans Committee which recently applied for a local charter. It has the liberal elements of the veterans and their program augurs well for the future of these islands. There are other groups such as the Lions Club the Human Relations Committee of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the newly organized Hawaii Association for Civic Unity. These are examples of the forces now at work to bring about greater racial and economic democracy in these islands. In all of them the Nisei is playing significant roles.

What the Nisei Are Doing

Now I want to go into the subject of what the Nisei are specifically doing in the various areas of life, remembering that the end we seek is a democratic Hawaii. With the prestige won during the war by the "blood, sweat and tears" of all the Nisei elements we are now in a position to make a real contribution toward the building of a liberal and democratic Hawaii.

Let me discuss the veterans first for they have, by their sacrifices, earned the number one spot. At the moment the veterans are still small in number. Most of their comrades have not yet returned from Italy. They, like other combat men, have yearned for quiet and rest. They are now getting it. But the signs of their awakening is definitely good. Slowly they are



Left to right, Hung Wai Ching, Charles F. Loomis and Shigeo Yoshida are shown being commended by Lt. Gen. Robert C. Richardson, Jr., commanding general, Army Forces, Middle Pacific, for meritorious service to military authorities in helping maintain the unity of Hawaii's population during the war. The outstanding work of the Emergency Service Committee, mentioned in the article here by Mineo Katagiri, was especially commended by Gen. Richardson in his speech.

"Specifically, the work of the Morale section in assisting my military intelligence officer to organize and direct the emergency Service Committee on Oahu and its affiliates on the other islands, its interest in the Varsity Victory Volunteer program, in recruitment for the 442nd Combat Team and special interpreter units as well as many other significant accomplishments in the field of race relations and adjustments, have been of outstanding benefit to our country," said Gen. Richardson.

emerging to make their opinions and desires heard. The American Veterans Committee has taken a strong stand as I have already noted and the president pro tem of that organization is Barney Ono, a veteran of the 100th Battalion. The majority of the membership is made up of the Nisei group. Chaplain Yamada has signed up and expressed the opinion that in time the bulk of the 152nd will join this organization as long as it is faithful to the statement of intentions.

When Kamokila Campbell, the Japanese baiting politician, opened her campaign for reelection in 1946 by sponsoring a huge party for combat veterans the Nisei stayed away en masse. They have not forgotten the statements she made at the last election. Those who attended, unwittingly due to ignorance of her position, were called down by their fellow veterans. They are becoming articulate about those democratic rights for which they fought. Tosh Shimabukuro, "the only Nisei in the Navy," saw action in the Philippines and says now, "I'm anxious to do something for democracy at home. I'm restless when I see things like the riot and the Kiyo Nakama incident." That feeling is becoming more widespread among the veterans and I personally look forward to the veterans to play a significant role in the days ahead.

What about politics. Are the Nisei going to run for the legislature in 1946? Yes, the Nisei are going to take active parts in the 1946 elections. There will be Nisei candidates. That, I think, is a certainty. I am not in a position to reveal who those candidates will be, but I do know that candidates there will be. Simply because they are Nisei does not mean that they are going to be good liberal men. Therefore, very serious thought has been given as to the possible candidates to make certain that the best will try for election.

Nisei will take part in other forms of political activity. Many will take leadership in the Political Action Committee simply because so many are in positions of leadership in organized labor. Still others will be active in the existing political parties. Nisei will play their role and make their contribution to the political life of these islands. Make no mistake about that.

The Nisei are probably making the greatest contribution in the labor movement. But so much has already been written about it that I hesitate to write about it lest I repeat what has already been made known to the readers of the PACIFIC CITIZEN. Let me merely

note here that the labor movement is the most significant force for economic democracy at this time in Hawaii. Everyone has heard of the excellent leadership given by Jack Kawano to the ILWU-CIO. There are others who are doing equally significant work within the ILWU. Bert Nakano, Hilo, and Arakaki of Alta are examples. The AFL has Wilfred Oka, who, in a short space of time, has made great progress in a rather lethargic outfit.

What about the place of the Nisei in Civic organizations? Here again the Nisei are doing well. The Emergency Service Committee in disbanding went on record as favoring interracial organizations rather than strictly Nisei organizations. It is therefore committed to take responsibility in interracial organizations of which they are members. It would be impossible to name all the individuals involved but it may be pointed out that Mr. Mitsuyuki Kido and Mr. Stanley Miyamoto are taking very active parts in the formation of the Hawaii Association for Civic Unity. More and more the Nisei are accepting responsibility in civic life.

