CHAPTER 11
HAWAII DURING THE WAR YEARS

THE MAJOR THEME HERE IS THE IMPACT OF THE WAR ON LABOR, LABOR ORGANIZING, AND SUBSEQUENT UNIONIZATION.

FIRST, THAT THE EMPLOYMENT PROFILE WAS CHANGING--NOW WERE COMING THE HAoles WITH THE DIRTY FACES.

SECOND, THAT MARTIAL LAW CLAMPED DOWN ON LABOR MATTERS

THIRD, THAT IT PAVED THE WAY FOR ILWU ASCENDANCY BECAUSE OF INEQUITIES IN THE PAY SYSTEM.

AFTER THAT, DISCUSS THE IMPACT OF THE WAR ON FILIPINOS.

MARTIAL LAW DECLARATION:

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the subsequent imposition of martial law in Hawaii killed off the incipient labor movement. Governor Poindexter, under authority of the 1900 organic act and with the approval of President Roosevelt, invoked martial law and turned over all the powers of the territory to the commanding general of the Hawaiian department.

In addition to the regulations on conduct of enemy aliens, closing of schools and saloons, blackouts, curfews, press and radio censorship, the military governor took control of all labor matters; the general manager of a plantation was his director of labor control. Wages, as well as job mobility, were frozen. The War Labor Board had been in control since 1944 of all labor disputes, manpower allocation, etc.

General Order 38 gave the military governor the formal control over all labor matters and froze wages at December 7 level; General Order 56 established the Labor Control Board headed by a large plantation manager to regulate labor supply and mediate in labor disputes. Then people had to register with the US Employment Service. On Oahu plantation workers were frozen to their jobs; on Kauai, the laborers required to get a formal release from the plantation manager. General Order 91 promulgated the work schedule at eight hours, six days a week; also froze worker to his employer and imposed a jail sentence for absenteeism. General Order 120 suspended legal holidays and abolished premium pay for such days; provisions of collective bargaining agreements were also suspended. There was also the regulation requiring the worker to get a formal release from the plantation manager before receiving military approval to quit or move. There was also a general order imposing penalties for those working less than 20 days a month. Wages were determined by the War Food Administration.

The plantation managers and bosses were on the military advisory committee. His staff consisted of regular army officers and newly commissioned ones from among the businessmen. The workers complained that martial law had placed them in complete servitude to management; that plantations made profit while wages were frozen. The workers chafed under martial law, as did the imported defense workers from the mainland, who wanted all labor controls returned to civilian rule. It was only in June 1944 that the National War Labor Board was established in Hawaii, increasing civilian control in labor
affairs, at first on wage matters and then to all labor disputes. On October 24, 1944 the US president terminated martial law. Labor union membership had dropped to about 4000.

The sugar industry called on the military government in Hawaii for controls. There was the drain of labor, and they argued that sugar and pineapple were essential to war production, and their workers formed a labor pool available to the military as emergency labor force.

In November 1943 the control was succeeded by the War Manpower Commission under civilian control.

Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger ruled early in 1944 that martial law was illegal but he was overruled by the Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. After the war, on February 25, 1946, the US supreme court declared unconstitutional the usurpation of civilian legal processes by the military.

WAR IMPACT ON PLANTATIONS, LABOR, HAWAII

For a year before the Pearl Harbor attack, President F.D. Roosevelt declared a "limited emergency" as the war in Europe threatened to spill over into the Pacific. Thousands of defense workers, the "haoles with the dirty faces," arrived in the islands as defense construction became intense. With Pearl Harbor, the task of repairing and rebuilding required even more workers. The civilian population in Hawaii increased 12% in 1943 over that of the 1940 level. However, Filipinos were ineligible for public work, and thus, unemployment.

There was also the arrival of the defense worker from the mainland. The average worker was generally young, from 20 to 40 years old, transient (most had no families) and dressed in dirty work clothes. Now other races looked down their noses at the defense worker; they were like the Filipinos--no women, lonely, patronize bars and taxi dance halls. &Hormann, p. 203&

The Big Money--the phenomenal wages of the defense workers led to large profits of beer joints, amusement centers, restaurants and contracting firms. The Filipino workers were quoted as saying that defense workers got plenty of overtime; they desired to go to Honolulu to get better paid jobs than in fields. After the war, it did not make any difference, anyway, as they were to be limited to the fields anyway, so they might as well make the best of it. &Hawaii Social Research Laboratory, UH, Report Number 1, What People in Hawaii are Saying and Doing. March 1, 1944&

The number of adult male employees in the sugar industry declined: by 1942 it had dropped to 26,371 or a drop of ____% from 1936's employment level of 39,574. In June of 1943 it was to decline further to 23,900. Sugar production decreased, from 1,042,316 tons in 1936 to 870,109 tons in 1942 because of the shortage of labor and heavy field equipment, and a 9% reduction in acreage taken by the military. &Ernest W. Greene, VP HSPA, to Benjamin Thoron, director, Division of Territories, Department of Interior, October 6, 1943, in Micro 644, Reel 7&
World War II precipitated the need for carpenters, painters, skilled artisans. Private contractors brought workers to Oahu from the outer islands but they did not stay long; they entered defense work after a month. There was a shortage of drivers of all kinds, truck, taxi, etc.

Much volunteer activities among Hawaii’s people—blood bank, Red Cross, War bond drives), unifying the various racial and social elements of the islands into winning the war. But there was also the inflated economic opportunities tending toward divisive effect. Bitterness among some people in Hawaii about not being the recipient of "Big Money." &Hawaii Social Research Laboratory, UH, Report Number 1, What People in Hawaii are Saying and Doing. March 1, 1944&

After martial law, which held union activity to a minimum, 75 elections were held to determine representation in Hawaii industries. The vast majority voted for union representation. &Wills, p. 16&

During World War II, the War Labor Board extended its jurisdiction to Hawaii.

The labor freeze of December 20, 1941 did not cover plantation workers but the Hawaiian contractors, as well as those at the Naval bases, had an informal agreement with the plantations not to employ persons formerly working on the plantations in order to keep them from leaving for higher paying military construction jobs.

The defense workers were under federal employment or indirectly, by federal contractors, even before the Pearl Harbor attack and they earned from two to five times higher than they previously earned. Some upward mobility occurred; Japanese and Chinese left their previous employment in private firms to go to defense work; the Japanese, especially the youth, left the plantations, coming from the outer islands—and the Filipinos were replacing them in these employment. About 11,000 "haoles with dirty faces" came between January and April 1941. &Kimura article, in Hormann, pp. 183 on&

The campaign to buy US bonds, and promote good relationships among the various races, as aid in war preparedness as early as September 1941.

Plantation labor was requisitioned for defense work; the necessary equipment was hard to get because of priority regulations and restrictions at the manufacturing sources; the plantations turned over to the military their equipment and personnel for use until replacements could be procured. Some personnel returned. &A.C. Budge, HSPA president address, 62nd annual meeting, December 7, 1942, pp. 3-11; this on p. 5& No. of employees dropped in the sugar plantations: in 1939 it was 44,605, in 1940, it was 41,358 and in 1941, 36,439, and in September 1942 it was 33,195. &A.C. Budge, HSPA president address, 62nd annual meeting, December 7, 1942, pp. 3-11; this on p. 5&

Military controls were relaxed in March 1943, and labor organizations began on the plantations. Apprentice mechanics were earning a base pay of 28¢ an hour, field hand 25¢, plantation clerks 19¢, and skilled mechanics 82¢. On the other hand, non-plantation unskilled labor earned 82¢. In twelve months, 20,000 mill and field workers were organized. Every NLRB election for mill workers was won overwhelmingly. The union, the ILWU (Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s) received 97% of the votes cast. &Bouslog, Memorandum on Labor,
With the decline of the military government, union organizing became a race between the AFL and the CIO. By the end of 1945, the ILWU had contracts on all but one of the sugar mills, and had negotiated the first all-inclusive contract in Hawaii's history.

WAR IMPACT ON FILIPINOS

The Filipinos became indispensable in the sugar industry; their part in the war made the haoles sympathetic toward them. They now enjoyed tremendous power, what with their indispensable place in the sugar industry. Unlike before the war, many Filipinos were now well employed, and they were also much accepted in the Civilian Volunteer Corps. Social Research Laboratory, UH, Report Number 1, What People in Hawaii are Saying and Doing.

