

<sup>1</sup>  
ON The development of Ethnic Studies and the establishment of the  
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Ethnic Studies Program here in Hawaii at the University of Hawaii has been a  
<sup>3</sup>  
history of struggle, marked by riots, student strikes, political consciousness  
and activism. <sup>4</sup>

Compared to Chemistry, English, sociology, and other established  
departmental disciplines in Arts & Sciences, Ethnic Studies, in its eight  
years of national existence and four locally, has been recognized as a unique  
<sup>5</sup>  
landmark in modern education, as being the program "born out of social injustice"  
that students demanded and fought for, rather than were given by university and  
college administrations. <sup>6</sup>

Viewed in its historical context, Ethnic Studies was <sup>7</sup>  
one result of a  
nationwide <sup>push</sup> ~~anti-establishment~~ <sup>movement</sup> that exploded during the 1960s, ignited  
by the Great Civil Rights Movement of <sup>8</sup>  
Blacks and later kindled by the Anti-  
Vietnam War Movement.

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The Civil Rights Movement, beginning in the 1950s and led by such <sup>10</sup>  
people  
as the late Rev. Martin Luther King, focussed on the struggle of non-white  
<sup>11</sup>  
people, primarily Blacks, against racism as it was reflected in discriminatory  
jobs, housing, and education.

While the Movement gained momentum with the <sup>12</sup>  
Freedom Rides, sit-ins,  
and its goal of integration through passive resistance and <sup>13</sup>  
non-violent protest,  
thousands of demonstrators, both <sup>14</sup>  
Black and white, were threatened, arrested,  
beaten, and sometimes killed in places like Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia.

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However, through the collective actions of large organized movements  
of people, significant <sup>16</sup>  
legislation repealing racist laws and establishing  
programs, such as OEO, for equal opportunities were won.

<sup>17</sup>  
But more significantly, for the people themselves, political action

and struggle had given them a new sense of <sup>18</sup> pride and identity. This upsurge of Black ethnic pride struck familiar chords in the consciousness of other racially oppressed non-white people --- Latinos, Native Americans, and Asians.

<sup>19</sup> Knowledge grew and political consciousness expanded as the nonwhite peoples of America <sup>20</sup> turned to their history and heritage for the first time with new feelings of pride and appreciation. <sup>21</sup> Black people stopped straightening their naturally kinky hair, <sup>22</sup> "Black is beautiful," they said. Asians <sup>23</sup> set out to relearn their language, it was "no shame" to speak Chinese or Japanese, they said.

This ethnic awakening, dramatically changed the Civil Rights Movement. Blacks who had been fighting for <sup>24</sup> integration for so long without success changed their tactics and attitudes and now advocated "Black Power" and, some, even a separate Black nation. <sup>25</sup> They came to realize that to be equals, they must first develop their own ethnic identity and ethnic <sup>26</sup> pride; so they began to seek a new identity -- some in African <sup>27</sup> culture and others in the Black <sup>28</sup> experiences in America itself.

As early as 1965, in colleges and <sup>29</sup> universities, this search took the form of demands for Black Study programs. They challenged the universities with a much <sup>30</sup> greater impact than the years of disorder by white radical students because the demands of Black students were concrete and went directly to the curriculum and organization of the <sup>31</sup> university. Black students wanted specific <sup>32</sup> courses on Black-American and African history and culture. They wanted programs to admit more Black students, <sup>33</sup> tutor, and support them. They wanted Black faculty.

<sup>34</sup> But the demand for Black Studies, and later for Ethnic Studies of other non-white people, was to develop into something much <sup>35</sup> deeper than studying

their history and appreciating their 36 culture, because of the influence of the broader ideology of the Third World 37 Movement, which challenged not only American higher education, but America itself.

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The Third World Movement represents the growing awareness of people of color throughout the 39 world -- Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America -- of their 40 economic and political oppression under colonial domination by 41 Western powers. This Movement is characterized by struggle for freedom and 42 self-determination and wars of liberation to end Western-European exploitation of their resources and people.