This is an optimistic report of Hawaii and the Nisei role in it. I think there are very good reasons for optimism. I have tried to share with you in a very cursory way some reasons that justify optimism. Hawaii is far from the ideal society that our Tourist Bureau in years past made it out to be. We are becoming conscious of our imperfections and are now trying to better the conditions. We are desperately in need of wise leadership, wide education, great courage. We are getting them slowly, painfully, but energetically. The Nisei faces the future with numerous questions in his mind, some skepticism, but with courage, faith, and a willingness to work for a democratic society just as he fought against the forces of fascism on foreign soil. The future is his to mold and he will give it a try.

SINCERE GREETINGS
MR. AND MRS.
LORNE W. BELL
Y. M. C. A.
Honolulu, T. H.

Greetings to Men of the 442nd
Infantry and Friends of the Aloha
Center USO
Melvin H. Harter
USO — YMCA Pacific Coast Area
144 So. Chester
Pasadena 5, California

The AJA's in Hawaiian Unions

(Continued from page 17)

collection of dues was forbidden by the military. Ichiro Izuka, president of Local 135 of the ILWU, was sent to a concentration camp on the recommendation of a panel of three plantation managers, and when, after an imprisonment of six months, he was released under pressure from the ILWU, he was forced to leave Kauai. His examiners, he reported, were more concerned with what he thought of Harry Bridges than with what he thought of Hirohito.

When organization of plantation workers was begun on Hawaii island in 1944, Japanese employees were intimidated by a civilian working for Army Intelligence under direction of an officer whose brother happens to be a plantation manager. AJA union organizers who went to Maui were browbeaten and expelled from the island by the provost marshal, who accused them of being spies. His action was immediately disavowed by the commanding general.

Such highhanded tactics were not used in Honolulu, where in general the only thing unions had to fear was fear itself. Jack H. Kawano, however, was denied a waterfront pass and so was hampered in directing his local. Although he was then official representative of the CIO in Hawaii, he was passed over because of his ancestry when the "Military Governor" appointed a Section of Labor Control. Mr. Kawano was, however, appointed by the civil governor, Ingram M. Stainback, to sit on the Territorial War Manpower Commission.

When unions resumed activity in 1943, a stop-work demonstration by one local and a slowdown by another, both heavily AJA in membership though under Caucasian leadership, were the occasion of an undercover movement by certain employers to keep Japanese out of unions. They attempted to work through the Emergency Service Committee, set up by the Army from among AJA leaders, which was the only purely Japanese organization (besides Churches) tolerated in Hawaii. Quick work by one or two pro-labor members of the Committee and by Arthur A. Rutledge, business agent of Teamsters Local No. 996, brought the attempt into the open, whereupon it was quietly dropped. Though both the Army and a section of management would have preferred to prevent unionization of Japanese workers, they could not take the position of demanding that the Japanese isolate themselves from their fellow workers by staying out of unions and branding themselves as "scabs."

The Advertiser, one of the two English language dailies of Honolulu, frequently takes occasion to attack the American Japanese community through its editorials and its correspondence column. Every participation of AJA's in strikes has been an occasion for an attack. In September 1945, when a union of milk and ice cream distributors composed mainly of American Japanese went on strike, the Advertiser printed a letter attributing the union's action to the inborn cruelty of Japs.

One of the last actions of the Emergency Service Committee before disbanding was to urge labor and management to counteract such propaganda. The Hawaii Employers' Council, which handles practically all the labor relations of Hawaii's interlocked business community, issued a large advertisement denying that race entered in any way into current postwar labor disputes.

This action may indicate that in the future little encouragement will be given attempts to inject the Japanese issue into Hawaiian labor relations. But only time can tell.

Conditions under military rule were responsible for the rapidity with which union organization swept the Territory once the workers regained their self-confidence. Much of urban labor resented being "frozen" to their jobs at lower wages than those enjoyed by war workers. Plantation labor, which was extremely underpaid, felt the same resentment more strongly; in addition—living as it does in company-owned villages—it was fed up with the irksome dependence upon management in every detail of its daily life. Employees of Japanese descent felt that the sacrifices of their brothers in Italy entitled them to share fully in the democratic way of life.

The International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (CIO) has set out to organize Hawaii's basic industries, sugar and pineapples, as well as the docks and railroads and several subsidiary firms. The ILWU has about 17,000 dues-paying members and expects to reach 30,000. Both on the West Coast and in Hawaii the ILWU has taken a militant stand against racial discrimination. Its pressure caused the Navy to restore AJA stevedores to the Hilo waterfront, from which they had been barred for over three years. The ILWU has a policy of active participation in politics; two of its officials sit in the Territorial legislature, and this year it secured the passage of a "Little Wagner Act" protecting the right of agricultural workers to organize. It urges full participation of American Japanese in political and civic life, and an end of "second class citizenship" in Hawaii.