The invasion of the Philippines by the Japanese shocked the Hawaii Filipinos terribly; they had identified with the Philippines, their homeland, they had families there, and there was the possibility of danger to their love ones. Eubanks thesis, pp. 130-131. As the war went on, the Filipinos became angry. The Japanese pounded on Philippine troops, sending forces continually, bombing. Many Hawaii Filipinos were eager to go to the Philippines and fight but there was no boat to the Philippines. They applied to the Territorial Guard and the army for enlistment but not being citizens, they were not eligible. Eubank thesis, pp. 133-134.

Many Filipinos transferred their frustration at the Hawaii's Japanese. Eubank thesis, p. 135. Rumors spread, untrue, about Filipinos murdering Japanese, about Filipinos getting knives ready to kill the Japanese, about race riots. Eubanks thesis, p. 137. However, the incidents of violence were isolated and relatively incidental; on the whole the Filipinos were law abiding. Eubanks thesis, p. 139. There was also a form of reversal. Quoting a social worker, Eubanks: "Before the war the Japanese felt superior to the Filipinos and discriminated against them. Now the Filipinos feel superior to the Japanese and the discrimination is reversed." Eubanks thesis, p. 142. On one plantation, the Filipinos and the Japanese were separated in the fields and kept busy. Eubanks, p. 140. In many rural areas, wrote Eubanks quoting a school principal, where Filipinos and Japanese had gotten along well, mixing together, children playing together, the change was evident in December. The Filipinos and the Japanese stayed in closed racial groups. Eubanks thesis, p. 142.

The Filipinos overnight became extremely race conscious and anti-Japanese. The laboring Filipinos defined all the Japanese as enemies and filled with desire for revenge. Eubanks, p. 143. On January 2, 1942, Manila fell to the Japanese, and the Filipinos became more anti-Japanese than at the invasion at Lingayen Gulf; the Filipinos were also depressed, and according to one social worker, were on the verge of explosion. Eubanks, pp. 144, 146. The Japanese were sometimes provocative, saying the Filipinos couldn't defend their own country, or that the Filipinos would get its independence only when Japan gave it. These insults nearly led to violence, insults which were caused by Japanese feelings of superiority from pre-war days and the Japanese took advantage when the Filipinos felt downhearted. Eubanks, p. 147.
Public Morale Section, in a memo dated January 5, 1942, said: "It is necessary to educate the Japanese to avoid all joking or remarks of any character which concern the Filipinos or their land" because the morale section was aware that the Japanese were stimulating some of the overt anti-Japanese feelings. Eubanks thesis, p. 149

And the Filipino executive committee chairman said: "The Japanese should keep their mouth shut. The Filipinos are likely to burst out anytime." Eubanks, p. 149

The Filipinos all wanted to go home and fight; they felt frustrated that they could not join the army and the territorial guard--especially with the formation of special battalion of Filipinos on the mainland, and so they held mass meetings at Aala Park on five successive Sundays in February and March to start a battalion and to raise money for Bataan--spontaneous, without the sanction of their leaders. Eubanks, pp. 150-154

At the outbreak of the war, the Moral Section of the Office of Military Governor to handle problems of moral among the various groups in Hawaii; it had several "Victory Committees" for each ethnic group.

No wholesale rioting against the local Japanese, despite grievances: the Filipinos for invasion of their homeland, did not seek personal revenge on local Japanese; the Koreans as a subject race of Japan; the Chinese for invasion of China for almost five years before beginning of the war. Eubanks thesis, quoting Charles Loomis, head of Moral Section of the Office of Military Governor, p. 2

The Filipinos felt anxious to fight, especially with the announcement by Commissioner Elizalde in Washington of the proposed formation of two or more battalions of Filipinos. Hawaii authorities, however, urged the Filipinos to keep their jobs, and "the education of the Filipinos" about this issue was successful, as four men asked separately gave the same identical and studied answer--they would like to join the army but thee would be no one to work in defense industries, hospitals, and on plantations; not a natural answer but one forced to adopt and not long after this, the Filipinos on plantations and defense positions were "frozen" to their jobs, preventing further consideration of a Filipino battalion. Eubank thesis, pp. 156-57

As the war continued, reports of Japanese atrocities, repressive measures and confiscation of food supplies made the Filipinos discouraged and hateful. Many worried about families starving, of Japanese treatment of women, especially as there had been previous reports of atrocities and rapes in China for years. Eubanks thesis, pp. 158-59

As war dragged, Filipinos frustrated that they could not go back and fight. They took out their frustration by reporting to the authorities the names of "suspicious" Japanese, or applying for the draft even though ineligible. But not successful in getting into any fighting unit. The battalion was not existent, the territorial guard still closed to Filipinos by non-citizenship; the draft, technically calling the Filipinos ineligible, had called only a few; the Business Men's Training Corps was strictly a haole activity. Thus Filipinos depressed. Eubanks, p. 162

The Filipinos raised money for the Victory fund; the "Bombers for Bataan" drive, whereby they would buy bonds equal to the cost of a bomber for
Filipino and American forces; and also for Filipino relief, through the Manila chapter of the Red Cross. &Eubanks p. 164& Thus although they could not go to their homeland to fight, they could still contribute money, retain their jobs on plantations and defense areas, in order to win the war. Also as the months went by and there were no cases of Japanese sabotage, they recognized the distinction between the local Japanese and the enemy invaders. &Eubanks, p. 166& They also enjoyed higher status than before, being allowed in defense jobs where the Japanese were not. The Filipinos were heroes, to the American public, and this eased the personal hurt each felt about the fate of the Philippines. &Eubanks, p. 167&

Bataan fell on April 9, 1942--meant now that their families were at the mercy of the Japanese. It made the Filipinos angry. &Eubanks, p. 168& Corregidor fell on May 2 and the last toehold of American and Filipino resistance was gone. This was the hardest blow to the Filipinos.

Eubank’s study pointed out that the Japanese invasion of the Philippines constituted a severe crisis for Filipinos who had held hopes of returning to their families in the homeland. Suddenly their homes were bombed, their families endangered and their hopes for a peaceful return endangered. They were very mad but couldn’t go to the Philippines to fight, so their fury sought outlet in Hawaii. Japanese blamed for invasion, and they desired to kill the Japanese in Hawaii (?????). But (fanfare) military order and quick morale work redirected that hatred. The intensity of hatred fluctuated with news from the Philippines. &Eubanks, pp. 174-77&

Dual impact of the war, as reflected in Respicio’s The Philippines at War: There was still the emphasis on Philippine hometown, and there is an emphasis, pride, on home-ownership in Hawaii. The Philippines At War was published between July 1943 and July 1945, allowed to be published by military government; it was edited and published by M.L. Alverne with Ligot as the manager, thus HSPA possibly behind it; it concerned mainly news about the Philippines and the war, with messages from Quezon and other Philippine officials. But it also had the regular gossipy coverage of social to dos, parties, birthdays, and its usual pictures of young Filipino girls.

The elite turned their energy to the war bond drive: Villanueva, the Gorospes, Respicio, Avecilla, Philip Gamponia at Maui, Marcelina Saclausa, etc. The drive was on to sell war bonds, and all over the Filipinos formed the Remember Bataan Clubs. Bataan fell on April 9, 1942 &Star Bulletin, April 8, 1943&

1945. Manila was liberated, and so the Filipinos in Hawaii were "wild with excitement." Some had families stranded in the Philippines, others were stranded there during a visit, and the separation was taking its toll. &Advertiser, February 5, 1945& Filipinos were eager to take the trip to the Philippines to see family. But military officials in Hawaii urged the Filipinos to stay faithfully at their jobs and help generate the knockout blow. The return to the Philippines was still impossible, and would be for a long time because the ships were needed to carry vital supplies of men and materials. This was in answer to many questions by Filipinos as to whether they could now return to their homeland. Many requests were also for information concerning friends and relatives in the Philippines. Mail service had resumed for some islands and would soon be accepted for manila and other points on Luzon. &Advertiser, February 12, 1945&
On December 9, 1941 the US senate passed an act authorizing the employment of US nationals on public works in territory of Hawaii. On December 20, 1941 Congress passed a new selective service law, and one of its provisions now enabled Filipinos residing in the US to serve in the US army. 