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It was to take the longest, most costly war the U.S. ever waged in the Southeast Asian country of Vietnam to reveal in full view the nature of American racism and economic oppression. In this 44 unjust and unpopular war, the U.S. was fighting against the economic and political 45 self-determination of non-white people, not as a reluctant 46 aggressor caught in the events, but, as the Pentagon 47 Papers were to later reveal, as a committed aggressor with a planned policy of political, economic, and military control of South Vietnam.

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Protests from almost every sector of American life mounted as outraged 49 mass resistance to the Vietnam war began to grow in the United States. Peace marches and silent 50 vigils for American and Vietnamese killed were held by religious and civic organizations.

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By 1965, students were to take the forefront in organizing and sustain-  
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ing the growing anti-war movement, as thousands of them resisted the military draft to fight in Vietnam. Student strikes, moratorium, riots, burning of draft cards and 53 American flags, and violent confrontations with police and National Guard were met with tear-gassing, beatings, and even shootings of students at 54 Berkeley, Columbia, and later Kent State.

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In the struggle for racial equality at home and in the protest against oppression abroad, many non-white students 56 gained a more revolutionary conscious-

ness. Vietnam showed <sup>57</sup> many that racism, abroad or at home, went hand in hand with capitalism and imperialism. So in order to eradicate <sup>58</sup> racism, a struggle had to be waged against the economic, political, and educational priorities of a capitalist society.

<sup>59</sup> Through the infant experimental Black curricula begun on a few college campuses, this new consciousness began to challenge the perspective and purpose of American education. <sup>60</sup> Third World students argued that American-trained scholars had created false <sup>61</sup> myths about the lives of Third World people here and abroad. <sup>62</sup> They argued that the truth about racism and oppression <sup>in</sup> ~~about~~ America and <sup>63</sup> Europe has not been revealed because the written materials do not include Third World peoples' perspectives on America and Europe.

<sup>64</sup> And finally, they argued that far from being the "great social equalizer", the educational <sup>65</sup> system in America, in reality, upheld and perpetuated the racist and oppressive socio-economic system of haves and have-nots.

<sup>66</sup> As Black students' demands for the establishment of permanent, independent, degree-granting departments on Black Studies mounted on different campuses, resistance by university administrations also mounted.

<sup>67</sup> In 1968, in the effort to establish Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State College, a massive student strike was called, attacking racist education and demanding one that reflected the true history of their people. <sup>68</sup> A year later at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, a Third World Strike disrupted the campus as Black, Chicano, and Asian students joined forces and demanded the establishment of a Third World Department, conceived, implemented, and controlled by their people.

<sup>69</sup> Ethnic Studies was seen as part of the overall struggle for self-determination by non-white peoples for control over their lives, their communities, and, in this case, control of their minds through education.

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 Locally, the demand for an Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Hawaii first arose as a part of student demands raised during a sit-in protest over the tenure of a political science professor well-known for his anti-war stance. That sit-in came ~~at the beginning of~~ <sup>when</sup> anti-war resistance <sup>and ethnic consciousness</sup> /was building in Hawaii. The nationwide Civil Rights Movement ~~and~~ anti-war Movement and the rising Third World consciousness greatly influenced local students and ~~a~~ community people. OEO programs for local minority groups were established and national laws affecting the rights of minority people applied in Hawaii as well. Mainland students and returning local students from mainland colleges also affected the rising consciousness of students in Hawaii.

X On the campus, the anti-war resistors challenged the role that the university played in supporting the war effort by conducting biochemical warfare research and offering military and counter-insurgency training programs at the East West Center and in the ROTC program. X The high tide of the anti-war movement in Hawaii came with the invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State killings. A general moratorium was ~~called~~ <sup>called</sup>, classes were boycotted and informational rallies and teach-ins were held. X <sup>where</sup> the most vocal and militant protestors had been primarily haole students, local students then organized for action forming the Concerned Locals for Peace.