About 50 per cent of the ILWU members are of Japanese stock. The proportion of Japanese officers is less, partly because of the practice of electing one unit officer from each of the chief ethnic groups represented.

At least two AJA officers have Territory-wide recognition as union leaders: Jack H. Kawano, president of Local 137 (Honolulu dock workers), and Bert H. Nakano, secretary of Local 136 (Hilo waterfront) and ILWU representative for Hawaii island. Several other leaders of considerable stature are emerging. Incidentally, the regional director, California-bred Jack W. Hall, is married to a Nisei.

AFL membership, being divided among a number of unions, is hard to estimate exactly; it may amount to 12,000. Of these perhaps 40 per cent are American Japanese. The proportion in the various locals

varies from nearly zero to 90 per cent. AFL strength is almost wholly in Honolulu and Pearl Harbor, mostly in government employment, the public utilities, and trucking. American Japanese, it is to be remembered, are still barred from employment in the Naval Bases, one of the centers of AFL strength. (The ban was lifted shortly after this article was written.)

AFL policy regarding Japanese membership has differed from union to union, and in the past some locals practiced a certain amount of discrimination, extending in one case to complete debarment of Japanese from membership. At present Japanese are welcomed into every AFL local in Hawaii and compose the main strength of several.

On the whole, local AFL policy has been as strongly against discrimination as has that of the ILWU. Thus, for example, on October 25, 1945, the Street, Electric Railway & Motor Coach employees strongly protested the Navy's barring AJA bus drivers from Pearl Harbor runs. The outstanding figure of the Hawaiian AFL is Arthur A. Rutledge, business agent for Hotel, Restaurant Employees & Bartenders Local No. 5 and for the Teamsters Joint Council, comprising four locals. Mr. Rutledge on numerous occasions has publicly defended Japanese workers against discrimination by the military, by employers, and by mainland unions.

American Japanese prominent in AFL unions include Wilfred Oka, alternate member of the Hawaii War Labor Board and organizer for the Teamsters Joint Council; K. Imori, veteran organizer of the Brewery Workers Union and now organizer for Machinists Local No. 1245; Lawrence Shigeura, now in the armed forces, formerly business agent for several locals; Thomas Yamatsu and George Ishihara, presidents of Teamsters locals; Howard Inouye, president of Moving Picture Machine Operators Local No. 665; Chester Akamine, president of Painters Local No. 1493.

Both AFL and ILWU leaders praise the Japanese as being—considering the immaturity of the union movement in Hawaii—intelligent and staunch unionists. "A Japanese takes his time making up his mind before joining a union," says one AFL business agent, "but once he joins he sticks." In strikes the Japanese are stubborn fighters. A strike of Issei and Nisei longshoremen at Port Allen, Kauai, in 1940-41, lasted for ten months without a single unionist quitting. One must add, however, that a Filipino longshore unit, with less resources, stayed out just as long. Striking Teamsters of Japanese descent recently appeared on a picket line carrying home-

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made lunches. "We'll take care of ourselves for the first three months of the strike."

Within most Hawaiian locals a man is accepted according to his merits as an individual. Predominantly Japanese locals elect non-Japanese officers and vice versa. Only one gap is important in some plantation locals: that between the Japanese and other groups who also have for the most part been bred in Hawaii, and the Filipinos. The latter, as immigrants, occupy a lower social position and often cannot speak English well enough to follow union proceedings intelligently. Toward them the AJA's sometimes take a superior attitude. Nevertheless participation together in union affairs is bringing Japanese and Filipinos together more rapidly than any other agency has done in the past.

Unions are, quite distinctly, a force that is making American Japanese more conscious of their heritage, rights, and dignity as Americans, and welding them to their fellow Hawaiian Islanders of all descents.

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Hawaii Will Never Be Quite the Same Again

(Continued from page 17)

that all doubts have been dissipated concerning the loyalty and trustworthiness of the Americans of Japanese ancestry. Those who doubted early in the war have few or no followers among the regular residents of the Islands. The position of the Japanese Americans here is secure, if it is not jeopardized by national legislation or regulation based upon an incorrect conception of the situation here or on the mainland.