By mid-March 1942 the Filipinos on the mainland were being inducted into the US army’s Filipino unit; the Hawaii Filipinos waited but found no action on their desire to form a unit in Hawaii. By mid-March 1942 the Filipinos on the mainland were being inducted into the US army's Filipino unit; the Hawaii Filipinos waited but found no action on their desire to form a unit in Hawaii. &Star Bulletin, March 14, 1942& These Filipinos on the US mainland now serving in the armed forces of the US, many of them, and became eligible for citizenship after three years service. &Advertiser, May 27, 1942& &Advertiser, January 29, 1942&

The main barrier to employment of Filipinos in lucrative defense jobs continued to be Hawaii’s organic Act, which barred the employment of non-citizens (and those ineligible for citizenship) on public works, whether federal, territorial or municipal. &Star Bulletin, January 21, 1941&

Abe A. Albayalde, publisher of the Filipino News on Kauai, was allowed to publish during the war.

Filipino Flag Day, May 31, 1942--a reaffirmation of Filipino loyalty; broadcasted over KGU by F.A. Respicio

At Rizal Day also, and on regular occasions, the Filipinos met to show loyalty and support for US at war, buy war bonds, start the fund drive for the "Bomber for Bataan", etc. in 1942 to 1944

Then in 1945 they contributed money to alleviate suffering and rebuild the Philippines--in the various plantation communities raising funds, and given to HSPA, and passed on to Philippine president Osmeña. True at Ewa, Waipahu, and the various plantation communities.

1943, the Filipinos in the Filipino Rifles drilled from 10 to 11 a.m. on Sundays, often from 9 to 11&
discrimination. The standing of the Filipinos was anomalous: they owed allegiance to no other government than the United States and were subject to draft; they were hired on federal jobs after passing the civil service because as nationals they were not classified as aliens. Yet they were being asked to register as aliens, and despite protests and appeals by Commissioner Joaquin M. Elizalde and delegate Samuel Wilder King, the attorney general ruled that Filipinos were aliens and needed to register. &Advertiser, August 31, 1940&

In Hawaii, government regulations prohibited the employment of non-citizens in national defense programs; the Filipinos, as aliens or as nationals, were automatically eliminated from employment under these regulations. &Star Bulletin, August 15, 1940&.

In Hawaii’s first draft call in October 1940, many Filipinos volunteered but were rejected because they were not citizens. In mid-February 1941, they were now allowed to take out their first citizenship papers, renouncing their allegiance to any foreign government. Thus they could volunteer for the draft, and if they served three years with the US armed forces, they could conceivably become American citizens. &Advertiser, February 18, 1941&

The chief of the Navy's bureau of docks ruled that non-citizens were expressly prohibited from employment in navy jobs. This ruling automatically excluded any Filipino who had no first citizenship papers (which declared the intention of becoming a citizen). As a result, Filipinos were excluded from many navy projects. Recently 32 Filipinos in Ford Island were discharged because of this. &Advertiser, January 23, 1941&

May 1940, Marcantonio bill to make Filipinos eligible for citizenship introduced in congress. Nothing came out of it. In 1943, Joseph R. Farrington, delegate, proposed the bill on Filipino naturalization. Anomaly of many Filipinos brought to Hawaii as children, like Teho, Sagum, etc. and grew up in Hawaii but denied citizenship. &Advertiser, October 16, 1943&

In 1944, the federal law restrictions on employment of Filipinos had been removed but not territorial and county restrictions. &Territorial Conference of Social Work, 3rd Annual Regional Conference, Island of Hawaii, September 22-24, 1944, Aspects of Prejudice in TH&

Anomaly: The 1936 Merchant Marine Act had forbidden alien employment in US cargo ships, and allowed only a 20% quota for aliens employed in passenger vessels. Thus many Filipinos lost jobs. With the war and labor shortage, however, the law was not enforced. Now that the war had ended, the fear was that the law would be strictly enforced, and many Filipinos would again lose their jobs. There was the anomaly that the Filipinos could thus serve in the armed forces and in the navy but not in merchant marine. &Filipino Territorial Council to delegate Farrington, July 2, 1945, Farrington Papers, AH&

Anomaly: Territorial law denied fishing rights to Filipinos, as one of the penalties of non-citizenship status; also game restrictions. Many were fined in court for merely fishing. This went on until the end of the war. With the passage of the July 2 naturalization law, those who acquired citizenship were now also entitled to fishing rights as granted to other US citizens who were commercial fishermen. &Advertiser, October 1, 1946&
Anomaly: Women by marrying aliens lost their citizenship status. This included those Hawaii born who married Filipinos. Also, the Filipinos were really bitter, they had fought in the war and yet they were restricted with regard to their naturalization rights. Others like Labez came as a child and yet could not be naturalized; his wife and child couldn't come to Hawaii except under a restrictive quota, and so they were trapped in the Philippines during the war.

Filipinos themselves now agitating to have the naturalization laws changed. One effect of the favorable outlook on Filipinos brought about by the war. War gave them the impetus, feeling equal to others, and so they launched in 1943 the equal rights movement, based in Hilo, led by Ricardo Labez and Francisco P. Lafita. &Advertiser, April 25, 1943& This Filipino Equal Rights Committee asked governor Stainback to consider appointing Filipinos to government offices, especially to police commissions. &Hilo Tribune, May 2, 1943& They got the support of the Big Island Planters' Association, which adopted a resolution endorsing naturalization privileges to Filipinos, and others followed suit: the Hilo board of supervisors, the Hilo Lions Club, the Hawaiian Civic Club, the Hilo Chamber of Commerce and the Hilo Post of the American Legion. &Hilo Tribune, May 13, 1943& Simultaneously the Honolulu Filipinos organized the Filipino equal Rights Committee on April 14, 1943--the impetus for this was the grievance they felt, that the Chinese exclusion act had already been repealed and new naturalization laws now making the Chinese eligible for citizenship; yet the Filipinos, fighting in war, were not eligible for naturalization. &Advertiser, January 19, 1944& They became even more envious when in December 1944 delegate to congress Joseph R. Farrington introduced a bill making Koreans eligible for naturalization and to allow them an immigration quota of 100 a year.

The introduction of a Filipino naturalization bill would be, to Filipinos, an an acknowledgement of the loyalty of their loyalty during the war, and a redress of wrong--the treatment of the Filipinos as alien, then as national, then as alien again. &Advertiser, January 22, 1944& This was how they interpreted it when delegate Farrington introduced the bill on February 8, 1945, passed the house, and reported favorably out of the senate immigration committee. &Star Bulletin, April 22, 1946& The Territorial Filipino Council, an association of delegates from various plantation communities, met on 30 March 1945 and selected a group to go to Washington DC to petition congress for naturalization bill for Filipinos. Teho went, with Ligot, Philip and Josephine Gamponia, Juan S. Regala, Benjamin Ayson, Pastor Pablo, and Jose Bulatao as chairman of the mission and president of the Territorial Filipino Council. They presented their petition to the members of congress. &Delegate Farrington Papers, AH&

On July 2, 1946 Truman signed the legislation permitting the naturalization of Filipinos and allowing them a quota of 100 (as well as 100 east Indians) a year. The Timarau Club, with Ric Labez and Roland Sagum, and the elites in general like Villanueva, Fernandez, Farinas, Alhambra, etc. assisted the INS in processing papers--800 Filipinos were processed in two months' time. Arturo Barba, the INS clerk was the first to file the petition. By October, 1500 petitions had been filed.

The granting of naturalization rights did not end Filipino grievances. The quota did not allow old timers to send for their wives and children, or
for more women to enter Hawaii. Also, non-reciprocity, that for every 50 Filipinos admitted to the US each year, 1000 US citizens were admitted to the Philippines and when the quota was raised to 100, the US quota was raised over a five year period to 1,200.

The Filipino civilian employees in federal service, principally at Pearl Harbor, became aliens when the Philippines gained its independence, and the jobs of these 3000 Filipinos were threatened, and their employment was extended year after year.

**WAR IMPORT LABOR PLAN**

Note: There are two parts to this story, one on HSPA desire to import Filipinos (nothing came of it), and the other on the Navy bill to bring in unskilled Filipinos for work at Barbers Point Air Base.

The situation before the war--the national defense program started, which included the mobilization of the national guard, the selective service system, defense construction jobs, and increased activities at navy and army posts. Thus thousands of skilled and unskilled were brought to Hawaii, and so the Filipinos left the plantations to work on these jobs. &S.W. King to Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, November 4, 1941, in BIA 227

The defense needs of the United States resulted in two plans to bring in unskilled Filipinos to Hawaii in 1941. One by the HSPA and the other by the navy to recruit them for work at Barbers Point Air Base.