X As on the mainland, the anti-war resistance began to link up the imperialist aggression of America in Vietnam and Southeast Asia with the domination of minority groups and racism at home. X In Hawaii ~~it focused on~~ <sup>the</sup> history of the relations between Hawaii and the U.S. was ~~one of that of imperialist power to colony.~~ <sup>the history of American expansion & imperialism</sup>

X American traders, merchants and missionaries had established and consolidated their control of Hawaii's economy and politics, <sup>they then</sup> organized the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, negotiated for Annexation by the U.S. and ~~maintained their control over Hawaii during~~ <sup>After it</sup> when it became an official territory of the United States. <sup>was part of</sup> Statehood made final the incorporation of Hawaii ~~into~~ the U.S.A.

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X controlling  
America's primary interest in/Hawaii was ~~the~~ was for the strategic position it provided for its expansion into Asia. Hawaii served as the key military base of American operations in the Pacific and Pacific Rim during World War II, the Korean conflict and the Vietnam War.

X Internatl development and governance was left largely in the control of the elite group of American (Haole) businessmen who <sup>dominated</sup> were ~~in charge~~ of the Big Five. They ran the sugar plantations, pineapple companies, shipping, merchandising, construction, utilities and banking systems for Hawaii. They also controlled the government., rather they were the government.

X In building and expanding their capital, they exploited the labor of the local people.- First they ~~put~~ ~~Hawaiians~~ ~~to~~ ~~work~~ alienated the Hawaiians from their land ~~and~~ ~~the~~ forcing them ~~to~~ into wage labor in order to make a living. X In order to meet the increasing demands for cheap labor for their expanding plantations, they imported laborers ~~from~~ from Asia, the Philippines and the Azores and Puerto Rico, putting them to work for cheap wages ~~under~~ <sup>penal</sup> oppressive conditions by/contract X When their contracts were ~~fulfilled~~, however they still worked for the same bosses, because ~~the~~ of the Web of control that the Big Five had woven over Hawaii's ~~economy~~ ~~and~~ ~~politics~~. extended throughout and the entire economy in all the industries/~~in~~ Hawaii.

X Challenges to this control began ~~in~~ ~~the~~ early in labor stikes and attempts at organizing politically in the Democratic Party. X After World War II, and throughout the 1950's labor unions had won major victories, and the Democratic Party won victory in government. Competition from local businessmen and from outside, mainland corporations developed. X By the 1960's the Big Five began to move outside of Hawaii and go multi-national, while more and more mainland <sup>mainland corporations and multi-nationals</sup> capital poured into Hawaii and/began to assume control of developing industries.

X The economic trend was investment in tourism and resort development. More and more agricultural lands were rezoned for development displacing local people and destroying their lifestyle. X Land prices soared, housing costs

rose, the cost of living soared. <sup>3.</sup> X Most local people were forced into working at two jobs or having both husband and wife work in order to make a living, because wages did not keep up with rising costs. X <sup>profits</sup> were going to <sup>continue</sup> fill the pockets of local & Big Five and other <sup>local</sup> corporations and ~~by mainland~~ ~~in~~ mainland investors.

While local people provided the labor for these developments, management was predominantly haole.

X An important struggle which ~~was~~ exposed the domination of ~~haoles~~ <sup>corporations</sup> over <sup>workers</sup> local people in the interest of economic development and expansion began to take shape around the evicition of farmers from Bishop Estate land in Kalama Valley to make way for a high-cost home, condominium and resort development. The developer was a ~~mainland~~ from the mainland - Kaiser-Aetna. X A number of young people - many of whom had been students ~~that were~~ involved in anti-war activities joined the farmers to stop eviction. Although the farmers were eventually evicted, supporters arrested for trespassing, and the development went through X they succeeded in raising the consciousness of Hawaii's people <sup>in</sup> the need <sup>for</sup> ~~for~~ asserting more control and determination in decisions that affected their lives.