For incorrect conceptions are not wholly dispersed even yet. Despite the publication of the facts by the F. B. I., the Army Intelligence Service, the chief of police, and by private individuals such as the recent emphatic and sweeping denials of early rumors by Fulton Lewis, Jr., and other commentators and organizations, one will find many, especially among the mainland defense workers living in a small world of their own in the navy yard, and among a few troops, who believe sincerely that the Japanese Americans aided the enemy in his attack on Pearl Harbor. If that is so here, where so much publicity from authentic and high sources has been spread so widely and so repeatedly, it is probable that that impression will be even more firmly fixed in the minds of people on the mainland. Constant effort will be necessary, with frequent references to the Tolan Committee Report and to other authentic sources of information concerning what took place here during the blitz on Pearl Harbor, if the facts are to be known and recognized in place of the early rumors which were responsible in part for evacuation. A forthcoming book by Dr. Andrew W. Lind, chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of Hawaii, will present a factual, scholarly account and analysis of the Japanese Americans in Hawaii during the war. A more popular pictorial account covering somewhat the same topic is under preparation by the writer. These should help to clear up the impressions of Americans concerning the role of Japanese Americans in Hawaii's war efforts. They should help to make facts, rather than fiction, the basis for belief and action of the American people with regard to Japanese Americans, both here and on the mainland.

Probably the most important development in Hawaii since the beginning of the war lies in the economic basis for life in the Islands. The old ratio of two persons in agriculture (chiefly sugar and pineapple growing) to one in business and industry has been altered. War and defense industries, war service, and war-time consumer demands have together called many people from the plantations into the towns and cities and defense installations. The wage structure has been strongly affected by war-time wages in such fields and by wartime profits. The CIO has entered the Territory in a serious and successful effort to

organize workers in the maritime industries and on the plantations. The ILWU has some 25,000 members to its credit alone. In practically all cases union organization has been based upon racial equality and recognition of the need for all races to work together if the labor movement is to be successful in Hawaii. Many of the union leaders are local boys of Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian, Portuguese, Korean, or Filipino extraction. A few experienced haole leaders from the mainland are working here, usually as regional representatives of national or international unions. So far the labor movement is the strongest, most consistent, and most effective force in the Territory working toward complete racial equality and economic democracy regardless of race, creed, or culture. There are other strong forces working in the same direction, particularly some of the churches, and, as a whole, the schools. Certain practices remain which oppose these efforts, such practices as some cases of differential pay for the same work on a racial basis, a few ceilings on promotions to high executive positions for non-haole workers, and some exclusive racial organizations. But those who support these practices are definitely on the defensive.

Moreover, there are some indications that the upper class haoles who have heretofore been the leaders in determining policy in Hawaii are realizing that the changed conditions here demand a change of policy. In order to keep employees in our basic industries of sugar and pineapple growing working with some degree of satisfaction and with morale suitable to insure

profitable production, wages and living conditions will have to be improved. If this is done, the tide of workers leaving the plantations for the cities will be reduced considerably, and possibly reversed. It is obvious, however, that some plantation owners and operators have been considering alternatives to this policy. As early as January, 1945, efforts were begun to bring in considerable numbers of unskilled workers from the Philippines or elsewhere to fill the vacuum left by departing plantation workers who felt that the house, medical service, water, and fuel, plus the \$2.35 per day average wage paid them on plantations was not enough to compensate for the hard work they had to do. The CIO at first approved the plan as necessary in view of war needs, but has recently declared that the end of the war and the impending unemployment in Hawaii render this plan unjustifiable. The Department of the Interior announced that the plan would have to be reconsidered. Shortly thereafter, the Secretary of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association stated that:

"No one wants to work at a job simply because there isn't any other job to go to. The ideal condition is a life that does yield contentment, security, and progress, and providing that condition should be somewhere close to the answer to the problem of making workers want plantation life." (Honolulu Advertiser, Nov. 10, 1945.)

This new policy seems to herald a new era of economic progress and racial harmony in Hawaii. It is to be hoped that the Association membership is wise enough to sup-

port this policy wholeheartedly, unanimously, and sincerely, as an outgrowth of the conviction that it is the most valid and profitable policy for them and for the entire community in the long run.

The feeling against Japanese Americans manifested during the early part of the war by the Koreans and Filipinos has declined considerably, and will probably continue to decrease. The forthcoming independence of Korea, and the rehabilitation of the Philippines will both help to reduce tensions between these groups. Support of these measures by Japanese Americans should help to establish their sincerity and goodwill as Americans.

The new Regional Director of the Veterans' Administration, Colonel Bicknell, has been appointed, and the needs of the veterans of Hawaii seem to be in safe and conscientious hands.

To all our many friends on the mainland, Mrs. Rademaker, Johnnie, Janice, and I send our best wishes for a happy and prosperous New Year and many more of them.

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