In 1941 the HSPA sought to import 5,000 Filipino laborers to offset the movement to defense jobs. The earliest indication of this plan was in September, when Governor Poindexter announced that the shortage of labor was seriously affecting the plantations' harvesting operations, and that the local industries were adversely affected by the transfers to higher paying defense projects. He also said that the shortage of space on the trans-Pacific liners made it difficult for vacationing Filipinos to obtain passage to Hawaii. &Star Bulletin, September 17, 1941; Advertiser, September 17, 1941

The HSPA pursued the matter by conducting confidential negotiations also with Philippine Commonwealth officials; the proposal was made to resident commissioner Joaquin Elizalde and thence to Quezon, who agreed to cooperate in a proposed project to permit 5000 Filipinos to enter Hawaii for the sugar fields. &Star Bulletin, October 27, 1941; Advertiser, October 27, 1941

At a meeting in Hawaii, the sakadas opposed the importation plan by the HSPA, as the new laborers to take the place vacated by Filipinos would cheapen plantation labor, and the difficulty of sending the Filipinos back to the homeland. Furthermore, such an importation plan would aggravate what was already a social problem of lack of women in Hawaii; and many Filipinos at the meeting indicated their willingness to return to the plantations at the end of the national emergency period on condition that they were permitted better wages and given permanent jobs. &Advertiser, October 28, 29, 1941; Star Bulletin, October 28, 1941

The HSPA discussions resulted in Senator Sheridan Downey introducing a resolution on November 13, 1941 to investigate whether there was a shortage of
labor in Hawaii and if there was, to allow 5000 Filipinos to come in order to relieve labor shortage because of defense projects. &In BIA& This set off opposition to the proposal. Labor unions all over the US wrote the secretary of interior, protesting any such plan. &Letters from AFL and other unions, to Sec. of Interior, in BIA 227& The AFL pressed congressmen and the secretary of the interior to prevent this importation of contract laborers; delegate S.W. King usually in accord with planters came out against the proposal. Delegate Sam King said he would oppose the proposal of the HSPA to import labor unless other means of providing the needed labor are exhausted. &Star Bulletin, November 12, 1941& Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes telegraphed Poindexter on November 12, 1941 advising that no labor from Philippine be imported without consultation from Interior department. Poindexter denied that an application had been presented to him. &Ickes to Poindexter, Nov. 12, 1941; Poindexter to Ickes, November 13, 1941, in BIA 227& The HSPA did not file a formal request with the department of interior. Despite the discussions, however, no formal application had been made to invoke the special provision of the Tydings-McDuffie Act to recruit from the Philippines.&Undersecretary of Interior to Guy J. Swope, director, Division of Territories and Island Possessions, Department of Interior, December 15, 1941, in BIA 227&

Briant H. Wells said the HSPA had made no application or permission to import laborers. &Advertiser, November 26, 1941& Earlier, King wrote Wells saying King rejected the request to support a plan to bring in Filipino laborers, as if done so, Hawaii would become the target of abuse and criticism if it invoked the special provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Act. &King to Major General Briant H. Wells, HSPA, October 30, 1941, in King Papers, AH&

The US senate on November 13, 1941 adopted a resolution instructing the Commissioner of Public Works to investigate if there is sufficient citizen labor in Hawaii to meet the demand. &Representative J.W. Robinson, chair of Committee on Public Lands, to Secretary of Interior, December 4, 1941, in BIA 227& The interior department, however, said that it had received no formal request by the HSPA. &Acting Sec. of interior, to Congressman Robinson, December 23, 1941, in BIA 227&. There was much objection by California’s congressional delegation to the importation of Filipinos to Hawaii because if Hawaii became a state, these aliens, who were ineligible for citizenship, could immigrate to California and other states. &Leland M. Ford, Representative from CA, to Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, December 6, 1941, in BIA 227&

The navy’s plan to bring in Filipinos took place at the same time as the HSPA’s, and it was initiated by Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, who on December 1, 1941 asked for legislation to authorize the employment of US nationals on public works in the territory, and the recruitment of 1200 Filipinos to work at Pearl Harbor for construction. Under present law, only persons who are eligible for US citizenship can work on such projects. The plan called for the navy to bring them in by naval vessels and to pay them current present wage rates plus subsistence. &Secretary of Interior to Director of Budget Bureau, December 1, 1941, in BIA 227; Advertiser, November 26, 1941& The speculation, however, was that the navy, eager to expedite construction of its Barbers Point Air Base, would use these 1200 for that and then ask for more, importing unskilled labor over the next two years in order to meet its building program in Hawaii. &Star Bulletin, November 26, 1941; Advertiser, November 27, 1941&
Organized labor offered no objection to the navy plan if they could be assured that the recruitment powers would not be abused, but AFL agent Paul Scharrenberg announced his opposition to the plan. &Star Bulletin, November 26, 1941& Delegate Sam King supported the navy plan, and said the navy undertook three obligations--1. to control the importation of Filipino workers, 2. to pay repatriation costs, and 3. to remove restrictions on the employment of nationals on all defense projects in Hawaii, thus ending a discriminatory situation. &Advertiser, November 27, 1941& The bill became law on January 2, 1942 with three amendments--that Filipinos imported be common laborers, that they were to be used on defense projects only, and that they were to be repatriated at the completion of their work; However, the outbreak of the war prevented its implementation.

POSTWAR LABOR ORGANIZING

The years from 1945-46 were labor-strife years on the US mainland as well. Industry wide work stoppage involving two million workers, meatpackers, electrical workers, steel workers, etc. striking for wage increases. Anti union feelings now loomed, which culminated in the Taft-Hartley Labor Management Relations Act of 1947.

It was also a different time for the establishment-oligarchy. In 1945, the acting director of the Division of Territories and Insular Possessions of the Department of Interior Jack B. Fahy described what he saw as the major economic, social and political changes in Hawaii from 1939 to 1945. One: the Big Five was now concerned about mainland public opinion, had established a press bureau in Washington DC, hired a PR firm which recommended in its secret study that the Big Five divested itself of Matson Line stocks, reveal all stockholdings and drop their interlocking directorships. Second, that independent enterprise or action free of Big Five influence was now opening up; evident at first in the wholesale-retail trade with the coming in of Sears, Penney, and small independents; however there was still limited opportunity for independent merchandizing free of Big Five influence. Third, Big Five control over transportation was as tight as ever but federal agencies were now watching closely and this meant that Matson no longer "lost" or damaged large amount of the freight consigned to competitors of the Big Five. Except in air transportation, there was still monopoly in transportation. Fourth, still concentration of land ownership pattern; the 100 largest owners owning 47.8% of the land, small landowners merely 8.7% and the government the rest. Thus small independent farmers and ranchers had difficulty securing productive land. The best leases and water rights go to the big sugar cane, pineapple, and cattle companies. No credit facilities, market facilities, and interisland rates high, so independent agricultural enterprise still stifled. Fifth, Fahy saw labor now active in politics, so that legislators now were less influenced by the Big Five, even though the Democrats were still handicapped by having no newspaper, no radio station. Sixth, race relations were excellent compared to the mainland, the Big Five being very tolerant on racial questions. &Jack B. Fahy, acting director, Division of Territories and Insular Possessions, Memo for Secretary of Interior, October 30, 1945, in Micro 6027-2&
Employers Council employed 60% of the people in Hawaii. The bargaining on the employers’ side conducted by the Hawaii Employers Council, non-profit, voluntary, formed to conduct the bargaining, organized in 1943, and negotiated contract with unions, did job analysis, evaluation service. It was an open foe of organized labor—thus the ILWU bargained not with the plantations but with the Hawaii Employers Council. The council included all the large firms and small firms as well, and it was formed in defense against federal legislation and growth of unionism; they felt besieged by the Roosevelt administration. 

The council espoused the three clauses—no strike or lockout, no discrimination, and discharge, all three to protect employee against compulsory unionization. The council provided help for contract administration and negotiation, technical advice and assistance in labor relations, and training conferences on industrial relations problems. Also, the traditional management attitude was that unionism was dangerous; and the situation faced by the ILWU was that labor was captive—they could not easily return home country or go to the mainland, and were dependent on the local enterprises all their lives. The prevalent feeling among the laborers was that a bad record with any important firm in the territory made it difficult to get a job with any other concern—to be associated with union activities was to lessen economic opportunity and destroy economic future. The plantation labor force had declined. It was 26,371 in 1942; it was down to 20,627 in August 1945.

When the war ended, the ILWU picked up where it left off in trying to organize on the plantations. Just before 1944, the decision was made within the ILWU to bring the sugar workers directly into the ILWU, instead of the efforts before the war of limiting efforts of organizing the longshore industry and assisting the unionization drive by its brother union UCAPAWA-CIO of the other industries. The AFL union was also bidding for recognition to represent the plantation workers. The AFL led by Rutledge consisted of the teamsters, dairy, hotels and restaurants.