X Information and data on the major ~~estates~~, ~~and~~ corporations in Hawaii, their investments and landholdings, their interlocking directorates, their collusion with government and their development plans for Hawaii was gathered and publicized in newsletters, mass rallies and the public media. The support of local people throughout the State was rallied. X The Kalama Valley struggle hit closer to home for the broader community than the war issue. It provided ~~for many~~ the spark that lit the consciousness of ~~persons~~ many persons who <sup>in</sup> faced similar conditions in their own communities, Communities in Halawa, X Hauia and Kahaluu soon followed in taking a stand and waging ~~an~~ a struggle to assert their rights. Hawaiians on Homestead Lands also organized to challenge the inefficiencies and neglect of their rights. Moreover, more local people became aware of the history of oppression and the

control that the large corporate interests held over their lives. They began to question that control and to become aware of their own heritage and identity. <sup>and some recognition</sup> The need to organize to gain greater self-determination.

It was in that period that the Ethnic Studies Program was established at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, by a new president who had replaced the former who had resigned in protest at the setting of the when tenure was finally granted the "radical" political science professor.

A basic principle of the program was that of self-determination which had various aspects:

- (1) To have students begin to understand and take pride in their own ethnic heritage and that of other ethnic groups.
- (2) To develop a history of local people from their perspective. This required that Ethnic faculty teach, and that the history of working people rather than kings and managers be developed.

The first struggle in implementing the program arose over the question of faculty. Being a new and developing discipline, there were no university credentialed experts around. The experts were the people themselves whose credentials were their experience. To compromise with university criteria the program began with a few sympathetic professional degree-holders in sociology, anthropology and music together with non-credentialed community oriented local activists.

In the first 2 years, of the program faculty and staff were faced with the task of developing a new field of study from their own background, experience and perspective on what that should consist of. Often rhetoric replaced fact. Anti-haole sentiment was strong. At times lectures were politically dogmatic.

With research and social investigation the curricular, resources and philosophy of the program began to take shape. However, faculty and staff developed in two different directions. The academic-oriented professionals ~~were~~ were more interested in purely academic research and publication. The community activists were more interested in working on and researching community problems and conditions with a view toward providing <sup>them with</sup> support and needed information.

X This eventually led to a split in the program resulting in the resignation of the director. At that time the program was up for review by the university faculty and administration. A decision on the future of the program at the university was to be made.

X It was rumored that the university planned to break up the program into already existing departments, destroying its integrity and autonomy.

On the threat of destruction support was rallied by staff and students.

X Students organized the Concerned ~~Academics~~ ~~for~~ & Students for Ethnic Studies. Community people joined in support. Various organizations. Legislative support was also given. They ~~questioned~~ questioned the review process, held informational rallies, distributed thousands of leaflets and circulated hundreds of petitions. X

When it became clear that the university would not listen they voted ~~to~~ at an open meeting to occupy Bachman Hall and demand the establishment of a People's Committee to review the Ethnic Studies Program and decide its future. X After days of open negotiations and marathon discussions, the administration finally agreed to formulate the People's Committee on Ethnic Studies ~~to~~ to be composed of

X 5 faculty, ~~5 staff members~~ and 5 students and 5 community persons.

X The committee set up public hearings at which any interested person or group could testify on what E.S. should be, relate to etc. They compiled the report and submitted it ~~to~~ to the university which gave its final approval. The

Ethnic Studies program was to continue at the University of Hawaii as a separate <sup>independent</sup> department. *Control of the program was given to the faculty who had been recommended by the People's Committee - w/ the exception of one person.*  
~~Edward Kennedy~~ ~~Richard Helms~~

The key issues and demands that arose in the course of the struggle to save Ethnic Studies ~~and~~ at UHM ~~is~~ identified the needs that the Ethnic Studies Program could serve to fulfill and provided the direction for those persons who have implemented and developed the program here since Spring 1972.

(1) ✓ "Our History Our Way". This was the main slogan around which hundreds rallied to the support of the E.S. Program. It called for the development of our own history from our own -- the people's-- perspective. Most history is written from the point of view of the kings and businessmen.