Impetus for unionization laid by the labor control during the war. The plantations had to double their wages in order to achieve parity with defense industries; the plantation workers, loaned to defense, worked side by side with the civilian workers receiving much more for doing the same work. Plantation field hands were getting 25¢ an hour, highly skilled mechanics 50¢ an hour but in urban areas unskilled labor got 82¢ an hour. Military expenditures had led to inflation but wages were frozen. Civilian haoles from the mainland told of gains through unionization back home. Now plantation organizing began.

Jack Kawano of the Longshore Local 1-37 in Honolulu sent organizers to the outer islands plantations. In January 1944 the ILWU went on a recruiting job, carrying white small cards quoting the Wagner Act. The ILWU’s first targets were the workers at the sugar mill but the planters tried to stop this, saying that all their workers were agricultural and thus exempt from the NLRB. But the NLRB ruled on January 12, 1945 that the mill workers were non-agricultural, and in the next two months ordered elections on 11 big island plantations. When the ILWU swept these elections, the rest of the plantations agreed to the election, and thus the rest of the islands organized by ILWU, including at McBryde, which had been the UCAPAWA stronghold in Hawaii. Every sugar mill was unionized through the National Labor Relations Board supervised elections, and they achieved their first contract on wage
increases for all bargaining unit members whereas the plantations wished to peg it to work performed. Also a committee of plantation men was formed to prepare a job classification, 10-grade classification in the mill, and submitted to the union. &Philip E. Spalding, presidential address, 65th annual meeting, December 10, 1945, pp. 1-11; this on p. 5-6&

The ILWU's next target was the unionization of the field workers, who were beyond the scope of the Wagner Act to agricultural workers. So the ILWU created its political action committee in July 1944. The work of the committee proved fruitful; sixteen of the twenty one PAC endorsed candidates for the territorial house were elected, as were six of the eight PAC endorsed candidates for the senate. In 1945 the pro-labor legislature passed the landmark Hawaii Employees Relations Act, popularly called the Little Wagner Act, which extended the rights of collective bargaining to agricultural workers. The Legislature extended the provisions of the wage and hour law to cover agricultural workers and set minimum wages at 40¢ an hour.

The "Little Wagner Act," administered by a three member Hawaii Employment Relations Board, provided the impetus for unionizing the plantation field workers. Armed with the Little Wagner Act, which passed May 21, 1945, the ILWU proceeded to organize on all sugar plantations, and by August 1945 it had represented the majority of the employees at thirty plantations. By September, the collective bargaining agreements had been signed.

By the end of 1945 the ILWU had won election after election in the sugar industry, receiving 95% of the votes cast. Only three small plantations did not go ILWU, two voting for no union representation and the other for AFL affiliation. By the end of 1945 the ILWU had contracts industry-wide, which was a historic development in Hawaii. In the summer of 1945 was the contract, which took effect August 1, 1945, the first agreement reached between the ILWU and the sugar industry. This contract provided for a wage increase, minimum wage, job classification system, standardized vacations, grievance procedures, etc. And it ran for one year, to September 1, 1946. The union also won litigation out of court of $1.8 million back pay in violation of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

In 1946 the NLRB elections in the pineapple canning industry was also won by the ILWU, and again, the agricultural workers in pineapple. By 1946 the ILWU had contracts for pineapple plantations and canneries. Thus by 1946 the ILWU had organized sugar, pineapple and longshore industries in Hawaii, the most important in the islands. From 900 members in 1933 it had 30,000 in 1947. Within two years, from 1945 to 1947 Hawaii emerged highly unionized: multiracial and industrial, rather than plantation/city dichotomy. Thus whereas in 1943 there were merely 17 union agreements in Hawaii, by 1945 there were 78 and by 1946, 167. By 1946 the ILWU had the largest organized workers in Hawaii, 33,000 in basic industries and three times larger than all the other labor groups in Hawaii combined.

A new leadership among the Filipinos emerged--one based on the union. At the first territory-wide conference of the ILWU on May 5, 1945, the Filipino delegates were not the elites at all: Primitivo Queja, Robert Relacion, Jose Diones, Natalio Vinoya, Constantine Samson, Gelacio Daoang, and Elias Domingo.
Also Pedro de la Cruz, Carl Damaso and Fred Cachola. Constantine Samson had been brought to Hawaii as a two year old in 1909, his parents from Cebu, and he attended McKinley High School and worked at Waimanalo for years.

ILWU in its constitution sought to unite all workers regardless of religion, race, creed, color, political affiliation, or nationality. It sought to banish racial and religious prejudice. As such, it was apt for Hawaii, with its various racial groups, but it also gave special attention to ethnic problems, and sought effective local leadership among all the various racial groups. David Thompson, "The ILWU as a Force for Interracial Unity in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, 1951, p. 17

The ILWU thus used English, Japanese and Ilocano at its meetings. Also it elected representatives of each racial group to office. And it gave attention to problems unique to each racial group. For the Filipinos this meant stock swindles and fleecing rackets, or the effect of the McCarran Walter Act on its alien members; in fact, the Filipinos saw the union responsive to their needs, in terms of helping them with getting their wives to Hawaii, assisting them in citizenship or immigration requirements, or help with county regulations such as cesspool requirements. David Thompson, "The ILWU as a Force for Interracial Unity in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, 1951, pp. 32-43

The union emerged as an institution of great prestige and helped developed capable leaders from within each racial group. Also the seniority and no discrimination clauses were written into the ILWU agreements. Union lawyers protected Filipinos against the highhanded treatment of police and courts. In 1948 the union issued a pocketsized card in English and Ilocano entitled "your Legal Rights" for their basic rights affecting arrest, subpoena, search, deportation, and right to counsel. &Thompson, "The ILWU as a Force for Interracial Unity in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, 1951, p. 29

ILWU had its work cut out, as acute racial jealousies and competitive fears came to the surface in the Union. Japanese felt superior and looked down on the Portuguese and the Filipinos; the Portuguese also scorned the Filipinos but feared the Japanese rising leadership as a threat to their superior status on the plantations. The Filipinos resented the attitudes of these two groups, and sought to have a proportionate leadership position in accordance with their predominance on the plantations. Union thus challenged in restraining these violently prejudiced factions. David Thompson, "The ILWU as a Force for Interracial Unity in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, 1951, pp. 22-25

The HSPA counterattack on unionization among the Filipinos was still through the Territorial Filipino Conference, and the conference on December 2, 1944 on Kauai resulted in the organization of the Territorial Filipino Council. There were 13 delegates from Oahu, 6 from the Big Island, five from Maui, and 40 from Kauai, and among the resolutions were those pledging support for the war effort, but also commending the council to conduct a labor education program for Filipinos to keep them informed of labor laws. &Hilo Tribune, December 2, 1944

1946 STRIKE

The Master Contract between the ILWU and the sugar industry expired on
August 31, 1946. Collective bargaining began in July and went into August but the two parties were far apart on wages, on job classification, on the conversion of perquisites to cash, and all the issues. Negotiations failed to result in a new agreement. After a strike vote, the union gave the Hawaii Employees Relations Board the notice of strike.

On September 1, 1946 the ILWU called its members to a strike, and the strike vote of 15,549 out of 28,000 voted and the vast majority authorized the strike. September 1 was a Sunday and the next day was labor day. On September 3 no one showed up at work at Hawaii’s 33 plantations, and picket lines had been established.

After futile attempts at negotiations, and the use of mediators, finally the agreement was reached in mid-November. The agreement included a pay increase, the end of prerequisites, the institution of sick leave and vacation, no discrimination in hiring or promotion, one year leave of absence without pay for fulltime union officials. The agreement was ratified by 90% of the members, and so the strike officially ended on November 18, 1946 after 79 days. The union got higher wages and the termination of perquisites but it failed to establish a union shop, reduce the work week from 43 hours and change the pension system.

1946 SAKADA PLANNING

On October 31, 1944 J.P. Cooke, the president of HSPA, wrote to Governor Ingram Stainback stating that the labor shortage in Hawaii has resulted in the need to recruit at the earliest possible time "not less than 10,000 Filipinos" to Hawaii. In August of 1944 the plantation labor force had been reduced to 24,782, from 45,195 in January 1939, as a result of the drain to army and navy defense projects. Cooke pointed out that two plantations had already closed because of the labor shortage, and two more were likely to close if there was no forthcoming relief. The shortage was expected to worsen with the end of the war as Filipinos would be returning to their homeland or searching for better opportunities in Honolulu. &J.P. Cooke, HSPA President, to Ingram Stainback, October 31, 1944, Delegate Farrington Papers, AH& In early 1945

Stainback took up the matter with the Interior department, describing the labor situation in Hawaii as desperate. &Stainback to Abe Fortas, Undersecretary of the Interior, January 3, 1945, in BIA 227& This was even before the US army had retaken the Philippines. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes was inclined to approve the proposal, according to Stainback, although the US army might object because they themselves needed all surplus labor in Philippine and some spies might come into Hawaii with such an imported group. &Stainback to John E. Russell, HSPA president, November 23, 1944, in BIA 227&

P.E. Spalding, the HSPA president in 1945, sent to Stainback the formal application to import 6,000 Filipino workers, who would be paid and employed according to rules prescribed by the War Food Administration and would be used in field work mainly. &Chauncey B. Wrightman, HSPA secretary, Petition, May 21, 1945, in BIA 227& In arguing the case for importation, Spalding pointed
out that in Louisiana and Florida the federal government made available prisoners of war, as well as imported laborers from Jamaica and Barbadoes, and in beet growing areas it had also allowed the importation of Mexicans. On the other hand, Hawaii had had no infusion of labor despite its drastic decline, and also had not been able to alleviate the labor shortage with loading and harvesting machines were not available given war conditions, and the second hand equipment acquired were in poor condition or unsuited for the job. &P.E. Spalding, HSPA President, to Governor Stainback, May 17, 1945, in BIA 227 The Pineapple Growers' Association also sent in an application to import 3,100 Filipino laborers, indicating that 90% of the pineapple laborers had indicated their desire to return to their homeland. &Star Bulletin, June 2, 1945 Both applications agreed to return the laborers to the Philippines upon the emergence of a labor surplus, and also to safeguard the jobs for returning veterans, and that the laborers would be guaranteed free return passage. &C.B. Wightman, HSPA secretary, and Dr. Eugene C. Auchter, director of Pineapple Research Institute, to Editor, Star Bulletin, June 9, 1945&

Jack W. Hall, the regional ILWU director, indicated that the ILWU-CIO did not object to the proposal if such labor was needed to maintain the economy and if these workers were returned after two years whether they completed labor contract or not. &Advertiser, May 29, 1945; Joseph Kaholokula, Jr., President. of ILWU-CIO Hawaii Local, to Stainback, June 6, 1945, in BIA 227. The AFL, however, reaffirming its opposition to cheap labor of any kind, opposed the plan. &Advertiser, June 14, 1945&

With little opposition, Stainback went ahead with the plan to recruit a total of six thousand laborers for both the sugar and the pineapple industries. The conditions for the importation included the following: that the males be between 18 and 45 years old, on the condition that not less than 50% be accompanied by their wives, and their wages not be less than the government's minimum wage, and that all be given rigid medical exam. &Stainback to Acting Governor of Hawaii, June 23, 1945, radiogram, in BIA 227; Chauncey B. Wightman to HSPA trustees, Memo 2417, June 25, 1945, in Stainback papers, AH; Star Bulletin, June 25, 1945& Finally, on August 11, 1945, Stainback issued the order authorizing the HSPA to bring to Hawaii six thousand male laborers and their wives and children. &Stainback's order is in BIA 227&

The war ended, however, shortly after that. As soon as he received Stainback's order, Edwin G. Arnold, the director of the Division of Territories and Insular Possessions of the Interior department, wrote: "Now that the war is over, I have some doubt that labor shortages will actually exist and I think it may be desirable to ask the Governor to reconsider his decision." &Edwin G. Arnold to Undersecretary of the Interior, August 23, 1945, in BIA 227&

The ILWU also changed its stand. It had originally approved the project on the assumption that the war would last longer and prolong the exodus of agricultural labor to military and industrial employment. Now, it wanted the Interior department to hold up the importation project for a few months until the effects on the labor supply of some employees now being released from war industry and 20,000 Hawaii men were to be demobilized became clearer. &Jack W. Hall to Delegate Farrington, October 16, 1945, Farrington Papers, AH& This was the position taken by Interior secretary Harold Ickes. He raised many
questions about the project: The HSPA had justified the importation on the grounds that many Filipinos in Hawaii intended to return to the Philippines as soon as there was shipping available. &Jack B. Fahy to Arnold, September 12, 1945, in BIA 227; Stainback to Arnold, September 12, 1945, in BIA 227; Fahy to Acting Secretary of Interior, October 4, 1945, in BIA 227 & What effort was being made to determine their intention of returning? Was it just for temporary visit to their families in the Philippines? Were they leaving because they were dissatisfied with working conditions on the plantations, and if so, wouldn’t the newcomers become similarly dissatisfied? Any effort to improve living conditions and treatment of Filipinos in order to induce them to remain? Wouldn’t Hawaii’s effort toward statehood be impeded by the turnover in population and the increased importation of people ineligible for citizenship? &Ickes to Stainback, October 18, 1945, in BIA 227 & Ickes was also concerned about the possibility of unemployment in Hawaii a year or two hence as a result of the return of 20,000 servicemen to the islands and the tapering off of the military projects, &Sec. of Interior H. Ickes to Sec. of Agriculture Clinton Anderson, October 19, 1945, in BIA &

The original rationale for the importation plan, that a third of the Filipino plantation laborers intended to go home, lost its force when Stainback admitted that plantation Filipinos changing their mind about wanting to return because they had received letters describing living conditions in the war-torn country, with unsettled conditions in the Philippines, with high prices, bandits roaming the countryside, many desiring to come to the US, etc. &Stainback to Ickes, November 5, 1945, BIA 227 & The planters, however, insisted that despite the end of the war, the labor shortage persisted. They continued to lose unskilled workers because of labor shortage, demobilized servicemen avoided agricultural jobs, and they needed to replace children used during war shortage with adults. &Chauncey Wrightman to Stainback, October 26, 1945, in BIA 227 & They supported their arguments with the September 1945 Labor Market Developments report from the US Employment Service for Oahu which showed the labor shortage to have become even more acute, with an increase in job orders in all occupational categories except managerial and professional. &US Employment Service, Labor Market Developments report for Oahu, September 1945, in BIA 227 & The increased demand in employment in the private sector, especially in construction and in transportation, was far larger than the decline in labor requirement in the military, and the discharge of servicemen from the army. Fifteen thousand new employees (4,300 in sugar and pineapple plantations, 4,544 in construction, were needed between September 1945 and November 1945 &US Employment Service, Labor Market Developments report for Oahu, September 1945, in BIA 227 &

The planters also gained the backing of the secretary of agriculture, who wrote the secretary of interior Ickes that the critical shortage of sugar in the US justified the importation of the Filipinos, and that the same situation would occur as after the first world war, when discharged servicemen and war workers had been reluctant to return to the farms. &Secretary of Agriculture to Secretary of the Interior, November 5, 1945, in BIA 227 & Governor Stainback added that also pointed out that the army and navy had released few workers for territorial employment; most of those released at the navy yard returned to the mainland and few desired plantation jobs. &Stainback to Ickes, November 24, 1945, in BIA 227 &

These arguments convinced Ickes to approve the importation plan. When
the ILWU on December 7 asked for a reexamination of the importation project, Ickes replied that the plan had to be carried out because of the acute shortage of sugar on mainland, the desire to replace child labor with adult workers, and the unwillingness of discharged servicemen and war workers to apply for plantation employment. &Harriet Bouslog to Sec. Ickes, December 7, 1945; Ickes to Bouslog, December 27, 1945, in BIA 227&

RESPONSE IN HAWAII. As in Judd’s trip in 1906, the whole scheme to import Filipino labor had not been brought to the public’s attention. The HSPA had drawn up the plan and presented it to Governor Stainback, who then took a trip and announced his approval while he was away. Thus no organized opposition could crystallize. A sampling of public opinion in November 1945 by students at the University of Hawaii showed that although labor had no objection, the people in general were skeptical that the plan would weaken labor, lower wages, and strengthen the power of the Big Five. &War Research Laboratory, UH, Report 7, What People in Hawaii are Saying and Doing, November 1, 1945, Re: The HSPA Proposal to Import Filipinos& They distrusted the Big Five’s policy of divide and rule, of exploiting labor and bringing in cheap labor. Furthermore, they still regarded the Filipinos with fear and mistrust, a kind of brown peril feeling--the mass invasion of people with slight education, not good English, unfamiliar with American ways. This was also the old issues, that of opposing the practice of poverty stricken people coming to Hawaii, earning their money here and then sending their savings by remittance to Philippine, as well as taking people out needed for the reconstruction of the Philippines. The Japanese, especially, opposed the plan, regarding Filipinos in general as barbarous, knife play, distrustworthy. &War Research Laboratory, UH, Report 7, What People in Hawaii are Saying and Doing, November 1, 1945, Re: The HSPA Proposal to Import Filipinos&