✓ But the true heroes of history are left unsung -- the ~~a~~ common working man ~~and~~ woman without whose sweat nothing could be built, grown or manufactured. Previous history not only ignored women and working people but it was also biased against non-white people. For example, if asked who discovered Hawaii, many would answer Captain Cook. We have been made to think that history begins when the white man (Europeans) arrive. ✓ We forget that the Hawaiians had established a sophisticated society in the Hawaiian Islands at least 1,000 years before Europeans even knew the Pacific existed. People's history then, is the history of the lives of the people who built society, not the rulers. ✓ For most of us, our roots do not coincide with the plantation bosses but are founded in the experiences of the thousands who came to work ~~on~~ the plantations from China, Japan, Korea or the Philippines, who cut the ~~cane~~, planted the pine and harvested and shipped it out. ✓ The program over the last two years has made great progress in researching and compiling new curricula materials and resources - in lectures, readings, slide shows, video tapes, charts, maps and workshops. We have gone back to our old folks to hear their stories of their lives and struggles ~~a~~ and have begun compiling oral histories.

( Resource reader for high school teachers, course readers, pamphlet on Hawaiian organizations, slide shows to community groups, Faculty and staff give presentations in conferences, meetings of community organizations

and in university and high school classes. taking this history out to the communities and making it available to them for their own use.)

(2) ~~X~~An independent and autonomous department within the university. To hire local faculty who themselves have the experience and roots in Hawaii. We make it a point to recruit staff members that are actively involved in communities outside of the university. They add a new dimension and perspective to the courses. Usually are more aware and responsive to problems and issues facing Hawaii's ethnic communities. We also hire students from the classes to teach labs. ~~X~~And we make a point of bringing in a number of community speakers to tell their own ~~xxx~~ story to the students.

(3) To have the program ~~x~~ reviewed by a people's committee of 5 faculty, 5 students and 5 community members. ~~X~~This demand recognized the rights and responsibility of students to participate in the decisions that affect the determination~~x~~ of their education to make it relevant and meaningful. It also recognized the role of the community in having the education at the university serve their needs and interests. In implementing the program we continue to recognize the role of students and community people in the program work.

For students: we have open channels to solicit feedback and criticism on course materials, presentations and organization. Students and

staff participate in continuous evaluation and development of the courses. ~~X~~We try out <sup>innovative</sup> ~~innovative~~ approaches in teaching - simulation and in giving exams. ~~X~~WE have a number of activities which take students out into the communities to enable them to apply what we teach to what exists. ~~X~~Although we have large lecture sections we also have small

labs to encourage participation and provide more personal contact with the students. ~~X~~Grading we see as a reflection of how well we have done our job as much as how well students have participated.

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③

*[Handwritten scribbles]*

To meet community needs. WE see it as our role and responsibility to develop and maintain an orientation among both Program faculty and students that academics cannot be separated from community needs -- and to continually offer assistance to the community and to be conscious of creating practical value in our work.

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Again we make it a point to recruit those who are actively involved in community work. We take students on field trips of communities and industries to give them first hand investigation.

\* This is B.T. Shum

We also have students work in projects as a part of the course work. They have done research for pamphlets and articles on community problems, have done research for testimony at public hearings, have helped produce newsletters from community organizations, and have compiled other data and research information on key issues and programs, agencies of major interest and concerns. Again we bring community speakers to classes to make them aware of conditions in the community. We also make our resources materials available to the community.

Summary

- Honolulu, S.H.P. -

Major lessons and developing philosophy of Ethnic Studies:

(1) By understanding past, can understand present and deal with the future. History is not static. Things have not always been the way they are, nor will they remain the same. By collective and organized action can begin to make changes. It is important to understand and appreciate our own cultural roots and heritage.

It is also important to understand and appreciate those of other ethnic groups. In looking at the history of ethnic groups in Hawaii we find a history of struggle. And that the conditions that they faced were the same and what one group achieved affected the conditions of all groups.

(9)

~~The basis of racism and is the economic system~~

~~That racism developed to serve the needs of~~

X That racism is a set of social ideas that developed to aid and justify the economic exploitation of one ethnic group over another. X Only by bringing about a change in that system of exploitation can self-determination of ~~all the~~ people of all ethnic groups be won. "Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win!"