Bernhard Hormann chaired the Hawaii Interracial Committee, a volunteer group of 22 Honolulu residents without any Filipino member, formed to respond to the importation of the Filipinos. This committee opposed the importation plan for several reasons: that the new Filipino recruits would merely transfer feelings of aggression against the Japanese in their homeland to the Japanese in Hawaii; that the local Japanese feared trouble with the recruits; that they endangered the standard of living of the laboring population, that they feared the overproportion of males in the community, and that the local Filipino community feared that their rising status would be affected. They also pointed out problems in the implementation of the plan: that there was nothing in the plan which bound Filipinos to return to the Philippines after three years; that the children could not be imported; that if the new recruits came from non-Ilocano areas, the Hawaii Filipinos would not find them intelligible, and Hawaii would have had little experience with them, compounding the problems of adjustment; that their arrival would set back the advanced process of assimilation in Hawaii. &Bernhard Hormann, chairman, Hawaii Interracial Committee, to Edwin G. Arnold, Director, Division of Territories and Island Possessions, Department of Interior, August 4, 1946, in BIA 227& Yet, resigned to the importation, they made some suggestions: that the HSPA recruit Ilocanos merely, as the local community had had experience with them, and that the government sponsor an orientation program for them, and undertake a publicity campaign to allay the fears of the people.
The Filipinos themselves were divided over the importation plan. The rural Filipinos supported the plan but the Honolulu elite Filipinos were opposed—there was fear of discrimination against Filipinos, already existing in Hawaii, would increase, and that the labor market would become flooded, as returning servicemen could supply the plantation labor needs. On July 15, 1945 at a mass meeting of Filipinos at the Park Theater, a resolution was passed opposing the plan, and it was signed by Taok as chairman, and supported by the elites like Pedro Victoria and Cariaga, who warned of anti-Japanese feelings of recent importees and celebrating their achievements, saw that achievement threatened by the arrival of a laboring class. &War Research Laboratory, UH, Report 7, What People in Hawaii are Saying and Doing, November 1, 1945, Re: The HSPA Proposal to Import Filipinos& Cariaga, in fact, had written to the Star Bulletin that "Filipinos have gradually built up their social position. Social complications and maladjustments which will result from the presence of a new, unassimilated group of workers will reduce the Filipinos here to their former social status of 'outsiders' and 'unassimilable' outcast. There are still some who feel this way about the Filipinos. Addition of unschooled laborers will intensify such feeling and the Filipinos will continue to be the victims of discrimination." &Cariaga to editor, Star Bulletin, June 14, 1945&

The HSPA’s authorization was for the recruitment of six thousand laborers in the two Ilocos provinces, Abra and Pangasinan, and for the coming of the laborers’ wives and children. Slator Miller left for the Philippines on September 23 to set up the recruitment. &Slator Miller, "Report on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," HSPA, p. 1&

He decided to set up the recruiting operation in Vigan, at the center of the Ilocos region, accessible by raft, walking or bullock cart from nearby populous rural areas. &Slator Miller, "Report on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," HSPA, pp. 1-2& Furthermore, Vigan being the only town of size to have been relatively unscathed by the war, Miller found the buildings he needed to recruit and process the laborers. The Vigan Christian Hospital (used as the medical building for all physical and x-ray exams). The building used by the Counter Intelligence Corps was used as the administrative office. Sy Quia buildings 1 & 2 used as dorms. Also the Paradise Building (because it housed the Paradise Bar and Night Club. The Protestant Dormitory Building was used as the registration building. Two Catholic School buildings were used to house the women and children. &Slator Miller, "Report on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," HSPA, p. 15&

SETTING UP: Miller also sought the help of the US army as the country had not recovered at all from the devastation of the war, especially providing facilities for recruiting office, a field laboratory, and medical equipment. Vigan had a serious malaria infestation, epidemic proportions in many areas of the city, including the area where the cuartel was. Thus control malaria by spraying and distribution of Atabrine and Quinine to townspeople so as to protect the emigrants. &Slator Miller, "Report on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," HSPA, p. 4&

Montague Lord resigned as head of Manila office so he could be appointed Vice-Consul to process the emigrants; at expiration of term, he once again became VP of HSPA, in Manila. &Slator Miller, "Report on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," HSPA, p. 4& Robert R. Trent was responsible for the recruiting, quartering, inspecting and feeding the Filipinos.
Employees of sugar and pineapple companies were invited to submit requests that friends and relatives be brought to Hawaii. Hence Miller sent 8152 letters to the four provinces, inviting them to come to Vigan for shipment to Hawaii, and of these, 2655 were sent to Hawaii. Plantation requests were given priority over volunteers at registration time. &Slator Miller, "Report on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," HSPA, p. 6&

Many wished to come to Hawaii; as early as August 27, 1945 when the plan was heard about in Manila, hundreds of guerillas asked President Osmena to be given priority over other laborers on two counts, as a gesture of gratitude for their service in the liberation campaign, and the fact that they were able bodied, young and in good health. &Manila Times clipping, August 27, 1945, in BIA 227&

October 22, 1945--the Joint Chiefs of Staff at Washington DC approved use of Maunawili and Philippa for the shuttle run between Hawaii and Philippine; the latter was later withdrawn. (both were cargo ships converted at HSPA expense to passenger ships. There were minor strikes and other difficulties in fitting these ships which caused delays and the ship did not arrive until late January. &Advertiser, November 17, 1945&

So this gave Miller the go signal to organize his cuartel. &Slator Miller, "Report on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," HSPA, p. 2&

The HSPA used the closed port of Salomague, some 23 miles north of Vigan for loading; emigrants were checked into trucks at the cuartel, and again at the Salomague pier, then loaded into launches for transfer to the ship. &Slator Miller, "Report on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," HSPA, p. 4&

Over 50 stowaways were removed from the Maunawili while at anchor at Salomague on the last trip. &Slator Miller, "Report on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," HSPA, p. 5&

These are the correct figures for total number reaching Hawaii:

6000 men all in all, and 446 women, 915 children
Maunawili first trip--January 14, 1946--1,523 men
Maunawili second trip--February 28, 1946--1,526 men
Maunawili third trip--April 11, 1946--1,526 men
Marine Falcon--May 21st, 1946--31 men, 264 women and 511 children
Maunawili--May 27, 1946--1,393 men

Total married laborers: 3,626; single, 2,374

Number of Ex-H: 3,345. Number of requested laborers: 2,655


Distribution by Provinces:

IS: 2,527; IN: 2,280; Pangasinan: 600; Abra 173; Tarlac 142; La Union 129; Nueva Écija 43; Cagayan 42; N Viscaya 33; Isabela 22; Manila 4, Zambalez 3; Mountain Province 1, Cebu 1. &Slator Miller, "Report on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," HSPA, p. 19&
SAKADA PROFILE, CITIZENSHIP

The sakadas on the first trip of the Maunawili were divided among the various plantations on Hawaii, Maui, Lanai and Molokai. On each plantation, the union families held welcome parties for them. On the second trip, the men were distributed among the various plantations on Oahu and Kauai. On the ship were movies about Hawaii's plantation life, and pamphlets in Ilocano about plantation life. &Plantation News, March 1946, pp. 1, 3& On the third trip of the Maunawili the sakadas were assigned to Hawaii, Maui, Lanai and Molokai.

On June 12, 1948 or two years after the last voyage of the Maunawili arrived in Hawaii, the sakadas so far not one had run afoul of the law. The recruiters at Vigan had made it known that they wanted only farm hands and they screened the applicants thoroughly. Students deliberately omitted mention of their academic achievements. &Star Bulletin, June 12, 1948& A great majority of the sakadas were former students, and anumber of them had college education. At Ewa plantation company, for example, of the 300 sakadas, two were former school teachers, one was an agricultural mechanic graduate, and two had attended college. Fifty were former high school students. Only five of these sakadas were illiterates. At Waialua, there was a former school principal, a law student, and another with three years of medical training. They came because of acute unemployment; many were working at army installations but with the end of the war they were laid off. Also, there was the lack of schools and school facilities at the end of the war for them to continue their studies. &Star Bulletin, June 14, 1948& One of the recruits, Balbino Yanos, said the average daily wage in the Ilocos Norte was P3.50 if one was lucky to find work, and it cost P27 or more for a sack of rice. &Advertiser, May 1, 1946&

The 1946 sakadas were the "W" Filipinos in the HSPA record, in that they had a "W" contract. Explain the terms of the contract here.

Two thirds of the sakadas went to sugar and a third to pineapple.

The plantation paid the cost of each family, up to $200 per family. Check the Sakada book for details.

The last voyage of the Marine Falcon left he Philippines June 18 and was expected to reach TH July 1, and thus if nothing went wrong they would beat the July 4 Philippine Independence deadline. Indeed it came in on July 1 as scheduled. &Advertiser, July 2, 1986&

Napoleon Comisap, born of parents who were tenant farmers on one-fourth acre of land and 18 other small parcels on scattered locations. He had to to give half of his harvest to the landlord. Napoleon, born in Bontoc, married wife from Laoag in 1940 and raised three children in Laoag during the war. He learned about the HSPA recruitment through the newspapers. He intended to stay three years only, but in 1964 he had not returned at all; he had just worked hard, saved, built a fine home for his family, and was aiming for the minimum retirement age of 55 before he could go home. He had already built a two-story concrete and wood building of many rooms and had helped his son and wife come to Kauai where he worked as an irrigator at Lihue plantation. He was saving for his Philippine trip soon; he was very frugal and worked extra jobs whenever available. He anticipated receiving his social security, and with his
dollars converted into Philippine pesos he could live well. He has also purchased two parcels of land. Now 48 he had sacrificed for 18 years, and he felt lonely but he told his wife and children to be patient. He had already sent his children to school also. &Cornelius Downes, series on Filipinos in Hawaii, Star Bulletin, June 18, 1964&

Another is Jose Corpus; who had been a student and was told he was not wanted. He had finished high school. They checked his hands, and he pretended to be ignorant.

Conditions in the Philippines after the war--was really bad, with high unemployment, food scarcity, housing badly short; rice rationed and expensive.

The families arriving were suffering from the war. Children suffered years of deprivation during the war; they had been forced to live like animals, fleeing and hiding in the hills. Older ones recalled homes being burned, the screams of the wounded and dying, the noise of machine gun strafing. Boys 10 and 11 had carried guns, living in hills, begging and stealing. Younger ones knew fear and hunger. Medical reports indicated that the children all suffered from malnutrition. The majority had distended abdomens. Some before coming to Hawaii had never tasted meat. In the Ilocos, it was a special day when the children were given carabao milk. During the war the children were uprooted so many times, and so they needed the security of a home. They also had no schooling during the war. One boy dived under the bed regularly at the sound of an airplane. Some still exhibited the frightened look in their eyes. &Advertiser, November 24, 1946&

A lot of the 1946 Sakadas were undecided about bringing their families to Hawaii, because of the cost of living in Hawaii, and this had become an important urgent matter because with the independence of the Philippines the only way they could bring their families would be within the quota of 50 persons a year. &Star Bulletin, May 14, 1946&

The HSPA cancelled the recruit’s obligation to repay the passage of his wife and two children below 12 years old if the man was able to fulfill his three year contract. &HSPA to All Plantations, February 25, 1946, Memo 2825, Waialua Plantation Files. &

The Filipinos trusted by the HSPA served on special assignment as liaison agents on the Maunawili trips--Pedro Racelis, Jr., Fortunato Teho, Jose Bulatao, Juan Valentin, David Cayetano at Oahu Sugar, etc. They acted as interpreter, talked about what to expect in Hawaii, etc. There were the marine cooks and stewards to counteract their influence and signed them up for the union.

Teho said there was a lack of law and order--busses would be held up at night, and guerillas still had their weapons. Everything was very expensive. &Advertiser, May 3, 1946&

The legal status of these 1946 sakadas proved to be a problem. They had come under the auspices of the HSPA and there was question as to their coming as residents in Hawaii. They did not come as immigrants, through the quota system, but under a special provision of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. They came as nationals but with the granting Philippine independence they
became aliens. The unions could not banish them because they had already joined the union. The law required that they be returned to the Philippines if labor surplus developed, and it was the responsibility of the interior department to see that this was done. &Star Bulletin, February 24, 1948&

One of these who came was Enrique Palma, who came on the third voyage of the Maunawili in June 1946. Unable to do plantation work because of the strike from September to November 1946, Palma entered the civilian service of the US army and signed up for construction job on Kwajalein. Upon completion of his work there, Palma was returned by the US army to Honolulu. Upon his arrival, however, he was arrested by immigration authorities on the ground that he had no papers to establish his right to re-enter the territory, that he had originally entered Hawaii under an emergency permit authorized because of an acute labor shortage, and that this did not entitle him to resident alien status. &Star Bulletin, March 25, 1947& He was booked for deportation. &Eric Beecroft, Division of Territories and Insular Possession, to M. Silverman, April 7, 1947 in Micro 6027-2& After repeated appeals, the board of immigration appeals in Washington DC rendered a decision in Palma's favor. This was an important case affecting 6,000 Filipinos. The board of immigration appeals ruled finally that the 1946 sakadas were permanent residents in the territory of Hawaii, entitled to the same privileges as other lawfully resident aliens. &Advertiser, June 4, 1948& They still could not be admitted to the continental United States, however, unless classified non-immigrants, and their families were subject to the Philippine quota. &Watson B. Miller, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, to Delegate Farrington, May 10, 1948, Farrington Papers, AH& The INS ruled that the 1946 sakadas were permanent residents of TH, in the August 8, 1949 Ricardo Fermin case; thus the US district courts in Hawaii now admitted Filipinos for naturalization. Fermin was a 1946 sakada who claimed he had been lawfully admitted to the TH for permanent residence and thus qualified for naturalization. &Congressional Record, June 10, 1952, p. 7110& The Fermin ruling now rendered the Filipinos eligible for naturalization anywhere in the US. &Edith F. Diaz to Delegate Farrington, May 1, 1952, in Farrington Papers, AH& However, there was still a problem with the state department. The consuls in Manila did not consider the 1946 sakadas and any other coming through the Tydings McDuffie act special provision as having been admitted for permanent residence, and thus their wives and minor children were not eligible as second preference immigrants. &Marybel Eversole, Vice Consul, US embassy, Manila, to Mrs. Elena G. Aguada, January 3, 1952, in Delegate Farrington Papers, AH&

The status of these Filipinos also complicated by the fact that the order for their coming stated that if a surplus of labor developed in Hawaii they could be sent home. Also, when their contract would expire in 1948, would they be allowed to remain in Hawaii? This was the question which they faced. The interior department, however, adopted a policy of "no action" when the contract expired. &Advertiser, February 22, 1948&

By March 1950 1344 or more than 25% of the 1946 sakadas had returned to the Philippines, according to the HSPA census. 1294 were employed outside the sugar and pineapple plantations. &Advertiser, March 18, 1950&

**PHILIPPINE CONSULATE AND INDEPENDENCE**

The Philippine Consulate opened on November 28, 1946 at 36 South Kukui
Street, originally a Chinese language school. The shabby structure hurt the pride of Hawaii Filipinos so a Philippine memorial Foundation was started to undertake a campaign to acquire the present building at Pali Highway. It was donated by the Foundation to the Philippine government.

July 4, 1946 the Hawaii Filipinos celebrated the independence of the Philippines with a two-mile parade through downtown Honolulu. 15,000 lined Beretania from College Walk to Thomas Square, and it was the biggest patriotic demonstration ever by the Filipinos. Clubs and societies joined, with marchers and floats, and the labor unions also had floats and marchers. &Star Bulletin, July 4, 1946

Conditions bad in Philippines after the war. Andres Ferrer and Casimero Tanada, immigration officer and inspector respectively with the Philippine bureau of immigration of the department of labor, went to Hawaii to help Filipino nationals desiring to return to the Philippines, certify Philippine nationals for travel to Philippine; on Oahu alone, they already received 3,000 applicants, but 90% indicated that they desired to return to Hawaii after a visit to their homeland. &Star Bulletin, May 23, 1946

Need for a consulate evident--need for an official agent in Hawaii to handle immigration matters, travel papers, identification papers, etc of Hawaii Filipinos.

Modesto Farolan arrived in Honolulu at the end of 1946 as consul, and one of his first task, he said, was to look into the victimizing of Filipinos in Hawaii by "fly by night promoters in Manila." &Hilo Tribune, December 30, 1946